LIBRARIES
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - MADISON

Research and field notes: Nigeria: professional research. 1991-2000

Trager, Lillian, 1947-2006
[s.l.]: [s.n.], 1991-2000

https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/ECUOG3KQFORP782

http://rightsstatements.org/vocab/InC/1.0/

The libraries provide public access to a wide range of material, including online exhibits, digitized collections, archival finding aids, our catalog, online articles, and a growing range of materials in many media.

When possible, we provide rights information in catalog records, finding aids, and other metadata that accompanies collections or items. However, it is always the user's obligation to evaluate copyright and rights issues in light of their own use.

728 State Street | Madison, Wisconsin 53706 | library.wisc.edu

Fieldnotes 1 Notes on general conversations re. hometown ties

1. conversation in Lagos with Nike (Komolafe) Afolabi, Wed. Oct. 2 1991

I visited Nike at their apartment in 1004 flats, Victoria Island. Among other things, we discussed the topic of my new research, and talked a bit about whether she continues to visit Ilesa, and why. This was also in the context of discussing her mother's death this past year (in November) and the fact that now that both her parents are dead, is there a reason for her to continue to go to Ilesa.

She explained that she does go there sometimes, but that there are not really many close family ties remaining. She said that she isnt very close with the people living at Ijoka, in her father's family compound. This is partly because there were differences between them and her father, due to her father's church membership and also the very close relationship between her mother and father. The implication was that family did not look on these two aspects favorably and that that affected her father's relationship with other members of his family, and that consequently that has also affected her relationship with these people.

She said that there are other people, cousins for example who are not really very close and also members of her mother's family, who she does see when she goes to Ilesa, and who she will continue to see. But with regard to her father's family, she indicated that given the relative recentness of her parents' deaths, there were things that couldnt be ignored, she couldnt just resume contact with them--however she wasnt explicit about what had happened, either between her father and others in his family or between her and and her relatives. She did say that her parents' very close relationship with each other was not very common in Nigeria and indicated the family really didnt approve.

She also said that there were people who were very good to her at the time of her mother's death. These include some cousins, and also some members of the church. These are people she will continue to see.

She said that she does go to Ilesa from time to time. For example, there was a wedding there recently that she attended.

She also said that she gets notices of meetings of associations, such as the Old Boys of Ilesa Grammar School meetings in Lagos, but that she does not attend these meetings.

The association that she talked about being part of is based on her church in Lagos. She said that people from the church helped her at her mother's funeral, helping with cooking food for example, and wearing aso ebi to support her.

In talking about her father's family, she said that there is a family meeting, a group that meets regularly. Her father was secretary of that group. She said that they have invited her to attend the meetings, but she hasnt done so and indicated she didnt want to. Again, she referred to things that had happened (probably when her father died) and also said that

most of the people involved are older people, and after all her father was secretary -- the implication was that it wouldnt really be appropriate for her.

Although I asked a bit about her brothers, she didnt indicate any involvement on their part either, and at least at the time of her father's death, she was the one who played the major role. She didnt say anything this time about her older brother.

Overall, the clear sense was that at this time she's not involved, and has not particular interest in being involved in organizations or activities based in Ilesa, altho she does still have occasion to go there from time to time.

I said I'd be interested in knowing about things like the Ilesa Grammar School meetings in Lagos if she could keep announcements of such things for me for future.

2. conversation with Simi Afonja's husband re hometown ties, Ife, Oct. 5 1991.

Simi's husband--former Dean of Science and Technology--at Ife and I spent a while talking Saturday evening before dinner. They had been to Ilesa for a housewarming party of a former student of Simi's. I asked if he is from Ilesa, and was told he is, and that he will not be living in the house because he works in Lagos. This led to my telling him a little about my research, and that got him talking about his own lack of connections with his hometown. He is from Oyo. He said that he did build a house in Oyo, because that was really the expected thing, but that he hardly spends any time there. He said he's now thinking that they should go there more, just as a place to get away and relax on weekends, because they hardly ever take any time off. But he has no interest in it beyond that. He explained that he's never lived in Oyo, he didn't really grow up there because his father was a schoolmaster and they lived in many different places, including Ekiti, where he met Simi. He said he doesnt know anyone there, has no friends there. His friends are here (ie in Ife, at the university).

He compared himself to others and said that both he and Simi are atypical in that they're not particularly involved in their hometowns and beyond that they're not involved in organizations and associations in general. He talked about other people who belong to hometown associations but said he has no interest in joining clubs or associations. However, he did mention something about Simi's house, so it sounds like she too is building--or has built--a house in her hometown but I didnt confirm this.

He also said that when he did build a house in his hometown he did not build it in the family compound. He said there are two types--those who build in the family compound, and those who acquire land elsewhere on which to build. If your house is in the family compound, then you can't go to the house without all the relatives knowing, and then they all come to you to ask for things--mainly money. But with his house away from the family land, he can go there and no one will know he's in town. He said that he still goes to the family compound to see his mother, but once she dies he

won't go there anymore. I asked if he has brothers, and he said yes, there are three of them (3 brothers) and they have all built their houses near each other, but that they hardly ever see each other because they all live elsewhere, and perhaps see each other there once a year.

fieldnotes 2

Sunday Oct. 6, 1991

Kunle Ifaturoti re. new state formation

When I got to Ifaturoti's house on Sunday, they were not yet home from church. While sitting and waiting for them, I noticed a folder on a table next to my chair entitled Ilesa Solidarity Group. I took a quick look thru it; it included minutes of a meeting, a copy of a speech by Lawrence Omole, an invitation letter, a list of members, and some newspaper clippings. I didnt read anything in it tho I did look down the list of names for familiar names--I recognized a few--Omole, Ajanaku, Apara, Eso, Akinola. The only woman I saw on the list was Princess Ajanaku.

When Kunle came back from church, and we were talking, we first talked fairly generally about the new states and the effort to make Ilesa the capital, which was unsuccessful. He said it didnt succeed because there were people who didnt want them to be successful. He talked about the implications of the new state for development, and said that a lot of the civil service in Oyo State is from Ilesa and hence will be coming to Osun state. He said people will live in Ilesa and commute from there to Oshogbo, and that they've been promised that the road will be fixed very soon. (In this context he also mentioned the probable difficulty in finding housing in Ilesa). He also said that a lot of the civil service will be retired, because there will be too many people.

He was talking as if he were part of some decision-making group, so I asked him if that was just a manner of speaking or if he was involved actively. He said, yes, he's very involved in this process, and began to tell me about the Ilesa Solidarity Group. He said they have a group working as a pressure group, and that he is the chairman, that it includes a lot of very prominent people and so they expect to be able to have a lot of influence. He said they formed in July, in the effort to get Ilesa as the state capital, but that they are continuing as an organization, and that their next (second) meeting will be on Saturday, and then they will see how many continue to be involved. I asked if most live outside Ilesa, and he said they do, and also mentioned some who spend their time between places, such as Justice Kayode Eso, who is in Ibadan, but in Ilesa 2-3 days a week. I also asked if there were people from other Ijesa towns, and he said there are, but didnt give any examples.

He described how they have many people from a wide variety of fields that they can draw on--lawyers, professors, business people like Apara--and said that what the organization wants to do is influence the decisions that get made as the state gets underway so that they benefit the development not just of Ilesa but of the whole state--he mentioned things such as buildings as an example of the kind of development that will result. The organization has established 3 committees--one focusing on national affairs, one on economic issues, and one a ways and means committee that is charged with finding the money for whatever is proposed to be done , and making sure that there are funds for anything they commit themselves to.

When he began talking, I said that this relates to my research and that I hoped it would be possible for me to learn more about their activities as part of my research. His first response was no, that some of the people involved like Justice Eso won't like to be probed. I said that it wouldnt involve probing, just hearing about their activities and what they're trying to do. Then he said, all right, that he would be able to show me their documents. Shortly after he saw the folder on the table and turned to the list of those attending the first meeting and the minutes of the meeting, and handed it to me. I read thru the list, and then read the minutes, but handed it back to him without looking at the other documents in the folder since he hadn't shown them to me.

The minutes related in some detail the discussion at the first meeting, including a report made by Ifaturoti regarding a trip to see the Sultan of Sokoto to gain his influence in having Ilesa selected as state capital. It also included various people talking about the importance of getting Ilesa as capital. I asked Kunle why that was viewed as so important, and he said that it's because there'll be a lot of development in whatever place becomes the capital--a lot of building for example.

I asked him if there were similar organizations forming in other communities in the state. He said he doesnt know but there may be, but he doubts if others will have the range of people to draw on that their group has.

Kunle also stressed that the organization is non-partisan. When I used the word political, he said, no, it's not political.

Later in the afternoon we went to see Lawrence Omole; Kunle wanted to ask him about a possible place for me to live, and it also gave me a chance to greet him. After we talked briefly about the request for a place to live and the fact that I'll be here for several months, Kunle and Omole began to talk mainly in Yoruba about several recent events. One concerned a dispute between Ijebu-jesa and Ijeda (village on Ijebu-jesa Rd) about the land on which a games complex is located--whether it's in Ijebu-jesa or Ijeda. They came up with the solution that it should be named Ijebu/Ijeda just as the old division was the Ife/Ilesa division. I followed enough of what they were talking about to be able to check with them, and then they explained in English.

Omole then seemed to be suggesting that their group (I assume the Ijesa Solidarity group) invite all the other organizations to affiliate with them, to send a representative or be an affiliate or something--I'm not quite sure what organizational structure was being proposed. They discussed this a bit, and then got into a discussion about the Ijesa Progressive Society. They just refered to the Progressive, but I'm quite sure that is what they were talking about. Kunle said that he at one time attended their meetings, but they didnt accomplish anything, they just wait for things to happen. He stopped attending a long time ago, and then 16 years later they came and asked why he didnt attend. He told them he didnt attend because they never invited him, that even when his brother held the meeting in his own house and he was there, they didnt invite him. He also said that they don't have any members under the age of 70.

After leaving Omole's I dropped Kunle at home and then continued back to Ife. I'm going to see him on Tues. Oct. 15 when he'll accompany me to immigration. At that point I should be able to also ask him about the meeting on Saturday. In the meantime, he told me that he will be in Abeokuta for a couple of days this week as part of a group to review some of the presidential candidates.

Fieldnotes, Oct. 16 1991

Ilesa, discussion with Kunle Ifaturoti

I went to Ilesa primarily to go to immigration office. Kunle had said he would go with me. I got to his house at about 12:30, after going to Ife to check on my housing. When I got there he was talking with a man who was there, saying he wanted him to write a chapter about education and what happens to school leavers, problems of jobs for them. After the man left, I asked what that was about, and he told me that he is asking people to write chapters of a document that will form the basis of discussion about development in Ilesa, Osun State and more generally. I said that he should let me know if there is any way I can help. Later, we talked more about it.

Before going to immigration we stopped at the brewery to see if the chairman was there--the chairman is Justice Esho. Kunle wanted to ask him about my using part of his house. He wasnt in his office, so we went on to immigration, where I learned that I need another letter from the university.

When we came back to Ifaturoti's for lunch, Kunle tried to phone Justice Esho, who then two minutes later arrived at the house. We discussed housing, Kunle said that he's going to check back with Omole (who he called the Lord of the Manor) but apparently it is ok with Esho for me to use his house if no flat is available--he's in town a couple of days a week. It seems as if Kunle has now decided that it would be better for me to have a place in Ilesa, tho I told him about the 2 room "chalet" I've been given in Ife.

Kunle and Esho also talked a bit with each other about the meeting of the Ilesa Solidarity Group on Saturday, and about a conversation Kunle had had with Kunle Apara afterwards. It sounds like there's some disagreement about how to make decisions. When I later asked Kunle how the meeting went, he said that there was a lot of discussion about a lot of irrelavant things, to which he just listened. And that he realized that a group like that really can't be a decision-making group, that they need to have smaller committees that report to the larger group.

Esho also asked me about my research, and Kunle helped explain about hometowns by making the point that people in Europe and America don't pay attention to things like hometowns any more.

At lunch, he told me more about the book-=-or document--he wants to put together. He is asking a number of people to prepare chapters--e.g. Arriyo, former cmmissioner for finance and for something else in Oyo State to do chapter on business and economy; someone on urban planning, environment, encroachment on the river; someone on tertiary education problems, etc. --about 10 topic in all. He said he'd like it if I can contribute a chapter, so I suggested something on women, small-scale employment, etc--he was interested, mentioned SE Asia experience with small-scale industries. The plan is to have the chapters draftedby mid-January, then typeset on computer, and discussed, not actually

published initially. Plans a meeting or launching, probably in June or July. The intention he says is to look at the issues not just in terms of Ilesa or Osun state, but from wider perspective, and try to find ways to help people not just from the state. Also to let those who are here from elsehwere know that they are welcome, not to kick them out as the Ibadan people tried to do to those from Abeokuta. He also said he'd like to establishe exchanges between states, relationships that assist one another so that if they have something here that can be useful elsewhere they can help and vice versa--e.g. something like doctors from here going to Sokoto, and not being afriad to go.

I asked Kunle if the book was a decision taken at the meeting on Saturday, and he said no, it's his brainwave. That he wants to do something different than has been done before, by not just looking at issues as Ijesas, by working with others not seeing others as people to fight against.

I also told Kunle that I had been planning to focus my research on smaller towns such as Osu, but that am now thinking I should do more on Ilesa. He seemed to like that

Notes 4

Conversation on research with Mijindadi, Thurs. Oct. 17, Ibadan

We spent some of the evening discussing my research; he looked at my NSF proposal and read parts of it. One suggestion that he made was that it's also necessary to look at politics in relation to hometown connections. He said that a lot of the politicians or would-be politicians are returning to their hometowns because they want to run for office.

In looking over the proposal he said that the aspect that he finds most interesting is the question about whether people are now returning to smaller towns and rural areas, and are engaging in agriculture. He said that that is something he would like to have information on, and which is relevant to the work they are doing in FACU. He also talked about some of the other work that FACU is involved in, including someone from FAO who is coming to do a project on marketing, but that what he thinks really needs to be looked at is the supply of inputs. His feeling is that there's no problem with distribution but the problem is with inputs such as fertilizer, which continue to be government controlled. He also mentioned maybe having me do something for them, in relation to my research. We didnt really discuss whether that's a real possibility or not, however.

Afterwards, the next day, I got thinking about the issues he says he's interested in, and it occurred to me that maybe I could put together a proposal that would bring some of this together, in terms of my interests, if it's something he might be able to consider as something that could be done thru FACU (and funded presumably by World Bank?). Basically, I could focus on the issue of whether people are returning to smaller towns, and the implications of this for agriculture, and perhaps also on the role of small towns in agriculture, especially in provision of inputs. I even came up with a possible title: Rural-Urban Linkages and Agricultural Development. That could encompass both aspects. I hope I can get to talk with him some more about it and find out if he might really be interested and if I should try to put something together for him on this.

Re. funding--he mentioned that there are various projects going thru FACU, including the one Frank Hicks is discussing about having Mrs. Dunmade do. The implication seemed to be that he thinks it would possible for something that I'm doing to be funded thru FACU, but I'm not so sure. My guess is that it would be most likely if he can somehow sell the World Bank on it, and whether he'd really want to take that on, I don't know. Overall, there was much more of a discussion and exchange here than there was with Tobi Adeniyi the other day, who seemed to be simply suggesting that I apply for funding thru DRB, but without any sense of collaboration.

Notes 5

Notes on visits with Bolanle Awe's husband and with Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye, Ibadan, Fri. Oct. 18 1991

Friday morning I went to Bolanle Awe's house; she was not around but I spoke with her husband, who said that she'd be returning from a trip to Kuru either later today or tomorrow. We talked a bit generally about her work as head of the National Women's Commission and he mentioned that she has now ended her position as Director of the Institute for African STudies. I wrote a note to leave for her.

Then he told me that she is particularly busy right now, because a favorite aunt in Ilesa has died and that she's been going back and forth to Ilesa about that. In discussing who the aunt was and what she looked like, I became quite sure that it's ctTa. He said that she died about a month ago and that the funeral is next Saturday (the 26th). I said that I would probably go to the funeral, so he told me that it's at the Anglican Church, Omofe, at 2 PM; I said I hoped I would see his wife there.

I then went out to NISER to look for Paulina, and found her at home. We talked about a wide variety of topics, but Bolanle's name was mentioned, and Paulina mentioned the funeral. I said that I wanted to go, and she said that she would be going. So we arranged that she will stop for me in Ife Saturday morning and we will go look at her house as well as go to the funeral.

Paulina and I also discussed research, and the issue of research affiliation, and the problems at universities these days. She seems to feel that NISER is still fairly well set-up, and better able to accomodate visiting researchers than the universities. She for example has access to vehicles in her unit, and control over them, so can make them available to foreign scholars. She and Mary Kritz are working on a project jointly, for which the fieldwork is now ending; Mary was here a few months ago. She also told me about a project that Larry Stieffel is working at, funded by the World Bank, that's going to be some big thing on agricultural development and the environment, and that he's asked her to write a paper on gender issues for that. So, as usual, there seem to be a few people getting big chunks of money, while the rest of us struggle along.

At any rate, we discussed my possibly affiliating with NISER in future, after the year at Ife, and I mentioned that perhaps I should talk with the director while I'm here. She seems to think that as long as Philips is the director, things will continue to go fairly well at NISER.

I also mentioned DRB, and the similar thing that's been set up by Onibokun, but she didnt say much--gave the impression that she doesnt think all that much of them, however--tho she didnt really say so.

We also talked a little about the relationship of my research to migration research. She told me that a seminar is planned for February 1993 on women and population issues, and I said that I'd be interested if that will include migration. She said it would and promised to give me the

information. I promised to give her a copy of my NSF proposal--need to find a place to photocopy it, or the key parts of it.

notes6

fieldnotes Saturday Oct. 26, 1991

Ilesa for funeral of Bolanle Awe's aunt

Paulina Makinwa picked me up in Ife at about 12:30 PM; we got to Ilesa at about 1:30. We went first to see her house, which is in the GRA on the Ibodi Road. She's been building the house since 1982, and it's finished and has electricity but no water supply. Now she is building a two-flat building next door; the ground floor of that building is being worked on now. According to her, she is doing all this at her mother's insistence. She says that her mother wanted her to build a house in Ilesa, so that there would be something with her father's name, since Paulina was an only child. She also explained that her father took a second wife who had children who use his name, but who are not his children, so she said that complicates matters; they live in the father's house, which is on Okesha street. She said that the flat building is also due to her mother's insistence, that her mother wants the building there, altho she (Paulina) says her mother will never live there.

She said that her daughter is now saying that maybe she will use one of the flats. Apparently her daughter may marry someone from Ijebu-jesa, so she is saying that they could use one of the flats rather than going to Ijebu-jesa; but Paulina says they're not likely to live in either place, as the young man works in Lagos, for Arthur Anderson.

Paulina's attitude seems to be that this is all a lot of nonsense and waste, but that if it makes her mother happy that she is building a house, then she will go ahead and do it. She also explained that the only way she has been able to afford to build it, especially recently, is from work she's done overseas; if she gets paid in dollars for something, e.g. World Bank consulting, then she can change it to Naira and have a substantial amount to put toward the house.

She also explained that she has been helped in all this by a cousin, who has overseen the construction of the house and flats. He is not a particularly close relative (his mother and her father were cousins of some sort; Paulina didnt seem to know exact relationship), but he has been very willing to be helpful. And he discusses things with her mother, and they come up with the ideas of what should be done, and she just approves and provides the money.

We stopped at the cousin's house, which is near the Catholic Church (Ifofin area I think), he wasn't there, so we went to his shop on Okesa Street, but didnt find him there either; we did see him later, after the funeral. His name is Mr. Taiwo; he runs a caterpillar rental service. We visited in his shop for about 20 minutes after the funeral.

Also, just after the funeral, as we were leaving, Paulina saw a couple of other relatives--a woman and younger woman, and greeted them and chatted briefly. At the reception that Bolanle Awe gave, there was apparently another relative; when we got into the car Paulina told me that her late

uncle's (father's brother) wife was there, but that she didnt want to see her, because she would have embarrassed her and would have told her how she hadnt eaten and gotten her to give her N20. She also told me that the young woman she met will tell her father's sister, who is still alive that she was in Ilesa, and that the father's sister will cry because she didnt come to see her.

After trying to see her cousin the first time, we made our way to the church where the funeral was taking place. This was Holy Trinity Church, Omofe, which is an Anglican Church. I had received a notice/invitation from Bolanle Awe, thru Mr. Ifaturoti, giving time and location. We got there just as the funeral was starting and went in and took seats quite near the front. The service was just over an hour long; there was a printed program which included a brief biography of Bolanle's aunt, Madam Dorcas Moradeun Takuro. After the service, on the way out, we greeted Bolanle and her husband. Someone else greeted me outside the church who seemed to know me, but I didn't recognize her. During the service there was an announcement of where various receptions for guests of various people would be--that the reception for guests of Prof. Bolanle Awe would be at the Ijesa Social Elite Club.

Paulina and I decided not to go to the burial ground, but instead to go see her cousin. From her cousin's we went to Ifaturoti's, as I told Paulina that I had said I would try to stop by. In fact, when I saw Kunle on Friday and told him that I was going to the funeral with Paulina he asked me to stop by with her, because he wants to meet her.

When we got to Ifaturoti's, I introduced Paulina and Ifaturoti; he immediately asked "which Makinwa" and she said Stephen O. Then Kunle said that he knew her father, when he was a young man her father used to come to Abeokuta to see his (Kunle's) father. But he and Paulina had never met before. Quite quickly, Kunle brought out a large sheet of paper--a membership form for the Ijesa Solidarity Group and said he would like her to fill this out (later I took Paulina's copy to photocopy and then will return to her). He then explained about the organization. He said that back in June, July when it became apparent that there would be a new state, Dr. Omole called together a group of about twenty people to discuss how they could best work to get the state capital, and that they then approached various influential people to ask their help. That these were people who did not want money for their help, but who were cooperative. That now they have decided to continue working for the development of Ijesaland and all of Osun State, and are raising money. The first group involved people who could contribute N20,000. Now their goal is N1 million; they figure that 100,000 Ijesa people ought to be able to contribute N1000 a piece, and that in fact there are many who can contribute more than up, even up to N50,000. That this money will be the foundation for activities they will carry out that will help with the development, for example setting up small factories. He also told her about the plan to write a set of papers on various issues affecting the state.

Kunle also mentioned that he has spoken with Bolanle Awe about all this as well.

Paulina didnt say much, but did agree to send in the membership form. Later, in the car she said that they want some money (she didnt say specifically if she would give money), but that she's not going to write a paper for them. She also told me how involved her father was in activities affecting Ilesa, and how many people knew him, so that when she needs something--e.g. approval of her house plans by the town council--they do it for free. Her father was on the native court, and was based in several different places--Ilesa, Ipetu-Ijesa, Ijebu-jesa, Osu; he also published market almanacs (calendars) for Ijesaland.

Before we left Ifaturoti's, I said I'd probably stop by again on Wednesday next week. Kunle said he'll be around, either in the house or in the brewery.

We finally got to the reception that Bolanle Awe was having at about 5 PM; Paulina didnt really want to go since she still had to go back to Ibadan. Bolanle insisted that we eat something, which we did. She sat down with us for a few minutes, but we didnt really talk. Before we left, I said that I hope I'll see her in Ibadan sometime. By the time we got there, people were already leaving the reception, but there were still probably 100 or more people there. I didn't recognize anyone however. Bolanle was complaining to Paulina that people who should have gone to other receptions were coming to hers and she was running out of things to drink.

Observations: some thoughts on approaching Kunle. When Kunle stopped at my house in Ife on Friday (where he came to help me see various administrators) he saw Peel's book on my shelf, and commented on what a valuable book it is. One idea I have is to tell him my intention of doing a book which looks at the current situation and what people are doing to help in local development. Another is to tell him about FF interest in such activities--but that might be premature. The membership roster of the Ijesa Solidarity Group alone would be valuable.

Notes7

Fieldnotes Fri. Nov. 1 and Sat. Nov. 2--Ijebu-jesa Day

In the Daily Times on Thursday I saw a notice that Ijebu-jesa would celebrate Ijebu-jesa Day on Saturday, and another notice saying that someone would be installed with a chieftaincy title in Ijebu-jesa that day (a military person or someone in govt). Thurs. nite when I was talking with Agbo Folarin I mentioned wanting to go, and hoping I could find someone from Ijebu-jesa. He said that Lamidi Fakeye's wife is from Ijebu-jesa, but I didnt follow up on that in terms of meeting her and seeing if she was going. (Later I found out from Mae Mae Sanford that Lamidi's wife was in Ijebu-jesa this weekend).

On Friday, I went to see Ifaturoti, on the way to see Mobo Akinola to check re. having a room to use in her house. I asked Kunle if he knew anyone in Ijebu-jesa likely to be involved in the events. He said, yes, he could take me to meet someone, so we went out there and he took me to the house of Mr. Fatiregun (except I didnt catch the name at that time and in fact didnt get it til fairly late in the day on Saturday). The house is at the Esa-Oke end of town, on the main road; it's at the botton of the hill just before the road starts up again going out of town. There's a dirt road to the left, with a gate at the end, large parking area and then the house. Mr. Fatiregun wasn't home, so we then went to the oba's palace, as Kunle knows the oba and his wife. They were about to go out, but saw us first; and told us that the events Saturday would start at 10 AM. Kunle then thought that he could introduce me to Mrs. Faseru who works as a secretary at the brewery and is from Ijebu-jesa. So we went to the brewery. But Mrs. Faseru wasnt in the office. So finally he said he'd send a note to Fatiregun telling him that I would come Sat. AM and suggested I get there around 9 or 9:15.

On Saturday, I got to Ijebu-jesa at about 9:30 and could see people gathering at the Grammar School grounds on the Ilesa end of town; the day's events were held there, and canopies had been set up in a large horseshoe shape in a big field. When I got to Fatiregun's house, I found Mr. Fatiregun in the sitting room, and his wife and two other men were also there. They had not received anything from Kunle. However, they were very hospitable; I explained what I was doing, and the husband said that I would go with his wife. It turns out that Mrs. Fatiregun is lecturere at Oyo State College of Education in Ilesa; her field is community health. Name and work address are: Dr. (Mrs.) Tina Olubayo-Fatiregun, OYSCE, Dept. of PHE, Ilesa. (Dept., of Physical and Health Ed). She just got her Ph.D. at U. of Ibadan, in fact will graduate Nov. 17.

I was introduced to the two other men in the sitting room; they were two visitors from Lagos who had come to attend the chieftaincy installation of a friend. They and Mr. Fatiregun were reading the papers, Mr. F. talked with me briefly and said he's been busy with getting ready for today's events, that he was on the planning committeee. At about 10 AM the three of them left the house, saying they would go to check the program and come back. They did indeed come back a few minutes later and say the place was already filled up and that it was time to go. In the meantime, a friend of

Mrs. F. had arrived from Ibadan, Dupe Awe (family is from Ilesa but she grew up in Ibadan); she had come to go to the events with Mrs. F. The two of them went to change into good clothes, while I waited.

In the meantime I also talked with Mrs. F. a little and learned that she is not from this area; she's from Akoko-Edo area of Bendel State. She commented several times during the course of the day that she's not familiar with the customs of this area. (I got the impression from some things she said that she hasn't been married too long, altho she seems to know lots of people around town).

We all--the men and Mrs. F. and her friend and me--left the house at the same time; the three of us went in my car. After we got to the grammar school grounds and I parked the car, we found her husband who gave us programs and introduced us to one man, who then took us to meet some of the key men involved in the events, and led us to seats in the V.I.P. section--in fact directly behind the oba (about two rows back). Later, Mrs. F. said that it was only because of me that we got seats in the VIP section, because she told them I'm doing research. I was introduced to Mr. Olashore, who was seated in the same row as me, along with several other men whose names I didn't get. Olashore is Dele Olashore, formerly with First Bank and now with a merchant bank called Lead (?). His brother, Tunde Olashore, was chairman of the committee that organized Ijebu-jesa Day; the brother is a lawyer in Ibadan. I didn't realize there were two brothers until later in the day; I thought at first that the person I had met was the chairman and the one who gave the speech welcoming everyone. More on that below.

The grammar school playing field was set up with canopies on three sides, two long and one short. We were at the far end, nearly in the middle so had a very good view of everything. The announcer was just in front of us with a mike, and the sound system was in a van just beyond. People were seated in all the areas under the canopy, and several groups were identified by banners--such as the Ijebu-jesa Social Club. When groups came forward to greet the oba each one danced in from our left, stopped to prostrate or kneel for the oba and then proceeded on to the right and around the field.

We sat in comfortable upholstered chairs and had a very good view of the proceedings since everyone came in to greet the oba. However, I took photos only from my seat, tho I could have gone around and joined all the professional photographers who were there. When we arrived there was a woman making various announcements; in fact, she turned out to be the main person introducing people, speaking, and even singing--she kept things moving quite well. Not long after we got there, a prayer was said by a minister, and then the welcome address was given by Tunde Olashore. Printed copies of the address were handed out, and I have one; it explains why they wanted to have an Ijebu-jesa Day (this is the first). Then all the different organizations and associations came thru, dancing for the oba and paying homage to him. There were probably about 20 groups all together, and this took quite a while. I got photos of many of the groups and Mrs. F. pointed out some of those that are local women's groups; she also said that she would help me identify the groups when I get the photos

back.

The oba also made a brief speech. After that, there was a lull, while the associations came forward to receive donations from the dignataries seated near me; one man seemed to be writing out notes rather than giving money. Mrs. F. at that point said that she should probably go to see if she's supposed to do something since her sister-in-law was one of those getting a cheiftaincy title. She left, and came back a little later saying she had to go get some beads for her. We got hold of a list of those being installed as chiefs; there were 21, both men and women (several husbands and wives), the most famous being ret. army officer Jemibowon and his wife (apparently the wife is from Iwoye, next village past Ijebu-jesa, but Jemibown is from Kwara State). I left my seat for a few minutes and went to the car to get some water and biscuits; Olashore spoke to me both when I left and when I returned.

When I got back, the chieftaincy installation of Jemibowon was in process. I saw the last part of it (it included firing of guns, not done for any of the others), and then about 6 of the others. Each person had leaves put under their cap or gele, and some sand placed on their forehead, then the oba spoke to each, then orange beads were placed on the neck, and finally a large piece of paper, looking like a diploma, was handed to each, with their name and title on it. Then after the ceremonial part, each person told the announcer how much money he or she was giving, and that was the end of it. Mrs. F. began writing down the anounts, so I followed suit. I did not hear an amount for Jemibowon however. The first one we heard was Mrs. Aduke Mohammed, who gave N30,000. She is apparently from Ijebu-jesa, but Mrs. F. didnt know what she does. She was dressed in very unusual mateial, kind of a lace but with lots of texture, and later Mrs. F. commented that she had the best beads of any of them (each provided their own beads). Then Mr. Amoo gave N25,000; Mrs. Tinuola Fayola gave N2222.22, and another person gave N2000. We stayed til Mrs. F's sister-in-law was installed, as Mrs. F. was one of the group with her; I think she donated N5000.

In the meantime, Mrs. F. had spoken to Dele Olashore and he had said we should go to his house afterwards so I could talk with him. He left after the second or third cheiftaincy installation.

When we left, we went to his house, which is at the Ilesa end of the main road, on the right hand side coming from Ilesa. It's down a short road to the right, and there is a gate and large parking area. It's in fact several buildings, more of a big compound. We went in to the building on the left, and entered a sitting room where there were already several people. We were sent in to the next room, also a sitting room, where Olashore greeted us and told someone to get us drinks. He went back and forth between the two rooms, and also into the next room, where drinks were coming from, and also some snacks (chicken and meat). He was busy greeting new arrivals and carrying on several conversations; also there was a man there who was checking his video which was apparently not working. We sat for a while, had some wine and then soft drinks and chicken. Mrs. F. suggested that I just try to make an appointment for another time, which was my plan. After a while, probably about 45 minutes, when he came back

into the room, I got up to speak with him. He then led me away, so that we could talk; he took me outside, across the parking area, and to the next building, where we went to a large upstairs sitting room, bigger than either of the ones I'd already seen. He asked someone to bring me coke, and then to bring a fan since it was warm there.

As we walked to the other building, I started to explain my interests; at this point I still thought he was the one who chaired today's activities. He then said he wanted to tell me the kind of research he's interested in. He said that he's interested in historical research, on the chiefs and chieftaincy titles. After we sat down, he explained that his father was oba of a small town, Iloko, and that his father always said that he should have a beaded crown, because his ancestors came there directly from Ife. He said this was supported by the Oni of Ife. But he said the current owa (who he said is doing all kinds of things, and lots of controversy--supporting the negative view I've gotten elsewhere) made problems, and before his father died he was never able to find out more about this. He also said he didnt have that much interest before, but now he would like to commission someone to do research on all this and find out what the truth really is. I explained that I'm not really a historian but promised to help look for someone to do this. Then told him about my interest. He then said that his brother is the one more invovled in affairs of the town, that altho he comes home most weekends, his brother comes home even more, and that he gave the speech today. I said I'd like to meet his brother also, and he said his house is nearby; later Mrs. F. said she'd arrange for me to meet him.

We did discuss hometown links some tho. He explained how important it is, that it's the place your from, not where you live that's important. Said he comes home nearly every weekend, and that he sees it as a way to escape, to get out of the "hurlyburly of Lagos". Also that he must help the town however he can, and help people from htere. I asked if that ever gets to be a problem. He said, yes sometimes it does. He then gave an example of a woman from Ilesa who came to see him in Lagos, and asked for money, that he asked how much since he runs a bank and it's a merchant bank, they don't engage in retail banking. She said any amount, and it became clear she just wanted money from him, not from the bank. He saw her again at church in Ilesa, and then finally just gave her N2000, without any questions about who she is, or expectation that it was loan. But then she started coming and asking him for more money, that she seems to think he's just a soft touch.

After this story, I said I didnt want to take him from his guests for too long, and we went back downstairs. I drove back to Mrs. F's house, we made date for me to come next Saturday to try to see Olashore's brother and possibly oba and others, and then I left, and gave her friend Dupe a ride to Ife.

Notes 8

Fieldnotes--conversation with Remi Fakeye re. Ijebu-jesa day

Mei-Mei Sanford told me on Mon. Nov. 4 that she had spoken with Remi Fakeye about my interest in Ijebu-jesa, and that Remi was sorry that she hadn't met me before Ijebu-jesa Day on Saturday. She suggested that I go to meet Remi, which I did Mon evening at around 6 PM.

I went to Fakeye's house, which is on road 10. I introduced myself when she came to the door, and told her a little about my research, and told her that I had gone to Ijebu-jesa day with Mrs. Fatiregun. She said that I was in good hands. She told me that her brother was among those who had been made a chief on Saturday. He is the owner of the Country Motel which is on the Ilesa Road, she said. He lives in Ijebu-jesa all the time. She goes there often, on weekends. And she said that weekends are the time to find most people around. She said that she will tell me whenever there is something going on there again, such as weddings.

She was very friendly and hospitable and asked me to come back for a meal some time. I didn't stay long because she said that she was cooking.

Notes 9

Fieldnotes, conversation with Professor Bolanle Awe about Ilesa. Monday, Nov. 4

I went to see Bolanle Awe at her house in Ibadan at about 9:30 Monday morning. She was there and seemed pleased to see me, and immediately thanked me for attending her aunt's funeral last week. Later in the conversation she brought up the subject of the funeral again, again thanking me, and saying how she was pleased that it was so well attended, and that later in the day after I had left, the governor's wife and some other officials from the state came.

We had quite a wide-ranging conversation. We talked about the Canada-U.I. exchange in women's studies, and some of the problems with exchanges in general. She already knew that I am working on some kind of exchange here, so I told her more about it, and a little about some of the problems I'm having.

We also talked about WORDOC; while I was there some women stopped by who are involved in WORDOC and she introduced me as one of the "founding mothers" of WORDOC. This led to conversation about the research project on women in agriculture, and to the difficulties of running a national project, especially when the key people involved get moved to other positions--e.g., Comfort Olayiwole went to work for UNDP in Jos, Tomi Adekanye became Commissioner for Agriculture in Oyo State, etc. We discussed the phenomenon of the senior people being asked to do to many different things and not really able to do them, while junior people may not get any of these jobs.

Only towards the end of the conversation did we discuss my research. I briefly described what I'm hoping to do, and she commented that it's a large topic. She was thinking mainly of the associations and organizations, and commented that the papers of these organizations exist, so there is historical material available. We talked a bit about the new state formation, and Ifaturoti's involvement; she commented on how active he is, and said he would be a key resource for me. I asked if she's talked with him about the activities, and she said that she hasnt, and gave the impression that she's trying to avoid doing so as she doesnt have time. She mentioned how much people had worked to try to get the state capital, but said that the people in Oshogbo (who she referred to as the Osun people) had been working for a much longer time on getting the new state, as well as the capital. Also she said that Oshogbo is more centrally located and more neutral; that if it had gone to Ilesa there would have been major conflict with Ife.

I told her that I will probably be in Ibadan the week of Nov. 25 and we discussed possible places to stay; she mentioned the chalets that the vc has available and said she'd check on whether I could stay in one of those. She said she thinks she'll be around that week, so I said I would hope to see her then.

notes 10

Fieldnotes--conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti regarding Ijebu-jesa Day and related, Tuesday, Nov. 5

I went to Ilesa Tuesday morning because Kunle and I had agreed that would be a good time to go to immigration. Before we went there, and on the way, we discussed what I had done on Saturday in Ijebu-jesa. He was surprised to hear that Fatiregun had not gotten a note from him, because he had sent one with the driver Friday evening; the driver said Fatiregun wasn't around but he'd left the note for him. When I told him that Fatiregun said I should go with his wife to the events, Kunle was also a bit surprised and asked if Fatiregun himself didnt go; I explained that he went, but that I didnt see him again after we got there. I told Kunle about meeting the key people involved and sitting in the VIP section behind the oba. He asked if the oba recognized me, and I said that I'm sure he must have seen me, but that I planned to go back to see him again and that Mrs. Fatiregun has offered to take me to meet others in the town.

Then I told him about meeting Dele Olashore, and then finding out that his brother was actually the chairman of the day's events. To this, Kunle replied "It's a one man family". I asked what he meant, and he said that Olashore's father was the oba of Iloko, a village between Imo and Ijebu-jesa (on same road as Ijeda) and that in the father's generation, the father was the key person in the family. Then he went on to talk about how the father had decided that Iloko should have a beaded crown, and that the children were working on this. Kunle said that the children paid the Owa of Ilesa N30,000 to get him to say that their father should wear a beaded crown, that the Owa took the money but didn't do anything (which would certainly explain the negative comments Olashore made about the Owa), and that then they were trying to get the Oni to come out in favor of a beaded crown for Iloko, and that this led to a big dispute between the Oni and the Owa. But at about that time the father died--this was quite recently, just a year or two ago, I think. And he added, now Olashore himself wants to become the oba (which goes along with both Olashore's joking comment that when he becomes an oba he will be like the one described in a weekend news article--the headline was "oba likes snatching wives"--and with his interest in having research done on chieftaincies and beaded crowns.) I asked Kunle why there is so much interest still in being oba, and in having a beaded crown, and Kunle's view is that it's just personal ego, that there really isn't authority any more in these positions and that people spend a lot of money when they are in them.

We then came back to the statement that it's a one man family. Kunle said that in the father's generation, it was the father, and that now in the current generation it is Dele Olashore (the banker) who is the key person. That if the brother Tunde is the chair of Ijebu-jesa Day events, it's really just as a cover for Dele. And that what people will notice is the Olashore name, and think of the banker because he is the one who is well-known. Therefore they will contribute money; Kunle knew that they want to raise N25million and said he's sure they will have gotten it, that people will hear the Olashore name and know that there is big money involved.

Kunle said that he knows Dele Olashore, but not Tunde, and that they have involved Dele in their efforts for Ilesa and Ijesaland. He said that Olashore is "half-half" in support, that he will support them, but then also let his brother be working on other efforts. I asked what he meant by this. In response, he explained about the relationship between Ilesa and Ijebu-jesa. He said that there are many people in Ijebu-jesa, and in that part of Ijesaland more generally (e.g. Ibokun) who will never want to work with Ilesa on anything. That they can never agree on anything. For example, when they were deciding the capital (by which he meant the seat of local government) in about 1975, they couldn't agree on Ijebu-jesa or Ibokun so they put it somewhere out in the bush, where there wasn't anything, and now it's all gone back to forest; he said it's on a bad road somewhere, that he'll show it to me sometime.

This led in passing to mention of the current local government set up: Ijebu-jesa was the capital of Obokun l.g.; now it is capital of Ori Ade l.g., and Ibokun is capital of Obokun (I think)--this is just as of September.

Kunle went on to say that in their organization they are trying to involve some of the younger people such as Olashore, because there's no point in trying to work with the older ones. That Olashore is a member of their board, and that if the organization goes the way it should, with people acting the way they should, then they should be able to work together. But if not, then that won't happen. At this point, Kunle said that in all the activities and organizations he's been involved with over all the years, this is the one that he thinks has the best chance of success.

The implication, tho of what Kunle was saying, tho he didn't say so explicitly, was that at the same time Olashore is working with their organziation, he is also supporting local efforts that are separate from the overall Ijesa effort--i.e., Ijebu-jesa Day. And that by having his brother rather than himself as chair of these other activities he can be seen to be supporting the Ijesa group, while also supporting the local group.

The other clear implication from this discussion is that Dele Olashore is indeed the one I should talk with more about local development efforts, despite his telling me that it is his brother who is more involved than he.

Comment: In returning to Ijebu-jesa, I should still try to meet Tunde Olashore, as it would be interesting to see what he has to say. But I should also go back to Dele Olashore, and see if I can talk with him more. And I have a good excuse to do so, since he expressed an interest in commissioning someone to do history of chieftaincy in the area, and LaRay said that she could probably find a student (tho based on Kunle's comments, I rather get the feeling that he's decided what she be found out). I also want to go back to see the oba, to discuss last Saturday's activities with him as well.

Notes11

Fieldnotes Ijebu-jesa, Saturday Nov. 10

I had arranged last week with Mrs. Fatiregun that I would come to her house at 10 AM Saturday. But because of the problems I was having with the car I didnt get there til 11 (Bodunde and I left Oshogbo at 7 and got the car to the mechanic in Ife to fix the clutch by about 8; Bodunde was back with the car just before 10, so we set out then).

When I got there, Mrs. Fatiregun and her husband met me at the door; they were all dressed up and were obviously on their way out. I explained why I was late, and she said that she had checked with Tunde Olashore and that he won't be available til the weekend after next (i.e., two weeks time). But that he had given her a copy of the booklet that was done at the time of the 10th anniversary of the oba to give to me; it's entitled "A Commemorative Brochure" and contains historical information and some background on the oba. Mrs. Fatiregun then suggested that I come back next Friday, which I said I would do; she said she gets home from work at around 3:30 PM. She said I could probably see the oba then; I said maybe I should stop today and see if he's around; that was ok with her. Then I also mentioned wanting to see Dele Olashore again, and she said she thought he was around, and that I should stop at his house after I see the oba.

We then went to the oba's palace; we were met by a young woman who had seen me the other day, and she brought us in to a large sitting room to wait a few minutes. The oba then came in and sat and talked with us, for probably about half an hour. He seemed quite relaxed and friendly, not particularly in a hurry, and quite willing to talk. He asked if I had been there on Saturday for Ijebu-jesa Day, and I said I had; apparently he had not seen me (obviously, I should have gone to greet him). Then he asked about the research I'm doing, and I explained that I'm interested in things that communities are doing for their own development. I also told him about my earlier work and visits to Ijebu-jesa to go to the market. When I said that I'm interested in things communities are doing for their own development, he immediately used the word "self-help" and went on to say that they have done a lot in Ijebu-jesa. He then enumerated some of the things the community has done: they built a hospital, which was then handed over to the government; they built the town hall (which he took me to see later--it's enormous). He also mentioned Oniboje farm, where they just commissioned a gari-processing plant the other day. He said they have a poultry there as well. He then went on to say that altho it's owned by a single person, it's helping the community. He said the owner (Oniboje) also owns a press in Ibadan--Oniboje Press, but that now he has his brother running the press, and he is here in Ijebu-jesa fulltime running the farm. I expressed an interest in visiting the farm sometime; he said it is on the Esa Oke road.

The oba went on to say that government can't do everything. I asked whether money had been raised on Saturday and what it would be used for. He said, yes they had raised money, but did not give an amount. He said some of it would be used to do further work on the town hall, that they want to finish some of it better. And part will be used for the oba's

palace. He then went to a table in the room and took out a plan for the new oba's palace, which he showed us. It was a blueprint, showing the existing building (where we were talking) and then a very large area with various additional buildings to be built--a courtyard area for ceremonies, areas for the olori and himself,etc. These were the only two specific projects he mentioned.

When I got ready to leave, he asked if I would like to see the Town Hall, and took us there. He showed us the large meeting area, which comprises the main part of the building and is huge; he said it seats 1000. The building is also quite high, and there are two balcony-like areas around the side of the meeting area. He said they have room for accomodation for visitors up there. There is a stage, and then behind the stage there is a smaller room that he said he wants to have fixed up as a conference room. There is also a stairway leading up behind the stairs, but we didnt go up there.

After I left the oba's palace, we went to Dele Olashore's house. We were taken in to the first sitting room, a man was sitting there and we were told that Olashore was taking his bath and would be with us shortly. When he came in to the room a few minutes later, it was obvious that he was dressed up (in white agbada) to go out. He said he was on his way to something that was supposed to begin at 12, and it was then just about 12. I told him that I had spoken to a friend about the project he's interested in on history of chieftaincy in area, and that she could probably find a student to work on it. He seemed to want to find time to talk with me, and explained that he may not be in Ijebu-jesa next weekend. He asked if I could come back later today, and I said I could, so we agreed I'd come back at 5PM. In the meantime, he gave me a copy of a talk he gave on Thursday, the convocation lecture at the University of Ilorin, entitled "Economic Management in Nigeria: Shaping the Future".

After leaving his house, we drove back to Ife, stopping at Osu en route (see separate notes).

In the evening, we came back to Ijebu-jesa, arriving at Olashore's house at 5 PM. He wasnt back yet so we went inside to wait for him. While we were waiting, one of the men outside came to tell us that the car had a flat tire, so Bodunde went out to change it. I was out there with him when Olashore arrived; I asked if there was somewhere we could get the tire fixed, and he asked his driver to take it to get it fixed. He was still with the man who had been there in the morning, who he had introduced as a friend from Lagos. But the friend didnt stay around when we talked. He apologized for being late and explained that he had attended the opening of a new methodist church in Ilesa, and that the head of the methodist church in Nigeria was there, and that it was still going on but he had left.

I stayed for about an hour, during which time we had a fairly general but wide-ranging discussion, which touched on his ideas about development, community, the government and the private sector. He asked if I had had a chance to look at the talk that he had given me in the morning, and I said I had looked at it quickly. I then mentioned a couple of things in it, particularly about government and the private sector. He said "Government

can't do everything" and that his view is that government should just provide infrastructure, and the rest be done by private sector.

He asked if I had found Saturday's events of interest in relation to my research, and I said I had, that I'm interested in the efforts being made to help one's own community. I asked if they had raised much money, and he said they had probably raised about N300000 (I think that was the figure). I asked what it would be used for, and how they would decide how to use it. He said that the same committee that put together the day's events would decide how to use the money; that it has no connection with local government or any other govt body--he pointed out that local government area is larger than Ijebu-jesa, whereas this money will be used just for Ijebu-jesa itself. He mentioned the same two things that the oba had mentioned, the town hall and the palace, but indicated there would probably be other things as well. He talked about the need for better infrastructure in the town, electricity and water.

He said it is the society that leads one to be involved in things like this, that one has to do things for the community. I asked how he would define "community" and he said, well, for him, community is Africa, but that there are different levels that one gets involved in. He went on to talk about how he would go to conferences with people from other parts of Africa, and that he realized that he didnt know much about Africa, so he started doing some traveling in Africa. He commented on some of the differences between West Africans, especially anglophone W. Africans (Nigerians and Ghanaians) and others--that the former are more confident, aggressive, less accepting of European point of view than those from East Africa, and that the "French" think they are French when they really aren't.

He explained that he did a fair amount of traveling in his work. This led to asking about that. He said that he had worked for International Bank for West Africa, which is connected with a French Bank, for many years. And then he was the Managing Director of First Bank, which is connected with Standard Chartered Bank (an English Bank). I asked what Bank he's with now, and he said Lead Merchant Bank, which is a "very small" merchant bank. He then explained that he had "been retired" from First Bank; that this was a government appointment because the govt is the major shareholder, and that he had made some statements critical of government. So one day he came home from work to find out on the news that he was no longer Managing Director. He said he had given a talk about small-scale enterprises, saying that government policies were not favorable for small-scale industry.

He also talked about the obligations one has, that as one gets higher up in the society, you have more obligations, especially social obligations, such as the event he had attended today. And that there is less time for work. He said that he hopes to travel to Europe within the next few weeks, and when I asked if it's for business or vacation, he said that when he works in Europe he still has time for other things, for example he wrote the talk he gave at Ilorin when he was in London a month ago or so.

Olashore also told me about a seminar being planned for Osun state for Nov.

22. It's being organized by Alpha Management, a PR firm, and will focus on development in the state. He asked if it would be of interest to me, and I said it would, so he said he would check if it would be all right for me to attend and would let me know before then. He said he probably won't be in Ijebu-jesa next weekend, because he will be there the following weekend and he has to go someplace else, but that when I come to see Mrs. Fatiregun on Friday I should check to see if he's there.

In Olashore's main sitting room (the first one you enter when you come into the house) are a number of large photos, several of which are presumably of his father, as the man has on a beaded cap saying oba Aloko (village must be Aloko rather than Iloko asI thought.)

I left his house around 6:30 PM.

Notes12

Fieldnotes Osu, Saturday Nov. 10

On the way back from Ijebu-jesa early Saturday afternoon, I stopped in Osu, to see if Ayoola was around. I was told that he had gone out but that his wife was at home, so I saw her, and after a minute she remembered me, and remembered that they had visited me in Lagos. She said that her husband was at a local festival at the town hall. I said I could come back in the evening, that it would probably be after 7 PM. She said he should be here then.

So I stopped at his house on my way back from Ijebu-jesa in the evening. There were several other people in the room when I got there--his wife, a woman who he introduced as his sister (and who remembered me from my visits to his mother), and two men one of whom was introduced as a member of the local council. Ayoola said that he had been out at the town hall in the afternoon for a local festival that they call the salt festival (iyo), which relates to a story about the importance of salt in the history of Osu. He said that the festival has been taking place for about 12 years.

Most of our conversation was fairly general, but I told him about my research and what I'm interested in. He said that he's now on the council for Osu, and that he comes there every weekend and usually sometime during the week as well. He brought up the subject of the role of women in development and seemed to be somewhat critical of current efforts such as Better Life, saying why should someone be in charge of a program just because she is the governor's wife. We discussed having positions reserved specially for women, and I mentioned his mother's position in Ilesa. His comment was that she didnt act just in terms of women, but rather in terms of the whole community, that she insisted on representing the community, and in fact the current Owa was a little afraid of her because she took such strong positions--but they werent because she was a woman but because of her concern about the community.

He and the others there also were discussing politics a bit, and indicated that they were involved in SDP.

The loja of Osu came to see him, and after a few minutes they went off together to another room. I then spoke with him briefly saying I'd like to come back another time, and we agreed on next Saturday afternoon.

While I was there, Ayoola's sister mentioned the photograph I'd given theire mother years ago, and also asked if I had seen Remi Agunlejika, the olori. She said she lives near her at Ishokun, but that Agunlejika is still working at the multipurpose center on Ijebu-jesa road and that during the week I could find her there.

In Ayoola's sitting room are a number of photos, including one of his mother with some other people.

Notes13

Fieldnotes, Ilesa, Sun. Nov. 10

I went to Ilesa Sunday afternoon, primarily to check with Kunle about the additional forms needed for immigration, to get my re-entry permit. He told me that on Saturday he had gone to Oshogbo for a meeting with the governor, or military administrator, of Osun State. He said that the governor had asked for the meeting, that he had said he had heard about their group. Four people went--Kunle, Kayode Esho, Fadahunsi (don't know which Fadahunsi) and Lawrence Omole. He said they also tried to find Paulina Makinwa, to ask her to go with them, but didn't know how to contact her. They wanted two women--he mentioned the name of the other one, but I don't know her; both are women from Ilesa who are not based here. He said they didnt want it to be all men, but they wanted women who are not based here. He said that the conversation with the governor was quite general, they werent there to ask for anything in particular.

While I was still there, a woman came to bring a wedding invitation. After a while, Kunle introduced her, saying to her that I've been talking with her brother; it turns out that she is Olashore's sister (same father but not same mother). She is a nursing sister at Wesley Guild Hospital. After she left, Kunle said that that is the first time she has visited Tinu, altho she has attended meetings at their house, she's never visited.

When I left Ifaturoti's, I said that I was going to stop at Akinola's. Kunle asked me to bring something to Mr. Akinola; it was a rather thick envelope.

When I got to Akinola's, I visited with both Mobo and her husband who were both in the airconditioned sitting room; he was surrounded by papers, and she said she was thinking of starting to mark exams. After I gave him the envelope from Kunle and he had looked at it, he said that there's a meeting on Saturday at 4 Pm, but that he won't be able to attend becuase he has something else to do. It became apparent that the envelope contained a notice of a meeting of the Ijesa Solidarity Group, and that led to a discussion between him and me about the group, his involvement in it, and efforts toward development in Ilesa. We also got into a bit of a disucssion about the involvement of women in such efforts.

I first asked him if he's involved in the group, and he said yes, he has to be involved. He said that they have to work together, that there's too much of a tendency to do things as individuals. He went on to say the same thing that several others have said recently--that government can't do everything. In his view, government should provide infrastructure, the private sector should do the rest. But he pointed out that government isn't even able to do that now, that basic things such as water, light, telephones are not provided. I asked about water supply for his house; he said that he has his own water supply, because he has his own bore hole, and he has his own power generator--but that not everyone can afford these things, and they ought to be available to everyone. He also mentioned roads as another thing which should be provided by govt.

He feels that the group is important both to help to provide things that the government isnt providing, and as a lobby organization to get things from government. I asked how decisions would be made about what to spend money on, and he said that they have committees that are set up to recommend what they should do. He said that in his own view the most important thing is industry, and he went on to talk about cottage industry, pointing out that there's surplus labor so it's not necessary to start with a big capital-intensive enterprise, but rather a labor-intensive set-up. He said not everyone agrees with him, that some want to start very big, but that he feels that it's better to start smaller. He mentioned his own company--Supreme Oil Industry--which he said has about 50 employees. He thinks that industry has to be set up by private sector, that governemtn industries dont work, usually fail.

He agreed with me that not everyone has the same ideas, that while he thinks industry is most important, others may want to spend money on building large things--he mentioned the building of town halls as an example. But he doesnt view this as a worthwhile expenditure of money.

Altho he mentioned that he thinks the group also has to be a lobby, to get things from government he didnt really elaborate on that.

We got into a discussion of the role of women in this and similar organizations. I asked Mobo if she's involved, she said no, she hasn't been asked. I asked if that meant they don't want women's participation; her husband said there are some women members of the group, but of those who were invited hardly any came, and most didnt come to the second meeting. His view is that even if women are asked, they won't come, that they won't take time away from their families, and that it wouldnt be good for husband and wife from same family to both spend time on this and be away from the family. Mobo countered by saying that the only women whose participation they want is those women who have become men, who are strong timber; I asked what she meant and she said those who have made a name for themselves independently, not people like her who are resident in the town. She said that women are asked to participate only after the decisions are made; that first the men make the decisions and then they ask women to help them.

The discussion also got on to the subject of how women's roles have changed, and how according to Akin, women are more directly involved in discussions and decisions now than in the past. He said that what Mobo was describing was true in the past and for some people like farmers today, but not true in a household like theirs. He compared her mother's household, saying her mother wouldnt have been there, sitting and offering her views along with the men.

Akinola also talked a bit of the involvement of people like himself who are resident in the town, as opposed to those who are not. He expressed the view that someone like him ends up being asked to do more, to be on several committees, for example, because they are there. He implied that he himself is on several committees of Ijesa Solidarity Group, but didnt specify them.

On other subjects, I mentioned that I had been in Ijebu-jesa, and Mobo said she thought she saw me there last Saturday; she was there for Ijebu-jesa Day because she knew one of the people being installed as a chief.

notes14

Fieldnotes Ilesa Thurs. Nov. 14

I went to Ilesa primarily to go to immigration, to get my re-entry permit. But I thought that while there I would do a couple of other things.

I first went to look for Remi Agunlejika at the place she works--the multi-purpose center on the Ijebu-jesa Rd. I was told that she's working this month at Ife. The two women there told me that she might be at the Town Hall today, as there's some kind of Better Life program going on. They also gave me directions to her house, which is near the Beehive Hotel off the Oshogbo Rd.

I then went to the area of the palace and town hall, to walk around a bit, and also stopped to see what was going on at the town hall. There was a bus outside indicated Better Life program for Osun State, and according to the program that a policeman showed me, the governor's wife was there. I didnt stay around long.

The town hall area is now fenced off from the market, and the market has been expanded up to that area. What was the evening market does not seem to be in use, but may be it still is in the evening.

There was a poster on the wall at the entrance to the palace, announcing Ifewara Day on Saturday Nov. 16, that a N5 million fund was to be launched and giving names of the key people.

There was also an announcement in one of the newspapers this week of Ijeda Day on Saturday Nov. 16 as well.

Notes 15

Fieldnotes Fri. Nov. 15--Ijebu-jesa

Mrs. Fatiregun had said I should come to her house around 3:30 PM, which I did. I was told that she had gone out, and the young man who told me that offered to go to where she was with Bodunde. They went and came back and told me that she was at an engagmenet ceremony and that she would soon come back. After a while, she appeared and asked if I wanted to go to the ceremony with her. We went there; it was being held at a house not far away. There were actually two ceremonies--the introduction and the engagement and we got there while introduction was still going on.

When I arrived there, a woman came up to me, who turned out to be Remi Fakeye; she was also attending the engagement. But I didnt talk to her because Mrs. Fatiregun seemed in a hurry to get in to our seats in the front of the compound.

A group of women were seated at a table, and we sat on seats to their immediate left. The women at the table were the representatives for the bride, headed by a woman Mrs. F. had introduced me to at Ijebu-jesa Day, Mrs. Oni, who I think is a retired teacher. Mrs. F. had introduced her to me as "my mommy in Ijebu-jesa", I think meaning the one who represented her when she got married. Later I was told by a woman who I drove to Ilesa and who was part of Mrs. Oni's group that she does this--representing women when they marry--as a business and the group of women with her are trained in what they say and do. The same was apparently true for the group representing the man's family, that was headed by a woman who seemed to be quite good as an actress. The two groups went thru a lengthy routine, first for the introduction and then for the engagement. One part of the engagement involved questioning the men's representatives on where they were from--whether from Ijebu-jesa or somewhere else; they answered Ijebu-jesa. This led to songs about Ijebu-jesa.

A large part of the engagement involved a variety of gifts--yams, a goat (tied in ribbon), honey, salt, kola nuts, etc. Each gift was described and displayed, and its importance described.

We stayed til about 7:30 PM, by which time Mrs. F. said she was tired and seemed anxious to go, and it wasn't clear when things would end, so she told them that I still had to drive to Ife.

Before we left Ijebu-jesa, Mrs. F. took me to see where Tunde Olashore lives, and the guards there said they expected him that evening, so we agreed that I would come back early the next morning and she would take me to meet him before she left for a wedding she had to go to.

notes16

Fieldnotes Ijebu-jesa Sat. Nov. 16

I went to Ijebu-jesa from Ilesa early in the morning and got to Mrs. Fatiregun's house at about 8 AM. We went to Tunde Olashore's house, which is at the same end of town as his brother's, but on a road off the main road. No one was around, and she finally found someone at a nearby house who said that he hadnt come the previous evening.

We also stopped at Dele Olashore's house, and were told by the guards there that he hadn't come either, but that they were expecting him today.

Notes 17

Fieldnotes Sat. Nov. 16--Ilesa

I stayed overnight at the Akinola's on Friday nite, but didnt see either of them when I got back from Ijebu-jesa at about 8 PM. Their steward told me that she was at the "second house"--another family house nearby--and offered to get her for me, but I said it wasnt necessary. In the morning I saw both Akin and Mobo Akinola, and learned that they were preparing for a ceremony for her sister and brother-in-law, who were to be installed as chiefs in Ile-Oluji. I saw Akin only briefly, but when I saw Mobo, she told me she was sorry she didnt know I was around the night before, as she would have brought me to her sister's house, that her whole family was around. She said that her sister and brother-in-law were being installed as chiefs in something similar to what went on in Ijebu-jesa the other day. They, and a number of other women who were around the house, were about to leave for Ile-Oluji; she said they would be back around 3 in the afternoon and would have a family party that evening. I explained that I was going to Osu but would try to get back for the party (I didnt).

I also spoke briefly with Kunle Ifaturoti about my research, asking him about people I should talk with. He mentioned Ilesanmi and another person, as people who lived away for a long time but then came back to Ilesa and are involved in things there.

Notes18

Fieldnotes Sat. Nov. 16, Osu

I got to Osu at around 2 in the afternoon, and saw Ayoola, as planned. He said he had arrived at his house about an hour before, from Lagos, and that he was just going to stay for a few hours, and then head back to Lagos, leaving at around 3; he said that he has some harvest ceremonies to attend on Sunday in Lagos, so couldnt stay overnight. He said that he always comes at least during the day on Saturday, to check on things in the town, and sometimes he comes mid-week as well, although this week he just sent someone to check. He said that if there were phones, he wouldnt need to come so often. But he likes to be in touch, doesnt like to feel that something might happen without his knowing about it.

This initial conversation led to my asking about his being on the local council, which he had mentioned last week. He is on the local government council; he explained that there are 14 wards in the local government area and he represents one of them. The lga of course includes much more than Osu itself; for example, Ifewara is also in this local govt. I asked what got him interested in being on the council, and he said that actually he wasn't interested, but that he was asked to do it. He's been on the council for 4-5 years, first it was an appointed position, but now it's elected (the elections were in Dec. 1990). I asked about the kinds of things the council does, and he implied that there isnt all that much, that it's involved in things dealing with local infrastructure such as roads, water. But he said that actually if he wants to get something done in the town, he has done it by providing his own funds, not by going thru the council. He said for example that he's provided funds for roads (or road repair?). He also said that the previous head of the council was more responsive to his suggestions, but now that it's an elected position this person sees himself as the "president" or executive and isn't that interested in the suggestions of others. He also commented that most of the representatives on the council are "young boys"; he said that there is an education requirement to be elected for local govt council, and therefore most older people in communities such as theirs arent eligible. That on the previous council there were some people like a gynecologist from Ifewara but now they arent on the council any more.

He said that what he's really interested in is the town, and what he can do for the town. The organization that he's most involved in therefore isnt the council, but the Osu Development Council, of which he's the president. He said that this organization has the involvement of elders and of others in the town, that there is no formal membership so anyone can participate who is interested.

I asked him about the festival that took place last week. He said it was started in about 1976, that the goal was to get people from the town to come home at least once a year, but that it hasnt worked that well. They originally wanted to have it on New Years Day, but new years isnt always on a Saturday, and if it isn't then it's hard for people to come home. He went on to explain how in the past there were religious festivals that brought people home, but that now they dont participate much in those, so

this is non-religious, seeking to involve everyone. He mentioned that there are 23 churches in Osu.

I asked him about the loja of Osu. He explained that while the title loja is still used, now they are calling him the Olosu of Osu, because they feel this should be the proper title. He went on to explain a little about the history of Osu, saying that originally there were just a number of different hamlets--14 wards or quarters to the town. They didnt form one town, but during the Yoruba wars of the 19th century they were always being attacked and having trouble defending themselves. So the owa of Ilesa recommended to them that they should join together to defend themselves, and they asked the Owa to appoint someone to lead them--this was the loja. But now they don't feel that they should be under Ilesa and the Owa any more, and that's why they're using the title of Olosu. And that he uses this title when he is talking to the current Owa, who doesnt say anything when he does. He said that he knows the current Owa very well, because his (Ayoola's) father helped to pay for the education of the Owa and his brothers, so they grew up like brothers; when he is with him in public, he treats him like the Owa, but in private, like a brother.

He also talked a bit about his visits home. In addition to saying that he nearly always comes home on weekends and sometimes mid-week, he also mentioned that he will be home at Christmas and also during the census that is coming up in a couple of weeks.

After we had talked for a while, lunch was ready and we joined him for lunch, along with an older man who was there but I didnt find out who the other man was. While we were eating, Ayoola offered to help me with my research, and I said that I would like to talk with him more about the Osu Development Council and also meet with others involved. He then offered to set up a meeting with some key people, to introduce me, and indicated that he wanted to include some women in that meeting. Before I left, we agreed that the meeting would be next Saturday afternoon.

While we were eating the loja arrived and sat in the sitting room area that adjoins the dining area. Then when we finished eating we went back to the sitting room; Ayoola introduced me, explaining about my research--he told the loja that I am doing work on rural development, which is probably as good a gloss on what I'm doing as anything else.

I left soon after, since presumably the loja wanted to talk with him, and he had said he wanted to leave for Lagos around 3, and it was already 3.

notes19

Fieldnotes--general observation re. weekends, Nov. 20

1. vehicle flow
Over the past several weeks, as I've been driving around on weekends, it's been obvious that there is a much heavier flow of vehicles, for example between Ife and Ilesa at times like Saturday afternoon. And one Saturday, when we left Ilesa, there was a traffic jam at the roundabout.

Also, one frequently sees vehicles--especially the danfo buses--with obituary posters on them, indicating that they're transporting people to a funeral.

2. ceremonies
This past weekend when I was in Ilesa, it seemed like everyone was going to some sort of ceremony. For example, when I saw Tinu Ifaturoti she said she had been to a wake-keeping on Friday evening. And Mrs. Fatiregun in Ijebu-jesa said she had two weddings to attend on Saturday, while the Akinola's were on their way to Ile Oluji for a chieftaincy installation. I commented to Tinu about all the ceremonies and asked if it was especially this time of year. She said, no, that all year round Saturday is a very busy day and there are all kinds of ceremonies going on--funerals, weddings, naming ceremonies, etc.

notes20

Fieldnotes, Thurs. Nov. 21, Ilesa, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti about Ijesa Solidarity Group

When I got to Ilesa, I wasn't feeling well (had not been feeling well all week) so Kunle first suggested I got to the doctor's, which I did--at Alpha. After that we went back to his house and I told him about my interest in learning more about the Ijesa Solidarity Group in relation to my research. He then talked for about 45 minutes about the organization, its goals and objectives, etc.

Before that, when I first got to the house, he showed me the membership forms he has received back so far (the questionnaire form that he gave to Paulina Makinwa) and the beginning of a draft for a newsletter. He said that they had decided that they really can't do anything now until after Christmas, but that there should be a newsletter, which will appear four times a year and contain information on the organization and Ijesa events. He also showed me the card file he is setting up, recording information on those who have sent back the questionnaire; he is cross-referencing the names by occupation and other characteristics such as age. Later, during our discussion, he looked through the cards to see how many of the members are from within Ilesa and how many from other Ijesa towns; out of about 25 who he counted, 20 are from Ilesa, 2 from Atakumosa l.g., 2 from Ibokun, and one from OriAde. He said that they have received information from 200 people, which was their goal by Christmas. But it wasn't clear if 200 have sent in q uestionnaires, or if the 200 includes the names of people that have been submitted by others. He also explained that by cross-referencing by occupation, he can look for people with specific expertise, e.g., banking and finance. And the age of the person is useful to know, because people who are too old may not be able to do much.

I explained that I was interested in his comment the other day that this organization is different from others, and that of all the groups he's been associated with this is the one that he thinks most likely to succeed. He then got up and went and got about 6 file folders, containing different headings for different aspects of Ijesa Solidarity Group. He brought these back and sat down on a pouff on the floor near my chair, so that he could show me various items in them.

The first thing he showed me was a one-page statement on membership and on goals and objectives. Two types of members were described--individual and institutional--the latter to include companies, and other organizations and socieities. The goals and objectives statement had 3 parts--the first two described goals concerning the development of Ijesaland, while the third was more broad and general, concerning the integration of Ijesaland into the rest of Nigeria. Kunle said that this statmenet would appear in the first newsletter.

He elaborated on the goals in our conversation. He said that people have realized that government cannot do everything and that they must do things for themselves. And that because of the way Nigerian society is organized, people must start with their own community, the place where they have their

roots. But that Ijesa Solidarity Group is different from other groups because they don't see themselves as just concerned with Ijesaland. Rather, that is just their starting point, and they will work outward from there, to include Osun state, and ultimately the rest of Nigeria. Later in giving examples of activities to be carried out, he referred to the siting of cottage industries in various towns, and said that after trying things out in Ijesa towns, they would want to go elsewhere as well, to help others in other communities outside the region and outside the state.

He also said that in the past when Ijesas have been in a postition to influence events, they haven't done so with regard to getting benefits for Ilesa; rather they've done just the opposite, to show their concern with the broader society rather than just with their own area. He gave the example of Bola Ige, who while from Esa Oke did nothing for Ijesaland, and tried, according to Kunle, to take away the state college of education from Ilesa.

Kunle said that the idea behind the Ijesa Solidarity Group is that they start first with the development of Ijesaland, then the Yoruba area more generally, and then all of Nigeria.

He went on to explain the plans for administrative structure and financing the organization. He said that Kayode Eso has been asked to write a statement proposing the financing, but that since Eso has already described his ideas in response to the questionnaire he (Kunle) can give a pretty good idea of what Eso will propose. They will ask for a subscription from each member of N250 a year; if they have 1000 members this will be N25000. This money will be used for establishing a full-time office with fulltime staff (secretary). He anticipates that by early next year there will be a secretary, and then he won't be doing the type of record-keeping on membership that he is currently doing. He said that they have already identified a place that could be used as an office; the place identified is within Omole's compound. But he said if people don't like that, there is another place he knows about that they could easily get as an office.

He pointed out that no other organization has full-time staff or the funds to employ people. He gave the example of the Ijesa Progressive Union, which he said his brother heads (I think). He said recently his brother told him that he'd made a list of 10 key objectives, and that these are basically the same as the goals of Ijesa Solidarity Group. But that the Progressive Union has no way to actually try to carry out these goals. And furthermore, they (and other similar organizations) tend to be reactive, to react to problems after they occur rather than to try to forestall or anticipate them, and do things before hand.

Kunle also gave me a copy of a statement he wrote, on his "Thoughts on Employment of Executive Staff". In this he describes what he sees as the goals of the Ijesa Solidarity Group as well as the type of staff needed.

In addition to the money for full-time staff, they also anticipate asking each member for N1000 for development. From his description of this, it sounds like they essentially plan to set up a corporation (tho he called it a foundation) that would be profit-making, that people would contribute

towards or purchase shares in and presumably receive something back from. That this money would be the basis of investments in development activities.

He then went on to discuss the types of development activities they have in mind. First he said they want to develop cottage industries. He said that they want to send some people to Southeast Asia, as cottage industries are well developed there. I asked what type of industries they have in mind. He first mentioned things such as mat-making in places like Ipetu, finding ways to make that more mechanized. Then he mentioned candle-making, saying that they would make good quality candles, not like the ones currently available. He went on to say that all the industries would be based on local raw materials, for example the wax for candeles is available in Kaduna. He also said these would be sited in different towns in the Ijesa area, and later in other parts of Nigeria. He compared the group to the Odua Investment corporation, that was originally owned by western state and now by the various state governments, saying that Odua has a number of subsidiary companies.

He also emphasized food processing as a type of activity that would be important in the industries to be set up. He said they would also do things like help Akinola with his oil processing company; that while this is Akinola's and therefore separate they would try to find ways to help him, e.g. to get materials. He said that right now Akinola isnt doing very well with the oil production because he's trying to do everything himself, he doesnt want to trust anyone to run various aspects of it for him. That right now most of his money comes from contracts to supply others rather than from the production of vegetable oil.

Kunle also talked about the need for urban renewal, and focused on housing problems. He mentioned that there is houseing that was built by government on the Oshogbo road that has never been occupied. He thinks that the corporation that is formed could acquire and fix up this housing and make it available, and more generally could be involved in providing better housing in the city. He also talked about fixing up the old parts of the city, including chieftaincy land, and building structures for the chiefs but then using other portions of the land for income-generation, ie, rentals for banks, companies etc.

He also talked about the need to provide infrastructure, especialy water and electricity. I said that it might be difficult for a private organization to do this, but he went on to say that rural electrification should be possible. He gave the example of Erin, saying that the waterfalls there could be used both to generate electricity and for water supply for the communities in that area.

As we discussed the types of things he has in mind, I mentioned the formation of apparently other similar organizations in other communtieis and the raising of funds, such as Ijebu-jesa Day. I asked whether there are too many different groups competing for the money. Kunle said that what they are doing is quite different from what these other groups are doing. That they aren't having a launching; that Ijebu-jesa for example wanted to raise N25million, but what will happen to that money? And a lot

of it will be stolen before it's available for use, he said. I also mentioned the goals of building things like town halls and palaces, and he said, no, that's not what they want to do in their organization. Instead they will have investments from which they will earn money.

As we discussed the form of the organization and its activities, I mentioned various points--e.g., the importance of food processing industries; the interest of the Ford Foundation in community development foundations in the U.S. and how they are beginning to be interested in local-level development organizations here -- but emphasized that this is preliminary and at this point I think they're just interested in finding out about them. There were other possible things I could have said which I didnt--e.g., about having a lot of different objectives and trying to take on too many projects at once.

From what Kunle was saying, it seems that he sees this current period as an organization period, and that now nothing much is going to happen til after Christmas because people will be busy with Christmas, but he is planning the newsletter for before Christmas. He plans for the newsletter to appear 4 times a year.

Among the folders which Kunle showed me was one labelled "The Reason Why". He showed me several news clippings and a circular letter that were in that folder. The circular was from the Oshogbo Progressive Union, all about how they have to get things for Oshogbo now that they've got the state capital. One of the news clippings was about Egbaland and the need for development there.

Comment: From what I've heard from Kunle, and to a lesser extent from Akinola, it does seem as if this organization differs from others, in two ways--one, the structure and the idea of having paid professional staff and rather formal organization, and two, the types of activities they are talking about--especially the emphasis on generating economic activities such as cottage industries, rather than on building things like town halls and palaces.

notes21

Miscellaneous notes from period Nov. 22-Dec. 15 (written Dec. 20 1991)

This period was very broken up, for the following reasons:

1. my malaria--I started to not feel well Mon. Nov. 18, really didnt feel completely better til the week when Stockwell and Kaplan were here (wk of Dec. 9)

2. the census--three days when we were not allowed to go anywhere, Nov. 27, 28, 29, followed on Saturday Nov. 30 with environmental sanitation day, when we had to stay in til 10 AM

3. work on my paper for the Israel conference, which I began during the census and finished when in Lagos the weekend of Dec. 6

4. visit of Stockwell and Kaplan, which took a lot of time beforehand trying to get things organized, then I went to Lagos Thurs. Dec. 5, spent Friday doing things like going to USIS, and then the weekend waiting for their arrival on Sunday nite, Dec. 8, then a day with them in Lagos (Mon. Dec. 9) then the rest of that week fully occupied with them in Ife, including a party at my place, and back to ~~Ife~~ Lagos on Fri. Dec. 13 because travel was again banned during the governor election on Sat., then to the airport on Sat. Dec.14 to see them off. Finally returned to Ife Sun. PM.

Nevertheless, I did continue to check up on various people, and saw some, as follows:

1. Mrs. Fatiregun. I have looked for her several times, both in Ijebu-jesa and at the College of Education, but have not found her. Saw her husband the Saturday after the census; he said she had been a census official in Yola and hadnt returned yet.

2. Mr. Ayoola, Osu. We had an appointment for Sat. Nov. 23 for him to introduce me to people at a meeting. This never came off. First he wasnt there, then I sent a note to say I wasnt feeling well, he sent a note back saying he'd be there during the census, but when I went immediately after the environmental sanitation Sat. Nov. 30 I found out he hadnt been there. Have not been able to go back to check since then.

3. Tunde Olashore, Ijebu-jesa. I still havent met him. I check for him just after the census and was told he had been there and had just left to return to Ibadan.

Information obtained:

1. When I saw Mr. Fatiregun (while looking for his wife), I asked if Ijebu-Jesa Day had been a success. He said it had been, that they

collected N133,000 out of the N200,000 they were hoping for.

2. I stopped to see Mr. M.B. Ilesanmi in Ilesa, who Ifaturoti had suggested. We made appt for Mon. Dec. 16 (see other notes)

3. I stopped to see Onibonoje in Ijebu-jesa, who had been mentioned both by Mrs. Fatiregun and the oba of I-I. He was not too friendly at first but warmed up a bit after a while. He owns a big farm on the outskirts of I-I, en route to Esa Oke. He didnt want to give a specific appt, but told me the times he's available--Sun. in the morning after the early church service and in the late afternoon, Mon. and Wed.; he said Tues and Thurs are days when he sometimes goes elsewhere but that he's usually around. I said I'd come back to talk with him, but havent yet done so.

Notes22

Fieldnotes, interview of Chief M.B. Ilesanmi MOn. Dec. 16 1991

Kunle Ifaturoti had given me Ilesanmi's name, and also that of another man, as good people to talk to who have come back to Ilesa and done a lot there.

I first stopped to see him on Tues. Dec. 3, and made an appointment for the 16th. He had already heard about me from Kunle.

On the first time I met him I found him eating breakfast at his house which is behind the Atlanta Hotel, which he owns; it's on a road off the Ijebu-jesa rd., near Methodist High School. He was very pleased to see me, and welcomed me, he would have been prepared to be interviewed that day but I had an appointment in Ife and decided it would be better just to explain what I'm doing and come back another day.

When I explained what I'm doing, he said that Ifaturoti had mentioned Peel's book to him and said he had seen the book. He also said that he and the other man Kunle had mentioned are viewed as people who have done a lot for Ilesa. He offered to take me to meet the other man, but we decided to save that for the next visit.

I talked with him in the sitting room of his house. While we were talking two women came in (separately) and he introduced them as his wife and his junior wife. On my second visit he introduced me to his son-in-law who is a lecturere in fine arts at the College of Education. Other than that, there were few interruptions on either visit.

At the end of the first visit, he wrote out his name and address for me, and on the second visit gave me his phone number:

Chief Moses Bolabo Ilesanmi, Atlanta Hotel, CB11, Lejoka Abiola Avenue, Ilesa, Osun State, Nigeria. Telephone 036 461109.

On Dec. 16, Bodunde and I were served tea and then we proceeded to the interview. I told him that since I understood he had come back and done a lot for Ilesa, I would like to know about his life and what he did before he came back to Ilesa, as well as about his activities after he came back. He told me about his life, with relatively few interruptions or questions from me.

He began by saying that he was born in September 1923 in Ilesa, and that he is now 68 years old. He didnt go to school until he was 11 years old. His father was a farmer, he lived in Ilesa and went out to the farm in the morning; his farm was at Imo Hill. After his father's death, the family stopped farming there; the land did not belong to his father, but belonged to the Imo community, and his father got the land from the community.

He helped his father on the farm--to till, sow, and harvest. He doesnt know why his father didnt send him to school til he was 11 years old. But as a result he made rapid progress once he went to school. He was in primary school for 6 1/2 years. Then he went to Ilesa Grammar School; by

that time he was over 17 years old. When he went to Ilesa Grammar School, he did the best of all the students on the entrance exam and was admitted to Form II instead of Form I, so after five years there he left school at age 22, in 1945.

He said there were no employment opportunities in Ilesa then. Most of the people who finished secondary school had to leave for employment elsewhere, in Lagos or Ibadan. He went to Lagos.

He took the Cambridge School Certificate exam and passed in March 1946; he had passes in 5 subjects including math and english, and this entitled him to university admission in England (there was no university in Nigeria then). He got a letter of eligibility to Cambri8dge or London, but did not have the means to travel abroad or to further his education. So he went to look for a job. It was the end of World War 2, and it was difficult to get a job; there was competition from ex-soldiers.

In Nov. 1946 he got a job with the Post and Telegraph Dept., in the accounts section. Before he got the job, he lived with an uncle in Lagos who was a plank dealer and helped him; he would go to help him sell planks. He continued to live with the uncle for about 6 months after he got his job, then got his own accomodation; rent was relatively cheap then.

He worked in the accounts department, in different sections--records of deliveries, postal orders, telegraph, ect. He worked for P and T for about 4 years and left there in February 1951. He then joined United Africa Company (UAC).

Before he left P and T, he was the union secretary for the P&T Clerical Staff Union, and took part in trade union activities at the P&T. So when he joined UAC he was already experienced in union activities but he didnt get involved in union activities there right away.

He was a clerk at UAC. He got involved in helping to set up a consultative committee between UAC management and the workers; this was not a trade union job, but it had a lot to do with the welfare of the workers. By 1953, news of his activities with this committee went around UAC, and the workers elected him as head (check this**) of the UAC African Workers Union in Lagos. So he was again in trade union activities. He said that because of his earlier role with the consultative committee, the UAC management had a lot of respect for him, and thought he had good potential. Between 1953-55 there was no industrial dispute.

In March 1955 the government of Western Nigeria headed by Awolowo offered him a scholarship to study company secretaryship and accountancy in Britain. But UAC didnt want him to leave. They advised him not to take the scholarship and promoted him to Chief Clerk. Then they arranged for him to take courses and appointed him as management staff in 1957; he was appointed office manager and later administrative manager/sales manager. He worked in the motor vehicle division of UAC (I think he worked in this dept throughout his career there).

UAC arranged for him to visit Britain for six months in 1961. He went on a

management exchange and training program, in London and Cambridge; it was a course on industrial relations.

In the meantime, he explained that in 1959 he got involved in politics in Lagos. He said that "one of the political parties invited him to contest in local government election to the Lagos Town Council"; the party was the NCNC. He won the election and was a member of Lagos Town Council from Oct. 1959 thru Nov. 1961.

Then UAC said that he should transfer to Kano, and he was given a promotion. So he resigned his seat on the council to go to Kano; he was in Kano from Nov. 1961 to Dec. 1962 (need to check exactly when he was in Britain, presumably before that). He didnt come back to Lagos until after the elections of Oct. 1962 so he wasnt there to contest them; the implication in the way he said this was that UAC had purposely waited til after the election to send him back to Lagos, so he couldnt continue to be in party politics.

He said that after he came back to Lagos in Dec. 1962 he lost interest in partisan politics.

In Kano, he was Branch Manager of the UAC MOtors Division; he had 4 expatriate staff and 1 Nigerian working for him. When he came back to Lagos, he was the credit control manager for the motors division for all of Nigeria; he did this from 1963 to 1967.

In 1967 he decided to resign from UAC to set up his own business. He felt that people need to be prepared to take risks; he knew it was a risk to set up his own business. In March 1967 he resigned from UAC.

UAC was at that time involved in the car hire business. He had set up car hire within UAC. Therefore he went into the car hire business on his own in Lagos. He owned a fleet of cars and was hiring them out to potential customers. UAC gave up the car hire business and transferred it to him. He started with three cars that he bought from UAC, and he employed three drivers. He had an office on Balogun Square in Central Lagos.

By 1970 he had nine cars; three were given to one company on a contract hire basis (without drivers) and the other 6 had drivers. He said that there was a lot of good business then, especially during the civil war, taking foreign journalists to the war front. After the end of the civil war, his fleet continued to do well.

But by 1972-73, misfortune befell his business. He explained that there was a relation who he had helped to train as a mechanic and got him employment with UAC, he was on retainer to service the cars in the fleet, but he wasnt happy with Ilesanmi's properity. So he destroyed his business by putting salt in the engines of the cars and in the rear axle; the engines of all 6 cars were destroyed in one month. The man confessed to others that he wasnt happy with Ilesanmi's prosperity; the man has the same father as him, but different mothers.

So then he looked for salaried employment again. He began to work on Feb.

1 1975 for the Ibru Organization. Chief Michael Ibru was his colleague in UAC; by 1975 he had a chain of companies that was flourishing, including J. Mike Ltd. London. Ibru asked him to work in his motors division--Rutam Motors Ltd Division of Ibru Organization. He took over as administratvie manager from an expatriate. By 1979 Ibru asked him to be Acting General Manager of Rutam Motors; from 1979-81 the company prospered. They were involved in the sale and service of motor vehicles, Peugeot cars primarily, they were also the Rolls Royce agency in the country, and they also distributed Mercedes trucks. He was the General Manager until January 1982, then he was appointed Managing Director; he was the first employee to be appointed Managing Director. He was in that position from 1982 to Sept. 1987, when he retired.

All together he was away from home for 42 years. He came to Ilesa regularly during that time, especially after he reached managerial positions. He owned his first car by 1957, so he was mobile, and he came home from time to time. But the roads were bad so it wasnt good to travel regularly; he would come home about twice a year for the weekend. His parents were still in Ilesa; his father died in 1962, his mother in 1977.

He was involved in social activities in Ilesa and concerned with Ilesa affairs. He was the Assistant General Secretary for the Council of Ijesa Societies in Lagos in the 1940's and mid 1950'2--from 1947-55. He was also President of the Ilesa Grammar School Old Students Association in Lagos for 25 years, from 1955-80. (Kayode Eso took over as president in 1980). He was the secretary of the Ijesa Club for many years, and then vice president. And for 6-7 years he was on a committee based in Ilesa--the Ijesa Planning Council, which was formed to discuss progress--economic and commercial progress of Ilesa and Ijesaland. This was when Fadahunsi was Governor of W. Nigeria, since there was someone from Ilesa as governor, the committee worked closely with him.

He also belonged to two societies in Ilesa while he was in Lagos--the Ijesa Improvement Society, or Egbe Atunluse Ile Ijesa (which he explained is usually referred to by its Yoruba name). this society was founded in 1922, he has been a member for the past 24 years and became General Secretary in Nov. 1984 after his return to Ilesa. This organization founded two secondary schools--the Ilesa Grammar School in 1934 and Obokun High School in 1954.

The other society is the Ilesa Progressive Circle, which he said is an "elite club"; it has no Yoruba name. He is currently a member of the Executive Committee.

(He mentioned that Ifaturoti is a member of both organizations).

He said that both organizations discuss progress, peace and unity in Ijesaland. Their foremost objective is advancement in education, and also social and economic progress. He said that he has deliberately refrained from partisan politics, but that all other matters that affect the destiny of Ilesa and Ijesaland he takes a very active interest in.

I asked when he built his house in Ilesa. He said he built it in 1978,

then said that in Lagos there is a street in Surulere named after him, and he has a house there too. He said that he started building the hotel in Dec. 1981 after a visit to Atlanta Georgia. He spent two weeks there visiting his junior half brother (same mother, different father); his brother has been in the US a long time, and he tried to get him to come home. For sentimental reasons he named the hotel Atlanta after his visit there; he told his brother he would be the manager of the hotel if he came home. But the brother can only come on holidays; he has promised to visit in 1992. His daughter and other employees are runnign the hotel. (Daughter's husband is the one I met who teaches at College of Education).

He supervises the administration of the hotel. He hasnt started any other business since his return to Ilesa because he wants the hotel to succeed. He opened the hotel in Dec. 1985 before he came home. But it didnt make the desired impact between then and when he came home in 1987; there's been a lot of effort to see it grow, but it's not doing badly now. He focuses his attention on it.

But he said that problems arising from Ilesa and Ijesaland also take a lot of his time, that he is involved in efforts to resolve conflicts as well as to work for the social and economic progress of the area. He works with others on these efforts. I asked for examples and first he mentioned that they had succeeded in getting a Federal Technical College in Ilesa. They did this by talking to people in government, and also writing, but more talking than writing.

He also mentioned that there were problems in the College of Education, and that at one time things could have been very bad. They had to "jaw jaw" (talk) and were able to get the problems resolved; he did not specify the problems.

A third example is NEPA, an ever-recurring problem. He said that there is a committee that sits down to send a delegation to the NEPA manager; the chair of this committee is Chief Abiodun Lamikanra, who is the other person Ifaturoti suggested seeing; Lamikanra is the President of the Council of Ijesa Societies in Ilesa. (We discussed seeing Lamikanra and Ilesanmi told me that his sister died recently in Lagos, so we agreed that next Tues. would be a good day; Ilesanmi said that he can speak for Lamikanra, he didnt have to check with him first).

He also mentioned a subcommittee of the Ilesa Progressive Circle whihc is concerned with education--primary, secondary, and higher ed.

Ilesanmi told me that last year he and Lamikanra visited Lawrence Omole, and that Omole told them that "it's by divine grace that they retired when they did and came back home to help the progress of Ilesa and Ijesaland." He said that others retire and remain abroad but they came home. And others come home but they don't come out of their houses, they don't tell any one they're there.

I asked why he's so involved; he said that "Part of me all along loves to subscribe in social development efforts, to take a keen interest in these things."

He then said that he was invited to serve on the Police Community Relations Committee for the Ijesa Zone, and last week the area commander of the police told him that the Chair of the committee should be a civilian and that he should be the Chair. So he is now the Pro Tem Chairman; and the Vice Chair is the area commander of police.

I asked about issues in the community that he feels are important.

He first mentioned unity, that they aren't sufficiently united. This should include not just Ilesa but all of Ijesaland. They are seen as one people by others; he said that when there was discussion of the new state people in Ibadan were saying that Ijesa people shouldnt be part of Oyo State, and that they don't make any distinction whether one is from Ilesa or Esa Oke or wherever--they're all seen as Ijesa. So they should have common goals and aspirations.

I asked how they would get this unity. He said that must preach that they must be united. If people from outside see us as one people, no reason why we shouldnt see ourselves that way, and have common purpose and aspiration. If there's unity of purpose, progress will come in its wake. And if there's progress, there will be prosperity.

He said that Ifatoroti is also working hard for the unity of Ijesaland, that he's chair of a committee for the preservation of the history of the people--the Ekitiparapo committee. He then began to mention another organization, but stopped midway, so I said I already knew about it. Then he went on to talk about Ijesa Solidarity Group; he said that Omole is the patron, and Kunle is the chair. I asked if this new organization was different from the others, and he said yes, that "it's more of an elite organization" with a fair number of academics represented, also rich people, wealthy individuals. But in the other groups, such as Ilesa Progressive Circle, there is no barrier as to age, level of wealth; this is true also for the Egbe Atunluse. He also mentioned that the Council of Socieities includes representatives of the different societies.

I asked about women's involvement in these organizations. He said that the Ijesa Improvement Society is all men, but there is a Ijesa (Ladies) Improvement Society. In the council of societies there are two or three women's organizations represented. He said that the women are very active; that without them they may not be able to have achieved with they have. He then mentioned names of some specific women:

Chief Mrs. Thompson, is the President of the Ladies Improvement Society

Chief Mrs. H. O. Fajuyitan, she is second in rank to the head of the women (arise); I mentioned that I knew the late arise, Mrs. Ayoola, and he said that the present one is illiterate; and that Mrs. Fajuyitan is more educated than the former one. He said she is now quite old.

He said that he serves on the Advisory Committee of the School of Health Technology, and the Mrs. Fajuyitan is the Vice Chair of the committee.

As we were ending the interview, he began to tell me about conflicts between people in Ilesa. He said that there are conflicts between individuals that he and others are called on to help resolve. For example, conflict between the oba and the other chiefs; he and Lamrikanran and Omole tried to resolve them. Also between the oba and other obas of the district--he , Larikanran, Omole, and Chief Akimokun, an Ibadan industrialist who is from Ikeji-Ile, were invited to look at the causes of the dispute and they amicably resolved them. First the three of them--he, Lanrikanran and Akimokun tried to resolve the conflict, but they couldnt because of the Owa, then the Owa went to Omole, then the other obas asked the first three to be involved again.

I asked about his chieftaincy title. He said it's not a traditional chieftaincy, but that he was honored with a chieftaincy title by Owa Agunlejiika for his contribution to the progress of Ilesa and Ijesaldn, in 1981. Lamrikanran was honored at the same time. His title is Owamuwagun, meaning the oba adds to uprightness of one's manners, or the oba enhances one's manners.

He briefly discussed the Owa and what a good person Agunlejika was, and compared the present one unfavorably. I said I knew Agunlejika and how helpful he'd been to me. Ilesanmi also suggested that with regard to women, the olori Agunlejika is another person who is very active in the community; she is also on the School of Health Technology committee that he mentioned earlier. He said that even tho she's not from here she's very active.

We ended the interveiw after about 2 hours, and agreed that I would see him next Tues., when he will take me to meet Lamrikanran.

notes 23

fieldnotes Sun. Dec. 22

housewarming of Agbo Folarin's friend, Ilesa

Agbo Folarin told me that he had received two invitations to the house opening of a friend in Ilesa, and suggested I go with him as it's relevant to my research.

We had gone to Lagos for USIS party on Saturday, and by the time we made various stops on the way back from Lagos, we didnt get back to Ife til about 5 Pm. Then we left for Ilesa right away, and got to his friend's house at about 6.

The family name of the friend is Olajuyigbe. Agbo is a friend of the brother of the man who was opening the house; the brother is a teacher in Ife and Agbo has known him a long time. The brother with the new house is a motor parts dealer in Ilesa; we met him, but most of the time there was spent with Agbo's friend.

The family is from Efon Alaye, but the brother's business is in Ilesa, and the one who is based in Ife told me that he also goes to Ilesa regularly because his family is there, but he mentioned that Efon Alaye is his hometown. He said he would spend Christmas in Ilesa, since they were busy with the house opening.

The house is on the Ijebu-jesa Road, outside Ilesa, on the left hand side, one of the large houses I've noticed when driving by. Agbo's friend showed us around the house; it's very large. He took us upstairs where the main living areas are, and first showed us part of a self-contained unit in the back of the upstairs, with kitchen and bath. In the front is a large sitting room with a balcony looking out over a courtyard where the party was held, and with a view out to one of the hills. Other rooms are off of the sitting room.

We stayed until a little after 7 PM and then drove back to Ife.

notes 24

fieldnotes, Ilesa, Tues. Dec. 24, 1991

I went to Ilesa in the morning, getting there before 10 AM. I had made an appointment with Chief Ilesanmi to go with him to meet Chief Lamrikanra, but when we got to his house, we were told he had gone out. We were told that he went to check on their electricity, but a little later, when we saw Ifaturoti, we learned that there was a meeting of the Egbe Atunluse that he was attending.

We then went to Ifaturoti's house. While we were there, a man came to visit who was introduced by Kunle as Ambassador Fafawura (not sure of spelling), who had been Ambassador to the United Nations. As we talked a bit, it turned out that he was Deputy Permanent Rep when Maitama Sule was ambassador, in the early 1980's. The man looked to be in his forties, but he said that he had been in the diplomatic service for 20 years, and then left that to work for the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, so he is probably older than he looks. He said he is about to leave that position too, but did not say what he is going to do next. He lives in Lagos, and is from Ilesa.

When Fafuwura came in, Kunle said something to him about the meeting that they wanted him to attend, but that he wasnt interested in going to talk about things. That people get into public service and then get into trouble, and then they want people to rally around them, and he's not interested in that. That he told them he's not going out of his house today. Fafurwara obviously knew what he was referring to, but didnt say anything much. Later, when I mentioned Ilesanmi, I learned that the meeting Kunle was referring to was the Egbe Atunluse meeting. He said they wanted him to attend but he's not interested. He didnt say the subject of the meeting however. He did say that he knows Ilesanmi is there, because he is the secretary of the association, and that Fafuwara's father is the president.

I asked Fafawura if he is from Ilesa; he said he is, but that he never really lived here, he grew up in Lagos, studied at U.I. (he mentioned being classmates with Wande Abimbola, studying history), and then went to Oxford for his PhD. I think he has a house in Ilesa, however, since he mentioned that his phone isn't working, and later, his wife (see below) described to Mobo Akinola the location of the house, on the road between the express road and St Margaret's school.

When I left Ifaturoti's, I went to see Mrs. Akinola. Just after I got there, and before she came downstairs, another woman came in with several teenage children. When they greeted each other, it sounded like her name was also Fafawura, but I wasnt sure. When they left, tho, she mentioned having been in NY, and I asked what she was doing there, and she said her husband had been at the UN, so I told her that I had just met her husband at Ifaturoti's.

Shortly after Mrs. Fafwura left, another woman arrived, with a teenage daughter. She was introduced as Dr. Onibokun from U.I.; she is in the

Dept. of Early Childhood Education. I learned that she has recently arrived back from the U.S. where she was at Oakland University in Michigan, teaching while on sabbatical. She also told me that she had most of her education in the U.S.

She mentioned that she is staying in Iwoye, and told Mobo Akinola that her husband tells the children that they are not "omo Ilesa" but omo Iwoye. Mobo commented on that to me, saying that Iwoye is really a part of Ilesa, it's a village or farm of Ilesa (oko Ilesa), it's more part of Ilesa than Ijebu-jesa is. I realized that Dr. Onibokun is the wife of the Onibokun who used to be at NISER; the other day when I saw Paulina Makinwa in Ibadan she told me that she had to go to a funeral for Onibokun's mother in Iwoye this weekend. Dr (Mrs. Onibokun) also commented on the funeral to Mobo Akinola, saying that it's over now.

Dr. Onibokun told me that she is from Ilesa and that she and Mobo went to school together, first in Ede and then at Queens in Lagos. She calls Mobo "Sister Mobo".

Mobo was inviting everyone, including me, to an all-night party that nite; she said it would start at 8 or 9. I had already heard about the party from Tola Pearce, who told me that every year the Akinolas have a children's party Dec. 22 and then an adult part Dec. 24. Both Mrs. Fafawura and Dr. Onibokun said they would go. I said I would try to come, but wouldnt be able to stay up all night. Dr. Onibokun said I could come back with her to Iwoye; Mobo said she has a nice house in Iwoye.

Mobo said that most of the people who would attend the party were in Ilesa, but that Mrs. Odebiyi from Soc Dept at Ife would be coming.

Dr. Onibokun also gave me her address in Ibadan and asked me to visit; in fact she invited me to stay there when I'm in Ibadan. Yemi Onibokun, Institute of Education, University of Ibadan, Room 9, 311. Home: 5 Paul Hendrickse Rd., New Bodija (near new SS Peter and Paul Church).

I thought I might try to go back for the party, but felt very tired by the time I got back to Ife from Ilesa, so did not.

notes25

fieldnotes Thursday Dec. 26, 1991

I thought that today would be a good day to try to see people in Ijebu-jesa and Osu, since it's a holiday (Boxing Day) but it didnt work out that way.

I went first to Osu and stopped at Ayoola's house at about 11 AM. There was a different gate man there, who didnt recognize me. He also didnt speak much English. But he told me that Ayoola never came to Osu for Christmas; I asked if anyone else was around and he said only workers. I didnt bother to leave a note, but thought I might write to his Lagos work address (dont have home address in Lagos).

Then went to Ijebu-Jesa and decided to go first to see Mrs. Fatiregun. A young woman there told me that she and her husband had just gone out. I said I would leave a note, which I did along with a bottle of wine. While there someone pointed out that my tire was going flat, so I had to get that fixed. I also mentioned to the young woman who met me (probably one of Mr. Fatiregun's daughters) that I hoped to see Olashore; she said he's around because she had seen him yesterday.

From there I went to Olashore's house; by then it was about 1 Pm because I'd been delayed because of the tire. His gateman told me that he had gone out, at about 11 AM. So I left a note and my card.

I noticed in Ijebu-jesa two different groups along the road who seemed to be celebrating something--in each case a group of 10-15 people, mainly women, dressed is aso ebi and dancing in front of a house, with talking drummers playing. I saw one group again while waiting for the tire to be fixed, going along the road.

Also, in Ilesa on the way thru there to Ijebu-jesa there was a traffic jam and then umbrellas representing the oba and chiefs just past the mosque; I realized that it must have been the Iwude ceremony.

Finally I went to Ilesa to see Ifaturoti's; when I saw him the other day and left a gift for Tinu he said I should stop back today. When I got there I was told that they were both resting, but their daughter, Toun, went and got Kunle, who said he thought he had malaria; Tinu was sleeping and I didnt see her. Kunle said they'd had a nice ~~visit, that all the~~ Christmas children were there (tho I dont think all of them actually were, but I think the younger girls were; I only saw Toun).

I asked Kunle about the man I met with him the other day, and got the correct spelling of his name--Fafowora. He told me that Fafowora's father is the president of the Egbe Atunluse. Before, when he was general secretary, Kunle joined the organization and was put on a committee that the son was also on, and that's how he got to know him. I mentioned also meeting the wife the other day, and Kunle said he's never met her. He said that now Ilesanmi is the general secretary, having taking over that position when Fafowora senior became president. Kunle said that he's not active in the organization, but didnt elaborate on that.

I asked Kunle about the plans to prepare a document on Ijesa development for the Ijesa Solidarity Group, as we had discussed a while ago. He said that this had been his idea, to have a meeting in June 1992. But that others felt it would be better to get the organization solidly established first and make sure people are really interested in it. He said the council had decided they should first get an executive secretary; that the person presently acting as secretary isnt doing anything and they need a paid person. He said that some people they've talked to have expressed interest but havent actually joined; he said this is especially true of the women, and mentioned Paulina and another woman who lives in Lagos. I mentioned that Paulina had told me last week when I saw her in Ib adan that she wanted to know more about the group; his reaction was basically, what is there to know more about?

I also mentioned the development plans of Ara and Awe. He said what they have in mind is on a larger scale, not just focusing on Ilesa but on the whole state. But he said that the Osun State government had a workshop with a lot of papers presented in early December, focusing on the development of the state, so it seemed like they had already taken the idea and done it (tho he didnt say so he sounded a bit skeptical; and said that it seems like the state govt is trying to do everything at once.)

I didnt stay too long as he wasnt feeling well.

notes 26

fieldnotes on conversation in Ife with person from Ilesa, Richard Olaniyan's house,evening of dec. 26.

While I was visiting Olaniyan's in evening, a man came who was introduced as being in ag. economics dept. Shortly after that, the registrar arrived. There was then joking conversation in Yoruba between registrar, the man in ag econ and Richard, which was about the ag econ being from Ilesa, and something about osomaalo. Also jokes about Oshogbo and Ilesa; which was later translated by Agbo Folarin (who was also there) as being about the fact that the former oba of Oshogbo was from Ilesa and the present one from Oyo.

Notes 27

Fieldnotes, trip to Ilesa and Osu, Sat. March 7

I went to Ilesa in the morning to see Kunle Ifaturoti. The main concern of the visit was to check on housing, and we went together to see Kayode Eso to arrange for me to have a room in his house.

We also talked briefly about Ilesa Solidarity Group. He said that it hasn't been moving very quickly, that the problem is that the younger people involved seem not to have the time to spend on it. He said that Justice Eso feels they're too busy making money. He mentioned Akinola specifically; apparently he was given the responsiblity of being in charge of recruiting and hiring an executive secretary. Kunle says they have several very good applicants, one a man who is 53 years old with a wide range of experience, including in the US and India, and the other a somewhat older person who also seems very good. But that none of them have been interviewed for the job. He said that a meeting was scheduled for that evening, and that they were going to discuss the situation. He said that he had told them that he didn't want to be involved in the selection process, that he would work with whoever was selected; but it sounds as if he is changing his mind on the selection process. I said maybe if he'd done it it would be done by now, but then he said that since January he's hardly been at home because he was appointed to the election tribunal to hear cases resulting from the December elections. But now he's finished with that.

When we went to see Kayode Eso, he mentioned as we were leaving that there's going to be some sort of honor given him on the 22nd in Lagos, apparently by an Ilesa group there, he said something about a way of getting contributions. He told Kunle that he has two invitations, one for him and one for "Kunle", presumably Kunle Apara. Ifaturoti also mentioned something happening in Ilesa on the 18th, along similar lines, but didn't go into details.

In Osu, on the way home I stopped at Ayoola's house, but was told by the gateman that he hadn't come from Lagos. I came back about 12:30 on Sunday and was told that he never came, but that someone came with a message from Lagos, so he sent my note back with the driver.

Notes 28

Fieldnotes Tues., March 10. Visits with Chief Ilesanmi and Chief Lamikanra, Ilesa

I arrived at Cief Ilesanmi's house at about 9:30 in the morning. He greeted me warmly, coming to the door himself, and explained that he was just getting out of the bath; he was wearing a wrapper. We chatted for a few minutes, then his wife appeared and greeted me, then he left to get dressed while Bodunde and I sat in the sitting room. There was an older woman already sitting there, and she was joined in a few minutes by another woman, both of them probably in their sixties or seventies. Later when Ilesanmi came back he introduced them as his sister and his auntie.

While in the sitting room I had a chance to observe the decor: the room has the usual heavily upholstered overstuffed furniture, with a table in the center and a set of shelves at one end, with various decorations on it. The upper portion of the walls are filled with large photographs, including one that is obviously a younger Ilesanmi. One of the end tables had dishes with food, and when Ilesanmi came back he said that he wanted to eat his breakfast.

While sitting there, I heard the phone being dialed and could hear Ilesanmi talking with someone. When he came back in the room he said that he had telephoned Chief Lamikanra and was going to ask his driver to lead us to Lamikanra's place, since he himself wanted to eat breakfast before going out.

He also told me that, if Lamikanra doesn't mention it, I should ask him to tell me about the plans for the merit awards, being planned by the Council of Ijesa Societies of which Lamikanra is President and he is Vice President. He said that they have tentatively set April 18 as the date for these awards, that awards will be given to people who have done a lot for Ilesa. He went on to say that he and Lamikanra represent the Ijesa Progressive Circle in the Council of Ijesa Societies, not the Egbe Atunluse; the latter organization is not a member of the Council. I asked how many organizations are members; he said that there should be 32 organizations, but at the moment there are 15 that are members. He also went on to say that the Egbe Atunluse will be 70 years old this year, and that they are planning a celebration in early June. He said I would be invited to that as well as to the merit awards.

He then asked his driver to take us to Lamikanra's house; the house is on Olaitan Avenue, which is the continuation of the new road that Nike's parents' house is on; the road goes in the direction of Imo hill, running parallel with Okesha street. The house is quite new, and very large.

Chief Lamikanra was waiting in the sitting room. He appears to be a bit younger than Ilesanmi, possibly in his early 60's. I explained briefly what I am interested in (he said that Ilesanmi had told him a little about it), and said I could either talk with him now or come back at some convenient time. He first said that he was available then, but about five minutes later a man appeared at the door and came in and sat down, and soon

after that three other men appeared, one of whom was fairly young (40's), the others older. I was introduced only to the first arrival--I was told that he is "one of our chiefs" (no name was given).

Before these men arrived, Lamikanra started speaking in broad generalities about his view of Ilesa. He said that in his opinion Ilesa is a "big village", with the emphasis on village. He then went on to say that there are a few people like himself, Ilesanmi, Ifaturoti, but the majority of people are not very advanced, not very educated. He said that you try to do things for the community, but that you can't get too far ahead of what others in the community want. That you have to go along with what they want. He said that he thinks he has been mostly pushed into doing things here. He said that he returned to Ilesa 11 years ago, and Ilesanmi returned full time four years ago.

It was at this point that the men began arriving. They chatted among themselves and with Lamikanra briefly, referring to a meeting that took place yesterday and to the fact that there were quite a few women there, and talked about the nominations. But I don't know what the meeting was.

Lamikanra then left the meeting and went into another room, with a man who had come to repair the telephone (he arrived at the same time as the others). Then he came back to me and asked if we could move into another room, so I followed him into what is a study or office; it had a desk and bookshelves (with books) and the airconditioner was on; it was however quite dusty as if it hadn't been used much recently. I suggested that I come back another time, and he said, yes, this meeting (with the men who had arrived) was scheduled for this time, but asked me to have coffee first, saying he had some very good coffee. I said that I don't drink coffee but would be happy to have tea. He left the room again, came back and talked a bit, and then went back and forth several times while tea and small cakes were brought to Bodunde and me.

During that time, I learned a bit more about him. He talked about having been at the Center for Management Studies. I then asked if he had been in business, and he said, no, that is, he wasn't in business for himself, but rather was an employee for an oil company, a marketing company, and that he worked in personnel. He said that he worked for British Petroleum, which later became African Petroleum. He also mentioned that he had studied economic history, and retains an interest in that.

He asked where I live in Ife, and told me that his son is a lecturer in pharmacy, living on road 2. I said I'd like to meet him sometime. When I finished my tea, I said I should go, and made an appointment with him to come back next Monday morning. Before I left, his wife came in and I was introduced to her; she too mentioned their son in Ife and said that they were just there the day before.

Decor in Lamikanra's house seems quite different from that of most Yoruba houses. There is still the overstuffed furniture in the very large main sitting room. But it is not as densely furnished as most houses. And there are no photographs on the wall. Instead, there are a number of framed pictures of flowers--they look like prints, the sort one finds in a book on flowers, and are quite attractive. Also in the study, there were several more such pictures, and again no photos of the sort seen in just about every house.

notes 29

Fieldnotes, Tues. March 10, visit to Osun State College of Education, Ilesa

I stopped at the College before leaving Ilesa, after seeing Chiefs Ilesanmi and Lamikanra. I first checked for Mrs. Fatiregun, met her office mate and was told she had gone out. I left a note saying I would check her this weekend.

Then I went to find the Acting Provost, Omoni, who Olaniyan had told me about, to ask if I could borrow a copy of his thesis, which deals with improvement societies in Ilesa and Ife. He said he's not sure he can locate it and that I should check with Olaniyan, who should have a copy; I said if Olaniyan doesn't I'll check back with him in a couple of weeks.

notes30

Thursday March 12, conversation with Remi Fakeye

I went to see Remi Fakeye at about 8 PM, as I had promised I would. I stayed for about an hour, during which time she told me a little about her job and showed me a video of her in a performance of a dance/drama in Ibadan. She's an actress, and works as a cultural officer for Osun state. She's just been relocated to Ilesa and will be there a couple of days a week; she's responsible for an area which includes Ilesa local govt; Atakumosa l.g. (Osu); Ori Ade l.g. (Ijebu-jesa) and Obokun l.g. (Ibokun). I told her that I'm doing my research in Osu and Ilesa as well as Ijebu jesa, and since I'd just talked with Feyisitan about doing surveys, mentioned that I will probably want to meet people in the local govt. She said that she'll be going to Ijebu-jesa on Wed. to see local govt head and offered to have me come with her, but I have to go to Ibadan that day.

I said that I plan to go to Ijebu-jesa this weekend, but she said she wouldnt go this weekend because Bruce Haight is leaving Monday. I asked her about her brother; he owns the Country Motel on the main Ijebu-jesa rd; she told me his name--Alhaji something--but I didn't get it. I said I'd like to meet him sometime. She said he was active in the Ijebu-jesa day activities, and I mentioned my photos from that event.

I said I'd check back in about a week to see when she is going to Ijebu-jesa again.

notes31

Ilesa, Friday March 13, brief visit with Mrs. Akinola

I stopped to see Mrs. Akinola before leaving Ilesa this morning. It was about 11 AM, she was having breakfast, said she'd been grading papers and taking it easy this morning. We mainly talked about the university, but while we were talking a man came in to check with her on something. After he left, she explained that he is supervising the building of a new church that they are building as a memorial to her father. I had noticed a sign and some indication of recent activity at the corner lot just before her house. The family is building a Methodist Church there; she said this is what her father wanted. She said that her father was very active in the Methodist Church, and her mother even more so, and that the church helped her when she went overseas, she stayed in residence halls belonging to the church.

She also said that my room in her house would again be available for me to use.

notes~~1~~ 32

Fieldnotes Saturday March 14, visit with Olori Remi Agunlejika

I got to the Olori's house before 9 in the morning; the address is "Yora Court"m Sarumi Lane, off Biblari Avenue, OkeOmi Rd, Ilesa; phone 036-460885. There are signs to Beehive Hotel and Stella Daycare; the latter is located in her compound, and is hers apparently.

She seemed very pleased to see me and greeted me warmly. We sat in her sitting room and talked about a variety of things. I explained why I hadn't gotten back to see her in Nov. (when I had left her a note). She offered me tea and busied herself for about ten minutes going between the sitting room and the dining room and kitchen, while she prepared the tea; while she did that we talked. She was still dressed in a nightgown, or bathrobe so I apologized for coming so early, but she said she was just relaxing because she didnt plan to go out, that she had just been thinking that visitors would have to come to her today.

The sitting room is decorated with lots of photos both of her and of Owa Agunlejika, both together and separately. There is also a memorial plaque of some kind for the Owa. She told me that they had had the memorial for the tenth anniversary of his death last September 26, 1991, and was sorry that I had not been here for that. But she said that her daughter is getting married next September, on the same date, and that the formal letter of proposal will be given on April 26, and that she would like me to attend. I said I would and wrote it in my calendar. She showed me the draft of the letter of acceptance of the proposal, and the program for the event, which will be at noon that day. The daughter's name is given as Princess Stella Adebimpe Oyinade Agunlejika.

She told me about her other children; the oldest, a boy is doing Youth Corps, and the other daughter is studying English at Ife; before I left she gave me her daughter's residence hall and I said I would look for her this week; she is Princess Folasade Agunlejika. The younger son is studying for his JAMB and WAEC exams.

After she sat down to the tea, she asked me about my current project. I told her about my research,and she offered to help. I said that she may be able to help, and explained that I plan to do a survey and may be looking for people to help with interviewing, and perhaps she could help with people thru her job. I also said that I would probably like to interview her about herself and her husband's activities in Ilesa. She said that she would like to help, because she wants to immortalize her husband's name in Ilesa. Also she indicated that she plans to continue being active in Ilesa activities, and later mentioned contacting international agencies; she pointed out that she came to Ilesa originally to work for an international agency (Save the Children at that time owned what came to be the multipurpose center, which is now under OAU Teaching Hospital; she said they're now doing primary health care).

When I described what I am doing and mentioned speaking to people who have come back to Ilesa, she immediately mentioned Chief Lamikanra, and Chief

Ilesanmi. I said that Ilesanmi had also told me about some women who are active, but she seemed a bit puzzled and didnt suggest any names.

We talked about her husband, the Owa, and also about the Arise and she offered some contrasts between them and the present people in those positions. She said that the Arise is not a literate person, and not as intelligent as Arise Ayoola, and not as interested in things. I said I had met her once, and that I'd also once gone to see Owa Aromolarun. She said how much she misses the late Arise. I asked if it's important to see someone like the Owa for my research and she indicated that she didnt think so.

I told her about talking with the Arise's son in Osu. She said that his involvement in Osu was part of his mother's plan for him; that he was in Lagos for many years, and then she got the chief there to make him a chief, and after that he built his place--which she pointed out is very large, and she said she thinks he has workshops there--and became active in the community.

I stayed for about an hour or a little longer, and said I'd be back to see her again in a couple of weeks. She said that she's generally at home in the evenings, after about 4PM and on weekends, otherwise to find her in the office. I told her about having a place to stay at Eso's, which is really just around the corner from her place.

Fieldnotes, Sat. March 14, visit with Mrs. Fatiregun, Ijebu=jesa.

I got to her house at about 10:45; she said she was about to leave me a note to say she was going to the market. She said that they're having something tomorrow, for the anniversary of her husband's father's death so she has to buy a goat and other things.

We talked for a few minutes before she went out. She told me that at the time I had looked for her in December she had had to go home, because her father died. And then in January she had surgery, and has just returned to work March 9. She said that she just wrote to me in the US telling me all this, just before getting my note the other day saying I'm back.

She mentioned Olashore, said he'd been asking her when I would come back; that he left for London on MOnday, but will just be gone a week. She also said that Tunde Olashore was sorry he had missed me, and that she'll check with him as to when I can see him. She suggested I come one evening and go with her to look for Onibonoje, so we agreed on this coming Thursday about 4 PM. I also told her that I have the photos from Ijebu-Jesa day that I'd like to look at with her. I told her about having a place to stay in Ilesa, and she said she's hoping I'll stay in Ijebu-jesa sometime, with her.

notes ~~33~~ 34

Fieldnotes Sat. March 14, attempt to find Ayoola

On my way back to Ife I again looked for Ayoola, and was again told that he wasnt around. I asked if anyone else was there, and a young woman who works there came out. She said that he will be coming on Thurs March 19 at about 11 AM, and will be there til about 4 PM and then will return to Lagos the same day. I left a note saying I'd try to see him that afternoon, and asking for a Lagos phone number if I missed him.

Notes35

Fieldnotes35, Interview Monday March 16 with Chief Lamikanra

I got to Chief Lamikanra's house shortly after 10 AM; someone showed me in thru the back, and he was in his sitting room talking with a man, who left after just a couple of minutes. He then turned his attention to me, and for about the next two hours we talked with essentially no interruptions, except for his wife who came in to greet me, and then later on came to say she was going out. Towards the end of the two hours, someone brought me a soft drink and two hardboiled eggs.

We began by my telling him again a little about what I'm interested in, and saying that his name had been suggested to me as someone who had returned to Ilesa after many years away and who is involved in Ilesa activities. I said that I'm basically interested in knowing about his life, and also about organizations as I understand he's president of Council of Ijesa Societies. As it turned out, we only covered the first of these topics today.

He then started by saying that he was born about 72 years ago. His father was a trader and they moved about from place to place. He was born in Ilesa but he went with his father when he traded. His father was an osomaalo, selling cloth; as he put it, "the traditional trade was called osomaalo; we all had a part in it." His father also did some farming, and in addition he was a contractor for the railways. They were building the railway at that time, and they needed stones; his father had the contract to provide stones. He had laborers who did the actually work of cutting the stones; he also had others working on his farm.

He then told me a story about how he "remembers vividly" when in 1925 the Prince of Wales visited Nigeria. They were living at a place called Elubu Station, which is between Ilorin and Jebba. The Prince went to Jebba to see the statue of Mungo Park, and the Emir of Ilorin and other Emirs went to meet him. He remembers being taken and held up high so he could see the Emir of Ilorin.

He went to school in Elubu Station, but said something to the effect that at that time going to school was basically to get you out of the house and keep you out of trouble. Then he came to Ijebu-jesa where the stayed with an uncle who was a teacher; he mentioned the practice of sending a child to stay with an older relative. Then he came back to Ilesa and went to St. Johns School Iloro; he was about ten then. His mother was in Ilesa then but his father was still at Elubo Station. I asked what his mother did, and he responded,"she was a petty trader", in a sort of dismissive tone, as if it wasn't very important.

The depression in the early 1930's affected his father's work. His father came back home in 1933 to farm. He was in school until 1937, he passed the Standard 6 exam, and then went to teach in Inisa for three years. Then he was admitted to St. Andrews College, Oyo, for the teacher training course, which was a four year course. He said St. Andrews was like the university at that time, that people came there from all over the country. By that

time, the war had started; however, he didn't say anything else about the effects of the war.

He did go on to say that at that time he would go to Oyo either by train from Oshogbo to Ibadan and then to Oyo, or by lorry to Ibadan. It cost 1 shilling to go from Ilesa to Ibadan by lorry, and from Ibadan to Oyo it was 6 pence. St Andrews was a missionary college, he paid only L8 for four years there. Everything was provided--food, clothing, books, exercise books, etc. He said they had 3 sets of clothing--one for work, one for school and one for Sunday. The work clothes were for when they did farming; each student was responsible for cultivatin 1/10 of an acre, and helped provide food for the school. They practiced crop rotation and used the same plot for the 4 years they were there.

After four years there, he took the higher elementary exam; he finished in December 1944. At that time, one could get a job before you finished; since it was a missionary college they were sent to mission schools, to CMS schools. He went to Owo, where he taught primary school for six years.

He explained that at that time, there was one exam for teachers and that he passed that in 1950; he said that one could then "divert into the mainstream of education" by taking the matriculation exam of the University of London, which he did in 1949. With those two exams it meant he was considered a senior teacher, and for a brief period he was a supervisor of schools. He had forty schools under him, while still headmaster of his primary school. But after six years altogether in Owo, he asked for a transfer; he didn't want to continue at a primary school. He asked to be transferred to St. Andrews, and went back there as a tutor.

He then went on to say that by that time the University of Ibadan was open as well as the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology in Ibadan, but they were very competitive and in didn't get admission to University of Ibadan (it wasn't clear if he tried both or just U.I). Also there was Fourah Bay College. But he said "in desperation" he gave up (presumably university admission) and decided to pursue teaching. The only opportunity at that time was the Institute of Education in London, where one could get a teaching certificate in nine months. After that, one could be a supervisor or inspector.

Meanwhile, he had taken the GCE exam, which had been introduced, and applied for a government scholarship for the Institute of Education, London. And he studied privately for the GCE, which he took in four subjects--economic history, geography, economics and history--at A levels. He got the scholarship and went to London in 1954. Then he found out that he had passed two subjects of the GCE, and he applied to London School of Economics for the following year and got provisional admission, so he studied economics while doing the teacher certification program, and passed the exam (one needed 3 A level subjects in GCE to get into university). He entered LSE in 1955. He was then on his own. The goverment scholarship had finished, so he had to work to maintain himself. I asked what kind of jobs he got, and he replied "laboring jobs", but then went on to describe some. He first talked about one, which he said was the best one, as a clerk at Beechams. He told a story about getting the job. He said the

student union arranged for jobs, he went and was offered L9. When he was leaving he met another Nigerian who'd been in England for several years; the other man said the important thing was to get lots of "ot"; they went back in and the other person got a job at L7 with a lot of "ot" and told Lamikanra that he should do the same, that he would make more money that way. So we went back and asked to change for the L7 job, and then learned that "ot" was overtime; by the end of the time he spent there he was making L15. This was a vacation job.

He also worked at Walls Ice Cream as temporary labor, lining up at 6 AM to be hired for the day. He had weekend jobs including one at the Industrial Demonstration Center where he helped put up and take down displays.

After three years he completed his BSE in economics.

At this point in the narration, he backed up a few years to tell me about his marriage. He got married in 1948 while he was in Owo; his wife was a teacher. She was a headmistress in Oyo when he left for England and she stayed there and then she went to Oshogbo which was nearer home (She is from Ilara, about 9 miles from Akure). Then she joined him in England after two years and continued her education at the University of london. They had two children by the time he left, and a third was born while he was away. The youngest came with his wife to England, while the other two stayed with a brother in Ibadan. Since he finished his LSE degree before his wife finished and he was waiting for her, he then did a diploma in education at the Institute of Education.

They came back to Nigeria in 1959. Before he left England, people had spoken to him about being the principal of a secondary school in Lagos, Lagos City College, Yaba, which was owned by Zik. He said that he was fascinated with the set-up; the school had three sessions, morning, afternoon and evening, with different students in each, with a total of about 2000 students. It had traditional courses and commercial courses. He was there one year, as vice principal. After that he was "fed up" with the school, by the end of the year he felt he was working too much, all of the administration fell on his shoulders and the students were too unruly. Also, he had been promised the principal position but because of politics he was made vice principal instead.

In October 1960 a friend had come from Lagos, who was looking for a job. He suggested to him that he go to BP for a job; he knew the oil companies were starting to do marketing in Nigeria. The man got a job there. This man had been with him in England, studying, but hadn't passed his university exams, but he got a job that was double the salary he was making. So then he (Lamikanra) went to BP, he said that he wanted to be able to train people. The expatriate training manager said "you mean you want my job". He said no, that he just wanted to work in training. He didn't know that the company had decided to Nigerianize the position in three years. His salary was L1100, beginning in 1961. He was hired as Administration Manager, in charge of things like making sure the cars were maintained; overseeing the housing for expatriates; making sure the toilets in the office were maintained--which he said was the dirtiest part of the job. He told a story about how one day the secretary for the managing

director (an English woman) called him to tell him there was no toilet roll in her bathroom; he blew up at her, saying she shouldn't come to him asking for toilet roll. The secretary told the Managing Director about it, who called him in, and he told him that he shouldnt be told by someone like the secretary to get a toilet roll. The managing director agreed, and later the secretary called to apologize. He did the job of Administration Manager for one year; he said that the good thing about it was that he had to deal with all aspects of the company, but that he fought being insulted. The idea of putting him in that job was for him to get familiar with the business.

After that he became Assistant Training Officer. But he wasn't doing the training himself, he was arranging for others to do it. They gave him six months training first. He had to go to petrol stations and fill tanks with petrol; he had to do servicing of cars, and other first-hand experience with the work--"on the job training". Then he went to London for six months to work in the headquarters there, in the training department. There he started to enjoy his time with BP. When he first arrived he was shown his desk which already had an in-tray piled high with things that were being saved for him to do. Again, it was on-the-job training. He had to arrange for training courses to be held. He mentioned that many of the people he dealt with had never talked with a black person before. He also told a story about when he first arrived they took him to the company travel office, and a young woman there gave him maps of the underground and the bus and started trying to explain how to get around, not realizing that he'd lived in London for several years. He started to smile, and after a while she realized something was up, so he told her he'd lived there before; she then admitted she'd only moved to London 3 months ago.

He went to England in July 1962 and stayed nine months. When he came back he became the Assistant Training Officer, and he stayed in that job for three years. Then the training manager was leaving, and the company decided to bring another one becuase they didnt think he was ripe yet for being the training manager.

As training officer one of his jobs was to recruit dealers for petrol stations, so he had to travel all over Nigeria to interview people, and then select and train them. He also recruited management trainees, who were graduates from the university, so he would go to the universities to recruit. In 1965 they were going to bring in a new training manager. For one year before that, the training manager had him do everything, and had recommended him as his replacement. So when they decided to bring in someone else he got angry and said they had cheated him. They wanted to promote him to Training Superintendent, but he refused the position. Then the job of Personnel Superintendent became open, which was a bigger job, and that was how he got into personnel administration. At first he didnt want to apply for the position, but people encouraged him to, and he went to talk to the person in charge and was offered the job.

He became a branch manager in the personnel department. The most important part of his job was industrial relations, dealing with unions, employers associations, etc. He did that til 1970. By that time they had started to Nigerianize the company, and it was a very interesting period. He became

department manager in 1970, and was even more invovled in industrial relations in the oil sector and eventually in the whole country. He attended the annual ILO conference in Geneva and regional conferences. He became the chairman of industrial relations of NECA (the Nigerian employers association). He attended ILO meetings for about 8 years. He also became the employers representative on the Youth Service Corps, from its start in 1973 til 1983. He went to all the state capitals in that capacity. He was also the employers representative on the National Provident Fund, and attended a social security workshop in Nairobi in 1980.

At BP, he was appointed Secretary of BP in 1973, and made a Director. As Secretary, he was secretary to the board, oversaw all legal assets, legal requirements of the company. As Director, he attended meetings of the board and of senior management, had a lot of dealings with the London office and travelled there frequently.

In 1974 he was appointed to the Council for the Center for Management Development, and was chair of its establishment committee, dealing with personnel. He went to Ghana, London, the US, Rio and the West Indies to recruit staff for the Center.

Also he mentioned that he 1969 he had joined the Institute of Personnel Management of Nigeria, when it started; he became its president in 1972 and was president for seven years.

In 1977 he decided he had had enough, that the job at BP was becoming routine and that it wasn't interesting or challenging any more. So he resigned from BP in 1977. He wanted to do consulting in human resources, and established a company and an office, but it wasn't as interesting as he thought it would be and he had a lot of time on his hands. He had made himself a promise in 1974, to build a house in Ilesa. And in 1976 he had said that if he could finish his house in Ilesa he would leave BP. The house was habitable by 1976, tho it wasn't what it is now, but the basic structure was there.

I asked about the location of the house, as it seemed to me that at that time there wasn't much else in the area. He said that when he started the house, the nearest house was next to the motor park (i.e. on the main road). He had bought land from town planning, but when he went to check on it he was told that it was in the bush. So he needed an alternative. He learned that Baba Olaitan, who owned the sawmill nearby (there is a sawmill just as you turn on to Olaitan Ave from the main road) was selling land. He went to him and told him he wanted four plots. At the time, the area was all farms, yam farms, etc. He was taken to the area, and when he saw the hill (Imo Hill), he decided it was very attractive and that that was the place. It was the scenery that made him decide on this place. He bought 4 plots. I asked if he had family land, and he said yes of course, but that that was already built up and there wasn't enough space there.

He said he had already built his house in Lagos, as well as a house in his wife's town. By 1979 he was finding little to do in Lagos. So instead of becoming a "Baba Eko" he decided he should come home. People asked him what he was going to do in Ilesa; his wife in particular wasn't very

interested in coming to Ilesa, He answered that he was going to look at Oke Imo. From the tone of voice he used, it was clear that people were surprised that he would want to come back to Ilesa.

His wife was working in Lagos. They had been there twenty years by then. But he was determined that he would come to Ilesa, and his wife new that when he decided to do something he would do it. It took about a year to actually decide definitely. During the time that he was thinking of going, he was working with an old man who was president of NECA and who owned a bakery. He decided to establish a bakery; the schools and other institutions needed bread. The man said no, he couldn't do that; but when he told him that he was going to go home to Ilesa to set it up and that he would be there himself to run it, then the man said it would be ok and helped him with the necessary information--what machines to buy, how to build it, etc. The bakery was built behind the house. He called it Ojimasha Foods, but his children said the bread couldnt be called that so the bread was named Eldo bread. He was in business from 1981-1986. He was making 20 bags a day; he had 5 vehicles for distribution, and 24 staff; he was selling to U. of Ife, schools and elsewhere. But in 1985 after the ban on wheat he stopped making bread. Before that they were using 200-400 bags of flour a month.

His wife was in Lagos when he first moved to Ilesa. She had a nursery/primary school in Lagos, after retiring from teaching in 1976. He didn't say just when she came back to live in Ilesa, but he did mention that one of his daughters now runs the school in Lagos.

I asked about visits to Ilesa during the time he was living in Lagos. He said, yes, he came home for his leave, for ceremonies--weddings, funerals, etc. --but they were weekend visitors, "weekend Ijesas".

I asked about membership of organizations in Lagos of Ijesas. He said that all along, from 1938 he was involved in Ijesa organizations wherever he was, even in London. In Lagos he was a member of the Ijesa Club, Lagos, which is an organization of all men that includes anyone from Ijesaland, ie. from all of Ijesaland not just Ilesa. Whereas the Ilesa Social Elite club is just for people from Ilesa. He was President of Ijesa Club, Lagos for four years, including two years after he came back to Ilesa. It's mostly a social club, but also is concerned with anything affecting Ijesaland. For example, when Agunlejika died, they had to send a memo to the kingmakers about the new owa, not for a particular person, but lobbying for choosing a good one, not choosing on the basis of money. During the Biafran War, the Ijesa Club with other Ijesa societies in Lagos gave aid to win the war, the bought cows, other kinds of food to give to the federal government to feed the soldiers. They also organized dances and awarded scholarships to Ijesa students, and also sports cups.

We went back to discussing the bakery, and the effect of the ban on wheat. He said there was plenty of smuggled flour, but that it became too dangerous. He told how they had to go to Lagos to try to get flour, and the police began checking for contraband and there was a lot of police harrassment. He told how one time his wife was travelling from Lagos with 2 bags of flour in the boot of the car; she was stopped by a policeman who

wanted to arrest her for having smuggled goods. The punishment then was life imprisonment, regardless of the quantity. Fortunately for his wife, there was a senior police officer who asked what was going on and reprimanded the other policeman for bothering someone with only two bags of flour, when they see lorry loads of flour going by and don't stop them. He said she was probably just going to use it for her own use, and told her to go on. But that was the last time they bought flour. Also it was getting very expensive. He said that now there is flour available again, although the ban is still in existence but not enforced that much, but it's too expensive, about N500 a bag. I asked about wheat produced in Nigeria and he made a face, as if to say there really isnt much.

He then told me that he had waste from the bakery and therefore decided to keep pigs. In Lagos he had also kept pigs and chickens. He bought two pigs; he used the area behind the house, at the bottom of the garden. He first acquired the area behind the house, with a stream (which runs at the foot of Imo Hill) and extended his garden to the stream, and put pigs at the botton of the garden. He had plenty of waste to feed the pigs with and they were doing well. He would fatten them and then sell them. He also bought about 100 chickens. Then there was less waste; the demand for bread from schools and universities ended when they stopped feeding the students, and they became better at producing bread and had more customers so there was less waste and less leftover bread that was unsold. When the difficulty obtaining flour developed, they got rid of the pigs and increased the number of chickens. They now have about 2000 layers, and sell the eggs in bulk to people who come to get them. They tried broilers once or twice but he didn't like them. He buys day old chicks.

Then he said that "people pestered him" and said he must have a fishpond since he has the stream behind his house. So he put in a fishpond in 1985-86, he has tilapia and another species, he couldnt remember the other name. People have tried to convince him to make it commercial but it's mostly for himself, that he eats more fish and less meat now. When he was thinking of doing it commercially, someone duped him he said, he bought fingerlings which disappeared in the stream so he gave it up. He has also tried rabbits but that wasn't successful; tho then he said he found out later that it was his nightguard who was eating his rabbits. And he also had snails at one time.

I asked how he learned about all these things; he said it's mostly adventure. Then he said that he used to take extramural classes at Egege in Lagos, which was next to the agric center there; and he saw he could get chickens and eggs there. He bought his first chickens in 1961. His wife got interested also. He sold eggs in shops, and his children liked to help in hawking the eggs. Then there was a government pig center in Ikorodu and he put a pig sty at the back of his house. I expressed surprise at having pigs in Lagos, and asked where he was living. He built his house in Anthony Village but said that at that time there were few people there, that it really was a village. He said he was the only one using a car there. When he built he had to lay pipes, bring electricity and telephones; they were there for two years without electricity. He lived in Anthony Village for five years, then moved to a company house in Ikoyi. Anthony village got built up after that, so that his children didnt

recognize where they had lived any more. He said that people followed him there, just as they did to the area where he lives in Ilesa (which is now quite built up but was not at the time he built his house).

At this point he decided to tell me about his children. He said he has four children, two boys and two girls. All are married. The first is a senior lecturer in pharmacy at OAU; he got his PhD in 1976 at Manchester and has been at Ife since then. The second is a medical doctor, a consulting surgeon in Lagos. The first girl is self-employed, she is in charge of his wife's school in Lagos; she has an MA in entomology and another MA in education. The fourth has a degree in English from Unilag and studied law in Britain; she works at a bank in Lagos. They have 8 grandchildren, 2 girls and 6 boys, the oldest is 13, the youngest is 2 or 3; four are in secondary school.

I asked if his children come to Ilesa, he said that of course they visit, and mentioned that his son from Ife had visited last weekend.

By this time it was about 11:45, and we decided that I would finish my snack, that had been served, and then we would go out and look at the bakery and chickens. And that we would then decide whether to do any more today or continue another time.

Before we went out I asked about his chieftaincy title. He explained that when Owa Agunlejika was Owa, he decided that he wanted to honor some people who had been working for Ilesa affairs in Lagos, and he wrote to the societies in Lagos and the Council of Ijesa Societies in Lagos for names of people to be honored. Each organization that belonged to the Council was asked to recommend people; his name was one of those suggested. When he learned about it, he wanted to say no. And both he and Ilesanmi, who was honored at the same time, came to Ilesa to talk with people who would help them tell the owa no. But when he came and spoke with senior relatives in Ilesa, they told him that he had to accept, and Ilesanmi had the same experience. He said that one other woman didn't come herself to Ilesa but sent some relatives to tell the owa that she didnt want the title, and that he then told them that he simply wanted to thank her and the others for all they were doing for Ilesa. That if she didnt want it that was ok, but that he was thanking them for what they were doing to make people proud of Ilesa, and there was no need for them to thank him--it was he (the Owa) who was thanking them. So both Lamikanra and Ilesanmi became chiefs at the same time (not sure of the year--he didnt say).

He then took me out to show me the bakery and his garden, chickens, etc. The bakery is a separate large building to the right of the house. He took me thru it, showing me the machinery and in fact turning most of them on; they all seem generally in good working order, which is surprising considering the length of time since they stopped baking there. Other than the machinery the place is empty; one room has some equipment that his pharmacist son bought for making tablets and mixing liquids, but he's not using them. The garden is behind the house, sloping down towards the stream. There doesnt seem to be a lot planted there, but he did point out some bananas that had just been picked, and there is a nice coconut tree. Most of the area is taking up with several sheds housing chickens; there

are three separate ones, at least one of which was originally for the pigs. The chickens are set up as layers generally are, so the eggs come out on wire mesh. I asked if there are any problems in this climate, and he said that recently the heat has made the egg laying go down to 25 percent, and some have died. He also showed me the room where they keep the young chicks after they buy them.

Below the chicken area is a man-made cement fishpond, which he said was the first one he made. He recently drained it and will refill it after the rains start. Down at the bottom and diverted from the stream are two other fish ponds, built out of the ground with a high area between them, looking more like the ponds I am used to. He said they get the fish out with nets. He said this time he bought about 2000 fingerlings last July and after the rains start he will check them and harvest them; since he has so many he will probably sell some. Then in July he will put in new fingerlings.

He also showed me his well, which is the source of their water supply for the house. They also have a large generator which was originally for the bakery but is now used for the house.

When we came back up the hill to the house, he took me to a small house next to the main house (on the left from the road) which is a separate unit--a chalet--for a guesthouse. It's all nicely tiled and clean, just has some chairs in it, he said they use it when they have meetings with a number of people, and that people stay there if they have many visitors.

Finally he showed me some beehives he is in the process of setting up. He got some help from a woman from IITA who acts as a consultant for Leventis Foundation farm in Ilesa; she is Mrs. Mutsaers. She provided him with the hives.

When we were outside the house looking back over his property, I asked about the large buildings that are at the foot of Imo Hill; he said that that is Imo Hill Farms, a very large operation with a piggery and various other things. He said that some "Ilesa boys" in Lagos decided to set it up and established it a few years ago, put a lot of money into it, but had some problems. Now they have a partnership with UTC which is pouring a lot of money into it. In addition to the piggery they're trying to set up a system for using all the waste, e.g., for animal feed. I asked who the people are who are involved. He said that they stay in Lagos, he mentioned one who he says hardly ever comes to Ilesa and another who is here sometimes. But there are others doing the work there.

Note: Later, I mentioned this place to Agbo Folarin who said he had gone there once with Kaiser Barnes, who knows a Filipino who works there. So I must ask Kaiser about this.

I told Lamikanra that I'd like to bring my camera next time and take some pictures of his place. Also there's a good view of Imo Hill Farms from his garden and also from the street next to his house.

By the time we finished the tour of the garden, it was nearly 1 PM, so we decided I would come back next week to continue the interview.

Comment and questions:

In the next interview, I need to get his full name. I also want to ask him about his statement about working to improve Ilesa, and some of the problems with people who might not go along with one's suggestions (mentioned the first time we met). Also about how it was to come back here after so many years away, in fact not having really ever lived here. Did he know many people? how? Did he feel like he was "coming home" or a stranger? And of course questions about organizations, his involvement, what he hopes to accomplish.

Some of these are also questions to ask Ilesanmi.

notes36

Fieldnotes Wed. March 18, conversation with Professor Bolanle Awe, Ibadan

I went to Bolanle Awe's house at about 11 AM; she was home and welcomed me at the kitchen door. Shortly after I got there and we had started talking informally, a man came in, who turned out to be someone she has asked to help tutor a boy she knows for his JAMB exam. When the man suggested Sunday as the day to meet, she said that she would not be around on Sunday, that she has to go to Lagos where she is being honored by an Ilesa organization. She turned to me to let me know about this too. It turned out that this is the same event where Justice Eso is being honored; two others are also being honored and when I asked who she remembered that one is an industrialist who is based in Ibadan (I didn't get his name; later she told me that he is from Ikeji), and at first she couldn't remember the other, then remembered that it is Dr. Lawrence Omole. She said that they are being honored for being prominent Ijesas and that the organization doing this--the Ijesa Society in Lagos--had a similar event two years ago where they honored two other people. That time, it was held at the home of the president of the group, Ambassador Fafawura (who I met at Ifaturotis in December), but this time it is being held at the Metropolitan Club. She commented that they must have money.

Shortly afterwards, two other men arrived and she introduced me to them and said that they are involved in the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, and asked if "Chief Ifaturoti" has told me about this organization. I said he hadn't, and she was surprised; she said he is one of the key people in it. The two men who came to her house were Dr. Babatunde Agbaje-Williams, who is at the Institute of African Studies at U.I., and from Ilesa, and a man whose name I didn't get, who is the secretary of the Ijesa Cultural Foundation and who works for the state arts council, and is based in Ilesa. The Foundation is planning a launching in April, possibly April 21, and will be having a fund appeal; they said they would invite me. Dr. Agbaje-Williams has written a book about cultural sites in Ijesaland, which will be published for the launching; right now, Bolanle is in the process of reading it. They are planning a museum in Ilesa, as well as things elsewhere in Ijesaland.

I left Bolanle's house at about noon because I had an appointment with Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye, but suggested I could come back. We agreed I would come back at 7 PM and then she suggested we go out for dinner at the Davis Hotel. So I met her at 7 at her house and we went to the Davis Hotel. We talked some more about the Ijesa Cultural Foundation at dinner. She said that they had organized about two years ago, with the idea of recognizing the importance of cultural places in Ijesaland. Last year when "IBB" (her term for Babangida) came to Ilesa they got him to lay the foundation stone (I think that was what he did) for the museum. The museum in Ilesa is to be associated with the palace. She said that it turned out that what they are doing is in line with the cultural policy formulated for the country, so IBB liked what they are doing and supported it. Now they want to get him to come to the launching, and have tentatively set April 21 as the date for the launching, but she needs to make sure that he can come on that day before they make it definite. They want him to come himself,

because then a lot of other people will come, and will give money.

I asked what the Foundation plans to do. She said they want to recognize important cultural sites in Ijesaland. The book written by Agbaje-Williams is based on information from local rulers, who were asked to identify cultural sites in their areas; she wasn't too specific about what kinds of places are included, but it seems that it's things like palaces and shrines. She said the original intention was to have something more like a pamphlet, but that he has written a book.

I asked about Ifaturoti's involvement, and she said he's been very involved. She also said that the local rulers seem to be very interested in this.

I also asked Bolanle for suggestions of women I should see with regard to my research. She mentioned some of the same people that Ilesanmi had mentioned, including Mrs. Fajuyitan and Mrs. Thompson. She mentioned that Mrs. Thompson had just lost her husband (I had heard something about the big funeral planned when I was at Ifaturoti's recently) and that she was going to go to Ilesa to see her tomorrow (Thursday). Another person mentioned was Mrs. Fajemisin, who she said lives near Justice Eso. She also mentioned a sister of Justice Eso, Joke Aoka (not sure of last name) was is quite involved in Ilesa affairs.

I told her that I am also working in Osu and Ijebu-jesa and mentioned Ayoola in Osu. Among women there, she suggested the woman who has the akara place, Iya Dunni.

We also talked about the trend to emphasizing the independence of these other towns from Ilesa. She said that people from the other places don't like it that people tend to assume that "Ijesa" means Ilesa and that it is politically important to show that they are independent, and in some cases they try to get a beaded crown for the oba. She mentioned Ipetu-Ijesa as one place where this was attempted, tho she wasn't sure of the outcome. I asked why this is so important, and she said that the listing of chiefs and their status (and I think salary as well) is affected by this. Plus the different places want to show they are separate, and not under Ilesa.

Most of the rest of our conversation was about the Women's Commission and her activities in women's studies.

The next morning, Thurs. March 19, I went back to see her again briefly to ask if I could attend the ceremony honoring her in Lagos on Sunday. She said "why not" and then gave me one of her invitations. So now I have the names of all four being honored: Dr. Lawrence Omole, Hon Justice Kayode Eso, Prof Mrs. Bolanle Awe, Chief I.O. Akinmokun. She said that she plans to stay at the NIIA Guest house and I offered to help make the reservation for her (on the assumption that I was going to be in Lagos on Friday which turned out not to be the case.)

notes37

Fieldnotes Thursday March 19, attempt to find Ayoola

I went once more to Osu to look for Ayoola, since I had been told the other day that he was planning to be there today from about 11 AM til 4 PM. The gate man told me he had not come, that he had sent a message that he had to travel to Abuja. There was no other information about when he is likely to come.

notes38

Fieldnotes, Thursday March 19, visit with Mrs. Fatiregun to see Onibonoje, Ijebu-jesa.

When I got to Mrs. Fatiregun's house just after 4 PM, she was waiting for me. She told me that on Saturday after I left she discovered that Onibonoje had been at her house, attending a meeting. So she spoke to him and told him that we wanted to see him today. She said that he told her he usually goes to Ibadan on Thursday but agreed to wait for us.

When we got to his farm, we went thru the same routine as before to get the gate opened; Mrs. Fatiregun told me she'd never been there before.

We talked briefly about my work and I asked for an appointment; at first he again didn't seem to want to be specific, but then when I suggested next Thursday he said that Thursday isn't a good day and Wednesday would be better, and eventually he suggested 10 AM.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Fatiregun told him she had another purposed for coming to see him, to check if he's going to attend something he's been invited to at the Osun College of Education also on next Wednesday, something for the health sciences program there. He went into a long explanation about the fact that having chosen to be a farmer he has to refuse most other requests for his time, because farming takes a lot of time and he has to devote all his time to it. That he has an obligation to do so. She said that as "one of the elites" of the community, she wanted his participation in this event. But he said that he tries to be very consistent about the response he gives everyone, and that he has said the same thing regarding his role in the community. Then when an organization (I think the organization of local societies) wanted him to be chair, he told them that there are others that can do the job as well as he, whereas he isn't sure that others can as easily step into his role on the farm. But that if they have a specific role for him to play, he will be glad to do so. He feels however that most of his time must be committed to the farm, at least in these "active" years, and perhaps later he will have time for community activities.

Mrs. F. then asked about him sponsoring the event, so then he explained about the constraints he has on money, saying that as a farmer one has neither time nor money. He said that the farm is heavily in debt, that it is a very big investment, and that farming can always take more and more money. He said that people look at the place and think he has a lot of money, but actually it's because he was able to get funds from outside. And as with time, he has an obligation to put his money back into the farm.

She agreed that he is doing something very important for humanity, and he said that now that he knows she is involved in this, he will reread the letter he got and see what he can do.

When we left, she commented that with SAP everyone has to be more careful of what they do with their money.

We left around 5 PM, after Mrs. F. greeted Onibonoje's wife who had

returned after we got there; I too greeted her. We confirmed that I will come at 10 AM Wed. March 25 and he said he would meet me at the gate.

Mrs. Fatiregun also said she would try to check with Tunde Olashore this weekend, and I said I would stop to see her in her office Wednesday to check what she found out. She also expects Dele Olashore to be back by the end of this week from his trip to England.

notes39

Fieldnotes thursday Mrach 19, brief stop at Ifaturoti's

When I got to the house, Tinu greeted me. A long table was set up and she explained that they had had a meeting of a mining group there over lunch. Kunle was resting; I had hoped to check whether he was attending the award ceremony in Lagos on Sunday. She said that they aren't planning to attend, but then said that Kunle may go to Lagos Sunday so that he can be there Monday morning.

She said they can't go because they will have a family meeting of his family at the house on Saturday; about 25 people will attend. They will meet in the building out in back of the house, and eat there as well. She said they'll feed them pounded yam, that they'll buy the iyan at N1 for one piece and then make egusi soup to go with it.

She also told me that last Sunday she had had a meeting of her church society at the house.

notes40

Fieldnotes Sun. March 22, Ijesa Society Lagos dinner, Metropolitan Club, Lagos

This was the dinner that I learned about from Bolanle Awe the other day, and which I asked for an invitation to.

It was scheduled to begin at 6 PM. I had a little trouble finding the Metropolitan Club (near NIIA on Kofo Abayomi St, Victoria Island) so it was almost 6:30 by the time I got there, got the car parked, and found the right place for the party. Many people were already there, and as I was looking for the place, I noticed that all the people arriving were men. But when I got to the right place there were quite a number of women there as well. The dinner was held outdoors, around the swimming pool. Tables were set up on both sides of the pool, with areas for serving a buffet style dinner at both ends. At one end was the high table, for the guests of honor, and the microphone for speakers. I was at the last table on the lefthand side, facing the high table and speakers. This also happened to be right next to the speaker for the sound system, but they had problems with sound, and about half the speeches were inaudible.

As I walked into the area, a man and woman were greeting people arriving. I introduced myself to the woman, who said she was Mrs. Aluko; I said I was the guest of Professor Awe, and she said she was already there and pointed her out, at the table that I sat at. Bolanle and her husband were there, and there was an empty seat, so she said I should sit there. I looked around and realized the other guests of honor were also there, so questioned whether I should be there, but she said nothing had been said yet about seating for the honorees, so that I should sit there for now. She introduced me to the woman across from me, who turned out to be Mrs. Eso, and told her that I am her tenant, at which Mrs. Eso looked blank. It turned out that her husband hadn't told her about giving me a room, but she didnt seem to mind. I then went to the other end of the table to greet Justice Eso, and Dr. Lawrence Omole; I didnt meet the others at the table.

Mrs. Eso immediately admired my dress (from Nike's) and said she'd like to get something like that for her daughter-in-law or sister-in-law, who is English. I offered to bring some from Oshogbo to Ilesa for her to look at. I said I was glad to have met her before she found me in her house in Ilesa, but she said it wouldnt have mattered. We talked a little about whether she spends much time in Ilesa. She said that she doesnt, because there really isn't much for her to do there, and most of her friends are in Ibadan. She said that she's thinking for fixing up the garden there, and then she might spend more time there, but that she really prefers Ibadan and their house there. She said I should visit them in Ibadan; the house is in Agodi area.

Mrs. Eso is probably in her early sixties, though it is hard to tell. She was the only woman I saw there (except a few young women like Bolanle Awe's daughter) who was dressed in western-style dress--a black two piece outfit); all the other women were in iro and buba, all of very good quality, or else a few were in caftans; nearly all were wearing headties,

but she was not. All the men were in agbada; I don't think I saw any who were not, and white seemed the most popular color of agbada.

Prof. Awe said that Mr. Ifaturoti was there, and after a few minutes I located him at a table towards the front. He was sitting with Mr. Apara, and another older man, who I think was the senior Mr. Fafawura. I went and greeted them, and Kunle said that if he had known where I was staying, he would have picked me up.

I also saw Mobo Akinola, who was sitting at the next table (I think with her husband but didnt actually see his face); her daughter was at my table.

After about twenty minutes, during which time more people arrived and people mixed a bit, greeting each other, the evening's events got under way. The guests of honor were asked to come to the high table; as she left, Prof. Awe said she'd ask her daughter to come sit with me, as she was by herself at another table, and she also introduced me to Professor Akinyemi, who turned out to be Bolaji Akinyemi, former minister of external affairs; but after a few minutes he too was called to sit at the high table. The other seats were soon taken by other people, however, and the man who sat next to me turned out to be Olu Fadahunsi, a lawyer in Lagos and brother of Akin Fadahunsi and Mobo Akinola. He said that he had heard about me years ago when I was doing research in Ilesa, from Cathy DiDomenico; he also mentioned having a copy of Peel's book. We talked off and on during the dinner (he and the man across from me joked that they have to give me a plot of land and a chieftaincy title), and he gave me his card and offered to answer questions for me. So I said I'd be in touch with him the next time I come to Lagos. His office address is: Vioyl, 5th floor, Development House, 21 Wharf Rd, Apapa; phone 872595; residence is 133 Old Ojo Rd, Badagry Rd, phone 882348.

Each table had ten people, and there were at least ten tables as well as the high table, so there must have been over 100 people there. Once people got seated, the event began with a welcome address by the President of the Ijesa Society Lagos, Ambassador Fafawura. He talked briefly about each of the people being honored at the dinner, and about the Ijesa Society. He pointed out that this is an organization of all Ijesa, from any part of Ijesaland. He said they are concerned with Ijesaland, but also made the point that they are patriotic and nationalistic, and that in his view being patriotic and nationalistic also requires being concerned with one's own community. He also mentioned that there are other organizations of Ijesa, and mentioned in particular a new organization that has formed in the past few months which is more comprehensive in scope and seeks to include all the other organizations, and mentioned by name some of the key participants in founding that organization--Dr. Omole and Dr. Ifaturoti. He didnt mention the name of the organization but it seems clear he was referring to Ijesa Solidarity Group. He said that the Ijesa Society supports and welcomes those efforts; that statement was greeted with applause.

Fafawura's speech was entirely in English. The man who acted as m.c. (someone from tv according to Bolanle's daughter) spoke both in English and Yoruba, switching between the two. But all of the speeches were in English.

The people seated at the high table were introduced, as well as members of the executive of the Ijesa Society; in each case some mention was made of their background or profession. Olu Fadahunsi was introduced as the legal adviser of the organization.

Dinner was served buffet style, with each table being asked to go up to get their food, and with emphasis placed on women being served first. The dinner included a combination of Nigerian and European preparations. It was close to 9:00 by the time everyone had dinner and the speeches began about each of the awardees. Fafawura explained how they selected those who were being awarded the 1991 merit award, and that they had decided to honor a maximum of four. A citation speech was read for each of them; each speech was given by a different person.

The first award was to Justice Eso. The speech enumerated all the things he has done, in his professional career, in the church (a chancellor in the Church of Nigeria?), his family, etc. Unfortnately there were a lot of problems with the sound during this speech so I didn't hear a lot of it. I did hear that he was born in 1925, to a titled family; his schooling was also given. Each speech emphasized how well known the invidual is nationally and internationally, as well as all they have done for Ijesaland.

The second speech was for Bolanle Awe, given by a woman who is president of the Nigerian soceity of engineers. Hers was the only one that could be heard clearly. She went thru Awe's entire career, noting all the things she has done, her education (phD in history from Oxford at a time when women generally didnt go to Oxford), and honors and awards and activities--the various government activities, and international appointments. She essentially went thru Awe's whole c.v., mentioning the number of articles she had published. Interesting, not too much was made of her current appointment as head of the women's commission. She also talked about her involvement in Ijesa affairs, including being a member of the Ijesa Social Elite club in Ibadan. Bolanle was referred to several times as "a daughter of Ilesa".

The third speech was about Chief I.O. Akinmokun, a businessman from Ikeji-Ile, but based in Ibadan. Much of this was lost in the sound system. But the citation did emphasize his generosity and the things he's done for Ikeji, including building market stalls, and giving scholarships to students.

Finally, a speech was made about Dr. Lawrence Omole, which pointed out his importance to industry and business in Ilesa. The speech was made by Fafawura, president of the society; he referred to Omole as "Pa Omole". Again, I missed quite a lot, but he mentioned the brewery and how that had been Omole's idea, and how important it's been for Ilesa. Also how he had in his wisdom stepped down as chairman and handed over to someone else equally capable--Justice Eso. He also talked about the scholarships he's given for secondary and university students and about how Omole is a family man, and all of his children have attended university. Emphasis was also placed on how humble he is. In this speech, mention was also made of

others who've worked with Omole, including Ifaturoti, Apara, and Eso. This speech ended with a toast for Omole.

All the other awardees and their spouses stood as this citation was read for Omole. At the end a lot of photgraphs were taken of all of them.

Some people began to leave after the speech for Omole, but then Justice Eso spoke, for all of the awardees. He talked about how Omole is the father of all of them, and how honored the rest of them are to share the award with Omole. He spoke for about five minutes, and I think after that the proceedings were coming to an end. But it was after 10 PM and I decided to leave before it ended, because I didn't want to get back too late to McWilliams' house, where I was staying. Bolanle's daughter went and told her that both she and I were leaving.

During the dinner I talked some with Bolanle's daughter about my research and about her involvement either in Ilesa or her father's hometown. She said that her father is from Essie in Kwara State, and that she doesnt like to go there. She does go to Ilesa sometimes, but just for special events, and doesnt really know people there because she's never lived there. She is a law student, and expects to live in Lagos or Ibadan; she doesnt seem to think she'll ever have much involvement in Ilesa. She asked me what I've been finding out, and when I mentioned community day celebrations, she agreed that that is something quite new. She said communities in Ondo state have been having them for about three years, and referred to one in particular, saying that it does seem to help bring people back to the town, that she has friends who participate. She said that if there were something like that, she might become more involved because if she went one year, she might get to know people and then she would see them again the next year. But she clearly doesnt expect to be involved in the way people at this dinner, who are members of the Society, are involved. She said she thinks the difference for the older generation is that they grew up in Ilesa.

Mobo Akinola's daughter was at the same table; Bolanle's daughter spoke with her briefly, asking about a few people, but I didnt get the impresion that they are freindly or know each other well. Also, I think Mobo's daughter is probably younger.

Since I left before everything ended, I didnt have a chance to speak again with Ifaturoti or Eso. By the time I left, some others were also starting to leave, and people were also moving around between tables.

notes41

Notes on conversations with Tola Pearce and Richard Olaniyan about views of Ijesas, March 23, 1992

I spoke with both Tola and Richard Monday evening March 23 about a variety of topics. In the course of conversation, the subject of stereotypes and characteristics of Ijesas came up with both of them.

I told Tola about the dinner I went to on Sunday of the Ijesa Society in Lagos. This led to her saying that Ijesas are viewed as hardworking and industrious, and that they are more industrious than other groups, such as those from Ife. People from Ife are seen as not liking to work, they'd rather own land and let others work on it and pay rent for it, than work themselves. The stereotype of Ijesas is based partly on the osomaalo tradition, she said.

Tola suggested that perhaps the reason Ijesas continue to maintain ties with home is that they are proud of themselves and their community, whereas people from Ife haven't really done anything so they don't bother to come home. We talked about the growth of Ilesa in recent years, and discussed how much of that is due to people working elsewhere who've built houses at home.

Tola also mentioned that Paulina Makinwa went to Ilesa the other day to check her house, after attending a naming ceremony for Feyisitan's baby.

On a slightly different issue, in talking about the census, I suggested that perhaps the reason cities in the south such as Ilesa look large is because of the dual residence phenomenon. If someone has a house both in Lagos and Ilesa, they are only counted in one place. Yet the house is there so it looks like there are more people there than there might actually be. I think this would be interesting to pursue a bit further, maybe discuss with Paulina or Feyisitan. Tola also mentioned the problem of there having been census migration and therefore resulting in fewer people counted in Lagos because people left there to go home to be counted.

Tola and I also talked briefly about my conversation with Prof. Awe's daughter the other night, in which we talked about her involvement (or noninvolvement) in Ilesa. Tola felt it might be different for someone like Mobo Akinola's children, who have mainly grown up in Ilesa; although Mobo and her husband lived in Lagos for a while, they've been in Ilesa since the brewery opened, in other words since about 1978. Tola thinks that those who grew up in Ilesa are more likely to continue to maintain their ties there.

After leaving Tola's, I went to see Richard Olaniyan in connection with the exchange. I also told him about my evening at the Ijesa Society dinner. He began talking about some of the same characteristics of Ijesas that Tola was talking about. At first, he seemed to be saying that these are the characteristics, but later he said these are the stereotypes of what Ijesas are like. He started out with positive characterisitcs similar to those mentioned by Tola--hardworking, industrious. He mentioned Ijesas' success

in a variety of fields, including education, industry and business. When I said that Lawrence Omole was one of those honored, he said that in is the "dean of Ilesa industrialists". Then he went on with more negative characteristics of Ijesas--stubborn, aggressive, greedy, and a number of similar adjectives. He said you can find all these characteristics described in Samuel Johnson's History of the Yorubas. He went on to say that Ijesas are showy--they will let you know if they have 1000 in the bank. They'll buy a mercedes even if they can't afford a 504. They dress in a showy way. But he added, they are hardworking, very hardworking. He also said that the Ijesas are very proud of their achievements.

Richard said that Ijesas don't really fit into Oshun State, that in fact it's hard to fit them with any other group. They're closest in temperament to Ondo State. But he said that in 1976 Peter Enahoro wrote an article about states and said he didn't know where to place the Ijesa, that they should be allowed to decide for themselves where they belong because they don't fit with the others. Richard said the old Osun Division included Iwo, Oshogbo and Ogbomosho, and that Ilesa doesnt fit with these, nor does Ife. But Ife and Ilesa also don't fit together. He also said something about being culturally and linguistically different. And he also made the point that the Ijesas don't want to have anything to do with those from Ibadan. Since Richard is from Oshogbo, it seemed clear that the views he was expressing are also ones that he holds, at least to some degree.

notes42

Fieldnotes, Wednesday March 25, interview with Mr. Onibonoje, Ijebu-jesa

I arrived with Bodunde at Mr. Onibonoje's farm just after 10 AM; we rang the bell and in a couple of minutes a young man appeared to unlock the gate for us. Mr. Onibonoje himself met us at the door of his house and welcomed us into the house.

We began by talking about his farming activities. He told me that he grows maize, yams, beans (cowpeas), and rice as food crops, and also produces palm oil. In addition he has fish in fishponds; in the past he had poultry, but he found that he either had to only have poultry and nothing else, or everything else without poultry; he said poultry is very delicate.

I asked why he went into farming. He said that there were three reasons: First, he wanted a challenge. He wanted something that would be challenging and that would keep him from being drafted into politics; this was 10-12 years ago when the ban on politics had been lifted (for the second republic). He did not want to get involved in politics. Secondly, his children were growing up outside Ijebu-jesa, and he wanted them to identify with their home; he didn't want them to be too urbanized. His children were teenagers by this time. And thirdly, he wanted to demonstrate his credibility; that if he was going to be involved in something where they might be asking for help in the development of the town, he wanted to have credibility, to show that he was doing something himself to help in the town's development, that he himself was working for development.

I asked if his goal of having his children identify with Ijebu-jesa has worked and he said it has. He also added a fourth reason for going into farming: that he wanted to have something that would keep him busy, that when people approach him to do something (such as Mrs. Fatiregun did the other day), he already has something he is involved in.

He explained that he first got interested in setting up a farm in Ijebu-jesa in about 1978. At first, he was operating from Ibadan; he had his house in town and he would stay there when he came to Ijebu-jesa to check on the farm, perhaps a few days a week. He built his house in its present location in 1980-81; it was ready on Dec. 31 1981, so he has now been here ten years.

He found that he needed to be present to do a good job with the farm. Before that time, he had been running a publishing company in Ibadan, that mainly publishes school textbooks. Publishing was no longer a challenge to him, and he felt that others could run that business. His junior brother has taken over the publishing business and has shown ability in running it. His wife is the Managing Director of the agricultural enterprise, and his junior brother is Managing Director of the publishing firm; he is the chairman of both. He decided that this (Ijebu-jesa and the farm) would be his home base, and that he would go to Ibadan from here when necessary to check on the publishing company.

I said that it seemed that in 1978 not many people were thinking of going into farming, and I wondered why he had chosen this. He said he would give me some more background. He said that in the 1960's, he established the site of the press and moved there. It was some distance from the center of the city (Ibadan). He would go to work early in the morning and then would want a break later on. He had two choices: to establish a place around the house where he could walk and stroll, or to get into his car to go into town to visit friends. He decided that the former option was the better one, as he could control his own time that way. So he got interested in developing the environment for recreation, and to beautify it.

His land in Ibadan included a marshy area which he developed as a fishpond. He got involved in land preparation, landscaping, etc. By 1978 he had developed all the available land in his Ibadan site, and still wanted to do more to satisfy that inclination. He also found that by 1978 he could ask for an allocation of land from Oyo State; his land is part of what had been a farm settlement and land was available from the state government.

He got his first plot and started to develop it, then got more and more involved. He felt that if he was to do justice to himself, and knowing the scale of the operation in Ibadan, he needed to get the necessary tools to ensure that a good job was done; otherwise it would appear that he was wasting his time. So he bought equipment for land preparation, tree clearing, etc. Then he needed more land, and got more from the government. He has the land on a long-term lease (99 years) and pays rent to the government for it. He now has between 300 and 400 acres, or about 150 hectares.

I asked if he has employees, and he said he does. But he does a lot of the work himself. He said that's the only way to stay out of trouble; he didn't want to get into party politics or to be the henchman of the oba, or of the bishops or priests, so he had to find something to occupy himself.

I asked if any of his children are involved in the farm, and he said that they are, all except those who have married and moved to their own homes. He said that his eldest son is the general manager. Another son (the one who opened the gate for us) is in charge of fisheries. He said that they talk about it a lot, that he is concerned about the problem of succession. In most cases when an entrepreneur is a success, there is a problem of what happens when he gets old and weak, one needs someone who is trained to take over. Otherwise it's likely the business will die with him. And this is what usually happens here. He is trying to break that vicious circle, to have the family continue to be involved and to have his children eventually take over the business. And it seems to be working, in that his junior brother is successfully running the publishing company in Ibadan, and his sons are involved in the farm. He said he has friends who are now in court, with brother involved in litigation against brother. He wants to try to offer an example of peaceful, smooth succession.

I asked if his children have received any specialized training. He said that one son is an agricultural engineer, and that the one who opened the gate for us is planning to do fisheries. The eldest is planning to study business administration. And the baby who is now doing his school cert,

has decided he also wants to study fisheries.

I asked whether the things he is doing on his farm are seen by others as helping in the development of the community. He said yes, that when the president was touring Oyo State, his farm was included on the program to make a case for including Ijesaland on the program. The visit didn't actually work out, for security reasons, but he feels that people are taking notice of what he is doing.

I asked about his involvement in Ijebu-jesa community activities. He said that these date back to 1959, when he was in the university. There was a problem in the community, they had an oba that people didn't like. There was litigation, the town hadn't succeeded and there was a reaction against the oba. The central union didn't see any reason for taking an interest in the further development of the town. He said that he became the instrument for waking up the community from its negative sentiment, by starting a society which started the reconstruction of the market. With that effort, the Central Union had to wake up from its negative sentiment; it couldn't be outdone. The society was the Ijesa Descendants Society. He said the market was always there, but the society had it constructed to modern standards, with zinc roof stalls. Before that, it was an open market with thatch roof huts, they replaced those with concrete and zinc. This was done between 1959 and 1963. This was a popular effort.

Then they started the town hall project; he and others set up an organization, the Ijebu-jesa Planning Council, in 1970 to build the town hall, which was completed in 1982.

He described the political setting. He said that there was a tussle between Ijebu-jesa and the rest of Ijesa North local government council, over the siting of the local government headquarters. Many of the other towns didn't want Ijebu-jesa to have the headquarters for fear of domination. The Governor of the Western State was involved, General Adebayo, and he made a pronouncement that the site proposed by the other towns was good, he chose a site other than Ijebu-jesa. Onibonoje said he reacted against that; he said the governor shouldn't choose the headquarters. He decided that the only answer was to embark on projects which will over time demonstrate their usefulness, will point to Ijebu-jesa as the place with facilities; hence the building of the town hall.

His idea was that they should develop the community to the point where other towns accept it as a fait accompli. Now, the town hall is a meeting point. The community needed to be mobilized, and the hall became the instrument for building the community into a cohesive body of people. It was a project that everyone liked, and therefore on could preach the gospel of unity and development. People were mobilized and activated into one entity, it harnessed energy, diverted people from bickering and fighting. This helped to solve the old problem of the obaship; the oba abdicated, and a new oba installed in 1974 or 1975. The town became mobilized and got back into the mainstream of development and progress.

In efforts such as this, the ostensible project is one thing, Onibonoje said, but the underpinning purpose is the important thing. With the

underlying philosophy, one could go on a campaign for funds; he wasn't so interested in the amount contributed from the effort, but in the fact that people sought out others wherever they lived and got them involved. When someone has been sought out, that person is recognized as a person worthy of attention, and therefore the job has been done even if he doesn't contribute much. They were able to bring in various people from different stations of life, and let them know that they are the abc of progress. It's the people that are important. He said that for example, when they were dealing with contractors 10-12 years ago, there was a large group of people and this enabled them to bargain better and to get reductions; having many people involved strengthened their hand with the contractors.

He said that the problem now is how to let the succeeding generation appreciate that progress is recognizing people as agents of development; what's important is the philosophy that made the hall happen, not the hall itself.

I asked if there's any project he's involved in now. He said that there isn't. That he wants to sell the philosophy first; that there are quite a few, especially among the elites, who see the physical structure as the object of attention rather than the ideas behind it.

In his view what really brings about development is certain ideas, rooted in convictions. He has done quite a bit, but that bit has been resisted by some key people. So he thinks he needs patience now. He wants to build people, not attack them. So he needs patience, to win people who might be worried, there are people who may feel threatened, and it's necessary to carry them along. He said that he has resisted the temptation to start another project, that it's better to wait a while.

At this point, Mr. Onibonoje provided me with a brief summary of his educational background. He went to teacher's college in Ibadan, and then to University of Ibadan, where he studied history, political science and religion. After that he went into the publishing business.

He left Ijebu-jesa in 1948 and came back in 1981. But he said he's never not been involved in the community.

I asked whether he thinks the younger generation will be involved in the way he has been. He said that it depends on the particular cicumstances of each person. For example, if a person's parents are here, and they are a faithful son or daughter, then they will maintain contact. But if it's only distant relatives here, then it's more of a problem. If people have a home to return to, and come back for festival periods, they will bring their children, but if there's no place to come to, then it's less likely.

At the end of the conversation, Onibonoje asked for a copy of my "report"; when I said it would be a while before I wrote any papers on the research, he said he'd like to have a copy of the write-up of the interview. I said I would give it to him within a couple of weeks, and also that I'd like to come back to see more of the farm and if he'd be willing to show me around, which he said he would. It was almost twelve when I left his place.

notes43

Fieldnotes, Wednesday March 25, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti

I stopped at Ifaturoti's after spending the morning in Ijebu-jesa, where I interviewed Onibonje.

Kunle asked if I'd enjoyed the dinner in Lagos Sunday evening (the Ijesa Society dinner) and I said I had. He told me that he hadn't known of the Ijesa Society until Sunday. In Yoruba, their name is Isokan Ijesa; Isokan means solidarity, so he asked them when they started and they said around 1986 or 1987; of course the new group that he has started is (in English) Ijesa Solidarity Group.

I asked if the organization being referred to by the President when he talked about a new group was Ijesa Solidarity, and he said yes, it was.

Tinu told me that she has a copy of the citation for Justice Eso; I should probably try to borrow it to photocopy it.

He told me that he was upset by one woman who was there, who seems to be an active member of the organization and who was seated at the high table. He said that she approached him and told him that they had missed him at the " "meeting of the elder". When he asked what meeting she was talking about, she said the SDP meeting. He said that he's not a member of any political party, and she asked, "then are you against us since you're not with us?"

He said that this same woman some time ago invited him to lay the foundation for another Ijesa organization that she's a member of, based in Ilesa. They invited a number of other people and Omole was supposed to be chief launcher but he didnt come. Kunle gave N200, others gave N50 or N100, at most N250. And then the organization had hired a juju band, which they spent money on, although they were asking for contributions, and when the dancing began, this woman brought out lots of bills and they all began spraying each other. Kunle said that at that point, he decided this wasnt for him, and left. So he said this woman has managed to do things to upset him twice.

There was a man with Kunle when I got there, and Kunle had his Ijesa Solidarity Group card file out, and put the man's name into it, asking him what he considered his profession to be, so he could be listed under his profession; the man said he's an educationist. After he left, I asked about the man and how things are going with ISG. Kunle said the man had come saying he had a list of names of people who should be on the executive council. Kunle explained that they already have an executive, but they want people to be members. Things are moving more slowly than he had hoped; they are aiming for 1000 members but so far only have 173. And as far as he's concerned the main goal now has to be to get a constitution. The problem, he said, is that there's no one to run around and give people the forms to fill out. He meets people who are interested, such as the people in Lagos Sunday night, but someone has to follow up. And the Executive Secretary position is supposed to be filled, but Mr. Akinola is in charge of that and he's been out of the country most of the time since

January.

I asked about the newsletter, and he said it had been sent out, and he gave me a copy of the English version. They also made a Yoruba version, but only 100 copies of that, to be sent to the societies. He wrote a cover letter to go with the newsletter, explaining that many of the organizations have similar aims, and that they want to work together. He put together a list of societies and it was supposed to be sent out, but the person who was to do it didnt so now Kunle has the copies with him and he is distributing them himself.

Since he mentioned a list of societies, I asked about it. He looked for it, but couldnt find it. But he said it wouldn't really help me that much. He then went on to say that there are a lot of groups of people in Lagos who believe they are descended from Ijesaland, but they really grew up in Lagos and don't know where their parents or grandparents or whoever actually came from. They really are Lagosians, but since everyone in Lagos is a settler, they want to claim some origin elsewhere, and believe they are Ijesa. Then there are the true Ijesa, people like himself and others who grew up here, who know where they are from. And there are organizations made up of these people as well. He suggested two organizations that I might want to contact (since I had said I was thinking of trying to do a survey with members of some organizations). First, the Ijesa Club, which is exclusively a men's organization, and to find out if there is a woman's wing as well; he thinks there is. And then the Ijesa Society, which includes both men and women in its membership.

He offered to contact his cousin, Tunji Oni, who is a member of Ijesa Club. But then it occured to him that it would be better to contact the former chairman of the club, Rufus (R.O.) Ajayi. He got out his card for me and I copied the address: R.O. Ajayi, Chairman/Managing Director, Olaruray Enterprises Ltd, Res: 8 Ayinde Giwa St., Surulere, Lagos, tel:835588; office, 21, Wharf Rd, P.O. Box 355, Apapa, tel 871549, 871567. Kunle said he would call him tonight and ask him when their meetings are and whether I can attend one. He said they meet on Sundays, usually twice a month.

I said I would check back on Saturday, when Bodunde comes to get the cooker from him.

Notes44

Fieldnotes Thursday March 26, conversation with Justice Kayode Eso

I spent Wednesday night at Eso's house, and on Thursday morning I saw him when I was having breakfast; he was about to leave. I congratulated him on his award on Sunday, and he asked if I'd enjoyed it; I said I had. He told me that he was going to go to his farm, which is located on the Esa Odo road between Ijebu-jesa and Esa Odo; he was wearing high boots, presumably in preparation for going to the farm. He said that he's planning to dig a fishpond, his land is near a stream so he will dig the pond and divert the stream.

I said that I was going to see Chief Lamikanra this morning, and he said that he'd seen him on the weekend, first thought it was in Lagos, but then said not, it was in Oyo, where he'd given a lecture at St. Andrews College and Lamikanra was there as a graduate of St. Andrews. I said I'd seen an article about the speech in the newspaper.

Eso also asked how my research is going and I promised to bring copies of my papers next week. He said he expects to be in Ilesa again next week.

notes45

Fieldnotes, interview Thurs. March 26 with Chief Abiodun Lamikanra, Ilesa

I got to Chief Lamikanra's at 10 AM as scheduled. I apologized for not having been able to come on Monday and explained that I had gone to Lagos for the dinner honoring Prof. Awe and others. He did not seem to know of the dinner or of the Ijesa Society Lagos. He then mentioned that there seem to be a lot of award ceremonies going on, and that the Council of Ijesa Societies is going to have one on April 18 to honor a number of people and also institutions. He gave me an invitation, which uses the same symbol that was on the invitation of the Ijesa Society Lagos. I asked him about the symbol; he explained that it's the cenotaph (?)--statue--near the palace which honors Ogedengbe the Ijesa warrier.

He said that among the individuals to be honored on the 18th will be Prof. Awe and Bolaji Akinyemi, people who have brought honor to Ilesa tho they may not have done anything specific for Ilesa or Ijesaland. Also Oluwasanmi--posthumously--because "they want the younger generation to know that at a time that man did us proud". He talked a bit more about Oluwasanmi and all he did for the University of Ife. They will also honor institutions and organizations, including the Council of Ijesa Societies, Lagos, which started in 1936 with about 5-6 societies as members, and does things like grant scholarships. They will also honor the Council of Ijesa Socieities in Ibadan, as well as the Egbe Atunluse here in Ilesa, which started in 1922 and founded the Ilesa Grammar School in 1936 and Obokun high school in 1954. In addition they will honor International Breweries (IBL) for what its done to bring employment opportunities and commercial activities to Ilesa. Altogether 20 people and institutions will be honored; they will publish a booklet with the citations, rather than have them read. Kunle Ifaturoti will be chairman of the event.

He said they had decided to do something a bit different by honoring institutions as well as people, and that the President of Egbe Atunluse was surprised when he told him the organization was to be honored. The awards will include people from all over Ijesaland not just Ilesa. And they are hoping to get a lot of people to attend by telling everyone being honored to bring 10 people.

I then asked Lamikanra about the Council of Ijesa Societies; he is the president. He has been president for four years. He said that "we love ourselves abroad more than at home". That is, the Council has progressed more abroad--such as the organization in Lagos-- than the one at home. He and others felt there must be a council in Ilesa; they organized it six years ago. There are thirty societies in Ilesa, all with similar objectives, to improve the quality of life in Ilesa, have unity in service to the fatherland. But he said it's been tough going to get the council organized; not more than 15 or 16 societies have joined it so far.

He said that once in a while they do things to get attention, and then get members; for example when the President came (to Ijesaland) they advertised and raised money, and became known. Two years ago the Ibadan Council honored individuals, so they decided to be different and honor socieities

as well.

The Council wants to encourage people to come home, to start industry and commerce. People who are elsewhere they want to get them to build houses here. The tendency is to just come home occasionally, and leave their wife and children in Lagos. The children are Lagosians and don't like to come to Ilesa. He feels that more people would be coming home to live except for SAP. People get used to amenities in Lagos, and their children expect to have them, so now they are starting to build houses in Ilesa with facilities, so it's making people think more about Ilesa as a place to live.

He said that Dr. Fajemisin came back in 1967, and built his house (which is near Eso's house), then Ifaturoti followed. Omole never went out from Ilesa. Lamikanra himself has been back 11 years, and Ilesanmi 5-6 years; Bibilari, who is Lejoka, has been back 12 years.

He said that people are coming back gradually but it's still a very small number. There's not a lot of social life of the rank that they get used to for those that have been away and come back. But now the roads are better so it's easier to get back and forth from Lagos than before, when it took the whole day.

He said the pattern that people follow is that first the man comes alone, then builds his house and frequents the place, coming for 2-3 days a week, then begins to stay longer and his wife starts to come.

I asked whether he thinks the younger generation will continue to do this. He said that he hopes they'll come back and live here. But unfortunately the commercial life and industrial life is very low here. It's not a center of activity so one has to be realistic. He couldn't have lived here thirty years ago; it was rural then. The opportunity of living in this town are small, but he hasn't lost hope; for example, he thinks that people will come and live in Ilesa and work in Oshogbo, now that the latter is the new state capital. It's easier to commute from Ilesa to Oshogbo than to commute within Lagos. He said that increasing numbers are coming, and they will bring their wives, children.

He said that many of his age group schooled here, they know their roots here, there parents were here. But the younger generation went away, they schooled elsewhere, and imbibed western culture; the family ties are breaking down. He can't say whether the children will come back. But at least they come to see their parents, and if in future they want a quieter place, they may retire here, as they know the people and the place. Many who come back do so after retirement.

They're trying to get people to establish industries here, with variable success. Some who tried have failed. For example a textile factory was started up, but the person packed up and went back to Lagos. He also gave the example of his own bakery. He mentioned Imo Hill Farm, which was started to "some of our sons", they got Dutch partners, two of them came to live here, but with SAP, everything became expensive and they left. Two-three years ago UTC got involved, and now it's picking up again. It

employs people.

He also mentioned Akinola, who is refining edible oil. He feels that if they have this type of thing, more people will come home. There is an industrial estate that has been mapped out by the local government along the Oshogbo Rd, and they hope that will attract industry.

But he said the more difficult life is, the less hopeful that people will come home. He mentioned the brain drain in this context. He also gave the example of an architect who built his house here and who may come back eventually since it's quieter here.

He mentioned that he saw a person in Oyo this past weekend who is from Ilesa and lives in Ibadan. He said that 2-3 years ago this person asked him how he can live in Ilesa and said that he couldnt do so, that he has to be able to go to his club. But now, he told him that he no longer goes to the club.

His final point on this subject was that most of their children won't forget that this is home.

I asked about when he himself came back, and whether he felt he was a stranger, and about the comments he made the first time I met him about some of the problems with getting things done here.

He responded that to a little extent he was a stranger, in that the ways of people here were strange to him, as his are to them. He finds that it's not easy for people to come into his house. He gave an example, that if he has an appointment with someone, he's not interested in spending the whole day. But they would like to play ayo, drink palm wine, spend lots of time together. He said that there is a different outlook; he likes to converse about subjects, for example to discuss SAP, but some people won't know what he's talking about when he mentions SAP. One thing that helps is that he speaks the dialect (ie. Ijesa).

He said that your point of view, way of life is different from that of people here, so in that since you're a stranger even if you know people. He pointed out that many of those who come back don't build houses in their family land, so they don't even see much of the extended family. For example, Justice Eso's father's place is in town, but he built his house several miles away. So it's not easy for those who come back to mix with others here, and some never do. Discipline here is lax, he said, for example with regard to time keeping (being on time), mode of eating, etc. But by and by one gets to know people and there's mutual influence. Someone like himself has a broader outlook, which throws one into activities, you have ideas, connections, and can use these to advantage. Therefore people see you as someone with something to offer, as a leader, one is seen as helpful.

Unless of course one decides not to get involved at all. For example, he gave the example of someone from Lagos who is an accountant, who is now living in Ilesa, but who says he just does his work, he is not a member of a society, or involved in anything in church. But there are others like

himself who are always involved, who are members of Ijesa societies in Lagos, so they can't come home and shut the door.

Even when he wasn't living here, he wasn't ever away without coming back here. His mother lived here, his father was here before he died. So he knew people here because he came home.

I asked about his own family house. He said that his sister now lives in the family house, and she is on the telephone, so they can contact one another. They see each other occasionally; those who are near to him (from the family) will come to see him, others he may not see for a month or so (including, it seems, his sister).

I asked about the option of building on family land or living in family house versus building away from there. He said that until you build your own house you don't have the satisfaction of being independent of your father. He wanted a place that was bigger than the family house, he wanted a garden, a place for his car, and privacy. He described the structure of a typical family house, where a man has a sitting room and then each wife (if it is polygamous) has her own bedroom, and her children have to use that room no matter how many of them there are. And if you are married and come with your own wife and children, you still are supposed to use that room. So people have to build elsewhere, and even in earlier generations they did that. He did mentione that some people have built on family land, but didnt give any examples, and implied that there are few who have. He said the pattern is to first rent something, and then build your own house away from family land. He said the compounds aren't very large; flowers aren't appreciated, there are goats and chickens. The family house isn't convenient, for example people's waking hours there are different, they get up very early in the morning and think nothing of coming to greet one then. Furthermore one's children "want Lagos in Ilesa", ie. the conveniences such as flush toilets, running water, tv etc.

We then talked about his involvement in other organizations beside Council of ijesa societies. He is a member of Ilesa Progressive Circle, as are Ilesanmi and Ifaturoti. He said this is a select group of people "prepared to work selflessly for improvement of the society". They are all literate and most have been outside Ilesa, many members are still abroad. They work for the improvement of the town and Ijesaland. They give scholarships, do social things, get into the local problems and disputes, for example regarding chieftaincy; they do things that will unify the community, they welcome visitors such as the governor.

He is also a member of Egbe Atunluse, which he said has similar aims. Only the methods of approach are different, but he wasnt very specific about how they differ. He said Egbe Atunluse is much older, it will be 70 years old this year. He said that Egbe Atunluse has done some momentous things, such as establishing the Ilesa Grammar School in 1934 and Obokun High School in 1956. They have also encouraged industry. Many of the members were traders and cocoa merchants. They do things to bring peace and unity to the town. He said that many members of the Progressive Circle are also members of Egbe Atunluse, and vice versa.

Both of these organizations have only men as members. He said the town societies are monosexual (his word). There are also women's societies, including the Ijesa Ladies Improvement Society, which includes wives of members of Progressive Circle and Egbe Atunluse. He said there are many many other societies. Some are for social gatherins; if they do something with regard to the town, it's just by the way. They are primarily for drinking together, celebrating naming ceremonies, weddings, etc. The members buy the same dress, and move together. But the Ijesa Progressive Circle and Egbe Atunluse have different aims; these are social organizations but with different objectives, of trying to do things to improve the society.

I asked if it is sometimes difficult to get things done (with regard to his comment when I first met him). He said that people's background and exposure are different. Unless you take time you find that you're in the minority. If others don't understand then it's not their fault, if you don't have the patience to explain, you'll be the person doing the wrong thing.

He commented here that the church society is different, that he was active right away in that. But so far as town societies are concerned, he waited two or three years, he didn't join them when he first came home. But gradually people get to know him, he was integrated gradually, otherwise his ideas will be mistaken. He gave the example of the road leading to his house. he said that when he was building his house there was no other house around, so he built the road, and brought electricity there. But the road is bad now because he hasn't repaired it. Others living around won't help. They see him as a rich man, he's the one who has cars, so he's the one that needs a road, not the others. If he asks them to pay something towards repairing the road, they'll say they don't have money. He has tried to get them to help, and a few do, but most don't. He also mentioned that he has a generator, but he's the only one around who does. So sometimes when the power goes off, he doesnt like to put on his generator, because others around don't have light, and the generator makes a lot of noise. He also mentioned the fact that he has a well for water.

I asked if there are particular issues that he feels need to be addressed. His answer seemed somewhat indirect. He said the the Ijesa man is more aggressive than most around, and that many have learned to read and write. Their outlook is more ambitious; they will fight for amenities such as electricity. Then he went on to say that once he had established himself, he was called on to do things that would benefit the community. For example, if there's a problem between two other houses, they will come here to get him to help settle it. If someone's child is sick, they will come to him. If someone's son is gone for a long time, they will see that he comes to greet baba when he returns.

He said that when the situation with electricity became unbearable, people came and asked him to do something about it. They formed an association of electricity consumers, and he became the president. He said that one gets involved whether one likes it or not. He was part of the committee to arrange the reception for the president, part of the delegation to the governor. The expectation of the people among whom one lives is that one

can be called on to do things for the advantage of the community.

He gave a recent example: when the Osun State Council of Chiefs was formed, there was a dispute; he asked if I had heard about it, then explained that the Oni of Ife was made the permanent president of the council. People in Ilesa didn't like the representation they were given, so they sent a delegation, wrote petitions, etc.; this is still going on, and he is involved in it.

Another example is that the police want to cash in on illiteracy, so if something happens that involves the police people will ask him to help them.

He said that "most of us" (i.e., those who've returned home) establish something. For example, Ifaturoti established the mining company, Ilesanmi his hotel, he himself, the bakery and eggs. They want to make life better, create employment, make the place better. He said that it costs us money, but they take it as part of the call to service. For example, to welcome the president, and to help in the immunization campaign, they spent money.

He talked about how people come and ask for money. He gave the example of a woman who came asking for money for business, so he told her that if she could obtain half the amount he would match it with an equal amount. She then asked for that amount, but he said no, he would match what she raised. So she came back with the money, and he gave her the equivalent, and he hasn't seen her since. It was clear that his feeling was that she really wasn't going to use it to go into business.

The people who come to ask for money may not be relatives.

I asked what happens if he can't meet the demand. He responded that he may give N10 instead of N20. He gets a lot of invitations, some of them he simply puts aside and forgets, but others he must respond to. He used to feel guilty about not giving more but doesn't any more. He may give less than he would have given before.

I asked about the effects of SAP on this. He said that the low-income people are able to adjust much better than someone like himself to SAP, that he is more affected by it than they. He gave examples of the kinds of things someone like himself expects to have--e.g. in terms of food--versus the expectations of lower income people, and indicated that he thinks they're basically doing ok, tho he recognizes that there is suffering. He said that the elderly people whose children send money and bring foodstuffs are cushioned. He mentioned a woman who gets money from him on an occasional basis, but not regularly (he didn't say who she is). He suggested that there are more effects on younger people, such as teachers, nurses and schoolchildren. He said that they have to do other things to get money; for example they will buy something like maize in the market and then sell small quantities.

He said that there is suffering, and what is needed is more industries here for those who aren't working.

I asked whether young people, such as school leavers, are coming back home to farm, or for other work. He said that they don't becuase they don't want to do menial jobs. He said that you don't find people who are not successful coming back, that they prefer to stay in Lagos or wherever, and even those who are abroad who aren't successful will stay in US or Britain rather than come back. But then he added that some now are coming back, but didnt give any examples of either thing happening.

He said there's pressure because people want you to put them in jobs. He's seen as knowing people, so they come to him for jobs, for univesity admission, etc. There's no age limit on this , but even when the job is there, they may refuse to do it. People will come and use his facilities, such as water, and that's why he has to have a high wall around the house.

But after making these rather negative comments about the majority of people, he then went on to talk about his own employees. he said that he has four employees, who started in various ways, several with the bakery but are now working with the chickens, or working as drivers. He said that they were willing to learn and to do the work.

He said that the quality of living here is improving, for example there are now good chemists shops in Ilesa. The roads are good, Ilesa is known for its tarred roads. I commented on how many more roads seem to be tarred now than before, and he said that that was the result of the political situation in which local governments had wider powers, and the financial allocation to them improved. Also the markets in Ilesa are very important for collecting revenue, and that is put toward things like roads. But he said the local goverrnment could get still more revenue; he used to bring money to pay his rates, but then he stopped taking it to the local govt office, and no one tries to collect it from him.

Our conversation was winding down by this time. He asked me if I knew about the Leventis Foundation, and told me a little about hos it is set up. They got land, from what had been a government agricultural institute, and established a school. People, both men and women, come for one year, and then go back to the farm when they finish. He clearly feels it's a very positive program. He said that people come from all over; at first they were from within 100 miles, but now they come from further away. I asked how it got established in Ilesa, and he said that the chairman of the Foundation, Adedeji, is from Ilesa, and when they were looking for a site, he presented the government agricultural land here as one option.

Lamikanra then asked about what I will do with the information I am collecting and we talked about that, its possible usefulness, etc. Then I said that I'd like to take some photos before I leave, so we went outside and I took some of the fishponds and chicken buildings. He said that he and his wife were going to Lagos, and would stop in Ife on the way and wanted to introduce me to their son. So I went back to Eso's to get my things, and then came back to their house. He drove with me in my car, while his wife went in their car with their driver.

On the way to Ife, we talked a little about the relationship between Ilesa and other Ijesa towns. He agreed that the other towns don't want to be

dominated by Ilesa. He mentioned the conflict between the owa and other chiefs and obas. He said other towns feel that their fathers served Ilesa, that they were slaves to Ilesa, and don't want to do that any more. This is part of t he reason that they try to get their own crowns, to show they're equal to Ilesa. I asked whether the owa of Ilesa is important to current efforts to develop the town, or if it is done more by other organizations, and he indicated that it is the latter. He didn't say much about the owa but definitely gave impression that he's not that central to efforts now being made (and also gave the impression of not having a very positive view of him).

I asked whether the Council of Ijesa Societies includes groups from other Ijesa towns, and he said that it's just Ilesa.

When we went past the Adediran wire and steel factory (on the Akure Rd, a little out of Ilesa), I asked about it. He said the man is from Ilesa and has done well with this factory making wire, nails, etc. He then mentioned that there had been an attempt to establish a community nail factory, but that others invovled didn't want to borrow any money, and it's not possible to do something like that without borrowing, so it was unsuccessful. They wanted to raise all the money from individual contributions.

When we got to Ife, we went to his son's house on Rd 18; his son teaches pharmacy. We talked a little about what I am doing and about Ilesa. His son asked if I've seen changes in Ilesa. I mentioned the brewery and he commented that he feels the brewery has made a big difference in Ilesa, it has played an important role there.

notes46

Fieldnotes Tuseday March 31, interview of Remi Fakeye

In various meetings Remi Fakeye and I have discussed the fact that she is from Ijebu-jesa. The other day when I saw her I asked if I could interview her. She's home from work for a while with a leg in a cast, so it seemed a good time to get her when she wasn't too busy.

Bodunde and I got to her house on Rd. 10 (no. 8) just after 11 AM. I began by briefly explaining what my research is on and what I'm interested in. I asked her her full name; she is Remi Olabode (father's name) Fakeye. She told me that she was born into the Arojojoye royal family, ruling house in Ijebu-jesa. She also said that Mrs. Onibonoje, who she'd earlier described as her aunt, is from that family; she was Miss Arojojoye before she married. Mrs. Onibonoje's father and Remi's mother were born to the same father, so Mrs. O. is her aunt.

She was born "12/12/49", in Ijebu-jesa. But she didnt live in Ijebu-jesa. She grew up in Lagos, in Agege, where she stayed with an aunt, Mrs. Fagbola, who was her mother's sister. Mrs. Fagbola died in 1983. She was a trader, selling clothing materials. I asked why she went to stay with her, and she said that her aunt wanted her to come there because she's a girl, that the aunt had many children but only the first child was a girl, all the others were boys. So she wanted a girl to stay with her. During this time, Remi's mother was in Ijebu-jesa; her mother died in 1989; her father is also dead.

She attended school in Lagos, the Sasengbon Memorial Primary School. During this time she would come to Ijebu-jesa occasionally, maybe once every two or three years.

In 1962, when Mrs. Onibonoje gave birth to a daughter, Remi went to stay with her in Ibadan, to look after the child. That daughter is now a doctor, she isn't married. Then in 1964 she went back to Lagos, went back to her aunt's there.

When she was in Ibadan, she went to Anahendra (?) School, but she didnt finish school. She said that she read a lot on her own, and much later, in 1983, went back to school, at Obafemi Awolowo University (she didnt say in what). Later in the conversation she said that she didn't go to school any more, when she went back to Lagos, because there wasn't any money.

When she was living in Ibadan, her mother would come there, and also other children and relatives. Her mother was a trader in Ijebu-jesa, so she would buy things in Ibadan to sell in Ijebu-jesa, and also bring things from Ijebu-jesa to Ibadan to sell. (I mentioned spending time in the I-I market, with the yam traders and Remi said that her grandmother was a yam trader, that she had lots of customers.) When her mother was older she stopped trading and started doing local hairdressing.

When she went back to Lagos in 1964, her aunt wanted her to be a trader. She would go with her aunt, help keep track of what was bought by

customers, and how much they owed, and then go back to collect; she would keep the records. They went from place to place in Lagos, to Agege and a number of other places that she mentioned. She said they had customers, for example in the ministries, but also indicated that they sold in markets. Her aunt sold adire and aso oke; she would go to Abeokuta to buy adire and to Oje market in Ibadan to buy aso oke.

Remi continued trading with her aunt til about 1968. She said that her aunt relied on her more than on her own children; the aunt's daughter was the eldest and was already married by then. I asked Remi if she wanted to be a trader, and she indicated that she didn't, but it also didn't seem that she had any particular thing she wanted to do, except something that would make money.

I asked her about going to Ijebu-jesa. She said that when she lived in Ibadan with Onibonoje's, Onibonoje was building his first house in Ijebu-jesa (at the family house); he would go home weekly and they would all go together. She said that they were many in the house, helping. After she returned to Lagos, she would go to Ijebu-jesa at festivals, Christmas, Easter, etc.

I asked if she knew people in Ijebu-jesa at this time. She said that she did, at least in the family compound.

Her first child was born in 1968; her name is Sola and she has just entered the university. At this time, she was still living in her aunt's house, but the father of her child was also in Lagos, and they were together there (she didnt' go into details of who he was or relationship, and I didnt ask much about this).

Then she got a job working in the ministry of agriculture, in the horticulture department. I asked how she ended up in that, and she indicated that the thing was to get a job, it didnt matter in exactly what. It was possible to get a job at that time without a certificate; she hadn't finished secondary school because there wasn't any money.

She worked at ministry of agriculture til 1970, and then got a job at Hillcrest Agricultural Industry, a privately owned compnay, where she was a farm supervisor, since they knew she had experience from the minsitry. This company belongs to a man named Oluwa, in the Ijemu area of Agege.

Later she joined Cadbury as a salesgirl, because that was better money; she was transferred to Sagamu, which was the base for working in Ijebu-Ode, Abeokuta, Epe. But she said the problem with working for a company like Cadbury is that when the market is down, they sack workers, then hire them again later.

In describing this period of her life, and the various jobs, at one point, Remi sighed and said "it was hectic" and I got the impression that there may have been other jobs, other things that she did that she didnt bother to mention.

At one point when she was laid off from Cadbury, she went to Ibadan, just

for the weekend. She met an uncle there, who asked what she was doing, and why she was planning to go back to Sagamu when she didnt have a job there. He then went to see a doctor friend to see about getting her a job; while in Lagos she had worked briefly for a doctor--Dr. Awosika--so she had some experience. She was hired by the doctor her uncle approached in Ibadan, to work evenings.

And, she said that is when she started her acting career. She seemed to get considerably more enthusiastic at this point, about telling me details, as she got into describing how she got into acting. She said that she met someone at the clinic where she was working, who asked if she'd like to be an actress. She said that she had no experience. He invited her to come to a rehearsal of the group he was involved with, at the U.I. Arts Theater. She went just to watch, but one girl didn't come, and she was asked to stand in for her and read her lines, and she ended up doing the part.

The theatre was called the Armchair Theatre; all the others who were involved were either students, lecturers, or working class people; she was "the lowest among them". This first acting experience was in 1973, but after the play was over, she didnt go again. But later they came back to her, and asked her to participate in a play for the Western State Festival of Arts, in the play The Vow by Wale Ogunyemi.

When she met the director of the play, he told her that he thought she was good. He was then working for Radio Nigeria (now NTN). He told her that there was a Yoruba groups looking for four girls to go to America, and he sent her with a note to Kayode Awe. She submitted an application to be a dancer. Eight girls were selected, then six showed up. She met the director the next day; it turned out to be Duro Ladipo. She had been seeing him on TV and was afraid of him; she thought he was a bad man, based on the way he dressed and looked. So she went back to the man who had sent her (Mr. Oladele) and said that she couldn't work for Duro Ladipo. Then the man came back to her and said she should go, that it's an opportunity. So she went back the next day for rehearsal. At this point 4 remained of those selected, and of these she was the only one that went to the US (there were others already in the company including Jimoh Buraimoh's wife). She had a permanent role with the company, and was on TV, but she was still working for the doctor. She'd forgotten about the possibility of travel. Then in December 1974, on 12/12/74, she was told they were going to travel that day. They went to Brazil and then to the US, where they visited Rhode Island University, New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston, also Canada. They came back in May.

Since that time she has been in drama. She stayed with Duro Ladipo and later joined NTA Ibadan, in 1977. He 1983 she began to work for Oyo State Council for Arts and Culture, as an actress; now it is Osun State, and she is not an actress with them, but is doing "fieldwork" (by which I think she means looking for local artists).

I said that in other words she got into drama just by chance, and she said yes, "it wasn't my line".

Her second child, a daughter named Lara was born in Lagos; she is now 20.

Her other children--there is a daughter who is going to school in Ijebu-jesa; she stays with her uncle's wife there. Then there is Kasim was is 10, and Bimbo who is 6. I asked where she met her husband, and she said in Ibadan when she was still working for the doctor, but it was a long time before they married. Then she stayed in Ibadan to work until she was transferred here to Ife.

She stayed in Ibadan til 1990; her husband would come there. She was transferred to Ife in 1990, and hasn't been on the stage since.

I then asked her more about visits and activities in Ijebu-jesa. She said that when she was in Ibadan, her mother was getting older, and she went home about two times a month. Now she still visits regularly; her mother's senior brother is still there. But she said she would go anyway, she "enjoys being there", she "loves it"; "if I'm not there within a month I feel homesick".

Her brother was given a chieftaincy title on Ijebu-jesa Day. His name is Alhaji Ojelabi, he owns the Country Hotel, which is on the road leading in to I-I from Ilesa.

She belongs to the Egburo Ladies Social Club, which is an organization of people from Ijebu-jesa mainly based in Ibadan. They meet in Ibadan. They wore aso ebi at Ijebu-jesa Day. They meet every last Sunday of the month, but she doesn't go now that she's not living in Ibadan. But if there's anything special they will let her know. And if they ask her to contribute money for something, she will send it. If there is a birthday, marriage, naming ceremony, or housewarming, they donate something as a group to the person doing it.

For Ijebu-jesa Day, all organizations were sent a letter, telling them how much each organization should donate; then the members contributed to the organization for the donation. In the case of her organization, each member contributed N50, and there are about 25 members all together.

The members of Egburo Ladies Social Club are either from Ijebu-jesa or else their husbands are from there. The organization includes single women, and women like herself whose husband is not from there.

She emphasized the importance of continuing to be involved in Ijebu-jesa. She said that "you know where you come from". Her children go there; they like to go there, she said, and they go even if she doesn't.

Finally she said that there will be a family meeting during Easter, which the grandchildren and the greatgrandchildren of the royal house will attend. It will be either the Saturday before Easter, or the Monday after; she will find out.

We discussed going together to Ijebu-jesa after her leg (which is in a cast) gets better, but made no specific plans.

Notes 47

Notes on visits to National Population Commission (NPC) offices, April 1

I went with Dr. Kale Feyisitan of the Demography Dept to try to see whether I could get maps of enumeration areas to use in selecting a sample.

We went first to NPC is Osu. We were shown the enumeration maps, but told we couldn't get copies. I learned that are are 5 S.A's in Osu, and 25 E.A.'s (enumeration areas), each of which is assumed to have between 460-650 households (or people??). We met the director of cartograhy, Lawrence Daramola, who said I could come back on Tuesday and we would go around to see the enumeration areas.

In Ijebu-jesa, we found the offices locked.

In Ilesa, we met a young woman, Nike Suleiman, who pulled out the large map of all of Ilesa showing the S.A.'s and E.A.'s on one map, with all the streets, etc. (the Osu map was divided into small sections, each on a small sheet of paper and therefore confusing). She told us that there are 127 S.A.'s and 632 E.A.'s in Ilesa. I said I'd like to come back to go around the town and to see the different areas. She said she could go with me; I said I'd try to get back next week, but did not set a specific time.

notes48

Notes on visits to Osu NPC office, Tues. April 7 and Thursday April 9

On Tuesday I went to say that I wasn't feeling well and that I'd like to come back Thursday morning; I saw Daramola and he agreed.

On Thursday, as we drove in, a NPC truck was about to pull out. A man got out and introduced himself as the director of the Osu office, said he'd heard about my work and that they would be glad to help me and make his stall available, but that they would need a letter from me asking for their help. He then gave a copy of a letter to me explaining this, and left. He is Alhaji Ayeni, Comptroller for NPC in Osu. Although his letter to me says that the letter is for "record purposes only", after he left, I asked Daramola if we were still going around the town that day. He then said that his boss (Ayeni) had the only map with him, and that he would have to wait until he got back, and also until I gave them my letter. He said that he had also gone to Oshogbo to get the large map of the whole area, but that that too was with Ayeni.

Ayeni was on his way to Oshogbo for a meeting of state directors, so Daramola told me that there was no point in going to Ijebu-jesa as the director from there would be at the same meeting. And also the director for Ilesa. I did however think of trying to see Nike Suleiman in Ilesa, but then Daramola asked for a ride to Ilesa; he was going to the census office there, so I figured this wasn't the best day to go there, and did other things instead.

It's still not clear to me how useful the maps are really going to be, or if I couldn't just accomplish much the same thing just by going around on my own--perhaps still using the E.A.'s to select the areas to be sampled.

Notes49

Fieldnotes Friday April 3, interview of Olori Remi Agunlejika

I got to the Olori's house after 10 AM; after we talked she asked me to stay for lunch, so I was there til 1:30 or 2 PM.

Olori Remi Agunlejika was born and grew up in Lagos. Her parents were from the Republic of Benin.

She came to Ilesa in April 1965, to work for Save the Children. Before that she had taught in Ijebu-Ode and in Lagos, and in 1957 she went to England to do a course in nursing, midwifery, and health visitors. She studied nursing in Lancashore, midwifery in London and Gifford, and health visitors in Surrey. She worked in London at West Middlesex Hospital for two years. Then she was employed by Save the Children to work in Ilesa; she was head visitor, a public health nurse.

She went around to the Ijesa villages, and beyond Ijesaland to Efon Alaye, Ogotun, Oke Mesi. She taught the mothers child care, home economics, family planning. She went to homes and markets. In 1967 they established the Mothercraft Center; they used a building in the old teacher training college on the Ijebu-jesa Rd. It was the first mothercraft center in West Africa. It was supervised by Save the Children and David Morley.

In December 1973 the Western State took over the work of Save the Children Fund, and she was absorbed along with the other staff. She was promoted to senior health sister.

Meanwhile, in 1968 she became the Olori of Owa Obokun of Ijesaland, Peter Agunlejika II; he had become the Owa in 1966. She moved to the palace in 1971, after the upstairs (two story house) was built.

After 1973 she continued to work at the center and other activities were added on. It became the Multipurpose Center, focusing on maternal and child health. Western state equipped it, they wanted it to be a 6 bed hosptial for antenatal care and delivery of babies.

In 1975, they were absorbed into another system, the Ife/Ijesa Zonal Health Board. Also in 1975 the Ife University Teaching Hospital started up, and they became part of that complext.

She got rapid promotion; she is now Assistant Chief Health Sister, in charge of the Ijesa area for community health nursing. They now do PHC--primary health care--at the center. She explained all the different things this involves--health education, food and nutrition, maternal and child care, family planning and involvement/training of babalawos and traditional birth attendants, community based distribution (training volunteers in villages and markets), immunization, ORT, supply essential drugs, and also take care of the mentally ill. She mentioned the goal of health by the year 2000, so people are not dying of little things. The area which she now covers at the center is Ilesa Local Government.

She is also technical advisor for the federal government on PHC for the Ijesa area; she helped set up PHC here.

She explained that each local govt has a PHC coordinator, there is one for Ilesa, one for Osu, and someone named Mrs. Oshewa is in the Ijebu-jesa area; she is in charge of health services at the local governemtn level, and they are getting help from UNICEF in that area.

I asked about her involvement in Ilesa and Ijesa activities. She said that as the Olori and as someone working as a community leader, it was not difficult to get into the system of the cultural and traditions. Being Yoruba, she knew the idea that obaship is sacred, and that the oba's wife must be accepted by the community, especially the one who is visible, who is his consort. She compared Maryam Babangida, as the visible wife of the president altho people say he has other wives. So too the Owa had other wives (she was the fourth) but she was the one who appeared in public. She pointed out that usually an oba married a new wife around the time he becomes oba, and that becomes the visible wife for official activities.

The Owa had three wives before he married her; but she was with him all the time. While he was alive, she attended traditional functions, they traveled together here and abroad. For example, she mentioned the Royal Show in England (some kind of agricultural show I think), that the Owa was the first traditional ruler to attend, he came as a successful farmer and they visited farms in Enlgland. He also visited two Nigerian heads of state, Gowon and Obasanjo.

She said that as his wife she had to do anything that falls to her (ie to her role) although not "fetish things". But all the things for the peaceful coexistence of Ijesaland. She mentioned here that the Owa was a devout Christian.

She was involved in many social activities before his death, including: foundation member of Ijesa Marriage Guidance Council; member Juvenile Court panel; YWCA; member Ijesa Sports Club; honorary member of Inner Wheel; Matron of Lioness Club. She has two chieftaincy titles--Yeyeshorun of Ijesaland, and Iya Oge of Edeland. She's also involved in Catholic Church and matron of All Saints Association. She makes herself available for voluntary social work, and was first chairman of Board of Management of Ijesa Handicapped School, established in 1979.

She's currently chairman of Family Planning, Ilesa Branch.

She pointed out that before one can be a health visitor, one has to know the community and its leaders. When her husband was loja of Oke Bode (before he became Owa), he made an expatriate who worked with Save the Children a chief in Oke Bode. She went to the installation, and met him there.

She has four children, two boys and two girls.

I asked about things that she thinks need to be improved in Ilesa. She said that when her husband was Owa, he fought for the unity of all the

Ijesa people; he would visit all the other towns, in Obokun area and Atakumosa area. There was an Ijesa Traditional Council. The Owa was the first president of it. The other obas were members, and some higher traditional chiefs like the Obanla, Risawe, etc.

The College of Education was established during his reign. And the market, which was upgraded in 1967; before that the market was in a smaller location in the same area. He gave them part of the palace land for the expansion of the market, and also for NITEL.

He made sure the palace surrounding were kept clean, and built the shopping complex in front of the post office. He renovated the palace, as it is now; nothing has been done since, she said. He also encouraged Ijesa sons and daughters to build houses and set up industries, such as IBL.

She said that she hasn't seen much change since then. The Owa was the first patron of Ilesa Social Elites, a club of "highly sophisticated sons and daughters from Lagos and all over." The club is for recreational activities.

She thinks that the most important thing now is more improvement of Ijesaland. She said that the Owa (current Owa) should keep his gate open, and encourage people to come to the palace, and to share views for the development of Ijesaland. Things are very different in this area now. They need to encourage Osun State to develop more areas in Ijesaland. They have the Federal College of TEchnology already, but they need more. For esample, she would like the College of Education to become Osun State University. There is a need for more industries in the four local governments of the area; this will bring more people back home to develop Ijesaland.

I asked if she considers Ilesa her home now. She said that by marriage she is Ijesa. She has been here 27 years, and she built her house here (the house we were talking in). She built her house between 1982 and 1987, i.e., after her husband's death. She first stayed at the Multipurpose Center, and then built the house and moved here. She is the first Olori to ever have a house like this. She mentioned that she lost most of her valuables after his death, indicating that others (other wives and children?) got more than she. But she got things important to her, such as photo albums of official functions (she showed us several of these while we were waiting for her when we first arrived.)

She said that she wishes more were happening in Ijesaland now. But she thinks the oba has a lot to do with it. There should be an olori to welcome people but there isn't. Apparently the family of the current owa doesnt live in the palace, and he basically uses it as an office.

During lunch, we discussed Better Life program. She feels it's all or mostly show, just involving wives of governors and politicians, especially now, and not really concerned with rural areas or even involving people like herself who have worked in rural areas.

Notes50

Fieldnotes, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti, Monday April 6

We had planned to go together to Iwoye today, but when I got to his house he told me that he would not be able to go, because a niece died on Saturday and he had to notify her grandmother, and was waiting for someone who was going to accompany him.

In the meantime, he told me that he had been in touch with Ayo Oni, an Ilesa man in Lagos. He is not a member of the Ijesa Club, as Kunle had thought, but of Ijesa Frontliners, and he suggested that this might be a more useful organization for me. He said that he didn't think Ijesa Club would be able to help me; they mainly get together to eat and drink. Ijesa Frontliners has business meetings (not eating and drinking) the last Sunday of the month.

Ayo Oni's home pbone number in Lagos in 680-507. I said I will call him when I'm in Lagos next week, and Kunle said he would be expecting to hear from me.

Kunle has not been able to contact Rufus Ajayi, whose name he gave me earlier.

Notes51

Fieldnotes, Wednesday April 8, conversation with Chief Ayoola, Osu.

I went to Ayoola's house around noon, and was told he was in town but at a meeting. I left a note saying I would be back at 3PM. He was there, with several men and one woman sitting in his sitting room. He said that he hasn't been coming to Osu as much as he used to because of the situation with his driver. He doesnt have a driver from this area, making it harder to come here for weekends. So he comes more often mid-week, just for the day--usually wednesday.

We talked a bit again about what I'm doing and I reminded him about the idea of a meeting of some of the leaders. He began to think of names, and asked the woman sitting there--who works for Inland Revenue office in Osu--to help him, especially with names of women. They sat down together for a few minutes, and then he said that the meeting would be scheduled for Fri. April 24 at 4 PM; he showed me a brief announcement/invitation he'd written up, that will be sent out.

As we were talking, he made the point that most of the local development efforts are based on the involvement of non-resident indigenes, and as a result they are more concerned with urban issues (such as provision of elctricity and good housing) than with things of concern to rural people. This seems to me an important point to follow up--and also to find out what his concerns are.

I said that I'll be in Lagos and he gave me his address and phone number there, saying he'll have more time to entertain me there. Address is 25 Olatunde Ayoola Avenue, behind UBA on Ikorodu Rd, in Anthony Village. Phone 961582.

Notes52

Fieldnotes, Thursday April 9, conversation with Mrs. Fatiregun, Ijebu-jesa

I was supposed to see her on Saturday, but when I wasn't feeling well, I sent Bodunde and then learned that Tunde Olashore had been around. Apparently she told him I would probably be coming.

At any rate, she said that he will definitely be there for Easter. And Dele Olashore should be too; he is back from his trip abroad.

We agreed that I would come to Ijebu-jesa on Friday evening (April 17), at which time we would go around and try to see some people.

Notes53

Fieldnotes, Thursday April 9, brief meeting with oba of Ijebu-jesa.

I went to greet him, just to let him know that I am back, doing my research, and that I'll again be spending time in Ijebu-jesa. He didn't recognize me at all, and even when I reminded him of my earlier visits and our conversation about town development, the town hall, etc., he didn't seem to remember any of it. He then asked if I had some questions I wanted to ask today and I said, no that I had just come to greet him. At that he seemed pleased, and seemed to get friendlier, and we chatted a bit. He talked in general about some of the problems of the town, such as electricity. He said that he had visitors coming today, the health commissioner of Osun State. He said us soft drinks and I left soon after.

Notes54

Fieldnotes, Friday April 10, trip to Iwoye with Kunle Ifaturoti

Bodunde and I got to Ifaturoti's house shortly after 9 AM. Our trip to Iwoye took longer than planned, as we stopped by police who said that all "OS" cars had to go to the station to be check by the DPO (we had earlier been stopped in Osu to be checked). So after that adventure we proceeded to Iwoye.

We drove thru the town, and went to the Grammar School which is on the outskirts. Kunle thought that seeing the principal of the school would be the best approach to finding people I might talk with in the town. Before we were taken in to see the principal, Kunle and I talked a little about his connection with Iwoye. His grandfather, who was from Ilesa, came to Iwoye as loja in 1897, and was loja until 1933. He died in Iwoye and his grave is here; Kunle still goes there to visit the grave. But the house itself doesn't exist any more. He would like to do something to put the grave in better shape, such as get marble, but hasn't had the money.

The principal's name is Ogunlayade. He is from Esa Oke. Kunle explained briefly what I'm doing and that I'd like help with finding people to talk to. Kunle said that he doesn't really know anyone here any more (he explained his connection with the place). He asked if there is a risa here; Ogunlayade said there is, Mr. Oni, but didn't say more about him.

Ogunlayade suggested a retired principal, Mr. Babatayo, and after a few minutes someone went with us to show us his house. It's on the road which goes off to right at the intersection (where Kunle's grandfather's grave is) and is a bungalow, the last house on the road--the road ends there and turns into a path. Mr. Babatayo wasn't there, but his daughter greeted us. I left a note, explaining what I'm doing and saying I would like to come back to see him on Tues. April 21 at 10 AM. Kunle said he would check with him in the meantime, and that he would invite him to the Council for Ijesa Societies award ceremony on the 18th.

When Ogunlayade heard Ifaturoti's name he said that there is an Ifaturoti in Iwoye. Kunle said that is his younger brother, but later he said it's his first cousin. He explained that one of his grandfather's sons married an Onibokun, from Iwoye, and that man's son is still involved in Iwoye activities. He lives in Ibadan, but comes frequently to Iwoye. He does not have a house there, however, but in Ilesa. I said I would like to see him sometime, and Kunle said to let him know when. The man's name is Okunade Ifaturoti.

Ogunlayade also mentioned Mr. Oke, a retired principal but said he's sometimes here and sometimes in Ilesa.

On the way back to Ilesa, Kunle and I discussed the award ceremony on the 18th. He commented that "it's a terrible organization" but which I think he meant that the ceremony is terribly organized, not the organization holding it. He is to be the chairman of the event. And feels there are too many people--24--being given awards, there will be too many long

speeches. He asked how long his speech should be and they said five minutes, but he said he can't say anything in five minues. We agreed that awards same to be the in thing right now, but he said this will be the last one, becuase so many people are being honored all at once.

In Ilesa, we stopped to greet Lawrence Omole. Kunle said he was having a meeting with all the Ijesa chiefs (that the Osun state government had asked the chiefs to meet with Omole), but that he could come out for a minute to see me, which he did. First, Justice Eso came out, so I greeted him, he said he hadn't seen me in a while.

Back at his house, the mention of chiefs came up, and I asked Kunle if he has a chieftaincy title. He said not, that he and Omole have always refused titles, that neither of them are chiefs. He said Omole's brother became a chief, because Omole himself didn't want it, that if Omole had taken it, Kunle's brother would now be the Owa, because it was a title which has influence in selection of the Owa.

Notes55

Fieldnotes Monday April 13, lunch with Olu Fadahunsi, Apapa Club, Lagos

I called Fadahunsi at home Sunday night, after I got to Lagos. He said he was available the next day, and suggested that I meet him for lunch. He gave me directions to his office, at 21 Wharf Rd., Apapa, which is opposite the Maloney Store on Apapa. I got there a little early, at just after 12:30. He was out in the hall when I got off the elevator, and took me into his office, where he introduced me to two men there, a Greek businessman, and a Nigerian. We spent about five minutes there, and then left to go to lunch; we went in my car (with Abraham) to the Apapa Club. Fadahunsi explained that he is a member of the club, that he goes there most evenings for a while to play snooker, before going home; he used to live in Apapa, and now lives in Festac, which he says is easy to get to from Apapa.

We sat down in the bar area and ordered drinks, then he showed me around the club. Then we came back and had our drinks, and then went into the restaurant for lunch.

While we had our drinks, and over lunch, we discussed Ilesa, his visits home, organizations, etc. He told me that he visits home (Ilesa) at least two times a month; he said he can't go four weeks without visiting. He has a house there, on Fadahunsi Avenue, but he didn't tell me exactly where in relation either to his sister's or his parents' house.

I asked about the reasons for going home. He said that before, when his parents were alive, he went to see them. But he still goes now. He mentioned that some people stop going home after their parents die; when you ask them why they don't go any more, they say there's no one there any more. But in his case, he said, his father emphasized maintaining the connections, and that he has a lot of the values of his father. He said that when his father was governor, he did a lot to encourage people to come home.

He also said that an additional reason for his interest in maintaining connections is politics, and suggested this as an area to look at in my research. He went on at some length about the problems now if you want to get into politics but live outside the town. He said that in the past, people in the town would accept someone like himself who was living outside as a leader, someone who could do something for the town because he was outside and had other contacts. But now it's a problem, because people think that someone in politics should have lived in Ilesa throughout. They won't accept someone who is outside or who has spent substantial amount of time outside. He gave the example of someone else who went home to live, thinking he would get into politics. But he really hasn't been accepted, people have made clear he hasn't been in Ilesa long enough.

Later, I asked which party he's involved in and he said SDP.

When we discussed his connections with Ilesa, he said that his father stayed in Ilesa throughout. He did his elementary school in Ilesa, and his

secondary school in Ibadan. He spent five years in Great Britain, where he studied economics and law. Then when he came back he went to live in Lagos, and has lived there since. But he has always come to Ilesa regularly, whenever he's in the country.

Later, he talked about the peace and quiet in Ilesa, and said it's a better environment. I asked if he plans to go there eventually to live, and he said he does. But then I asked about his wife, whether she is from Ilesa, and he said no, she's from Lagos State. His response as to whether she would want to live in Ilesa was a generalized one, pointing out that this is a common problem, because the wife may not want to go, or may decide to stay in Ilesa while the husband goes home. He said some men take a second wife then, but that that isn't a solution either.

I asked about his children. He said that the two older boys went to secondary school in Ilesa, one at Ilesa Grammar School and the other one at another school. So now they have their own connections with Ilesa. And he thinks that will affect the other children as well. He apparently did this purposely so that they would also have contact with Ilesa.

We talked about Ilesa organizations that he belongs to. He is a member of the Ijesa Society, which meets every third Sunday, so the next meeting is Sunday May 17. They always meet at the Bristol Hotel at 4 PM. We talked about my coming to a meeting and he said he would talk with Ambassador Fafawura about it, who is the president. He also mentioned that Fafuwura's father is president of the Ilesa Improvement Society (Egbe Atunluse).

He is also a member of the Ilesa Social Elite, which he pronounced Eh-light. I asked if it's Ilesa or Ijesa, he said that's been a long debate in the organization, that some want to change it to Ijesa to make it more inclusive, but that others want to leave it, as it's always been Ilesa. Ilesa Social Elite meets every two weeks, every other Sunday; the next meeting is Sunday May 3. He mentioned that one of the things the Social Elite did was to build a club house in Ilesa, which is available for use by anyone (it's where I went for the reception for Bolanle Awe's aunt's funeral).

Fadahunsi said that there is a fair amount of overlap in membership between Ijesa Society and Ilesa Social Elite. But that there are not as many professionals in the Social Elite.

He promised to check about my attending meetings, and I said I would check back with him, perhaps even see him in Ilesa this weekend; he said he would be there for Easter. I then dropped him back at his office.

notes56

Fieldnotes Monday April 13 and Tuesday April 14, conversations with Chief Tunde Ayoola, Lagos

When I saw Ayoola in Osu the other day, I mentioned that I would be in Lagos this week and he gave me his address there: 25 Olatunde Ayoola Avenue, behind UBA on Ikorodu Rd, Anthony Village, Lagos, phone 961582 (office phone). I stopped there on Monday evening at about 6 PM. When I asked for Mr. Ayoola, I was shown to the second of two houses in the compound; a young European woman opened the door, who turned out to be Ayoola's daughter-in-law; she is English. I explained who I am, and she said that Chief lives in the other house, and that he isn't home from work yet. She asked if I had seen his wife, and I said no, that I'd been taken here to her house. She then mentioned that Ayoola's wife is his second wife, not her mother-in-law (she didnt say anything about whether her husband's mother is still around somewhere). When I did see the wife a little later, it was the same, relatively young (probably in her thirties) woman that I have met a couple of times in Osu.

Since Ayoola wasn't home yet, his daughter-in-law gave me a drink and we talked for a while. She has been living in Lagos about 6 years, she met her husband in England, they have two daughters, 7 and 5 years old. Her husband has a printing press and also works as a representative for an English company, in something connected with oil, so he mainly works in Port Harcourt and Warri, and in fact they are about to move to Port Harcourt. She had just come back from a trip there.

She said that she has been to Ilesa, but only a couple of times, and the last time was for her husband's grandmother's funeral (the arise) which was several years ago. She said that she really didnt understand much of what was going on. She said her husband goes there sometimes, but not much. But her father-in-law goes a lot, and in fact has been going (to Osu) more in the past 4-5 years.

After Ayoola got home from work, she checked with him and said he was just going to change out of his tie and jacket. A few minutes later she took me to the other house, and I spent a few minutes talking with him and his wife. I asked him if he was going to go to Osu this week. He said that he has a council meeting on Thursday and another meeting on Wednesday, but that he really doesnt want to to this week because there's a lot going on in the church here in Lagos, and they are fasting this week.

I asked what the meeting is on Wednesday. He said it's the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, that they scheduled a meeting in Osu without telling him about it. I then said I'd heard about Ijesa Cultural Foundation from Prof. Awe but didnt know much about it. He told me that they are interested in focusing on cultural things in the area, and plan to have a museum, publications about cultural sites, things for tourism, information about festivals. He said that his idea is that there should be membership, for which people pay, that they shouldn't depend on donations for running the organization, but have a budget based on membership fees, with a small secretariat and do what they can with the money they get from membership.

The problem with depending on donations is that there's no continuity, and a lot of money gets wasted. But others are trying to rely on big donations, such as money from Babangida, and don't seem interested in his approach. They've been meeting for some time now, but haven't wanted to discuss things like the structure of the organization, so it's still rather temporary. In his view, Prof. Awe isn't really the key person behind the organization and she doesn't really have the time to devote to it. He thinks the main person is the man from the cultural office, who I met at Prof. Awe's house

I asked if he's a member of any other organizations of Ilesa or Osu people. He said that he isn't, that he really isn't interested in these. They are mainly social organizations, and he isn't a party man. He's not interested in visiting people just because they happen to belong to the same organizations, or in going to burials with people who aren't necessarily friends. They mainly meet at each others' houses, and you have to go, and visit and be friendly and he doesn't enjoy that. There are organizations of people from Osu but he isn't a member.

The only thing he's involved with is the Osu Development Council, which is different, as it's focussed on issues of concern to the town. The Council includes both residents and non-residents of Osu. It's concerned with issues, is not a social organization. It tends to become more active when there is a particular issue, such as the appointment of the loja, or support for the Post Office. Now that there is politics, that is diverting some attention, and also leading to divisions, as different people are supporting different candidates.

I didn't stay very long on Monday; I think he still had somewhere to go. But he asked if I was free Tuesday evening, and said they'd like to take me out for dinner at the Sheraton. They were supposed to pick me up at 8 PM, but came at 9. Service at the Sheraton was very slow, and I didn't get back to Asunis' til about 11:30. During dinner we didn't really discuss Osu much. I did ask Ayoola's wife where she is from; she's from Delta state, but grew up in Ibadan and elsewhere; her father worked with the forestry dept. She said she goes to Osu fairly often, and that she likes it, especially since they have their poultry there and that is interesting. They produce eggs; have 8000 hens, and several girls who run the operation for them, two of whom live at the house, and the others come in during the day. They bring the eggs to Lagos for sale; someone comes to get them and delivers them in Lagos; they make more money by selling in Lagos.

When I mentioned the meeting that he has set up for me on the 24th, he told his wife about it, and mentioned some the people who will be invited; she seemed familiar with them. She asked where the meeting would be, and he said "at the estate" to which she replied that people will like that, because they will get food and drink. She said that he used to have people to the estate (i.e. their house) fairly often and they all liked to come and eat and drink, but that he isn't doing that so much any more. He said that people would drink a lot of beer--he doesnt drink beer but would have to have it for others. Implication was that it got pretty expensive.

They dropped me back at Asuni's. I said I would see them on the 24th; he

said I should come early to the meeting, at about 2:30 or 3 PM. I asked again if he's going this weekend, and he said he's not planning to.

Notes57

Fieldnotes Tuesday April 14, meeting with Mr. Ayo Oni, Lagos

Kunle Ifaturoti gave me Oni's name, as someone involved in Ilesa organizations in Lagos. I called him when I got to Lagos, and finally got him on Monday evening. We made an appointment to meet at his office Tuesday morning. I got there about 9:30 and stayed til about 10; he had told me he had a meeting at 10.

Oni's office is at 62 Marina, on the ground floor, the Marina side of Ebani House; next door is the Prudent Merchant Bank, and Gateway Merchant Bank is on the other side. It's more or less across the street from UTC but hard to get to from UTC. The phone numbers are 661462, 665534, 662709. His home phone is 680-507; he lives at 54 Raymond Njoku St., SW Ikoyi. Raymond Ijoku St. is the first left after Falomo on Awolowo Rd; his house is on the right opposite the New Yorker restaurant.

I explained my purpose in coming to see him, and asked about organizations he's involved in. He said he's a member of two. One is the Ilesa Social Elite (which he pronounced e-leet), and that it happens that the next meeting is going to be at his house on Sunday May 3. He invited me to come. He said the executive meets first at about 2, and the general meeting starts at 4;30-5, so it would be good for me to come at about 4:30. He said that this is basically a social organization, and that they meet at different members' houses. It was formed in the late 1960's. He didn't think there'd be any problem in either talking with people at the meeting, or giving them a questionnaire to fill out.

The other organization he's involved in is Ilesa Frontliners. This was established in 1982, and consists basically of an age group (his term). People felt that the earlier generation which formed Egbe Atunluse had done a lot--Egbe Atunluse built the grammar school, the town hall--but that the members are now in their 70's. And that the next generation hadn't done much. So they wanted an organization which would also do something for the community. the members are all within the same age range--5-8 years apart in age. He is the financial secretary, and was formerly the social secretary as well. He didn't mention any particular projects that the organization has done.

He said that Ilesa Frontliners meets the last Sunday of the month and the next meeting would be April 26. I said I wouldnt be able to come that day, so he said that it would be possible to arrange a special meeting for me with the executive sometime before the May meeting. I said I'd be interested in that, but also indicated I'll probably want to attend the May meeting too. He promised to leave information with Ifaturoti for me about this.

I also asked him about women's organizations and he said he would put me in touch with them.

He also indicated his willingness to help in other ways, including talking with me more about himself.

He works as an accountant; his firm is Osindero Oni and Lasebikan; they are the Nigeria branch of Ernst and Young International, the largest international accounting firm. He will be going to the US for a partners meeting sometime in April. He talked a bit about his travels in the US and elsewhere.

Oni is probably in his fifties. When I was leaving he mentioned that he is a good friend of the new OAU Vice Chancellor, Wale Omole, and that they had a party for him after his appointment as VC.

Notes58

Fieldnotes Friday April 17, Ilesa, conversation with Justice Kayode Eso

When I got to Eso's house Friday afternoon at about 3:30, he was having lunch, and I joined him for a few minutes before going to Ijebu-jesa. He told me that he was expecting his wife and three of his four grandchildren to arrive sometime before evening. They were going to stay for the award ceremony on Saturday, where he was getting one of the awards.

He talked about how busy he's been since his retirement from the Supreme Court, and said he is home now less than before (by home it was clear he meant Ibadan). He said he comes to Ilesa to attend to the brewery, and that there were problems there when he took over as chairman. Also there were problems at University of Benin when he became Pro-Chancellor there, and he goes to Benin regularly. He also gives talks in various places. He'll be in Lagos next week, and in two weeks he'll be going to the Gambia for a human rights conference.

I asked about his farm; he said he would be taking the grandchildren there. He said that he is building three fishponds. I said I'd like to see it, so we agreed we would go there on May 13, meeting the evening of May 12 in Ilesa.

Later we talked a bit about the ceremony scheduled for the next afternoon. He said he hoped it would start promptly and not be too long, he hoped it would be over by 6 PM.

Notes59

Fieldnotes Friday April 17, Ijebu-jesa

I went first to Mrs. Fatiregun's house at about 4:30. I was told by a young man there that she had gone to church earlier in the day and hadn't returned yet (it was Good Friday). I waited, and she got back at around 5 PM. We talked briefly, and I learned that she would be attending the award ceremony in Ilesa tomorrow. We also talked about various family events she had invited me to: her junior sister is getting married in Benin the weekend of April 24, but I told her I wouldn't be able to go because I'm supposed to be in Ilesa on Sun the 26th. Then there is a burial for an uncle, but that is in Kogi State, where he lived. And finally her sister-in-law is getting married in Ijebu-Jesa on May 23, so I said I would be able to come to that.

Then we went together to see if Tunde Olashore was around. He was, and I talked with him briefly. He remembered seeing me at Ijebu-jesa Day. He and Mrs. Fatiregun discussed all the people who come to see his brother; as soon as they see the garage open in anticipation of his arrival they begin to come to the gate and sit and wait for him.

We discussed my seeing him to talk more; he said he was supposed to be at a meeting this afternoon, so I suggested coming on Saturday morning. He said I should come at 8 AM as he had a wedding to go to later in the morning.

After dropping Mrs. Fatiregun at home, we noticed that there was a car at Dele Olashore's house, so decided to stop there to greet him. Another man was also arriving at the same time, and Olashore came out to see both of us quite quickly. He and I talked a few minutes, and then he went into the other sitting room with the man for about five minutes. As he returned, three young women arrived to see him, so I didn't stay much longer. But he told me a little about his holiday in Europe, saying that's the only way to get rest, he doesn't get any rest when he comes to Ijebu-jesa. Then he told me that Iloko Day is scheduled for May 2, and that the man who was visiting was a chief from Iloko. I said I'd like to attend, and he said he should have a card by next weekend. Then he invited me to come to an "informal" dinner at his house next Friday night, which will include the OAU Vice Chancellor, the Deputy Governor and others. I accepted the invitation, but asked what he meant by informal; he said that of course he had had to arrange the date with people, to find a time when they were available, but that there wouldn't be speeches or things like that.

When I got ready to leave (after the three young women arrived), he indicated that I didn't have to leave so quickly, and so I said I'd be back in Ijebu-jesa Saturday morning and would try to see him (which I did, but when I stopped at his house at 9 AM he had already gone out); when I saw him Saturday afternoon at the award ceremony in Ilesa, he said he had gone out "to make his rounds".

Notes60

Fieldnotes, interview with Prince Tunde Olashore, Ijebu-jesa, Saturday April 18

When I saw Tunde Olashore Friday evening he said I should come to his house at 8 AM Saturday to talk with him. When I got there just after 8, he was outside in the entrance way. The house is off the main road, on a dirt road with a sign saying (something) estate, opposite Faseru Supermarket and a little closer to town than Dele Olashore's house. It is a very large compound with a gate leading into a large cement parking area, and a big house to the left. The sitting room, where I saw him both Friday and Saturday, is large with a number of upholstered chairs and just a couple of photographs. There is not a lot of furniture or photographs.

I explained briefly what my research is about, and said I was especially interested in talking with him because of his involvement in the Ijebu-jesa Day. He confirmed that he was the Chairman of the Planning Committee for Ijebu-jesa Day. This was the first time such an event was held. When I asked about the purposes of it, he said that he wished he had a copy of his address with him, as it described how the day came about. But then he went on to say that traditionally, there was a series of festivals, such as for the eating of new yam, the ogun festival, etc. They still do these but the interest in them is waning. Annual activities was marked by religious groups--those involved in traditional religion. These ceremonies are now not attended by many, because of the influence of Christianity and Islam. The main one in Ijebu-jesa was Ogun, which included the whole of the town. It was held in January; he said that he can remember as late as 1959 or 1969, all the people were involved, everyone went to the oba's palace, where they feasted. But later people stopped attending.

They got the idea of having something that would involve everyone apart from the various Christian and Islamic festivals, to celebrate a day where everyone could be involved and it didn't involve religion. The idea came from one club, the Agboja Club, which he is the patron of. (He didn't say specifically whether he or some other individual actually thought of the idea, just said it came from the club). It took four years before it actually took place. They brought the idea to the Ijebu-jesa Union's Conference, which includes all the associations, clubs, societies in the town. There are 76 organizations registered with the Union's Conference, and there are still more organizations than that in the town. The Union's Conference is the body that decides on activities for the town. They had a lot of discussion about the idea, especially about the period for the celebration. Some felt that it should coincide with major traditional religious festivals. But instead they picked a neutral day.

I asked about the results. He said there was full participation, and now that the first day has taken place, they are getting prepared for the next one, which will be the first Saturday in November. The goals of Ijebu-jesa Day were: one, a lot of people don't come home, and this was an opportunity to bring them home; and two, to raise funds for the development of the community, from individuals, organizations, friends outside the town.

I asked what the money was to be used for. He said that there had been several successful projects in the past. The Town Hall was built by the community, as was the Grammar School. Also another secondary school, the Obande school, on the Esa Oke Road, was built by the community, and the General Hospital. Current projects include building a new palace for the oba, and improving the town hall; it's not up to standard, he said.

I asked about the role of the community and the role of the government. He said that they don't want to wait for the government, that the community gets involved in things, including things like roads. They don't work with the local government; rather they decide what they want to do for their own community, such as the hospital; they built the hospital and then handed it over to the goverment to run it.

I asked whether there's any problem getting people to participate, whether people reach limits in what they can give. He said that in this community in particular, he grew up to know that his father and others contributed to the progress of the community. It's a continuous process, people are not tired, they never get tired. So long as they know that there's a project, they're never tired of contributing; if money is not used for a particular project, however, they will question what happened to it.

I asked whether they raised much money on Ijebu-jesa Day. He said that not much was raised, but that what he wanted was to raise the interest of people, to get them aware of the activity, just to make people realize that this is the day when everyone should be coming to town, that this is their birthplace. They appealed for donations, they asked the societies to donate, but mainly to prepare for future awareness. He said that about N200,000 was raised.

In the celebration this coming November, there will be more focus on fundraising. Last year, a major part of the celebration was the chieftaincy installation, but this year they have advised the oba that he should do the chieftaincies on Friday, to have more time for the cultural show, and fund raising, and full participation of all the societies. They expect about 120 societies to register this year. In the first celebration, not all the societies got to pay homage to the oba, but this coming year they want to have time so all can participate.

I asked whether they were successful in getting people to come home. He said yes, that they got people to come home, including those who don't come regularly, and that they expect more will participate this coming year.

I asked about his own involvement. He said that he is first Vice President of the Union's Conference, and that the Central Executive Committee of the Conference appointed him chairman of the planning committee. He has been involved in Ijebu-jesa activities for a long time. For example, the hospital was sponsored by the Ijebu-jesa Social Club, and he's been president of that for the past 11-12 years. They built the hospital. They started the fundraising for it in 1981, and the building of it started in 1982, and it is now functioning.

He was also at one time the secretary of the Development Committee of the

town, which built the oba's palace. The oba set up the Development Committee for development activities in the town; the committee doesn't exist any more. I asked why not. He said that the oba felt they needed something, but now there are other clubs and societies to do these things.

He then commented that he thinks Ijebu-jesa is unique in the amount of involvement. He said that each time they do something they appear to be pioneers, and that it's become a tradition to be involved in community activities. He said that his father would say that he made it himself, and that he met that tradition, and it is ongoing. Younger people now are thinking of doing even bigger things.

I asked if he grew up in Ijebu-jesa. He said not, that he went to school here for about four years, but spent most of his time in the North. He lived in Minna, Kano, Zaria; his father worked with the Nigerian Railways from 1921-1932m abd then joined UAC until 1948, and became a UAC factor until 1952, when he became the oba of Iloko.

I asked about the Iloko connection. He said that his great ancestor was the founder of Iloko. I asked if he's involved in Iloko activities as well as in Ijebu-jesa; to this he hesitated a bit, and said people won't like his answer. But he went on to say that he's more involved in Ijebu-jesa, and less involved in Iloko. For example, with regard to Iloko Day, he will be there, but is not a major participant. His brother (Dele Olashore) is more involved in Iloko affiars. He commented that people in Iloko won't like him to say this.

I asked which place he sees as his hometown, Ijebu-jesa or Iloko. He said that his father made them realize that this (Ijebu-jesa) is their hometown. But when he became oba of Iloko he impressed on them that they belong their, that their ties there are greater because he ruled there, and was more prominent there. But here, in Ijebu-jesa, he has his house, and this is where he stays when he comes home; he started building the house in 1981, and finished it in 1990.

I asked about when he was here when he was growing up. He said he went to primary school here, and stayed with his great uncle and his father's mother, but then his father took him back to the north. His mother was also from Ijebu-jesa.

He said that he's always coming home. He was a local government councillor between 1976 and 1979 and then he came home every week. He still comes regularly, and has started to spend about two weeks at Christmas here.

I asked if he's based in Lagos or Ibadan. He said that he's in both places; he has his law practice in both Lagos and Ibadan. I asked about his children, he said that some are in Lagos, some in Ibadan, but didn't give any more details.

I asked about whether his children will have connections with their hometown as he does. He responded that in the past there was a tendency for some to forget their home state. But the new instinct is to identify more with home. His children know that they are from here, and he asks

them to come home with him. He hopes that they will have some attachment here even if they're not as involved as he. He said that they are aware of his activities, so they might want to follow his example. He pointed out that he had his education elsewhere, and lived elsewhere most of the time he was growing up, yet he's still involved here. He said that it depends a lot on the individuals. Some don't bring their children home at all, and they lose touch with their home state. Those who come home only occasionally have to be reminded of where they are from.

I asked why it's more important now than in the past. He said that twenty years ago he wouldn't have thought of building this type of house, he was living comfortably in Ibadan. But then the awareness came up that he wanted to identify with where he belongs. He said that in 1974 this part of town was virtually bush. Now people are putting up houses here, and identify themselves with this place. His house in Ibadan isn't as good or as big as this one here.

He said that the awareness that one belongs to a particular place developed in the 1970's, although it's unique here in Ijebu-jesa in that there's always been some involvement in developing the town, but there is stronger involvement recently. Even young men are building their first house here, even before they build a house in their place of residence.

But he pointed out that there are also contrary examples, of people who are not involved in their hometowns. He mentioned Bode Emmanuel as one example. He is a businessman in Lagos, who is from Ijebu-jesa. His father never brought him here, and he will say that he doesn't know the place. If you meet him in Lagos, and he finds out that you're from Ijebu-jesa, he will ask about it, and say that he is from there, but that he doesn't know the place. So, in Olashore's view, the urge is there to know the home place, but since there are no connections, they never come home. He said that there are many such people who are from here but who have no connections here. He mentioned other people, including someone based in Ibadan who is on the high court there, and who will claim that he is from Ibadan. Another example is someone from Ilorin whose father was buried here when he died but otherwise there is no tie, and he never comes here.

I asked if he thinks he'll ever live in Ijebu-jesa. He said not now, maybe in his old age. He said that if he weren't practicing law and were in business and could do business from here--e.g., if have phone, fax, etc., he could be here, that it's more peaceful here.

By this time it was 9 AM and I had promised to take no more than an hour. He had a wedding to attend at 10. Also three men arrived while I was talking with him who were waiting to see him. Three women also came to greet him while we were talking; they were on their way to the wedding, I think. I left just after 9.

I stopped at Dele Olashore's house but he had gone out. I also stopped at Mrs. Fatiregun's; she too had gone out.

Notes61

Fieldnotes Sat. April 18, award ceremony, Ilesa

This afternoon was the award ceremony of the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ilesa. I was at Justice Eso's house beforehand, and when I was getting ready to leave, his wife suggested I drive there with them, so I did.

On the way to the ceremony, which was held at the Brewery, we stopped at Lawrence Omole's house; we got there shortly after 1:30; the ceremony was scheduled for 2 PM, but the invitation read "1:30 for 2". Eso sat down at the table to have something to eat, and his wife and I had a drink. Omole told Eso that he figured if he got there at 2, that would be fine. (Eso's wife commented to me that her husband said he wanted to leave on time). We stayed there about 15-20 minutes, during which Eso and Omole talked (in Yoruba) and Mrs. Eso talked with a young woman who was there. When she and I got back in the car (her husband went in Omole's car), she told me that the young woman is Omole's last wife, that she's really too young for him, and that he tells young men that they should not follow his example of marrying many different women, that he sees that as a mistake he has made.

When we got to the Brewery (IBL), we drove in the first entrance and got out of the car, then realized that the ceremony was taking place in a building more accessible from the next entrance. We were about to get back in the car, but other people started arriving then, and we decided to walk across. One of those who arrived at that point was Dele Olashore, (with the guard who always seems to be around his house and with him), who greeted me warmly and apologized for not being at home this morning when I stopped at his house.

The ceremony took place in a large room, what appears to be the cafeteria for the brewery. There were a lot of long tables and folding chairs, and a single long table set up along one side, that was clearly going to be the head table. All the tables were set for serving food. There was also a podium and microphone set up. A lot of people were already there, as it was just about 2 PM so I looked for a place to sit. I quickly lost sight of Justice Eso and his wife, but then found several people I knew at one table: Tinu and Adebisi Ifaturoti, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Fatiregun, and Olashore was also sitting there at that point. There was one empty seat, across from Olashore, and Adebisi said that the other seat was her father's and he would soon be going to the head table. So I took the empty seat, which was kind of squeezed in between a man and a woman. The man turned out to also be from Ijebu-jesa; he works for the radio corporation of Osun State (formerly Oyo State). We talked a little during the afternoon; he said that he lives in Ibadan and now commutes to Oshogbo. Later, after the ceremony began, I moved to seat on his other side, between him and Adebisi where I had a better view for taking photos.

Before I sat down, I saw Nike Ogedengbe from the sociology dept at Ife arriving; we greeted each other and she pointed out her husband, but then I didn't see her again.

When I entered the room, I bought a program being sold for N30. It's quite

elaborate, with a nicely printed cover, reading "Council of Ijesa Societies, Ilesa, 1st Merit Awards Day for Distinguished Ijesa Sons/Daughters and Corporate Bodies". The program has the citations for each of the people and organizations honored, as well as copies of the speeches made by Lamikanra and Ifaturoti.

The program began shortly after 2 PM, with an announcer introducing each of the people to sit at the high table. There was applause for each one, with the announcer asking for more applause in each case. Those at the high table were the awardess, plus Ifaturoti. Later they were joined by the Owa and the Deputy Governor, both of whom arrived late. The person making the announcements was a young man whose last name was Lamikanra, presumably a relative of Lamikanra who is president of the Council.

I took photos of Lamikanra and Ifaturoti at this point.

Then a professional orator was introduced, as Baba Ijesa, who spoke for some minutes in Ijesa, greeting and welcoming people. I also took his photo.

Then there was a prayer by an Anglican priest. In it he talked about Ijesaland as the "fatherland" and about children of Ijesaland; the general emphasis was on Ijesa.

I took photos of Olashore and Eso who were sitting next to each other at the high table.

Then Kunle Ifaturoti was introduced as the chairman of the day's events, and he got up to speak. Before he began his speech, he said that he wanted to convey regrets from Professor Bolanle Awe, who was unable to attend as she wasn't well. But that she wanted to let everyone know there about the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, of which she is chairman, that they will be having an event at the end of May or beginning of June, which the President (i.e., Babangida) will be attending.

Then Ifaturoti gave his talk, which is printed in the program.

After that, the President of the Council of Ijesa Societies, Chief Lamikanra gave his welcome address. I took some notes on it before realizing that it too is printed in the program. Before he began speaking he first recognized various people, including Professor Sam Aluko (the economist); later when Oluwasanmi was honored, reference was again made to Aluko as someone who was very close to Oluwasanmi.

In his speech, Lamikanra welcomed people on behalf of the council. He talked about how and why they were assembled here, that the Council of Ijesa Societies has existed for 6-7 years, and felt it must do something for Ijesaland. They want to foster unity, peace and development of Ijesaland, through action, not words. He said that millions, billions of words have been said about unity and development in Ijesaland. But they must show by action, create a forum for Ijesa sons and daughters to come together, once a year. He talked about knowing whether or not someone is an Ijesa; that people don't necessarily know that some prominent person is

Ijesa. He said that his message is to challenge Ijesa sons and daughters, to make them realize that there are many successful sons and daughters in many fields. He quoted a letter from one of the award recipients--that "we can do better together". He said that the special message for this year is industrialize; that there are natural, mineral resources, agricultural, fertile soil, and that there are accomplished people who can help Ijesa industrialization.

I took a photo of Lamikanra while he was speaking.

Around this time I noticed that Olori Agunlejika had joined the end of our table; later she was the one called on to present the awards to the first set of awardees, before the Deputy Governor arrived; after he arrived, with his wife, his wife presented the awards.

After the welcome address, a toast to Nigeria was made. At that point only the head table had been served anything to drink, so the toast was made with empty glasses by most people.

Then a man named Prof. Olajobu made a toast to Ijesaland. This was a rather lengthy speech, given in Yoruba (everything else up to this point and after was in English). Adebisi gave me a rough translation of high points of the speech. Basically about how powerful the Ijesas are, that while they are not many numerically, they are powerful.

In the midst of the toast, we could hear sirens outside, and the speech was ended quickly. It was the Owa arriving; once he came in and took his place at the head table, the man was asked to continue his toast. It was 3:45 PM. I heard something about osomaalo in the toast. Then Adebisi translated some more: that he was talking about the stubborness of Ijesas. That they are not really stubborn, but rather they set a goal and go all out to achieve it. In a just cause an Ijesa would rather die than compromise.

Following this toast, the presentation of awards began. The citations were read completely, with several different young men--termed professional orators--reading them. Olori Agunlejika made the presentations of the plaques.

The first award went to Lawrence Omole. The speaker put aside the written citation midway through, and began to talk about "my father". He talked about how Omole is known as a produce buyer and philantropist. He mentioned specific things he had done: contributing to the solar energy project at University of Ife; establishing a library for Osun State College of Education, thru IBL, and also a medical facility there. Also the Omole Foundation, giving scholarships not just to Ijesa students but to others as well. And that his most outstanding contribution was IBL (the brewery), that unlike others elsewhere it was not a one-man show, but rather he had brought in others to work with him in establishing it.

When the presentation was made by the Olori, she referred to her "husband and father"; when she finished the Owa made a comment and everyone laughed. Adebisi told me that the Owa had asked how many husbands she has (since

traditionally the new Owa inherits the wives of former Owas).

The second award was made to Christopher Kolade, Chief Executive of Cadbury. The citation was read as written in the program.

The next award was to Oladele Olashore. Here again the presenter deviated some from the text, saying that he had a "long relationship" with the "oba in waiting". He also added some other things that Olashore had done, such as assistance to the setting up of the brewery (I assume financial assistance thru his bank), and the building of the IBWA bank building in Ilesa, which the presenter said is one of the most beautiful banks around. He pointed out that Olashore is first and foremost an Ijesa.

I photographed Olashore while the award citation was being read.

The next award was given to Irene Thomas, read as written.

At this point one of the young men making announcements began to ask for donations, "since some of the dignataries want to leave" (I think Omole was the one who was leaving. He called on Omole for a donation; to this Justice Eso said that they should go to the Castle of Mercy (Omole's house) for their donation, that it would not be announced here. And that the same would be true for himself, IBL, etc. The announcer then said that they wouldn't announce the donations but they would collect them. They called on Engineer Fadahunsi (one of the awardees) for a donation. But he too said there would be no donation now but at the appropriate time. Olashore was also called on for a donation. The sentiment of those around me, such as the man from the Radio Corporation, was that the request for donations was not appropriate, he said that they are "not buying their awards." Then the announcer said they would suspend the donations from the high table, for now. About two minutes later, he said they would suspend them entirely, on the instruction of the Chairman (ie. Ifaturoti).

The reading of citations and presentations of plaques then resumed. The next award was to Prince Adedokun Haastrup, a former ambassador. Then Akinmokun, from Ikeji Ile, who was also honored at the Ijesa Society dinner in Lagos. Then Adediran, a relatively young man (born 1947) who owns Adediran Steel and Wire Industries (located on the Akure Rd).

At this point, there were again sirens, heralding the arrival of the Deputy Governor and his wife, Apostle Prince Adesuyi Haastrup (who is from Ilesa).

After they came in and were announced and seated at the high table, the awards continued, with the next to Bolaji Akinyemi and then Mrs. Maduka, an engineer (Nina Mba had mentioned her to me as a prominent Ijesa woman I might want to meet in Lagos; unfortunately I never got to meet her today, but Justice Eso said that he has her address if I want it.). Also, on Akinyemi, who I met briefly at the Ijesa Society dinner in Lagos, at one point I got up to go outside for a few minutes; he was by himself at one end of the high table, near the door, so I went and greeted him and we shook hands, but didn't talk.

The awards were interrupted at this point to allow Owa Aromolarun to speak.

He spoke in Ijesa, starting out with greetings--"E Pele o Gbogbo Ijesa". He just spoke for a few minutes. The one comment that I got was towards the end of the speech, when he told the Deputy Governor that he shouldn't wait for a second term to do things for Ijesaland. The Owa left after his talk.

Then the awards resumed, although a lot of other people were starting to leave around this time, especially once food was served to everyone (a complete meal, with rice and stew, and those at the head table had fried rice rather than jollof rice). Drinks were also served--malt drink and beer from IBL (no soft drinks).

The next award was to Maxwell Falomo, owner of Flexible Packaging, another company in Ilesa (on the outskirts, on the was to Ibodi). Then to Samuel Ogundipe, who wasn't there to get his award; his wife received it for him; he's a banker.

Then an award was made to an organization, the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ibadan, and was received by its president.

Then individual awards continued, to Dr. Ajayi-Obe, head of Metropolitan Batteries Limited; Justice Eso (I took a photo as he listened to the citation); to Professor Oluwasanmi posthumously, received by his son.

A lot of people were milling about by this time, and many had left. Tinu Ifaturoti and Adebisi, as well as Mrs. Eso, left around 6 PM, shortly after Eso got his award. The man next to me, from the Radio Corporation of Osun State was beginning to count how many more there were to go. But he stayed. The Fatireguns left. Some of the awardees also left, but Eso and Olashore both stayed til the end, as did Akinyemi and Mrs. Maduka.

After Oluwasanmi awards went in the following order to: Dr. Ajayi, a lawyer; Chief Fajuyitan, the oldest of the recipients (80 years old, who in deference to age was allowed to sit while the citation was read); Chief Fadahunsi, an engineer; Professor Awe (received by someone else for her); Chief (Mrs.) Thompson, represented by her daughter; Dr. Ariyo, former commissioner of finance for Oyo State.

In the citation for Ariyo, there was a statement that when he was in Oyo State government, he "appeared as a Goliath in a city of Lilliputians"; people near me, especially the man from the radio corporation, reacted to that statement and commented on it to others at the table, saying that this is the sort of thing that is inappropriate, going too far.

Finally the awards were given to the other organizations--the Council of Ijesa Socieites Lagos, the Egbe Atunluse Ijesa, which was said to be "the oldest cultural organization in Ijesaland, founded in 1922"; the President of the Egbe Atunluse received the award, (Chief Fafowora) and the statement was made that he was the first student enrolled in Ilesa Grammar School.

IBL also got an award; the Managing Director received it. The person reading the citation interjected into it, that he wanted to draw the attention of the Deputy Governor to IBL's situation.

The awards ended at 7 PM. Then Ifaturoti took over again, and made some additional remarks. He said that it's time for Ijesas to recognize that they have qualities for our mutual benefit. He said that he was directing his comments to the Deputy Governor, and also commented that "we're so small we can't afford to divide ourselves". Ifaturoti was about to bring things to an end, when he was interrupted with a reminder that Bolaji Akinyemi was supposed to give a response for the recipients.

So then Akinyemi made a brief speech. He mentioned the Lagos ceremony where there were four award recipients and the speech made at the end by Justice Eso; he said he was going to adopt and adapt Eso's speech. He said that by "honoring us Ijesaland is honoring itself", that "Ijesaland gave birth to us, and we have gotten our values from Ijesaland."

Finally, the Deputy Governor was called on to speak. He was introduced as a son of Ijesaland. He said that he is proud to be an Ijesa, that Ijesas are prominent in all fields. He referred to a radio jingle: "In that corner, he dey there... in that corner he dey there". He said that one can say about Ijesas, that "in that corner Ijesa dey there; in the other corner, Ijesa dey there". He said that the only thing they haven't done is to work for their own unity. Then he referred to the census, saying that the Ijesa "scored lowest", that everyone is trying to do his own business and not counting for Ijesaland. (My understanding of what he was saying was that people were too busy with their own affairs to return home to Ijesaland to be counted--but it would be worth asking about this; it's certainly an interesting comment from a deputy governor if that is what he meant). He said that they should bring resources together for the improvement of Ijesaland, and that the Council of Ijesa Societies is a very good forum for doing that. Finally he referred to the comment of the Owa, saying that as kabiyesi said, he shouldn't wait for a second term, but will do what he should do.

Then the announcer took over again briefly, at which point he introduced me, saying that I'm doing research here; I stood up so people (those who were still there) could see me. And there was another request regarding donations, announcing generous donations from the Governor and Akinyemi, and asking for others, but again being told that people would send them later; he also said that for reasons of protocol he couldnt announce how much had been given by the Dep. Governor and Akinyemi. They also seemed to be wanting donations from those attending, but I didn't ever see them being collected.

The vote of thanks was made by Daramola, the president of the Ijesa Sports Club, who thanked all the participants, mentioning each one. Then he mentioned two men who he said were key in all this, that they were in Lagos and then retired here-- Chief Lamikanra and Chief Ilesanmi, that the council is their baby, their creation.

Finally there was a closing prayer by an imam, which seemed to go on for a long time.

The ceremony finally ended at about 7:30 PM. Ifaturoti in his last

comments referred to it as an endurance contest. I spoke briefly with Olashore and then found Justice Eso to get a ride back to his house. He looked for Ifaturoti, who seemed to have already left. We stopped at Ifaturoti's house to check he was there, which he was, and spoke briefly with him. The consensus was that the ceremony had gone on too long.

Then we went back to Eso's house. His wife was getting ready to go to church; she's Catholic and they have a service the night before Easter. Eso offered me something to eat with him, and then a glass of wine (I had already decided it was too late to go back to Ife tonight).

We talked a bit about the awards. I asked how he felt about such a ceremony, and he said that it's very important, that they don't give out awards easily in this place, you really have to work for it. And these are the first awards given by the Council, a group of all the socieities, not just by one organization; and it covers all of Ijesaland--perhaps that is why so many were honored this first time, he said. We discussed the reading of the citations; he said that Ifaturoti had talked with Lamikanra and Ilesanmi beforehand and they had agreed not to have them read, but then had gone ahead and done it anyway. He referred to them as the "two mousqueteers"--altho didnt actually refer to them by name.

I asked who the younger men were who were doing the announcing, and he said that they're part of the next generation; he knew that one was named Lamikanra and assumed he is Chief Lamikanra's son, but didn't know who the others were.

This comment about the next generation led me to ask about the involvement of the younger generation in Ilesa activities. He said that he has a sentimental attachment here, that when he built his house here in 1969-71, it was a "white elephant" that he rarely used, but now he uses it. He said that his son likes to come to Ilesa, and the grandchildren like to visit.

With regard to his house, he said that he anticipated he would use it, but then he built his house in Ibadan (after the Ilesa house), because he decided that he liked the intellectual stimulation of Lagos and Ibadan, but didn't want to live in Lagos. Also that his wife has a nursery/primary school in Ibadan, and she wouldn't want to move to Ilesa while her school is in Ibadan. (His wife is from Delta State, riverine area, is Ijaw; they met in Ireland, and she mainly grew up there).

He said that he wouldn't come here as often as he does if it weren't for the brewery. I asked about his farm. He said yes, he would come for 2-3 days every couple of weeks, that you can't do absentee farming. He's had the farm for six years, has been growing crops like maize, but at a loss; he's only broken even once. Now he is in the process of building fishponds, which are capital intensive and should be successful; he should make a lot of money if the fish aren't stolen.

We talked a bit about Olashore; it turns out that Eso has been invited to the same dinner as me next Friday night. He told me that Olashore is building a very large house in Iloko, that he must be spending millions there; he is building a swimming pool, tennis courts, etc. on 5 acres of

land. He's putting a lot of money into Iloko. I asked why and Eso said he doesn't know. Eso's son is the architect and builder for Olashore.

Eso mentioned that the Iloko Road from Ijebu-jesa is a good road, and that one can go that way to the Akure rd, that he finds it the fastest way to get to the brewery from his farm (which is near Esa Odo).

He also mentioned that Olashore gave an award in his name after he retired from the Supreme Court; he gave money to the Nigerian Law School for a N2500 annual award in his name in professional ethics; Eso was clearly very pleased about that, especially about the fact that it's something that will continue in his name.

Also today I got information from Eso and his wife on the location of their house in Ibadan. It is on the road going in toward Bodija, past the officers mess, then there is a high school at the corner on the right, and their house is on the left, just past the stream; there is a white wall and a sign for Green Acres, it is the first gate past the stream.

notes62

Fieldnotes Wed. April 22, conversation with I.A. Babatayo, Iwoye

I had tried to see Babatayo on Tuesday, but he was out, so I said I would come back at 4PM today. He apologized for not having been around yesterday, but said he had an engagement. He then mentioned that he thought he had seen me Saturday morning at Prince Tunde Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa, so I said yes that I had been there early Sat. morning. Later he told me that he had been there as part of a number of visits he and others were making to get people to attend a launching for a police fund for the area (including Iwoye, Ijebu-jesa, Iloko, Ere etc); it will be on May 9. He also explained that that was why he didnt get to the award ceremony on Saturday (Ifaturoti had invited him), because he was out delivering invitations to those people who are only here on weekends and who are hard to find.

I told him what I am interested in, and that the principal of the grammar school had suggested his name to me. He began by telling me a little about the kind of work people do in Iwoye. He said that farming is the main occupation, that they grow yams, and especially palm for palm wine, that this place is especially noted for its palm wine. He said that the men are mainly farmers, and the women too, altho later he said the women trade.

Then I asked him about organizations, and he told me about several. He first told me about the Iwoye-Ijesa Descendants Union, which he said includes everyone, men women, literate, non-literate, and has members both at home and abroad. The IDU has a project to build a palm wine factory for the town (later he told me more about this project and others). He's the second vice president of IDU.

The Iwoye-Ijesa Progressive Union (IPU) has literates as members, people with at least primary 6 although he said that in reality there aren't any members with just primary 6, but includes more educated people.

The Iwoye Ijesa Social Elite (ISE) is also an organization with literate members, as is Club '79. There is also the Altruists' Club, which includes undergraduates from Iwoye--those at universities, polytechics, etc.

There is an organization called the Easter organization, which helps its own members with loans and which also does things to make the town enjoyable during easter--giving parties, etc.

Then he told me about the Irewolede Society, which he said is a cooperative society that gives loans to its members. It includes both men and women, literates and nonliterates. There are two ways of getting loans. Members have shares of N10 per share; loans can be made from the shares, and interest is charged. Also, members make monthly contributions and they can get loans from those contributions. Only members can get loans. I asked what the loans are used for, he said for small commercial ventures; for farmers to get equipment or hire laborers; for women to trade, buy maize or cloth, or for gari processing. He said that people are told that they shouldn't use the loans for dressmaking or burials, things like that.

Before a loan is given, they know what the purpose of it is. He said about 40 women and 20 men are members. The majority are in town, but a few are outside. He said that for example he founded the organization but at one time he travelled out, when he was posted to Ibadan, but he was still a member. He said that people with loans must pay monthly.

I asked about Iwoye people who are outside the town. He said that many of the well to do people from here are outside, and then he mentioned several: Agunbiade is an architect in Lagos, Chief Ige, and others, mostly in Lagos, some in Ibadan, some Ilesa, and elsewhere. I asked if they come back here, and he said that they do, their parents are here, they must come home to visit. For example, at Easter, everyone was home to visit. If there's any meeting they let those outside know what is going on in the town.

Both the IPU and the IDU hold some of their meetings outside Iwoye, but the annual meeting is always in Iwoye. They will have quarterly meetings in places like Ibadan, and those people who are living in Iwoye will attend, especially the officers of the organization, and representatives of the oba and chiefs.

I asked for a little more information about himself. He was the principal of Ebenezer Grammar School in Ijebu for seven years, and just retired at end of 1991. Before that he was at a high school in Ibadan for seven years, so during that time he was living in Ibadan, but when at Ijeda he lived here in Iwoye.

I asked for more information on the plans to bottle palm wine in a factory. He said that the organization took the decision last year during their annual congress. That they have started by asking the farmers to plant more seedlings, so that there is enough production to consume it locally and to bottle in the factory. This area is known for better palm wine than elsewhere, so if it's available people will buy it; there is a demand for plam wine, in fact people are going back to drinking it instead of beer.

The factory will be the next project after the oba's palace is completed; it is being built and has to be roofed. (There is no oba in town right now, but the oba-elect is being named and they expect to have an oba soon).

They also want to establish a community bank in the town. People will contribute money to these efforts. These projects are efforts of the community. I asked about government involvement; he said that they are community efforts but they will let the local government know about them. Any project they have, the state and local governments will want to contribute in some way; for example for the palace, the local government gave N250. But it is the town carrying out all the projects, for example the maternity center was built by the community and then the government took it over. For the oba's palace they are asking every citizen to contribute, however poor, each is asked to contribute N100, and they expect thousands from the well-to-do. The launching of the final phase of the palace will be in September. There will be Iwoye-Ijesa Day the first Saturday of September, and they will raise money there to finish the oba's palace. Then they will begin their next project.

The next project will be the palm wine factory. The farmers have already started planting more palm; plam wine is "our cocoa here." The factory will be owned by the community, that is those who have shares in it; people will purchase shares but it will be thought of as a community project. They will have experts to advise them. There is already a committee set up for this project. Similarly with the community bank, there will be shareholders, with N500 minimum to be a shareholder.

Some of the people outside who are involved in these activities include Onibokun, Agunbiade, Ige, and they know the places and people to contact. Also the church is involved; the reverend canon at the Anglican Church wrote a paper asking the church to get help to set up small scale industry for church members; they told him that the town was interested in such a project. The church along wouldnt be able to cope with the financial aspect of the project.

I asked if people outside come home regularly; he said that Chief Akin Agunbiade, an architect and philanthropist comes home weekends. Also Chief T. A. Ige, who stays here when he comes come. P.O. Oni is the oba-elect (he said that his house is one the left past the market on the way to Ijebu-jesa). He also mentioned the names of Tunji Fakoya and Ojo Aromo.

He said that the IDU will have its executive meeting on May 2 from about 11AM to 3 PM, so people will be home then. He suggested that I come to his house at 4 PM and that he would help me to meet some of these people; he said that if he's not home he will be somewhere in the town amd the children will know where.

He also mentioned that the president of the IDU is a cousin of Ifaturoti, M.O. Ifaturoti, but said I wouldnt be able to speak to him in English. I said that I'd like to meet him and have an assistant to help talk with those who don't speak English.

I left and said I would be back on Sat the 3rd; he asked me to apologize for him to Ifaturoti for not attending the awards last Saturday.

notes63

Fieldnotes Wed. April 22 and Thursday April 23, impressions while mapping in Ilesa, Iwoye and Osu

On Wednesday morning Bodunde and I mapped the Ikoti section of Ilesa. It took about an hour, between 10 and 11 AM to walk down the P line and back on the O line, counting the houses along the way and drawing a rough map. There were a fair number of people out in front of houses and shops, and we greeted some, and people greeted us back. But in general no one paid much attention to us. There are quite a number of large, two story houses, but they are mostly old.

Wednesday afternoon we went to Iwoye to see Mr. Babatayo (see other notes). We spent about 45 minutes beforehand mapping a couple of sections of the town and probably covered about half the town between 3 and 4 PM. People were around their houses, but they didn't pay much attention to us, or in some cases, they looked at us but didn't greet us. The houses are for the most part small and old.

Thursday morning we went to Osu, and spent from about 9 AM til almost noon mapping most of the town. We first walked around the section by the market place, which turns out to be quite large, with lots of turns and twists, and dead ends at hills. Lots of people greeted us, starting with the children near the market place, and continuing with women in front of their houses and working at shops and other places, and also some men. There seemed to be a lot of people around at the houses, both men and women tho probably more women. We then walked in the section across the street, and then drove along the main road and counted houses there, and finally drove into the other area on the market side of the road (but separated from the first area) but didn't actually count there. In the other places where we walked, people continued to be friendly, greeting us, etc. One young man on a bicycle stopped us and asked if we were surveying for water pipes. The houses are mostly old, and fairly small, but there seemed to be a number which are part of large compounds, and it was difficult to get an accurate count as a result, because we were tending to count houses that face on the road, tho we tried to include others as well. At any rate, I think our total of about 550 houses is probably low. We did do a fairly complete map however. There are a few new houses (bungalows) at the ends of roads off the main road, but most of the new houses, and the large ones, are at either end of the town on the main road.

Notes 64

Fieldnotes Friday April 24, scheduled meeting in Osu

When I saw Ayoola in Osu a couple of weeks ago, and again in Lagos last week, he scheduled a meeting for me to meet other key people there for this afternoon at 4PM. We got to his house at about 3:45, and the gateman said he hadn't come, the women who work in the poultry said he hadn't sent any message about coming, or about a meeting, and they weren't expecting him, and don't know when he will be coming again. So Bodunde and I decided to go on to Ilesa, and then Bodunde went back to Osu to check again.

Comment: If nothing happens this week, or next when we try to follow up with Ayoola I think I better follow my earlier plan of finding other people to see in Osu. At this point, I've made less progress there than any where else, even Iwoye.

notes65

Fieldnotes Thursday April 23, visit with Remi Fakeye

I finally got back to see Remi Fakeye Thursday evening. Her leg is out of the cast, and she is back at work; she said that she would be going to see the local government chairmen in Ijebu-jesa and Ilesa tomorrow.

I asked her if they had had their family meeting last weekend. She said they did, that it was on Sunday. She left Ife at 1 PM and got there at 2, and the meeting started at 2:30. She returned to Ife on Monday. I told her that I had been in Ijebu-jesa on Friday and Saturday, and said that now that her leg is better, we should schedule a time to go see her brother.

Lamidi Fakeye came in after saying his prayers, and reminded Remi to tell me about the celebration for the tenth anniversary of the Owa's installation. She then got out a piece of paper showing a week-long celebration, the week of May 11. She is involved, as Cultural Officer for the four local governments in Ijesa area. I copied down the basic schedule of events: It is the tenth coronation anniversary celebrations, of "Kabiyesi Owa Gabriel Adekunle Aromolarun", "invites all Ijesas at home and abroad and their well-wishers"

Day 1 MOn. May 11

Day 2 Tues. May 12-- noon, coronation anniversary lecture, town hall
4PM cultural show by various groups, at the palace (I asked Remi who would do the cultural show and she said various school groups)

Day 3 Wed. May 13--book launching, of a book by the Owa

Day 4 Thurs May 14--10 AM cultural parade by Ijesa hunters, and other events

Day 5 Fri May 15 jumat service
6PM cultural evening

Day 6 Sat May 16 chieftaincy installation, launching of fund for maintenance of owa's office, and a dance

Day 7 Sun May 17, church service

Notes66

Fieldnotes Friday April 24, dinner at Oladele Olashore house, Ijebu-jesa

Olashore had invited me to what he termed an "informal" dinner, to begin at 8 PM at his house in Ijebu-jesa. He did not give me a written invitation, although during the dinner I saw an invitation card that someone else had, that indicated it was a dinner in honor of the OAU Vice Chancellor, Wale Omole, and the Deputy Governor of Osun State, Prince Haastrup. I decided that I shouldn't arrive right at 8 PM, so I left Ilesa a little before 8 and got to Ijebu-jesa at about 8:10 or 8:15. I left Eso's house before he and his wife did, and they arrived at Olashore's a few minutes after me.

When we arrived at Olashore's house, we saw other cars outside, and Bodunde went to park along the side of the road. I could also hear music coming from a band inside the compound. There were a few people milling around the gate, and there were others arriving for the party. As soon as I walked in the gate, Olashore's guard (who always seems to be with him, a tall young man) greeted me and said that Olashore was just coming--he pointed to him coming out of the house where he usually sees people. Olashore then came out into the driveway and greeted me and several others who were there, and guided me to the house on the right, where we went upstairs to a very large sitting room (this is the room where he and went to talk during Ijebu-jesa Day). There were about 10 people already seated in the room, mostly women. They were seated in large upholstered furniture lined up around the sides of the room. The room is about twice as large as an average large living room. I went to the left hand side of the room where several women were sitting, one of whom greeted me and reminded me that she is Mrs. Faseru. Then another woman greeted me and said that maybe I don't remember her; she was Mrs. Onibonoje; she made room for me to sit next to her, so I sat down there, on the couch with her and another woman, who did not talk to me or greet me.

I talked with Mrs. Onibonoje for quite a while, while others were arriving and while we were served drinks. She was very friendly and we discussed a number of topics, both at this point and later during the dinner, when we again sat together (she did not join her husband at the dinner, but sat with me; later he came to the table we were at and joined us).

As we sat there and talked, more and more people kept arriving. Justice and Mrs. Eso arrived around the same time as the Deputy Governor, as well as Ambassador Haastrup (who was honored at the award ceremony the other day and who I assume is a relative of the Dep. Gov.). They all sat together on a couch at one end of the room, with the men conversing with each other, and the woman mainly just sitting there, looking somewhat uncomforatble. All of the women there were dressed in fancy iro and buba and headties, with the exception of one young woman who seemed to be acting as hostess, helping to seat people; she was dressed in western-style dress. The men were nearly all in agbada, although Olashore himself as well as Akin Akinola (who again, seemed to be there in the role of helping Olashore as host) were dressed more simply, in long tunic-type tops and pants rather than agbada. A few men were in suits and tie, including one young man in a double-breasted suit who seemed to be an assistant to the Deputy Governor.

As people came in, they went around the room greeting people and shaking hands. Some went around and greeted nearly everyone there; others just went to those they knew and stuck up conversations with them. When the Vice Chancellor arrived he went around greeting and being introduced by Olashore to everyone. The Vice Chancellor (Wale Omole) was with his wife, and also with Segun Oke, Vice Chancellor of Oyo State University of Technology (now known as Akintola University of Technology); Oke is apparently also from Ilesa. As they came around the room and got to me, Omole at first didn't recognize me, but then he did, and asked if I'm back now; Olashore joked that he'd flown me in just for the dinner. I said that I would come see Omole sometime soon.

Most of the people who came into the room found seats there, but there were also others--mainly men--standing around outside the room on the balcony there. Eventually there must have been about 40 people in the room.

Mrs. Onibonoje and I discussed their farm a bit; she said that they produce gari, palm oil and fish there, as well as having other crops. I asked about her role in the farm. She said that she's mainly involved in the marketing. She has a stall at a market in Ilesa; it's the sabo market she said, on the road en route to the Anglican Bishop's court, and it's a weekly market, meeting Monday. It's apparently mainly a wholesale market, and she brings things there and sells them to those who retail them. It sounds like she doesn't have to spend much time there to get things sold.

I asked if she misses Ibadan. She said no, that she was there for twenty years, but that she likes being at home now (in Ijebu-jesa). I then asked if she's from Ijebu-jesa and if she grew up here. She said that she is from here, but she didn't grow up here; she mainly grew up in the north. She was born in Zaria and had her schooling in the north. Her father was a tailor (an English tailor she said) and her mother did petty trading. I asked where she met her husband; she said that they used to have an annual get together of people from Ijebu-jesa and that was important as a way for the youth to meet each other. That was where she met her husband.

She said that one good thing about coming back to Ijebu-jesa is that it's good for the children, that they tend to become rascals in Ibadan. It's good for them to be here. I asked if they're involved in the farm too; she said that they are, temporarily, but that most are planning to go on in studies. She did say that they hope that one or two of them will be interested in the farm. (This is a rather different impression than her husband gave in our interview).

I asked her if most of the people at the dinner were from Ijebu-jesa. She said that no, most had come from Lagos and elsewhere, and that a lot are from Ilesa.

She asked me about my research, and whether I'm mainly interested in women's activities. I then asked her if she's involved in anything in the town, any women's groups etc., but she said she's "just a housewife" and she doesn't have time to be involved in any groups now, that when she was in Ibadan she had helpers in the house, but now she's too busy doing the

work herself.

After about 45 minutes, people began to get up to go outside to where tables were set up on the ground below. I had noticed the tables when I first came in, to the left of the gate, on the grass in front of the house. They were covered with a canopy. Mrs. Onibonoje and I went downstairs together and found places at an empty table quite near where the food table was set up. There was another couple at the table, but no one else sat there initially and even when I greeted the other couple they didn't really say anything. The tables were covered with white table cloths, and there was a sign at the serving table with the name of a restaurant--presumably the caterers.

Everyone first found seats. Then Akin Akinola welcomed everyone and introduced the people at the high table, which was facing the rest of the tables. They included the Esos, the Deputy Governor, Wale Omole and his wife, Ambassador Haastrup, Segun Oke. Olashore himself was not sitting there; in fact he mainly seemed to be moving around from table to table, greeting and talking to people, being the host. Later, after I had finished eating he got a plate of food and joined Mrs. Onibonoje and me, and others who had by then sat at our table--including his brother Tunde Olashore and a man who was introduced to me as someone on the high court in Lagos, whose last name was Ilori.

Akinola said that the people at the high table would eat first, then the women, and then the men. Everyone began to go to the serving tables to get their food. The food included lamb, fish, chicken, fried rice, jollof rice, shrimp, bushmeat, vegetables, salads, etc; there was lots of food, and most people took a lot to eat. It was close to 10:00 by the time we ate. Wine and soft drinks were served; there were lots of bottles of wine available.

People that I recognized there, in addition to Mrs. Onibonoje and her husband, included Mr. Fatiregun (his wife was not there, because her sister's wedding was taking place in Benin this weekend), Akin Akinola, and later Mobo Akinola came and I talked a little with her. A talked briefly with Tunde Olashore as well, who told me that he had just come today from Lagos; he had returned to Lagos on Tuesday, and he will be here next weekend too, for Iloko Day.

I estimate that there were about 70 people there altogether.

While we ate, the band played juju music; it was quite loud so somewhat hard to hear or talk, although people seemed to be managing.

Mrs. Onibonoje and I talked some more during the meal. I said that it seems like Olashore is very involved in activities in Ijebu-jesa. She replied that he's done a lot, that just putting up a building like this shows his concern with the town. That he spent a lot in building this house, and to sink so much into a place like Ijebu-jesa, rather than somewhere like Lagos, shows his concern with the place.

Her husband joined us after we finished eating, when people began to move

around. I told him that I hadn't forgotten about getting the copy of our interview to him and would do so soon.

Toward the end of the meal, Olashore came and sat at our table for a while and ate. He spoke with Mrs. Onibonoje; she asked about his wife, and he said that she's in Lagos. Somehow he got talking about the launching of his book last year, and said that the President launched it. Then he told a story about how Babangida called him to beg to switch the day of the launching so that he could attend himself, and that Aboyade (the economist) who was the publisher wouldn't agree to change it; his comment was that Aboyade is "mean" and "I hate meanness". So Olashore changed the date anyway, and spent his own money to notify people of the change. But as a result the book sold out at the launching.

After people had eaten, Akinola introduced Olashore who spoke. Akinola made a point of saying that since this was to be an informal dinner there weren't to be any speeches. But that the host, Prince Oladele Olashore (the Prince is always used as part of his title; in fact at first Akinola said Chief, and then corrected himself), would speak, as well as the Deputy Governor. Olashore first talked about the difficulty of getting the Vice Chancellor and the Deputy Governor together on the same date, and said that he finally saw the VC in London, and they agreed on Friday because he knew that the Deputy Governor had something on Saturday. He mentioned that he knew it was more difficult for people to get there on Friday, and thanked everyone for coming. It said that it was very important to get together to celebrate the success of Ijesas. He made the point that their success was individual, the result of their own hard work and achievement. He said that Omole became VC as result of his own work, not because of anything Ijesas did. And similarly, that he didn't think Haastrup was elected Deputy Governor just because of Ijesas, but because of the recognition of him in his party. But he said that Ijesas need to recognize these achievements. And they need to work for the unity and development of Ijesaland. He then talked about the need to put aside differences. He said that people outside don't recognize if you're from Ilesa or Ijebu-jesa or wherever, they just know that you're Ijesa. And that it an Ibadan man wants to get rid of you, they will just say you are Ijesa, they won't make any distinctions. So he said Ijesas need to work for unity.

He then pointed out that it would probably be easier for him to have a dinner like this in Lagos, but that he felt it should be done here at home. He said "I am an Ijesa first". He thanked everyone for taking time from their busy schedules to come.

After Olashore spoke, the Deputy Governor responded. He too emphasized the need for unity in Ijesaland.

Gifts were given to the guests of honor; they were quite large wrapped boxes, and Olashore said that they were something for the house, so for both the husband and wife.

After the speeches and gift-giving, Akinola announced that it was time for

the dancing to begin, and mentioned that it was already late and people would want to leave soon. Then Olashore said no, that only the over-70's were allowed to leave, and the rest should stay til early morning--at which someone said "til 10 AM"--since tomorrow there's environmental sanitation day and no one is supposed to be out til after 10 AM.

People from the head table first got up to dance, and then Olashore went around to various people at different tables to get them to dance; he seemed to be more or less pairing people up, not dancing himself. But then he came over to me and said that now I was going to dance, and it became clear that I was to dance with him; so I followed him to the clear area in the driveway where people were dancing. Those from the head table--including Eso and his wife and Ambassador Haastrup--were dancing quite energetically.

I talked with Olashore a bit while dancing. I commented on the "informal" dinner and he said that it really was informal, in that there were no prepared speeches, and that he hadn't even planned a high table until the last minute. He commented on how pleased he was that so many people came, even though it was difficult to get there on Friday; he said he feels that he has to just set the date and people will honor the invitation, and that the same thing is true for Iloko Day next week. I asked about Iloko Day and that reminded him that he was supposed to give me an invitation. But we agreed that I didn't really need one. He said it would start about 10:30 AM, and last til about 1 PM, at which point his friends would come to the house for lunch, and that of course I was invited then too. I forgot to ask where it would be (earlier I had asked his brother, but he didn't seem to know, just said I would see people, which is probably true, as it's not a very big town).

After dancing, I rejoined Onibonoje's, and then got up to speak with Mobo Akinola. She was joined soon after by Omole's wife, so I got a chance to speak more with her. People were beginning to leave, although a lot were still sitting around, and more drinks were being served. The Deputy Governor left; before he left, he went around saying goodby to people; he stopped to talk with me, and asked about how my research was going.

It looked like the Vice Chancellor was also leaving, so I decided that was a good time to leave too. As it turned out, I left before Omole did; he and others were still standing around talking. So I said goodby to him and he again said I should come to see him during the week sometime.

Olashore and his friend Ilori, from the high court in Lagos, saw me out to the car.

Comment: the theme in all the talks I'm hearing is the unity and development of Ijesaland. I think it's time to start asking people what this means to them and why it's so important. Also the Yoruba words for these terms.

Notes67

Fieldnotes Saturday April 25, funderal for Chief Samuel Olatunde Thompson, Ilesa

Since I was in Ilesa anyway Friday night and Saturday morning, I decided to check on Chief Thompson's funeral, which I had heard about from several people. I asked Justice Eso in the morning about it, because he had told me he was going. He said that it would be at noon at St. John's Church Iloro (big Anglican church). So Bodunde and I went a little before 12, and found parking. Lots of people were arriving and the church was already quite full. We sat in the last row of seats in the back, next to the window, which had the advantage of being relatively cool and also being able to see outside the window, at people wandering around who didn't get into the church.

By 11:50 the church (which is very large) was completely full. Some people found seats, but most were turned away at this point and had to stay outside.

The service began shortly after noon. It last two hours. Most of it was in a printed program, mainly prayers and hymns, all of which were in Yoruba. The sermon was also in Yoruba. Bodunde gave a description of the general themes of it afterwards; the sermon talked about all the things Chief Thompson had done--for the church, such as setting up a fund for maintaining the organ; for people, such as a lawyer and a law student to whom he gave scholarships for their schooling; and for the town and Ijesaland, such as roads (not clear exactly what he did with regard to roads). According to the newspaper articles announcing the funeral and to the program Chief Thompson was the Oloni of Eti-Oni. He was also Lay Deputy President of the Synod of the church, a position which Eso told me was created just for him. Eso is the Chancellor of the church.

There were lots of bishops and other church people there, several of whose presence was announced at the end of the service. After the service there was the burial ceremony very near the church; some people left--including all the church people and family members--for that, others stayed in the church and then left when the burial was over. There was a large crowd outside when we left, and people were going off for the meal after the funeral, but since I didn't know anyone there (other than Esos, and they had said they were going somewhere for lunch), I left at that point.

Notes68

Fieldnotes Sunday April 26, marriage acceptance of Olori Agunlejika's daughter, Ilesa

The Olori had told me that this would be at noon, but when I got there just before 12 there were a lot of cars already parked outside and I could hear singing from inside--in fact it sounded like a prayer service. I went to the door but did not go in, then followed a little girl around to another door, where several young women were preparing food. I saw the Olori's son there and he said that she was there, but celebrating something. I said she had invited me, but that I thought it began at noon. He said they had started early, around 11, but that I could go in, and he showed me the way, then someone else went and told the Olori that I was there and they made room for me and found me a seat near her. Apparently the time had been moved up because the boy's family had to return to Lagos and they asked to have it begin at 10 AM, but in fact they didnt arrive until noon.

Most of what was going on when I got there seemed to be a lot of praying and singing, especially a lot of "praise the lord" and "hallelujah". I apparently missed the formal reading of the letter of marriage proposal. There were some gift-wrapped packages in a basket on the floor, and after a while these were transferred from one side of the floor to the other, presumably signifying their acceptance. The ceremony went on for about another hour after I got there.

After it ended, most people stayed seated, but some left the room; these were the family of the boy who went to eat in another part of the house. So those remaining were the Olori's friends. Soft drinks and beer, then lunch, were served. I began talking with the man sitting next to me, and later learned that he is Mr. Bruce. He lives on the next street from the Olori and has a business producing road signs, mostly for government. He works out of Ilesa but travels a lot because he has contracts all over; for example he said he's just been to Sokoto and would go back there on Monday, because they owe him money for work he did there. His daughter was one of the people helping to serve, and she came to talk with me. She is Evelyn Modupe Bruce, and she is a student in the Dept of English Language at the Osun State College of Education. She's interested in special education and wanted to talk with me about studying abroad. Later I gave her a ride back to where she lives,near the college, and she told me a little about her family. She said that her father's family is from Togo and Ghana, and that her grandmother spent a lot of time in Germany (she almost made it sound like she was from Germany but I don't think that was what she meant). I asked how they got to Ilesa and she said that her mother is Ijesa. She knows how to speak Ewe and has spent some time in Togo. I also asked how they knew the Olori, and she said that since the Olori is also not from Nigeria, but from the same area as her father, they had gotten to know each other a long time ago and the families were friends, so that the olori's children call her auntie.

As people were sitting around and eating, they were chatting with each other; there were mainly women there, but a few other men besides Mr. Bruce. I recognized Mrs. Faseru, from Ijebu-jesa, and after a while began

to talk with her. We discussed the fact that we had both been at Olashore's the other evening, and she said that she will also be at Iloko Day. Mrs. Faseru works in the brewery (I think she's secretary to the Managing Director) and I told her that Ifaturoti had tried to introduce me to her there when I first arrived but she hadn't been around that day.

We talked about Ijebu-jesa Day. Mrs. Faseru said that this time she just attended, but that next time her organization has registered and they will be involved. She is involved in two societies in Ijebu-jesa. One is a society of "important daughters"--then she stopped herself to say maybe important isn't the right word, but a society of enlightened people. It includes "daughters" both by marriage and by birth. The organization is the Ijebu-jesa Ladies Friendly Society. She is the secretary, they just met the Saturday before Easter and the next meeting will be in June. She said that the organization wants to do a project, they are talking about setting up a park and playground, but so far are just talking haven't actually done anything yet, and of course it will cost money. The society has a new president, Mrs. Ola, because the former president died.

The other organization is also the Friendly something--didnt get the name. She founded it and is the president.

I said I'd like to talk with her some more and would come to see her either at work or at home the week after next. She said she would take me around to meet other people. Their house in Ijebu-jesa is next to the grammar school, one turns down to the right just before the school and their house is down that road. Just before I left she introduced me to the woman sitting next to her--Mrs. Omole--and then explained that she is "the wife" of Dr. Lawrence Omole (she did not say one of several, made it sound like the only one, but this is not the same wife that I saw at Omole's house the other day.) She said she would take me to visit her sometime too.

While we were sitting there she and Mr. Bruce discussed the fact that her son who is about 25 says he's not going to marry until he's 29. Both she and Mr. Bruce agreed that young people should not put off marriage, but that they are doing so because of their financial situation and the feeling that they can't cope with marriage and family.

I left around 2:30, dropped off Evelyn Bruce and then continued back to Ife.

notes68

Fieldnotes, Saturday May 2, Iloko Day

I got to Ijebu-jesa just after 10:30; when we drove past Olashore's house we could see that his car was still there. So we decided to stop at Fatiregun's house, but they had already gone out; when I asked where they has gone I was told they went to Iloko-Ijesa. So we proceeded there. We had to detour a couple of times in Ijebu-jesa because of chairs that were set up in the middle of the road for celebrations to take place there.

We got to Iloko at about 10:45. There was a big banner over the road near the palace, and we went that way, to the grounds of the primary school where the celebration was being held. There was also a banner on the outside wall of the palace, welcoming people to Iloko Day, with the name of one of the clubs. We parked the car, and walked in to the area where people were gathering. A girl immediately approached me with a bright pink feather to pin on me, for which she then asked for money; when I gave her 50 kobo, she told me it was N5. I gave her the N5. There were talking drummers who also approached me but they didn't persist for long. Then I saw the policeman who is always with Olashore (he is a member of the Nigeria police and today I noticed that he carries a gun); he pointed out Olashore across the field, and I went and greeted him. He then asked if I had seen Mrs. Fatiregun, and I said I hadn't. He pointed her out in the chairs on the stands on one side of the field, and I went to join her and her husband. Someone was sitting next to them, so at first they were offering me a chair in front, but Olashore followed and asked the person next to Mrs. F. to move so I could sit in that row, so that I could see better. The young man sitting on the other side of me turned out to be a lecturer in mechanical engineering at Federal University of Technology, Akure; we talked a little while sitting there. He is from Ijebu-jesa; I asked if he had attended Ijebu-Jesa Day, but he had not. He didn't stay too long into the ceremony, and began checking his watch and acting like he wanted to leave at about noon.

As we sat there, I chatted a bit with Mrs. Fatiregun. I commented that there seemed to be quite a few people from Ijebu-jesa, and she said that they are almost the same, that they do a lot of things together.

Other people kept arriving, and drummers were playing; there were talking drummers, as well as a band in uniform of young kids, one of whom played a bugle and the others had snare drums. They made a lot of noise. They and the talking drummers welcomed various dignataries as they arrived, and as the clubs arrived they paraded around part of the field, greeting people before sitting in the stands.

The set up was as follows: There were long canopies and chairs on three sides of the field. On the long side to the left, chairs were all at the same level, and the members of various clubs sat there; there were several women's groups dressed in aso ebi. On the right hand side were the microphone for the m.c.'s and more chairs, but I'm not sure exactly who was sitting there. At the end, facing out into the field raised stands. In the front row were large comfortable chairs for dignataries, and behind

those several rows of metal chairs for other important people; children and others filled the empty chairs at the back of this section, but later on most of them got displaced by late arrivals.

In the front row, one section was where various visiting obas were seated; they were all introduced at the start of the program. To the left of them, and in front of where I was, were other important people. These included Mr. Ifaturoti and Mr. Apara, both of whom arrived together soon after I did and were immediately given seats in that section. When I first arrived Akin Akinola was also in that area, but he gave up his seat to someone else soon after, and I didn't see him again, (but he was around because I heard his contribution announced later). Others who I recognized who sat in that area included the man from the Radio Corporation of Osun State, who I had met at the Ijesa awards day and who was also at Olashore's dinner. Also Tunde Olashore arrived later and sat in the same area. Dele Olashore kept moving around from place to place, but frequently came to that area to talk with people who had arrived, and then moved back toward where the microphone was. When Ifaturoti arrived, he sat down next to him and talked with him for about 5-10 minutes.

A printed program was available. When I greeted Akin Akinola when I first arrived I saw he had one, and asked where to get one, so he then gave me his. There were women handing out paper and ribbon things to be pinned on people, announcing Iloko Day, so I got one and paid N10 for it (Mrs. Fatiregun told me the amount).

It was interesting to note that on the printed program Olashore's name didn't appear at all. The chairman of the planning committee was someone named Omoniyi, and other names also appear in the program. But it was obvious that he was central to events, and especially that he was the one greeting guests.

By 11:30 a number of people were still arriving, and Mrs. Fatiregun began to complain that it was supposed to start at 10:30 and still had not started. I put the tape recorder on and taped some of the drumming.

The program finally began at around noon. By this time most people seemed to have arrived and the stands were quite full. A man and a woman acted as m.c.'s; they introduced themselves and also welcomed dignataries, including obas and a number of other people (earlier someone had come around with a piece of paper and had asked me and others sitting nearby to write our names down; I think the names came from that list, although mine was not included).

I taped portions of the events. The m.c.'s switched back and forth between English and Yoruba, especially the woman, who would switch with practically no transition at all; she seemed to be basically saying the same things in both Yoruba and English, but used Yoruba more.

The woman m.c. first introduced herself, saying she is from Lagos State Broadcasting. In her first statement, she talked (in Yoruba and English) about Ijesas being a "special breed" of people. Then she called on someone to say the opening prayer, which was said in Yoruba.

Then obas and others were introduced. They included oba of Ifewara (neighboring town); oba of Erin-Ijesa;someone from U. of Ibadan named Babalola, acting as Chairman of the day; an architect; Akin Akinola; Lawrence Jege. Then the woman m.c., sang a song, which others joined; the song was thanking people. Later the oba of Ipetu-Ijesa arrived, dressed in a royal blue agbada. Others introduced after the song were the loja of Ijeda; then the woman sang a song that went (in English): "Better Life for you, better life for me, better life for everybody, better life for all".

A bit later she talked about how there is no place, no endeavor in which Ijesa people are not found. Then more people were introduced.

At one point in the proceedings, NEPA went off and we could no longer hear anything because the mikes weren't working. The woman M.C. led various groups in songs, until they got a generator going. The interruption lasted about 10 minutes.
Then the chairman of the Iloko Development Committee, J. I. Omoniyi gave a speech, which was mainly in English. After welcoming people, he said that Iloko-Ijesa has always depended on self-help for her development. Community efforts have helped to provide a variety of things for the community. He mentioned other projects they are hoping to do; a maternity center which "we hope will be fully funded by Oriade local government". Something (didn't get what) was done in 1983 "thru the generosity of well-wishers and efforts of Iloko sons and daughters". He then said that the "Development Committee wishes to embark on the next stage of development which will correct the inadequacies of the existing infrastructure and enhance general quality of life of the people." He then listed projects plan to carry out, beginning with boreholes "to augment water supply which at the moment is very erratic". He said that many years ago the town witnessed frequent attacks of guinea worm, as a result of bad water; "the situation has improved tremendously since provision of public water facilities, however the supply of public water has become very erratic. I can say that for the past five days we have not had any water in this town". The second thing is sports (?) facilities for the high school. The school once had ??--this was before the takeover by the local government. "Today, the school is a shadow of its former self". He said more about the benefits of getting these (whatever facilites) but it's not clear on the tape. The third thing is the town hall. "A community like ours certainly deserves a town hall for greater interaction of the people and a venue for meetings and recreation." With the launching of the N10 million development fund, "we are appealing to you to come to our aid by giving generously towards the realization of these projects. We will immortalize anyone who sponsors the whole or a part of any of the three projects or makes substantial donation to the general fund for the projects." This will be "for future generations". We know that ---- are very generous and that they always identified with a development program for Iloko. We are proud to--- your full support and generous donation. "Iloko --- we implore you to find time to go through the history of our town in the pamphlet you are holding. I sincerely hope you will enjoy every minute of your stay in our town. I want you to come to visit us at your leisure. I wish to welcome all of you to this gracious (?) town, home of God himself. (the last comment produced some "ohs" and other verbal

response, and then people applauded).

Then the donations began. I got some of them noted down, and recorded others. The following isn't a complete listing, but includes the major donations and the major people who gave them.

(didn't get name)--N20,000 (followed by thanks and a song)
another for N20,000
donation for N50,000
donation from Federal Military Government--N5000
Alhaji Muhammed Gambo, new chair of MAMSER, N5000
Alhaji--- from Kano, N10,000
Alhaji Muhammed---- from Kano N5000
another for N5000

a break during which there were songs and talk by the m.c.'s

another for N10,000
another for N10,000
Akinola N10,000
N1000
N5000
N1000
donation from obas--N500 from one
oba of Erin-Ijesa N500
someone from Ikeja, N10,000
oba of Iwaraja, N100
N3000
oba of Ipetu-Ijesa, N1000
N10,000

I ended taping at around this point, but continued to note down major donations:

N5555
Oriade Local Government Chair N500
N5000
N5000

At around this point some of the people I knew began to leave. Ifaturoti and Apara got up to leave, and went to say goodby to Olashore; later I found out that they were going to the Akinmokun funeral in Ikeji. Mr. and Mrs. Fatiregun also left, also saying they were going to go to Ikeji. They did not say anything to Olashore and later, at lunch, he mentioned to me that they had left, so I told him they had said they were going to Ikeji.

Then large donations were announced:
from the Olashore family, for a borehole-- N200,000
There were shouts and clapping in response.
Tunde Olashore-- N10,000
Dele Olashore-- N100,000

Then some small donations:

N250
N500
Apara N1000
Ifaturoti N500
N50
N100

A man sitting behind Bodunde was writing down the donations, so he was checking with him on the amounts and telling me what they were.

A woman had arrived before Mrs. Fatiregun left and had come to sit with us. She is from Ife; she works on campus and her husband is a lecturer in microbiology. She told me that she is from Ijebu-jesa, but that her husband is from Iloko. Her husband was also there, and later she introduced him to Mrs. Fatiregun. I talked with her a little after Mrs. Fatiregun left. She told me that she and Mr. F. are related, and also that she is related to Olashore; essentially he is her uncle. She lives on campus--Road 10B house 3, I think. (She would probably tell me more about these kinship connections if I went to see her and asked).

While sitting there I saw her write out a check for N2500 as a donation.

More donations:
Omotoso-- N10,000
Omoniyi-- N10,000
Chief Faleye N15,000
Chief Ogunsanya, Regent of Iloko, N10,000
Biblari, Lejoka of Ilesa, N500

Towards the end of the donations, I saw Olashore begin to move around again, talking with people, greeting new arrivals. It also looked like he was getting ready to leave. And about 10-15 minutes later, as the donations were coming to an end, he came over to tell me that people were now going to his house for lunch, and that I should join them; he told others the same thing. He greeted the young woman from Ife, but did not include her in the invitation. He left, as do a group of others.

I decided to stay on for a few more minutes. The various Iloko clubs were parading around the grounds, greeting the obas, etc, so I took some photos of them, and then left.

When I got to Olashore's house, there were about 10 cars parked on the street outside, and some others in the driveway. Olashore was in the driveway greeting people; when he saw me he said I should go upstairs (up a different staircase than the one used last week, but into the same sitting room). There were some tables set up down below, outside, just off the drive way, in a sort of open (but covered car park area); later Bodunde told me that not very many people were there.

When I got into the upstairs sitting room, all the obas who had been at Iloko were sitting around, as well as a number of people. There was a round table in the center of the room, with covered dishes of food, and catering people from the same restaurant in Lagos as last week--Yem Yem

restaurant. Drinks were served. Then before any food was served, the obas got up and left the room; the man sitting next to me made the comment that tradition is that obas can't be seen eating, so they had to go somewhere else to eat. There were a couple of women who seemed to be helping Olashore, and they began to put food on dishes to take to the obas. Then the rest of us were invited to serve ourselves. Olashore wandered in and out, overseeing things, giving instructions to those serving; he got annoyed when there wasn't any wine available and told them to go find some, which they did. No one really talked to me during the meal; people were in twos and threes talking together. But then the man sitting next to me began to talk about the main subject of the day--the petrol shortage. He seemed to know quite a lot about the situation, and I commented on this; then he said that he is in the industry, in the marketing end. Later Bodunde told me there was someone from AGIP there, so that was probably the person. He commented that he wouldn't have any problem when he got back to Lagos because he had a drum full of fuel there. I asked him if he's from Iloko or Ijebu-jesa. He said no, that he came from Lagos for this (clearly a friend of Olashore); he had just come this morning from Lagos, and planned to either return today, or to stay at Olashore's and go back on Sunday. Others who were there were also from Lagos, and some from Ibadan.

After a while, Olashore came over and asked if I was enjoying myself. I said that I'd like five minutes of his time, so a couple of minutes later he came over and suggested we go sit on the couch at the end of the room (and then made a joke about putting his feet on my lap). I told him that I'd like to get together to talk with him some more, for my research. He said that he's not sure of his schedule, which weekend he will be back in Ijebu-jesa, but suggested that I come there one evening when he is there. He gave me his card and I am supposed to call him in Lagos to check. I also gave him Folarin's letter about the conference in June.

Olashore told me that he was happy with today's Iloko Day. He was especially happy because he had just received a letter and donation from the Ooni of Ife, which he immediately showed me; it was addressed to "My very dear son", and the check was for N10,000. He said that the Ooni always writes him a personal letter, and that he had only seen him yesterday about this. The letter and check had just been delivered. The letter said something about contributing to the progress of Iloko and "that part of the country" and altogether was a couple of paragraphs long.

Olashore also introduced me to a young man who came into the room--his son. He's probably in his early twenties. Olashore told me that he's an engineer turned accountant, now working for Lead Merchant Bank (Olashore's bank).

Some people came over who said they wanted to leave. He told them they couldn't leave, because they still had to go to Ikeji. When he asked about Fatiregun's and I said they had gone to Ikeji, he said that he was still planning to go there himself, for the funeral of Akinmokun's mother (Akinmokun was the person from Ikeji honored both in Lagos and Ilesa recently. Obviously this funeral was the other big event of the day, with many people going both there and Iloko Day. There was a big banner across the road outside Ilesa announcing the funeral, which I had noticed in the

morning.)

When I left a few minutes later, he commented again on how pleased he was with the donations, that of course they hadn't collected N10 million but had made a good start. He saw me off to my car.

Notes69

Fieldnotes, Saturday May 2, interviews in Iwoye

I left Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa at about 4:15 PM and went to Iwoye, to the house of Mr. Babatayo. He wasn't there, but a child went to get him, and he showed up a few minutes later, with two other men. He explained that they were still at their meeting, but that some people hadn't gotten there today for the executive meeting because of the petrol shortage.

The two men were an old man, probably in his seventies, named Ifaturoti, who said he is the "brother" of Ifaturoti from Ilesa; in fact I think they are cousins. He mentioned that his and Kunle's grandfather was the loja in Iwoye, and that his mother was from Iwoye. Ifaturoti is the President of the Iwoye-Ijesa Descendants Union. The second man was younger, probably in his forties, and named Akinbiyele; he is active in the IDU, and is also the general secretary of the Iwoye-Ijesa Progressive Union (I"m not sure if he's an officer of the IDU or not but he's apparently on the executive as he was at the meeting they had just had). Ifaturoti speaks little English, just some pidgin, whereas Akinbiyele speaks good English. So he tended to do most of the talking, although I got Bodunde to explain in Yoruba, and Ifaturoti did answer some of the questions.

They first explained that the IDU is a sort of umbrella of all the other organizations, it is the organization that brings everyone together. It's the forum for the town, is the spokesman for the town; they described it as the "father of all the other unions". They said that includes educated people, who also have their own socieities, and uneducated people, who likewise have their own groups; IDU serves to bridge the gap.

IDU was established for the progress of the town. Ifaturoti said that they worked to get electricity in the town in 1975, and to build the grammar school. Akinbiyele said that any progress in the town has occurred as a result of the IDU.. He said that formerly the administration of the town was under the king and chiefs. But that didn't work for modern people. Now, the IDU makes decisions about things that are needed in the town, and passes those on to the chiefs.

They said that the IDU started the development of the town. For example, getting electricity into the town. Akinbiyele said that they don't expect the government to do everything, that villages have to help themselves, and then the government will help. The first major effort undertaken by IDU was to get contributions for electricity, which they started in 1975. They raised "thousands" (I couldn't get a more specific amount). They actually got electricity in the town in 1985; the government helped after it was initiated by communal effort.

Secondly, there was no secondary school here, the children had to go elsewhere to neighboring towns for school, and sometimes they didn't get in to those schools. So the IDU decided to try to do something about this. They launched fundraising for a secondary school. The state government told them that the government couldn't build a school unless they raised

N40,000 towards it in the community; this was in 1976. They only had two weeks to raise the money, which was contributed by both people in the town and "sons and daughters" outside. They raised more than the required N40,000 and deposited it in the bank. Then the state government said they had to have land for the school, so they had to look for land. They found ten acres, and were told that the town had to survey the land and give the survey to the government. Then the government saw that they were serious about getting a school, and building of the school started immediately, in 1976.

Other activities of the IDU have included getting the tarred road extended to the town (from Ijebu-jesa). This was done by contacting governemtn and convincing officials to do this. Similarly, with regard to water taps, they lobbied the government for almost twenty years to get piped water (and now have it, I think).

I asked about current projects. They are building the king's palace. Almost N500,000 has been spent already, and they hope to complete it soon.

Akinbiyele also said that the churches are gaining thru the efforts of IDU. I didn't understand what he meant, and he explained that when the churches want to carry out any capital project, most IDU members are in the church, and they will contribute to such efforts of the church (not sure if mainly referring to one church or all the churches in town).

The IDU was established about thirty or forty years ago. But Ifaturoti became president about twenty years ago, and this is the modern period of the organization; the implication was that before that the IDU went thru a period when it didn't do much. Ifaturoti has been the president since then; Akinbiyele gave him a lot of praise for how good a job he continues to do, and that no one can replace him unless they are going to surpass what he is doing, with the implication that at this point there isn't any such person, so therefore Ifaturoti must continue as president.

Then I asked about the IPU, the Iwoye-Ijesa Progressive Union. Akinbiyele is the general secretary of that. All the members of the IPU are also members of the IDU. He emphasized again that IDU is for everyone, whether educated or not, rich or poor, whether located in town or outside, even including those in places like London and America.

I asked what current projects the IDU is working on, aside from the king's palace. They said that they now want to focus on industrialization; that they are now just starting, that they want to do something either thru community efforts or thru local government or state government. If they do something through community efforts, they will tax themselves. Or if thru government then they will lobby, thru their coucillors and others. I asked what kind of industrialization they want, and Akinbiyele said that the federal government is now putting emphasis on local materials, and that what they produce locally is palm wine, there's a lot of praise for their palm wine, it's better than beer, so that is the industry that they want to have--bottling of palm wine.

Both Ifaturoti and Akinbiyele are based in Ibadan. Akinbiyele said that he

is home in Iwoye two or three times a month, and Ifaturoti said he also comes often, although not every weekend. They were both here two weeks ago at Easter. Ifaturoti actually has a house in Ilesa, not in Iwoye; we dropped him off there, along the Okesa/Imo Road, before Ilesa Grammar School--a two story house on the right hand side going out of town; it is his family house. I don't know if Akinbiyele has a house in Iwoye, but presumably that is where he stays.

I asked about the involvement of other people from Iwoye. They said that some people are not interested. But Ifaturoti said that if people are not interested, he goes around advising, and preaching to them on contributing to the development of the town. He gave an example: that if he has N20, and someone else has N100, he will say that he will contribute N10 and then try to get the other person to contribute N50. Not everyone agrees to do this, but most will agree; he estimates that 70% will contribute, and that is how they have gotten money for the development of the town.

People both in town and outside are involved. That is why they shift the place of the quarterly meeting, sometimes holding it in Lagos, Ibadan and elsewhere.

Then Akinbiyele told me more about the IPU. It was established in 1949, mainly for the educated people. Admission to it is open to anyone with standard 6 leaving certificate (primary school). He pointed out that at that time, that was quite a high standard although isn't so anymore. Initially, it was mostly a social union. When the long vacation from school was in December, they organized social activities from Dec.24 to Jan.1--dances, football, etc. But other societies began to take over the social activities, so that became less important. And as peoople were more educated, they began to be more concerned with the development of the town and its members. There was a period when the IDU was sleeping, so the IPU began to see what it could do to develop the town. But rather than take over the activities of the IDU, the IPU waked up the IDU.

The IPU members are elites; some are in government, some in universities, in companies. At their meetings they discuss what the town needs, they formulate policy and they send it to the IDU for them to take it to the whole town. That way there is no conflict; Akinbiyele said that way it doesn't look like the educated people are trying to tell others what to do.

Then he talked about specific activities of the IPU. He said that most people here are farmers, and they live in a hand to mouth way, they don't have money for education. Those who are educated have to help others to get education. Therefore, the IPU has set up scholarships to which the members contribute. These are open to anyone in the town who can't send his son or daughter to secondary school. For the past fifteen years, IPU has provided scholarships to the local secondary school. Right now they are supporting 16 children there.

In addition, they are also concerned with the development of their own members. Before, the scholarships were just for secondary school. Now they are expanding them to have scholarships for university and polytechnics. So if a child is gets through secondary school and is very

brilliant but can't afford to go on, there are scholarships available. These are open to both children of members and nonmembers, but they must be natives of the town. They have started given these scholarships, and he indicated they are supporting one or two students at Ife.

He said that the IPU is also trying to monitor the progress of the secondary school, and to nurture it, so "it is a pride to all of us". They try to guide the students and teachers. One thing they do is give lectures about different careers.

Both the IPU and the IDU include both men and women as members. But other societies are open only to men or only to women. For example, Akinbiyele said that the Iwoye Social Elites is an organization of all men. All the members are sons of the town. But he said their wives are also involved. They don't come to the meetings, but whatever they are planning, the wives come (ie. to events they have). The Social Elites are also doing things like giving career lecturers at the grammar school. They also have a prize-giving day at the school.

While Akinbiyele was doing most of the talking at this point, Ifaturoti began to look restless and finally said he was leaving. Then it turned out that he wanted to get back home to Ilesa, so we said we would drop him there. But first we went to see the palace that is under construction (they also wanted to show us the school but I said I had seen it, and was concerned about using more petrol). The palace is at the main junction of the two main roads, what they call the market square. The old, destroyed palace is in the front; part of that is now a postal agency. The new building is behind there. It's a single story cement building; the walls of all the rooms are finished, but there's no roof, and just the basic structure. We walked thru it, they showed me the sitting room bedrooms, storage areas, toilets, etc. There's also a small enclosed courtyard, and they said there will be a fence to separate it from surrounding area. And the area in back of the palace is for the town hall. They are planning a launching for the first Saturday of September, Iwoye-Ijesa Day, where they want to raise money to finish the palace.

They invited me to attend the next general meeting of the IDU, on June 6 at 11 AM. The meeting will either be in a building near the new palace, or in the hall of the church down the road. I said that I would come.

We left, and drove to Ilesa where we dropped off Ifaturoti at his house. I said I would come to see him sometime, that I would check with Kunle Ifaturoti when he is around.

Notes69 Addendum

Additional on Iwoye organizations:

When Akinbiyele mentioned the Iwoye Social Elite, he explained that Mr. Babatayo is the President and that he (Akinbiyele) is the secretary of that organization.

notes70

Fieldnotes, observations on celebrations, Sat. May 2

On our way to Iloko Day, we found the roads in Ijebu-jesa blocked off in two places, with chairs and tents in the middle of the road, for celebrations. Again, in Ilesa, when we went to drop Ifaturoti's cousin from Iwoye, the road was closed in two places--along the road leading to Imo (the one that goes parallel to Okesha), which is often closed off on weekends, and also the road leading to St. Johns Church Iloro.

Two weeks ago when we went to the Ilesa awards, the road was closed that connects the Oshogbo Road and the road to Ijebu-jesa. It was closed Friday evening and all day Saturday. On another occasion recently, (also a Saturday) the road at Ikoti was closed off, and on Sunday morning when I went by, there was a truck taking away the chairs (which are generally rented).

There seems to be more of this than I recall from the past, or at least more in the daytime rather than at night; I haven't been past at night to see if these parties go on all night, or if they are just setting up Friday evening for parties during the day on Saturday--I think that is the patterns. In Ijebu-jesa, for example, there weren't people at the places blocked off, just empty chairs when we went buy at 10:30 in the morning, but there were people there in the afternoon.

Also today, Sat. May 2 there was a big banner across the road before Ilesa (before the junction of the old road leading to Ibodi) announcing the funeral of Akinmokun's mother's funeral in Ikeji-Ile. The other day when we drove past Ikeji on the way to Akure and Ipetu, I saw similar signs pointing the way to the road to Ikeji; they were probably there in preparation for the funeral on the weekend.

A lot of people who were at Iloko Day were also on their way to Ikeji for the funeral (or rather for the party afterwards.

Notes71

Fieldnotes, observations on the petrol shortage, April 29-May 7, written Thursday May 7

On Wednesday April 29, Charity mentioned that there is a petrol shortage and when Bodunde came, he went out to get petrol; he went to Edunabon on the road to Oshogbo because the lines were long in Ife, and got back about 2 hours later. Wednesday afternoon I went to Akure and Ipetu-Ijesa, stopping in Ilesa on the way back, but didn't try to buy petrol and wasn't aware of a major problem. I worked in Ife on Thursday, so didn't try to go anywhere.

On Friday I went to Oshogbo to meet with interviewers; I knew that there was a shortage and it was difficult to get petrol, but had half a tank in the car so wasn't worried about getting to Oshogbo and back. But it became apparent on the way to Oshogbo that there was no petrol available between Ife and there, and it seemed that only one station in Oshogbo had it, with very long lines of cars. Then I realized that my car wasn't working right, and it turned out I couldn't drive it back to Ife. Nike's other Mazda didn't have enough gas to get back here, so finally we borrowed her bus and Bodunde drove me back, then got some from Folarin to take back to put in the other Mazda.

On Saturday I went to Iloko for Iloko Day, with gas obtained from Folarin. At Olashore's Saturday afternoon, people began talking about the petrol shortage. Those who had come from Lagos said that there was still gas in Lagos, but some of them were worried about getting some to get them back to Lagos. I talked to a man from Agip who predicted that the situation would remain bad until next Thursday (today May 7). When I mentioned the problem to Olashore, he said that he wasn't aware there was a shortage until he got there and started hearing about it from other people.

In Ife and Ilesa during the day on Saturday there seemed to be no stations that were selling gas. But when we came back to Ife Saturday evening, the Total Station on the Ilesa road was selling, and then we saw Richard Olaniyan, who said that the Total STation in town also had it. So Bodunde went to try to get some but after several hours in line they closed up before he got to the front of the line.

On Sunday morning, Folarin gave me the rest of his reserve supply, and Olaniyan gave me some as well, so we left for Lagos. Around Ibadan, none of the stations were selling. Finally, on the express road in Shagamu we were able to buy N20 worth. And in Lagos on Monday, we didn't have too much problem getting it.

But by Monday, the topic had begun to dominate conversation. When I met with Mr. Ibironke and Prof. Jegede Monday evening, they both talked about the difficulty they had had over the weekend and on Monday getting petrol. They also concluded that others had not been able to come to the meeting as planned because of the shortage. Ibironke told how he got petrol in Ilesa over the weekend by going to the Total Station owner, who told him to leave his jerry can Sat. night and come back to get it Sun. morning; they filled

it during the night when no one was around, but were not otherwise selling.

I learned late Monday that there had been riots during the day on MOnday, at Agege Motor Park, protesting the high public transport fares.

When we left Lagos Tuesday AM we had trouble getting gas; the places that had been selling on Monday were not selling on Tuesday. Finally on the express road, we got some, but only N10 worth. In Ibadan there were long lines at some stations, but they did not seem to be actually selling; people were just lining up in anticipation of being able to buy. When we got back to Ife we learned that there was no petrol at all in Ife, at any of the stations.

So by Tuesday evening, many people were no longer using their cars. And the workers had protested the increased transport fares on to the campus, and had kept all public transport vehicles off campus. So when we drove on to the campus at about 2:30 pm, there were hundreds of people trekking down the road to the gate, and no other cars in sight. Some guys were fighting with a motorbike driver, and at the end of the road there were some pipes laid across, partially blocking the way, apparently left from the protest. But no one bothered us and later on I drove Bodunde back to the gate. He was able to get transport to Oshogbo, but they charged him N12 (instead of N6--and up to a couple of months ago it was N5), and yesterday he went to Ilorin and paid N30 instead of N10.

The topic of the petrol shortage and what was causing it began to dominate conversations, and everyone's lives. On Wednesday Richard Olaniyan went to Ondo, having heard that there was gas there. He came back without getting any, but they were selling (he got toward the front of the line and they stopped selling). He planned to go back today, with Folarin; I haven't seen them yet to find out what happened, but Bodunde was told that they did get some. Also on Wednesday, I saw Mrs. Soetan who said she had met someone who got petrol at 10 PM in Ipetumodu (a small town outside Ife) and that she had sent her driver to check but he hadn't come back yet).

There have been articles in the papers about the shortage but not much information on what's causing it. Now the government is setting up an investigation of the cause. The basic understanding of what's happening seems to be this: the refineries are producing way under capacity, but the amount being produced would be sufficient, except that a lot is being taking in tankers across the borders to Nigera and Benin, where they can get 3-4 times the price, and also get foreign exchange. In addition, apparently supply for Oyo and Osun States was diverted; according to the Daily Sketch, and also to what Charity heard, the supply was diverted by the head of the depot in Ibadan, who sent most of it to the north.

The campus was very quiet yesterday. There were hardly any cars going by the house or on the main part of campus. I went into town to go to the market, and there were very few cars anywhere--some taxis and buses but nowhere near the number there usually are.

Today, Thursday, I haven't been out. But Lawinco was able to get a jerry can of petrol for me in Oshogbo, and he and Bodunde brought my car, now

presumably repaired. They said that the situation seems to be not quite as bad as it was in Oshogbo. And my impression is that there are more cars moving around in this neighborhood today than there were yesterday. But I don't know if any gas is available in Ife yet.

The main comment people have been making is that this is an oil-producing country, and yet there isn't fuel. And beyond that they are laying the blame on the government. Other than the riots in Lagos, I haven't heard of any other protests; mostly the protests are directed against transporters for raising the fares.

It also seems that prices of food are going up, because there is also a shortage of diesel fuel. When we drove back from Lagos on Monday a lot of transport vehicles were just parked on the side of the road, or in long lines for petrol.

notes72

Fieldnotes, Sun. May 3, meeting of Ilesa Social Elite, Lagos

The meeting was at the home of Mr. Ayo Oni, 54 Raymond Njoku St., Ikoyi. Mr Oni had said to come around 4:30 PM; I got there at about 4:45. When I arrived I saw that there were chairs set up in rows in an outdoor, garage type area that was covered with a canopy. About five or six men were sitting there. I asked them for Mr. Oni, and they pointed to the door; then he appeared, and greeted me, and asked me to come inside, to meet members of the executive of the organization. Bodunde was with me so I introduced him as my assistant; Oni seemed a bit surprised, and told him to sit down outside, in the back. I went in with Oni, who said that the executive was almost finished with its meeting, that they would talk with me for a few minutes and then move on to the general meeting; he said that he hoped I wouldn't mind waiting during the general meeting in order to talk with people during the social period afterwards.

I was introduced to about six men, all of whom appeared to be over 50, and several of whom are probably around 60 years old. At that point I didn't actually get any names; they were introduced by title. They included the president, two past presidents, the general secretary and the publicity secretary. Oni did not stay around while I talked with them. He had already told them a little about me, so I explained some more about my research and what I am doing. I also mentioned the questionnaire at this point. They had a few comments and questions. The publicity secretary wanted to know if I would share the results of my work with them. I said I would but that it might take some time. He commented that he has had others come see him for information, but never sees any results. My promise to share results, to give a copy of whatever I produce (e.g., a book) was mentioned two times during the general meeting. Then they suggested that I wait outside while they finished their executive meeting, and that then I would talk with the publicity secretary about the organization. But then the publicity secretary himself suggested that maybe I would like to sit in on the general meeting to see what they do, and I said that I would.

I went out for a few minutes and joined the people who were there (all men); they were having beer and soft drinks. So I had a soft drink. One man, a bearded man wearing a suit (the only one not dressed in agbada) asked me why I had chosen Ilesa for my research. I said I would try to answer that during the meeting, as perhaps others would want to know the same thing. Then the president and others came outside, and seated themselves at a table facing the chairs; they said they wanted to begin the general meeting. The publicity secretary came to get me and take me back inside, but then Oni suggested we talk after the meeting, and I agreed with that, and the publicity secretary went along with the suggestion. So I only got the publicity secretary's name, and then went back outside again. When I tried to take a seat toward the rear, several people, especially thr president, insisted that I sit in the front, so I did so.

The meeting began then. At that point there were about 20 people there; more arrived during the meeting, probably about 30 were there altogether.

Four members of the executive sat at the table in the front, and the others sat on the chairs facing the table. The President ran the meeting. All discussion was in English. When people spoke, they stood up.

At the start of the meeting, I was introduced with an explanation of what I'm doing, and a statement that I'd like to talk with people during the social interaction after the meeting.

The meeting began with reading the minutes of the last meeting. Then there was a discussion of the maternity ward they are building, which was referred to in the minutes of the last meeting. One man got up to say that he is contributing N200 instead of the N1000 he had promised. There was discussion of how much has been contributed so far. Then they began to collect money from some of those present, with the publicity secretary noting down who gave what. Whenever anyone was speaking, and there was general conversation among the members, the president rapped his hand on the table and called for quiet. He did this numerous times during the meeting, saying he wouldn't tolerate any talking during the meeting. His attitude seemed a lot like that of a schoolteacher with a group of unruly students.

On the maternity ward, the president announced that they had spoken with Dr. Makanjuola, the head of the hospital, and that he had approved the drawings of the ward. They did not say where the ward is to be built, but later I learned that it is being built at Wesley Guild Hospital (which is part of OAU Teaching Hospital, and Dr. Makanjuola is head of OAUTHC). The president also announced that a letter has been drafted for distribution to other dignataries, people who approach you for donations in their hometowns, and who members can approach for donations for this. He said that Chief Aluko had distributed some copies of this letter, and that a friend of his gave N2000, and that he expects others to also contribute. The idea is that others should take copies of this letter to distribute to people they know who might contribute. The contribution will be listed under the name of the member who solicited the donation.

Someone on the executive said that they must lay the foundation for the maternity ward project before the next annual general meeting. That meeting is scheduled for the end of June.

Then various people were called on with regard to contributing--people who have not yet made their contribution. One man got up to ask about his contribution; he spoke in Yoruba.

After they finished talking about the maternity ward, there was a long discussion about the clubhouse in Ilesa (which is located in Isokun, on the Oshogbo Road). Apparently a committee had been established to look into issues regarding how much people pay to use the club house and to make recommendations. The secretary gave a summary of the committee's recommendations. They are recommending that people pay N500 a day for private social events, and N1000 for commercial events. Members would pay 50% of what others pay for private events but the same rate for commercial activities (ie. events where they are charging money and making money). They also recommended that it not be used for political meetings, as there

is the possibility of damage. They also recommended hiring a club manager, suggested finding a member who is retiring and moving home; they proposed paying him N800 a month, and said that a manager would give more publicity to the club and get more people to use it. Finally they discussed a house at the back of the club, which is apparently not in use, and whether something should be done with it.

There was a lot of discussion about these recommendations. Mostly the comments focused on the proposed rates, and whether the committee had investigated what others charge for similar facilities. One person proposed having an hourly rate rather than daily. There were also quite a few comments about the proposed N800 pay for a manager, with the feeling that that is far too little to pay to get someone good.

One speaker also commented on the presence of strangers (i.e., me and Bodunde) at a discussion like this, and not having been introduced; he was shouted down as he had come late and had missed our introduction.

The secretary responded to the comments. On hourly rates, he said that when you rent a place for a reception, the assumption in Ilesa is that they have the place for the whole day; maybe in the future can have an hourly rate but it wouldn't work now.

Ayo Oni commented that N800 is not enough to pay a manager, that they won't get anyone good for that amount. He also asked what the going rate for such facilities is in Ilesa, saying that "we have an A-1 place and we should charge an A-1 rate".

During this discussion, another man had joined the group at the table in front. He was then given a chance to respond to all the comments; he was Mr. Ola, who had been the chairman of the committee making the recommendations. He first said that the conditions in Ilesa are different from here (in Lagos). He then went on to say that "most of us don't patronize the clubhouse", there's a need to make the place dynamic. He said there is no comparable facility like the clubhouse elsewhere in Ilesa.

On the rate, he emphasized that the club is a social club, and that it has a duty to offer, in service to people back at home. They have to make the facility available to people there. With the proposed new rates, they should break even. He commented that "money doesn't flow in Ilesa as here" and said that if they charge too much and people can't pay it, they'll simply use the back of their house for their parties instead. He said "We know our people."

Again there were questions about comparable places and rates. Someone asked what Ilesa Grammar School, Concord Hotel and the Town Hall charge for receptions. There was an outcry, indicating lots of support for these questions, and Mr. Ola did not respond directly; he seemed quite angry and simply said that the committee had looked into all these issues, and that there is no comparable facility.

Another speaker said that the place is a failure, that there's nothing there, you can't even get a coke or a tonic in the place and it is

deteriorating. He went on to say that the committee should be allowed to set the rate, and it can be changed again if necessary in future.

The president said that the chair of the committee has managed millions and that others on the committee have a lot of management experience, that they know what they are doing.

The discussion of this topic ended with someone thanking the committee for its work.

Then announcements were made by the secretary. He first said that the person who was to host the next meeting has to be away then, and that he had contacted another person, a new member, G.O. Eso, to see if he would do it. He had indicated he would but wasn't at this meeting to confirm.

Then he referred to a invitation card that had been distributed earlier, for a funeral of a relative of a member, Mr. Balogun, who is resident in Ilesa. People seemed unsure who the man is, and asked if he is a member, and there was some clarification needed as to which Balogun it is, but one of the officers said that he had hosted their meeting about three years ago. The ceremony is the burial of his mother-in-law; people were urged to attend (it will be in Ilesa).

The secretary announced that the annual meeting, to be held in June, will be at someone's house, and that that person "will attract the bulk of the membership." He sends out his own circular as well as the one sent out by the club.

The president then talked about the obligation to attend events of members. On the burial ceremony, he said that "our members need your presence when it is necessary." He said that someone's marriage ceremony yesterday was well attended by members. And emphasized that they "owe a social obligation" even though the man hasn't been attending meetings.

The secretary then reported on the donations that had been made at today's meeting. For the maternity ward, there had been donations of N250; N1000; N200; N100; N2000; and the vice president had donated N2500. Someone wanted to know how much Oni had donated all together, and they said he had donated a total of N3000 (but not all today). He also reported on monthly donations, presumably regular donations to the club, which were smaller--N120; N100; N100.

Then the president made some announcements. He said that the Owa's tenth anniversary of his coronation is to be celebrated the week of May 11, and that he has asked all the organizations in Lagos to be invited. The president said that he saw the program at Ilesa last week, and that the most important even will be the conferring of chieftaincy titles on May 16; 10 people will get titles. Also that day they will be launching a fund for taking care of the palace. And on Sunday the 17th there will be a Thanksgiving Service at Otapete Methodist Church at 10 AM. There seemed to be a sense that they were finding out rather late about this.

The President then introduced me again, and I said a little about what I'm

doing. By this time there were about thirty people there.

Then the President announced the "home call" of the club's first president, Mr. Tunde Apara, the co-founder of the society, who passed away two days ago; he said when the history of the organization is written, he will be seen as a central figure in it.

Then the secretary got up to say something more about the next meeting, scheduled for the 17th. He said that there are two events then--that they are just learning about the Owa's celebration, and the Owa is the grand patron of the club. (Not sure what the other event is--maybe a funeral). So he suggested meeting at Ilesa either the 16th or 17th, at the clubhouse. But the president said there will be a lot going on and he suggested they forego that meeting. He also said that the executive will buy something for the Owa's celebration and make a presentation, and that everyone should try to come to Owa's celebration.

There was a motion for adjournment and the formal meeting ended. It was about 7:30.

People immediately began to move around and talk; some went inside, others stayed outside. Food was served right away. The publicity secretary wanted to talk with me then, but I said that I'd like to try to talk with others briefly, and ask them about filling out the questionnaire, before people started to leave. So I went around to most of those who were still outside, who had already begun to eat, going to each individually and explaining about the questionnaire and asking for their name and addresses, and saying that Bodunde would come to get it back from them; a few said they would give it to the president to return to me, and some offered to mail it back so I gave them my name and address. I have my doubts that any of these methods are going to work very well, but the set-up wasn't conducive to having them fill it out right there as I had originally planned -- they were all busy eating, and there wasn't much light outside, and people were already beginning to leave; it was already close to 8 PM.

One of the men I talked to outside was the same person who had earlier asked me why I had chosen Ilesa. I asked if he was satisfied with my explanation to the group, and he said no, that I hadn't really answered the question, that there must be some reason, such as the gold or something else in Ilesa. I didn't pursue this further.

I stayed outside for a while, during which time a couple of girls came to ask what I wanted to eat. Everyone was having pounded yam, so I said I would have iyan. They put a couple of plates at the outside table, for me and Bodunde. But then when I went over to eat, someone said we should go inside to eat. So I went in, and saw there were about ten more people there. I started to talk with some, but then the hostess (Oni's wife) said that iyan had to be eaten while it was hot so I sat down to eat. Oni told his wife to get a fork and knife for me.

After I ate, I went around and talked with more people about the questionnaire and got more addresses. One man that I talked with chatted with me for a few minutes. He said that most of those there go regularly

to Ilesa; in fact most of them came from Ilesa for the meeting tonight. He said that he himself is in Ilesa regularly, but that it's hard to find him there. For example, this weekend he never got to the family house yesterday; if one goes to the house to look for him they'll say he's not around, they haven't seen him. He went to Ilesa for the burial of the loja at Oke Bode (the one who succeeded Agunlejika as loja there). I mentioned having been at Iloko Day and he said he would have been there except for the petrol shortage.

Bodunde pointed out one of the men, who had been referred to during the meeting as a lawyer; he said that he had been at Olashore's dinner last week, that some of the people hanging around outside pointed him out and said he is a good lawyer.

After everyone finished eating and before too many people left, the president called people together inside in order to thank the Onis, especially Oni's wife for being hostess. As they were going to sit down for this, Oni said that this is part of the ritual, to thank the hostess. The president made a brief speech, while Mrs. Oni sat and her husband stood. Then he told Oni to sit also, and everyone sang "For he's a jolly good fellow" and gave three cheers.

Then I sat down with the publicity secretary to get more information on the club. The publicity secretary is Chief Alex O. Adagunodo; he is Owaseye of Ilesa. He told me that the club was founded 25 years ago. It is the Ilesa Social Elite, not Ijesa. Ilesa didn't have a club at that time, whereas other Ijesa towns did. They needed to have a group to do things like welcome the oba when he came to Lagos. There was the Council of Ijesa Societies but that was a big umbrella group. Although the club has the interests of all Ijesa, most members are from Ilesa. The satellite towns had people to protect there interests in Lagos, but the mother town didn't.

It is basically a social club, concerned with the social interests of the individual members. For example if someone is doing a marriage ceremony, they need a group to come; members of the club will come. The same thing for a funeral. The social aspect is primary. Also members who have problems, for example matrimonial problems, will discuss them privately with the executive and the president. If someone has financial problems, the club may find ways to help. If they have a court case, there are lawyers who are members, they can advise and give representation where possible. These are the types of things that individuals enjoy from the group, he said.

He also talked about how the hometown benefits. He said that they try to give honor to the town from a distance. Everyone should act as an ambassador from Ilesa, and put the town on the pedestal of fame. The value of the individual members put together is the value of the group. They encourage members to build houses at home, and to improve the quality of the town. They also assist children from Ilesa to find jobs, thereby trying to reduce unemployment of people from Ilesa.

The club built the clubhouse, it's the only organization of a distant group to have built something to that standard. The club is for the social

interests of members when they go home, and people at home can hire it.

Having built the club, they realized that it is the elite at home and abroad who use the club. Then they wanted to look for something that is needed by the "grassroots people". So they are building a maternity ward at Wesley Guild Hospital that will cost more than N1 million. They are collecting the money for that now. It will supplement the facilities already there. They plan to start it this year, and it will take about two years to build (when I asked how long it would take to build, he turned to someone else, and they basically said that it depends on the contributions they get, how quickly they can finish it).

The club has 200 members; it is registered under the Land Perpetual Act as a club. They have meetings every fortnight at members' houses. They feel it is better to have frequent meetings, so that members can attend at their convenience. A maximum of 40-50 attend each meeting. There are some inactive members. All the members are men. In addition they have patrons and matrons who act as advisers and the Owa is the grand patron.

I asked if all the members live in Lagos. He said that some have moved home, after retiring. There is also a group in London, the Ilesa Social Elite, London Branch, which is (or began as??) a student group, since most of the members trained in London.

I asked about involvement of younger generation. He said that they have tried to organize a group for their children, since younger people don't want to join this group. But the response hasn't been encouraging. I asked if children who have grown up in Lagos go home. He said that it varies with the individual home, but that they try to encourage them to go.

Finally I asked about women's organizations. He gave me the name of a woman who he said is the president of a women's group that consists of wives of the Ilesa Social Elite members. She is Chief Mrs. Ilaka, 3/5 Ilaka Street, Ilupeju. Phone 963-722.

I left Oni's house shortly after 9 PM.

Names and addresses of those who promised to fill out questionnaires:

Engr. J.O. Ibironke, Director Comprehensive Engineering Consultants, 3 Adewale Crescent, Oshodi/Isolo Expresseway Oshodi, P.O. Box 5382, Lagos. Tel. 962522. Residence: 15 Femi Ayantuga Cres., Surulere, Tel: 833299. (I talked with him the next night, as past president of Ilesa Frontliners).

I.A. Ogunlade, Chief Executive officer, Lagos State Development and Property Corporation, Ilupeju Industrial Estate, Ikorodu Road, PMB 21050, Ikeja. Telephone: 901900-9/234.

Joe F. Obilanade, Chairman, Dapu Joe Limited, Industrialists, Importers, Exporters, Manufacturers Representative and General Merchants, ETc. 9 Obanikoro Street, Ikorodu Rd, GPO Box 5138, Lagos, Tel: 960713. Residence: 8 Emina Crescent, opp. Ikeja Palace Hotel, Ikeja Tel: 961883.

Anthony A. Ojo, General Manager, W. Biney and Co. (Nig) Ltd. , 34/36 Burma Road, PMB 1020, Apapa; Tel: 874052, 875811; Res: 50 Bornu Crescent, Apapa

Olatunji Fayokun, Fayokun and Co. Legal Practitioners and Notaries Public, Phoenix Building, 3rd floor, 52/54 Murtala Muhammed Way, Oyingbo, Ebute Metta; Tel: 863096

A. Ayeni, Management Accountant, Balakhany (Nig) Ltd, 61 Joel Ogunnaike Street, G.R.A., Ikeja, PO Box 192; Tel: 963918, 964584

Chief Tunde Olojo, Principal Partner, Kusamotu, Olojo and Co., Legal Practitioners, Unity House, 9th floor, 37 Marina, Lagos, P.O. Box 5938; Tel: 662339; 662353; direct line: 667492

Engineer John Fasehun, tel: 921102 (Agege)--phone weekend or late at night. Best place to find: at project at St. Judes Church, Freeman Street, Ebute Metta.

J. B. Ademiju, 189 Ikorodu Road, Palmgrove; is in office from 2-6 PM; tel: 823073

Alex Ade. Afolajunwonlo, 27 Imam Shuaibu Street, Ijeshatedo--he will leave questionnaire with the president Postal address: PO Box 55394, Ikeja; tel: 841684

The President of the club: Chief D.O. Ajijola, 59 Lewis Street, Lagos (near Sangrouse Market) (near Lagos High Court); tel: 635841. The best time to find him is between 1-5 PM after he comes back from court; he is a lawyer. I said I would come see him to learn more about the club. Also one or two people said they would return questionnaires thru him; one or two others promised to mail them to me.

Altogether I handed out about 15 questionnaires. One person refused to take one.

notes73

Fieldnotes Monday May 4, Dele Olashore bank, Victoria Island, Lagos

While on Victoria Island Monday afternoon, Bodunde and I drove past Oladele Olashore Street, so we went down it to look for Lead Merchant Bank, Olashore's bank. The street is off Sanusi Fafunwa Street, a fairly major street, and runs from there thru to another main street, on which the office of Al Italia is located, just about opposite where Oladele Olashore Street ends. There seems to be a lot of construction on the street, of what look to be office buildings. I didn't see any houses on the street. Lead Merchant Bank is about halfway down the street, on the right coming from Sanusi Fafunwa. It is a one-story building, white with some gold on the front. I went in and asked for Mr. Olashore. The person at the reception desk didn't answer, instead a guard standing at the desk said that he hadn't come to work today, but that they expected him tomorrow, by 9 AM. I left my card with a note.

notes74

Fieldnotes Monday May 4, meeting with officers of Ilesa Frontliners, Lagos

The meeting was scheduled for 6 PM at the office of the Director of the Nigerian Law School, Victoria Island. I got there a little before 6 and found the director's office, then was asked to wait in the reception room. After sitting for a few minutes, a man who I had met the previous night at the Ilesa Social Elite meeting came in. He was surprised to hear that the Director was in his office and went in to see him. Then the Director came out and asked me to come into his office; Bodunde stayed in the reception room. The Director explained that he was about to leave for the airport (in fact he was supposed to have gone yesterday), and that I would meet with the others in his office.

The Director of the Law School, B.A. Ibironke, is the President of Ilesa Frontliners. He has a large wood panelled office. I sat on a couch, with the other man who had arrived who is the past president. He is J.O. Ibironke (they said they are not relatives); I got his card at the Ilesa Social Elite meeting yesterday. He is an engineer, address is: Comprehensive Engineering Consulants, 3 Adewlae Crescent, Oshodi/Isolo Expressway Oshodi, PO Box 5382, Lagos; Tel: 962522; Residence: 15 Femi Ayantuga Cres, Surulere, Tel: 833299. Later, he said the best way to reach him is to phone very early in the morning; he promised to help make some connections with leaders of women's organizations.

He and I chatted a bit; the Director was still in his office, but working at his desk. I saw that Ibironke had a letter in his hand from the Ilesa Cultural Foundation, so I asked about it and mentioned knowing Bolanle Awe. He said that the letter is about the expected visit of the President (Babangida) which will be either May 25 or June 2; they have to plan for either date as they may not know definitely until the last minute. This will be to launch the fund for the Foundation; he mentioned that Babangida had laid a stone for the museum last year. He also showed me that he had a letter from Ifaturoti about Ilesa Solidarity Group; I think this is the letter Ifaturoti was sending to organizations, along with a copy of the newsletter. Ibironke said that he is a foundation member of both Ilesa Cultural Foundation and Ijesa Solidarity Group. He told me that he is also active in the Ilesa Social Elite, and that he is the representative of the Social Elite to the Council of Ijesa Societies. He is past president of Ilesa Frontliners.

I said that all this activity must take a lot of time, he said yes, time and also money.

He talked about the Council of Ijesa Societies, and said that there are also councils in other cities such as Ibadan and Kaduna. Justice Thomas from the Lagos High Court is the President of the Council in Lagos, and Ibironke himself is one of the vice presidents. I mentioned having recently met someone else from Ilesa on the Lagos High Court, and he said that must be Ilori (who I met at Olashore's dinner) and that Ilori is also active in Ilesa affairs, and that he is a cousin of Bolanle Awe.

He asked if I had met a woman who is called omo obokun (tho later he said yeye obokun), that she is elderly now, but has been very active in Ilesa activities in Lagos for a long time. She is the vice president of the Council of Ijesa Societies in Lagos. He said he thought she would be a good person to see, as she is the president of the oldest women's club of Ijesas based in Lagos. He thinks her name is Mrs. Onosanya, but he wasn't absolutely sure. He did say that he would contact her for me, re. my meeting her and attending a meeting of her group. She lives in Surulere. Another women's group is Ijesa Young Women's Progressive Society (or something like that; he wasn't sure of their name); these are two of the most active women's organizations. He suggested that I call him in about two weeks time to see about meeting with some of these women's organizations.

He mentioned a couple of other organizations. He said that the Ijesa Club is one of the oldest, and that the Ijesa Society is new, but effective.

There are about 30 societies which are members of the council; they will be meeting this week, but he won't be able to attend because he will be in Ilesa, representing his church as a synod meeting there.

I asked him why he thinks there so many different organizations. He said that a lot started with a group of friends. And in some cases people find they can't do something within a society, so they form a new one. The implication here was that there may be disagreements within a group, so some will split off to form a new group. He seemed about to give an example of this, when he was interrupted by the law school director who was getting ready to leave. He returned to the subject, but I'm not sure if what he next said was what he had first started to say. He mentioned the Ijesa Development Enthusiasts as a group that formed out of another group for a particular purpose--as a pressure group to get the government to show more interest in Ilesa. (He didn't say if it still exists). Later the Frontliners formed, as a service group.

The Frontliners tax themselves to get funds to finance projects they choose. He said that now the Social Elite are trying to do the same type of thing, referring to the discussion of the maternity ward last night, but that this is the main purpose of the Frontliners. The Frontliners first project was the town hall clock, to get it repaired. Then they financed street signs, showing the street names, for the whole town. They also bought the chairs for the Town Hall. Under the current president (B.A. Ibrironke), he wants to do it in a big way, and their current project is to build a library for the town; it will be a public library.

The Frontliners meet at a club, rather than at members' homes, and there is no entertainment, just a business meeting.

He also mentioned that other Ijesa societies in Lagos are made up of people from other towns and villages; these too are part of the Council of Ijesa Societies.

The Frontliners has less than forty members. It is a "select group who can

find money for the projects" they choose. The foundation group was a group of friends and classmates, many went to school together--primary school, secondary school, etc. The membership has expanded some since, but it's basically a group of "people of like minds". All live in Lagos except the "special members". "Special members include Prof. Bolanle Awe, Justice Eso, Engineer Chief Fadahunsi, someone named Odolele (I think); they are like honorary members.

At this point another man arrived and was introduced as Professor Jegede. He is the Vice President, and Ibironke said he will be the next president, altho Jegede himself seemed less sure about that. Later in the conversation I got more information about Jegede: he is the former Dean of the Unilag Law School, and then he went to Ibadan as Dean of the law school there, to get it established because the Vice Chancellor at that time was a friend of his. He left there around 1983 and went into private law practice. I also realized that I know his wife, who is a friend of Clara Osinulu's and very active in Nigerian Association of University Women.

For a while the conversation was more general. We discussed where the others were who were supposed to be at the meeting (several others were supposed to come, including Ayo Oni, but never showed up). This led to discussion of the petrol problem. Jegede said he had been in Akure over the weekend, and Ibironke was in Ilesa and went to the funeral in Ikeji; he desribed how he got petrol by going to the owner of the Total Station in Ilesa who told him to leave his jerry can and come back in the morning to pick it up.

B.A. Ibironke left for the airport, but his secretary was there. After a little while, J.O. Ibironke asked her to bring us something to drink, suggesting she bring some of the Director's wine, which she did--wine imported from Yugoslavia, along with some crackers. So we sat and drank wine and talked til about 8 PM, at which point it was obvious that no one else was coming.

They talked some more about the organization, saying that the members are all of the same generation, and grew up together, going to school together, mainly in Ilesa. The members are professionals--lawyers, engineers, accountants, businessmen, teachers, bankers. Their regular meetings are held the last Sunday of the month; the next meeting will be May 31. They meet at the club of the Total Petrol Station on Ikorodu Road, located immediately after the Igbogi Orthopedic Hospital and a NEPA substation. It is the Total staff club; one of their members worked at Total.

Jegede mentioned that J.A. Ibironke was the first president of the Frontliners, which formed in 1982; he said that he is the "bedrock" of the organization. They agreed that probably 95% of the members are "committed Ilesa goers" going there once or twice a month. They said almost all the members have built a house there.

I mentioned my interest in finding out why it is so important to maintain ties. Jegede's response was that "this is the problem of Nigeria, there is too much attachment to one's roots." The culture emphasizes a spirit of togetherness within the community. People see themselves as first and

foremost Ijesa; they don't really see themselves as Nigerian. He said the attachment to one's roots are so important, there is nothing to exchange for it, without those connections, one isn't complete. He continued that if you're not able to point out your father's compound then people think there is something wrong with you. Even if you call yourself a Nigerian, you still have to be able to say where your hometown is.

I asked if it's become more important in recent years. Their response was that it's always been important. They gave the example of Ikenne, that it is now important because Awolowo was from there, and he was proud to say he was from there, and hence because of him it became important--otherwise it was just a small place. They also added that a person must be acceptable to his own people before he can be acceptable to others, for example if involved in politics.

Jegede then said that things are changing some. For example, in Lagos, public office holders are not really indigenes of the state. But nevertheless parochialism is still evident, and still affects people. People will ask where someone is from. Jegede said that for example if he put himself forward for some public office in Lagos, people would say that he is an Ijesa man, even though he has lived in Lagos since 1963 and his children were all born in Lagos.

I then asked about their children. Jegede said that he isn't taking his children to Ilesa, and that his wife (who he later said is from Akure) is complaining about it. There was a formal decision in the organization that people should take their children home at least once a year. But he said that some will do that, but there are others like his children who won't be as attached to Ilesa as he is, they really don't know much about the town itself. Ibironke said that some are trying to get the children interested and take them there. He gave himself as an example; he said that he recently took "two of his little ones" to Ilesa; that they like to go there because they want to go for pounded yam. Also he teaches them the traditional folk stories and they like to hear them. So he tries to maintain these various traditional things.

We discussed my attending one of their meetings. They said I should try to attend, so I said I could come to the next meeting at the end of May. I also told them about my questionnaire and asked for their suggestions on how best to distribute it. They suggested that I give them copies and that they would ask the secretary to send it out with the circular for the meeting, and then people came bring it to the meeting. So I gave them the approximately 30 copies I had.

Various Ilesa/Ijesa events were mentioned. I said I had been at Iloko Day. The immediate response was that Olashore must have behind the organization of Iloko Day, tho one of them also mentioned the chairman, Omoniyi. They discussed the celebration of the Owa's anniversary and the fact that hardly anyone know about it. Ibironke said that the Owa had sent a list to the Council of Ijesa Societies with the names of those he planned to honor with chieftaincy titles, and asked the Council's advice. The Council dropped some names and added some, and the Owa followed their recommendations. He said that the Owa was very good about this. But there has been poor

organization and hence no one knows about it; Ilesa Social Elite only found out last night, and it's just a week away. He said that he happened to be at the palace recently; he had gone with a woman to whom he was giving a ride, she wanted to stop there, and after waiting outside a while for her, he went it. He said that the Owa was very surprised to learn that no one knew about the celebration. He had given the information to Chief someone, who was supposed to distribute it. This person is the secretary of the council of chiefs in Lagos, and secretary of the Council of Ijesa Societies, and also involved in Ilesa Social Elite. So he was seen as the key person who could distribute the information. But he apparently didn't do anything. So their feeling is that since no one knows about it, the celebration will be a flop. They said that Lagos (i.e. those based in Lagos) would have supported the Owa and come to the celebration, but no one knows.

We had a long discussion of various other things, mainly focussing again on the petrol situation, and also comparing notes on cars, with Jegede in particular going on at some length about the value of Mercedes and how he wants to buy a large Mercedes in order to have a comfortable car to travel home (to Ilesa) in.

As we began to wind up the discussion, they talked a bit about upcoming events. Ibironke gave Jegede the letters about Ilesa Cultural Foundation and Ijesa Solidarity Group. He mentioned that there is a meeting of the Solidarity Group on May 9, but said he has four events that day; he will be in Ilesa from the middle of the week for the church meeting of his synod, and that will end on Saturday. And he is supposed to go to a wedding in Benin and another in Oshogbo on Saturday.

Ibironke also mentioned that he is becoming the baba ijo of St Peters Church in Ilesa, although he didn't say when this is happening.

He then began to talk about his daughter, who is getting married at the end of the year. He said that the marriage will take place in Lagos. Jegede asked why Lagos and not Ilesa; Ibironke responded that it is a protest, that since his daughter is not marrying an Ijesa, she will get married in Lagos; if she had chosen an Ijesa man, the wedding would be in Ilesa. He then went on to talk more generally about his children and their marriages, and his attitudes. He said that his daughter is marrying an Ijebu, as did another daughter. But that actually he can't complain because he too married an Ijebu. He doesn't mind that they marry non-Ijesa, but that he is " conservative" in his approach to their behavior. When they are planning to marry, he expects them to let him give his approval. He described how his daughter wrote him a letter about the boy she wants to marry, and where he's from, who his family is, so that he could investigate the family. He was very happy with what he found out. But his daughter knew that she couldn't agree until after he had given approval. In her letter his daughter mentioned that she hadn't found an Ijesa man to marry. Although he was happy with what he found out about the boy's family he still hasn't met them, although they've asked to meet. He didn't say how long he'll wait til he meets them. But he made it clear that he wants these things to be done in the proper way. He said even when one of his children (a son?) married overseas, he came home to introduce the girl

first. And when his baby was born, they brought it here for him to see right away.

Jegede said that he is different, that he is more "liberal" about such things. But he didn't give any example, only to imply that his children can marry whoever they want, and to indicate that he really hasn't emphasized the Ijesa connections with them.

We ended the conversation and left shortly after 8 PM

Notes75

Fieldnotes Saturday May 9, trip to Osu

I went to Osu Saturday morning with Kaiser Barnes and Bodunde. Kaiser had told me that there are a couple of men that he knows there, who sounded like they might be good people to meet. One is the landlord of a young man named Bob, who is active in the Ba'hai group with Kaiser; the other is a man who is himself a member of the Ba'hai.

Kaiser's friend Bob also went with us from Ife to Osu. He didn't stay around while we talked with his landlord, but was there for the conversation with the second man.

We went first to see Mr. Akintola, Bob's landlord. He lives in a fairly new cement, unpainted bungalow at the end of the road from the market, just before it bears to the right. Mr. Akintola was very hospitable and welcoming, and seemed genuinely pleased to see Kaiser, who he's met just once or twice before. He was dressed simply, in loose tunic and pants that came just below the knee. He entertained us in the small sitting room of his house. A black and white TV was turned on; there was also a refrigerator and a large wall clock in the sitting room, as well as a few photos.

Mr. Akintola told us that he worked in the customs and was based in Lagos, before he retired and moved to Osu. I would guess that he is in his sixties, but am not really sure. He said that he retired here, and that now he goes out to his farm every day. He is growing corn and cassava, and later on will plant yam. I at first assumed that he was from Osu, or that Osu is his hometown. But then he explained that he is not really from Osu. He said that his father and mother were from Ilesa, from the Igbogi area (which is at the beginning of the Oshogbo Road). But his father and mother never really lived in Ilesa, and he didn't have any access to land there. He was born in Lagos and grew up there. He came to Osu when he asked a friend to help him find land in this area; he was looking for farmland, and the friend helped him get land in Osu.

Although he never lived in Ilesa and apparently hadn't really been in this area before he retired, he talked about the fact that it was important to know where you are from, to know your home. He said that others in his family live all over. For example, his sisters are married to people from other places. One is married to someone named Usman, a Hausa man; she's a Catholic, he said, and now she's an Alhaja. When I asked where she lives, he said something about Trinidad, but then indicated that she's now back in Nigeria-- it wasn't clear. He also mentioned a sister who lives in Badagry.

He said that he doesn't care who his children marry, they can marry an Igbo person or whoever. But that they should know where they are from, know their home. He pointed out that his first wife is from Ijebu, from Ikorodu. They have six children; one son died in an accident shortly after he moved to Osu, but the other five are in Osu and doing well. He said that they visit their mother in Ikorodu. He didn't say anything about

other wife or wives, and children, but the implication was that there is a second wife.

Since I didn't plan to do lengthy interviews this time, I asked when I could see him again. He said that he is on his farm during the day during the week and comes back from the farm by evening. On Saturday and Sunday he is generally in. He said that he goes to Lagos about every two weeks; he had been in Lagos at the beginning of the week, and mentioned the riots in Lagos on Monday.

Mr. Akintola seemed very friendly and talkative, and in fact provided a lot of information in our brief conversation without my asking many questions at all.

After seeing him, we went to see Mr. Kolamafe, who lives off the main road on the other side; we turned in at the street opposite the Methodist Church and near the Mosque, and then parked near some houses, and walked along a path to houses that are off the road; his is the last one in that group. Mr. Kolamafe appears to be quite old, probably in his seventies. He speaks little English, so Bodunde translated. According to Kaiser, he formerly worked as a sanitary inspector. His house is an old, mud house. Some boys were out on the verandah in front weaving baskets. A radio was on in the sitting room where we sat.

After we explained what I am doing, I asked Mr. Kolamafe if he has lived outside Osu, or mainly in Osu. He said that he lived in the north for some time, but has been in Osu for the past twenty-five years. Then I asked him, in Yoruba, if Osu is his home town -- "Se Osu ni ilu re?" He first responded yes, then said that it is his mother's hometown, that his father was from Ila Orangun. Then he proceeded to tell a long story, which took about 15 minutes. He began by showing us a framed photograph, that was lying face down on the lower part of the small coffee table in the center of the room. At first it seemed that he was saying that his father had been the oba of Ila Orangun and that this was a photo of his father. But then as he told the story it turned out to be much more complex than that. He said that his great great grandfather (or some such ancestor, not clear how far back) was supposed to become oba of Ila. But it was during the wars. And the town decided that they would wait to choose the oba after they saw that he was successful in fighting the wars, that he conquered others. So his greatgreat grandfather went off to fight, and he was successful in conquering. He sent word that he was coming back to be installed as oba. But his junior brother went around before he got back, and bribed the various chiefs, saying that they should make him the oba before his brother came back. The chiefs decided that since they were born of the same mother, the matter was between the two of them, and they made him the oba before the senior brother came back. When the senior brother came back, he arrived with his soldiers and slaves. When he came to the edge of town, people came out to greet him. Everyone was afraid to tell him that his brother had already been installed as oba. He should have been taken to the palace, but instead they told him to go to his house. Then someone was sent to inform him that there was already an oba, that his junior brother had been installed. When he was told this, he realized that he couldn't fight him, couldn't slash his head off, because he was his

brother. But also that he couldn't prostrate to him, since he was his junior brother. So he left Ila, and took his slaves and the rest of his followers to Ilesa. There the Owa welcomed him, and told him to choose land; the land he was given was in Osu. So they all settled in Osu. It was not clear when this took place, but it sounded like it was during the Yoruba wars, so possibly in the 1880's or so. After the great great grandfather (or whoever) died, his descendants went back to Ila to greet the oba, who was by then a descendant of the junior brother. Again it was not clear in which generation this was, or when. It was at this time that the photograph he showed us was taken; in other words, this was a photo of those who went from Osu (descendants of the senior brother) with the oba of Ila (descendant of the junior brother). Judging by the photo, it could possibly have been taken in the 1930's, or later; probably a knowledge of clothing types would make it possible to date better. I asked if those who went from Osu then stayed in Ila. He said no, they couldn't stay there, they already had their land and houses in Osu, and stayed there. They just went to greet the oba. But they could go to stay any time if they wanted to.

The implication of this story was that although his father's family originally came from Ila, in fact they have been in Osu for a number of generations. I did not ask where he was born, but the implication is that he was born in Osu; I need to check that, and other information about where he's lived, etc.

I asked him about a time when I could come back to see him. He said that he is always at home on Saturday and Sunday. He said that he works at the local government office during the day (but did not say what he does there), but he can be called from there. They close at 3:30 and then he goes to the farm, and he is home in the evening. But later Bob said he doesn't think he does much at the local government office, and he is often home earlier than 3:30.

Notes76

Fieldnotes, Tuesday May 12 and Wednesday May 13, observations while doing mapping in Ilesa.

On Tuesday we walked around Ijoka and neighboring streets, including the two streets that run parallel to Ijoka, Egbe Idi street and Ogudu Street. Along Ijoka there are a lot of small shops, and it's hard to tell whether some buildings are just shops or whether there are also people living there. Most of the houses are old, mud houses, one story. There are a couple of dirt roads and passageways off Ijoka that have more houses on them. Ogudu Street is to the right of Ijoka as one faces toward Ijebu-jesa; this is a dirt road. Again the houses are small, mud houses, and again there are some houses set back on narrow passageways off the road.

Along Egbe Idi Street, on the other hand, there are quite a few large, Brazilian style houses. They are also old but much larger than those on Ijoka. A couple are of a quite unusual design, with a sort of split upper story.

All along the route there were lots of people around (it was 6-7PM) and lots of people greeted us, and a couple asked if we were looking for something. It was cool and drizzling, it had rained earlier.

On Wednesday it was again raining, too hard to walk around. So we drove in the area of Imo and I tried to map the houses along the main road. But it is more built up in some areas than I had thought, so we will have to walk there. At the end by the brewery, there are several large buildings of flats. There are also at least three streets leading off to the roads that go back toward Imo Hill, so the area is really quite extensive.

Notes77

Fieldnotes Tuesday May 12- Wednesday May 13, conversations with Justice Kayode Eso

On Tuesday evening I met Justice Eso at his house and we had drinks together. We discussed a variety of topics, mostly not concerned with Ilesa or my research. However, a couple of things did come up:

1. with regard to the Ilesa Cultural Foundation. I said I had heard they were planning something soon. He said that it was supposed to be at the end of this month, but that proper preparations haven't been made. The President (Babangida) is supposed to come to Ilesa, and it's only a couple of weeks off, but the people involved don't know about it. For example, Omole is supposed to be hosting a luncheon, but he hasn't been told about it. Eso said it will be very embarassing for Ilesa if the President comes and there's no preparation.

2. Iloko Day. I mentioned I had been there, and had seen Ifaturoti there. He said he (Eso) should have gone, but had been delayed getting his flight back from the Gambia, and got home just in time to change and go to Ikeji for the funeral there.

On Wednesday, we set out as planned to go to his farm, at about 9 AM. The farm is located outside Ijebu-jesa, on the road to Esa Odo.

On the way to the farm, as we went by Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa, I asked if the proper way to refer to Olashore is "Prince" (the night before Eso had used that term in referring to him). Eso said he didn't know if that was how Olashore refers to himself, but that he is a prince, that his father was oba of Iloko. This led to a discussion about Iloko and becoming oba there. Eso said that 99% of the people there want Olashore to succeed his father; I then asked if Olashore himself wants to be oba. And Eso said yes, he thinks so, although he doesn't talk about it with him, but given all the spending he is doing there it looks that way. He said that the project his son is doing for Olashore will cost about 2 million for the first phase only, and there are several phases of it planned. Why else would he spend so much in a small town like that. I then asked why it's important for someone like Olashore to become oba in a place like Iloko. Eso said that that's a "good question", that Olashore is not the only one like that, there are others who are successful in various ways, but they still want to become oba somewhere. He gave the example of Kunle Ifaturoti's brother, who is now chief of a village outside Ilesha and who wanted to become owa. Also mentioned that this is not true of Kunle; he is not interested in such titles. Eso went on to say that there is a chieftaincy title in his own family, one of the major chiefs of Ilesa, but that he has no interest in becoming a chief. He said that the owa wanted to give him a chieftaincy during the current celebration of the owa's 10th anniversary, but that he told him that the only chieftaincy he is interested in is the one that is in the family and that one is already occupied. (But Eso said to me that that was just an excuse, that in reality he isn't interested in any chieftaincy). He said that the owa saw him at a reception that was given for the Deputy Governor at Prince Haastrup's (that must have been the day

after Olashore's dinner) and the owa asked him in person about the chieftaincy. But he said he actually considers it derogatory, an insult, for someone like him to be offered a chieftaincy, that it is a demotion in position.

When we got to the farm, Eso showed me around. Laborers were working on plastering the outside of a small house he has built (about two rooms, made of mud brick and now cement is being put on the outside of the walls). His main investment seems to be in three fishponds that have been dug. The excavation has been done, but rain had eroded some of the walls; someone was coming to look at the damage today, and to take care of the "dressing" of the ponds--the next step in preparing them to be filled and then to put fish in. He expects that to happen within the next couple of months. There is a stream on the property, and he will pump water from there for the ponds. In addition he has planted maize, plantain, and a small area for yams. He also plans to grow flowers. He has 25 acres of land. He got the land from the government. It was formerly part of a farm settlement and land in this area was allocated to people who applied and went thru an interview to determine if they would be able to use the land well for farming. This was done as part of the government policy to promote agriculture. He paid the government for the land; didn't say how much. I mentioned seeing Onibonoje's farm, and he said Onibonoje got his land in the same way. So far he has spent about N140,000 in building the fishponds and anticipates spending another N100,000. But he thinks that on that investment he should be able to make a comfortable living in 2-3 years from the ponds, if they are well managed. On the other hand, he doesn't make money from the other crops, and doesn't seem to expect to. He said that they are not well enough subsidized; feels government should subsidize agriculture more.

After he showed me around the farm, we sat on a bench outside the small house, looking at the view and talking; it was a beautiful morning, sunny and clear after the rain the night before, but not too hot. IN addition to the land that has been planted, and the area cleared for the ponds, the rest of the area near the stream has large trees. He said that he shoots animals like grasscutter here and cooks them to eat.

I mentioned that yesterday Bodunde and I had been mapping the area around Ijoka and Egbeldi streets. He said that his father's house is at Egbe Idi Street; it is a two-story house on the left hand side going away from Otapete. The house was built in 1937 and members of the family still live there; he goes there to see them. The house opposite also belongs to the family; it was built in 1922 and is occuppied by tenants. The tenants do not pay rent; his father said that they shouldn't pay any rent, and once when he came back to the area and wanted to use the house his father said that he couldn't because the tenants were there.

Eso explained that Ijoka and Egbe Idi are separate quarters. Egbe Idi goes thru to the main road (just beyond the roundabout); the area nearer to the main road is known as lower Egbeldi, and is considered to be the poorer area, and that where his house is is upper Egbe Idi, which is the richer area.

Eso's father was a cocoa buyer and motor transporter, who was very successful. There was always sufficient money for things, such as his education, but his father always made him work for things, didn't give him anything. The original family land is actually in the area near the general hospital, but his father acquired the land in Egbe Idi, apparently that was a prestigious area at that time.

Eso also mentioned that Ifaturoti's family house is at Ijoka. I told him that I am also planning to interview in Ikoti and Imo. He said that Ikoti is a very old section of the city, whereas Imo is new; he said that Kunle was one of the first to build in that area, building began there around 1960.

notes78

Fieldnotes Wednesday May 13, conversations with Mrs. Faseru and Mobo Akinola, Ilesa.

I went to Mrs. Faseru's office at the brewery at around 11:30 AM. She is the secretary to the director of marketing and her office is in the second building at the brewery (the administrative building); the first building is where the chairman and managing director's offices are.

We chatted about various recent events. She asked if I had seen her at Iloko Day. I said I hadn't although I had looked for her. She said that she was there with her husband, but that they were only there for about 30 minutes, because they then had to leave to go to Ikeji for the funeral there. I mentioned that I was trying to reach Olashore by phone. She said that her son (who has a master's in business administration) works in that bank, and that she had been having trouble getting thru to him, but had finally heard from him yesterday. She thought we would have trouble phoning Lagos, but thought we should try. She got thru quite quickly and I spoke to Olashore. He said he'll be in Lagos for the next couple of weeks, and that he has to go to Abuja the beginning of next week. When I said I would be there Sunday and Monday morning, he suggested that I come to his office Monday around noon and have lunch with him. Olashore also mentioned events in Lagos; I didn't realize that he was talking about fresh rioting until later when I heard about it from others.

Then Mrs. Faseru and I discussed women's organizations in Ijebu-jesa. She said that the one organization she is involved in had its last meeting recently and won't meet again til July 13. And that most of the members come from Lagos. But that she can take me to meet its president, Mrs. Ola. We arranged that I will meet her (Mrs. Faseru) in the office after work tomorrow and then we'll go to see Mrs. Ola. She mentioned another organization, connected with her church (Anglican) that was supposed to meet in her house this weekend, but that she found out that most of the members won't be able to attend because they have other things to do, so she has cancelled it.

She said that she will be involved in the Fatiregun wedding next weekend, the girl getting married is Fatiregun's niece. She didn't know what time things will start on Friday.

Mrs. Faseru is from Ijebu-Igbo. She mentioned that next weekend, after the Fatiregun wedding, she will have to go home because it is her mother's 70th birthday.

Later in the afternoon, I went to see Mobo Akinola. She had just come back from work in Ife, and was trying to call her sister in Lagos to find out about what was going on there, because she had heard that there were riots. I said that I would like to talk with her some more in connection with my research, and we decided on next Thursday afternoon. I also mentioned my interest in women leaders and women's organizations. Her reaction at first was that women are mainly involved in their own activities, especially their trade and building their trade. But then when I mentioned

organizations, she said that it's true, that only yesterday she had a meeting of the Ilesa Inner Wheel Society at her house. And that she is a member of a group in Ife, called the Ijesa Ladies Society, of women that are based in Ife (tho she herself lives in Ilesa now). They meet regularly and do things like visit handicapped children's homes.

Notes 79

Fieldnotes Wed. May 13, conversation with Justice Kayode Eso, Ilesa

Justice Eso invited me to have dinner with him tonight. Before dinner, we discussed the news that there was rioting in Lagos, about petrol again. We tried to listen to BBC news, but only got the headline that there was rioting. He got a phone call from someone while we were talking, who said that vehicles (fed govt cars) and banks were being attacked. His comment was that things are bad, that people don't have food, and that the breaking into banks shows that that is what is going on, banks don't have anything to do with the petrol crisis.

At dinner I asked him how things are going with Ijesa Solidarity Group. He said they're making progress but slowly. That they have just had interviews with people being considered to be administrative manager. That once such a person is hired and there is full time secretariat, then more will be able to happen. Right now, no one really has time, except Ifaturoti; he (Eso) doesnt have time, and the managing director of the brewery is one of the secretaries, but he puts in very long hours at the office; he works 9-3, goes home, comes back and works 6-10 PM.

He said they are gradually getting more members, but that people haven't gotten the circulars. But that the crucial thing is to get the right people as members, the Olashores, people who can bring in and influence others.

I asked how Ijesa Solidarity Group differs from all the other organizations, and he said that it is seen as an umbrella group, to include all other societies and individuals, and to foster unity. I asked about the idea of unity, said I keep hearing that at various events. He said that Ijesas are too individualistic. Then he went on to say that in the past, people from Ilesa saw themselves as superior to those from other places in the region; and only those from Ilesa got jobs and positions. They looked down on people from other Ijesa towns; so if someone applied for a job, he would be asked where he was from and if he said some place like Ijebu-jesa, he wouldnt get the job. Similarly with school admission--all the secondary schools were in Ilesa, and it was harder for those from other towns to get into school. Now those from other towns are getting back at those from Ilesa. They won't help Ilesa, for example those in government positions will see that Ilesa doesn't get anything. He said that now most of those in key positions, e.g., directors in government ministries, are not from Ilesa but from other Ijesa towns, and that as those from other towns have become successful, they have made sure that nothing goes to Ilesa.

I commented on my impression--as an American--about the emphasis on one's origin here, and how it seems strange. He responded by first mentioning the history of America, the coming together of different independent units willingly, and the difference in the history here. Later he went on to say that there is no Nigeria. He said that he doesn't understand Igbo culture, then corrected himself to say, no, the fact is he doesn't like their culture. He tolerates the North, he said, because he considers himself to

be superior to them. But I said that it seems like even among the Yoruba, there is an emphasis on the divisions, mentioning for example the comments about people from Ibadan and the way they treat Ijesas. He then went on to talk at some length about how the different Yoruba groups see each other. He said that the Ijebus are the richest and most successful of the Yoruba groups. The Ijesas are aggressive, they are always the first ones there, whether in education, business, whatever. Ijesas look down on others. For example, they call Ekiti monkeys, Ekiti obo, not because they think they are monkeys but because they think they have monkey brains, that is, they are stupid. Also people from Ekiti are seen as bush people. He said that when states were being created the first time (not the last time but the time when Oyo State was created), the Ekitis said that they wanted nothing to do with the Ijesas, they did not want to be in the same state as them. They feared that if they were in the same state with the Ijesas, the Ijesas would take over. I said that this view must go back some time in history, and he said, yes, and mentioned the wars; I said I thought the Ekiti and Ijesa were together in the wars, and he said yes, the Ijesas were the leaders and the Ekiti the followers.

Further, Ijesas don't like the Oyos and people from Ibadan at all. They see the Oyos as not being straight, as devious and they don't understand that, then he said, no it's not that they don't understand it, but they don't like it, can't tolerate it. I said, what about people from Ife? His response was that the Ife are seen as nonentities; to the Ijesa, there is only one person in Ife, and that is the oba. He went on to say that in Ibadan, most of the best and biggest houses, and the most successful businesses are owned by Ijesa. I said I thought it was the Ijebus who were the successful people in Ibadan. He said, both the Ijebus and Ijesas, but that the Ijebus were fought by the Ibadan, especially during the period of Awolowo since he was Ijebu, and that one section--Oke Ado--was entirely owned by Ijebus. But when some of the Ijebus left Ibadan, the Ijesas replaced them.

He said that the top echelons in the state government tend to be Ijesas. For example, when he became first chief judge of Oyo State, 6 of the 8 judges were Ijesas. Likewise, when Osun State was formed, about 80% of the top ranks of Oyo State government were Ijesas and moved to Osun State, living Oyo state without people to run things.

We talked some more about Ijesa Solidarity Group and its goals. It is concerned with all of Ijesaland and wants Ijesas to work together. By trying to bring in key people from all different areas of Ijesaland (all the nooks and crannies, he said), it hopes to foster unity. I said that I keep hearing people talk about development, and that I wondered what is meant by that. He said, "industrialization". They want to industrialize Ijesaland, provided economic opportunities, encourage people to stay or come back here by having jobs available. He said that for example, the brewery has done that. He himself wouldn't be coming to Ilesa if not for being the chairman of the brewery. I suggested that he didn't really need economic opportunities created for him, and he agreed, but said that the brewery has had a great impact on all of Ijesaland. He said that he doesn't think there is a household that hasn't been affected in some way by the brewery, by someone having a job there, or thru someone selling beer,

or in some other way. About 1000 people are employed at the brewery, and they are from all over Ijesaland. He said that sometime he would like to do a survey to find out the impact of the brewery. I asked if there are any other industries like the brewery; he said that there are some other industries, such as the nails industry, but they are still getting started and haven't had the kind of impact of the brewery.

Ijesa Solidarity Group wants to encourage industry all over Ijesaland. At first his idea was that they establish industries themselves but that they've discussed that and have now decided that it would be better to provide the infrastructure for industry, such as water, electricity. I asked if that isn't usually something done by government, and he said that if government isn't doing it, then they have to do it themselves, thru self-help. They would like to set up an industrial part in a place like Ijebu-jesa or Ibokun, and encourage people to establish industries there.

I said that this idea of development as industrialization does not seem to be what everyone conceives of as development. He agreed, saying that often it means things like getting water, electricity, roads, etc., or things like building town halls and oba's palaces. But he said that for Ijesa Solidarity Group it means industrialization and economic development. I asked if there was agreement on these goals within ISG, and he said yes, that now there is. With regard to other ideas of development, he mentioned something like Iloko Day, saying that he's sure they are planning to use the money raised for things like water, electricity, etc., and this is different from the type of thing ISG wants to do. When I mentioned the building of oba's palaces as an apparent goal in a lot of places, he commented that he's "not a monarchist" and that he would get rid of all of them if he could.

In this context, he mentioned the owa's celebration (of his tenth anniversary) going on this week, and the fact that they're raising money for the palace. I then said that I haven't heard much about the celebration, and he said "there's no excitement", that he himself is supposed to be there, the owa asked him personally to be there, but that he doesn't see that the owa has ever done anything for the progress of Ijesaland, or at least he hasn't seen it if he has. Clearly, he doesn't have much interest in this celebration, and implied that others don't either. I said that it seemed different when Agunlejika was owa, and he agreed that that was entirely different, that people liked Agunlejika, but they don't like this one. Also he said that in Ife, the Ooni has been smart, by surrounding himself by people from other places, not from Ife, who he has made chiefs, they come to all his ceremonies with their entourages and it'a big thing. I said that it seems that in a place like Ilesa, people like the owa and chiefs don't seem very central any more to the activities here. He agreed; then I suggested that they're more important in smaller towns, but he wasn't sure that was the case, then agreed that it depends a lot on the individual who is in the position.

Eso had told me he wanted to get some work done tonight, so I finally stopped asking him questions so he could get to work.

Notes 80

Fieldnotes Thursday May 14, conversation with Chief Lamikanra

I stopped by Chief Lamikanra's house at about 11 AM, and stayed til about 1:30 PM. When I first got there I noted that I hadn't seen him since the award ceremony, and asked if he had been happy with the results. He said he was, that there were a lot of people there. He said there was some criticism about the length, but said that this was the first time, and it was important to honor a lot of people, from all over Ijesaland. Later in the conversation he said that he's been thinking about what comes next. He said that he mentioned this to someone, and they asked if he meant what awards to give next. He said, no that he's wondering what they can do, now that they've seen that there are all these people who can make a contribution, the question is how to go about getting them to do so. His concern is not with other awards. He also asked later on about my work, and what would happen with the results of it, whether I would provide information back to people I've been talking with, and recommendations about things they should be doing, helping them with ideas about things to do. I said that I would try to do so, and then came up with the idea of possibly having a meeting with some of those I've been talking to, when I come back next year, to give them some of my preliminary conclusions and get their reactions. I think he liked the idea.

When he heard that I had been in Ilesa last night, he said it was too bad that he didn't know because he had had a group of people over to meet with someone about beekeeping and would have invited me to join them. He has been talking to someone from IITA about beekeeping, and apparently she came to meet with him and others who've expressed an interest in it.

After a while, I said that I understood that there is a celebration of the Owa's tenth anniversary going on this week (I had thought that as a chief he might be at one of the events this morning). He smiled and said, yes, "I understand that too"--with a distinct lack of enthusiasm. He then went on at considerable length to talk about the owa. He said that he really can't see celebrating when he hasn't done anything in ten years. It hasn't just been stagnation, but regression. Nothing has happened here since he became owa. Lamikanra said that the owa was advised by people in the community (he didn't specify who) not to have the celebration, but that that advice was ignored. He said that the chiefs should be there, but they are not. And the obas from other towns are not there. The owa is fighting with the chiefs and other obas.

He went on to say that the owa doesn't have good human relations. He doesn't visit people at their houses. He wants to be an 18th century owa, where people would come to see him, he would tell them what to do, and if they don't do it he can behead them if he wants. He has even philosophized that the owa doesn't visit people, the owa doesn't attend things.

But since he feels this way, people don't bother to visit him either. And if one tries to see him, he doesn't listen. If you go to see him, and make an appointment to see him, you will be kept waiting for 2-3 hours, and he may not even appear at all. If he does appear, he doesn't apologize for

keeping you waiting. If you try to give him ideas, he doesn't pay attention. He thinks he knows everything.

Lamikanra said that the owa wasn't around Ilesa before he became owa, he wasn't interested in Ilesa. He was in Ibadan, working in his publishing business. I asked why someone like that wants to become owa; his answer wants that he is interested in money. He thinks he can just do what he wants because he is the owa. But, Lamikanra said, he can't just say he has authority, rather, authority is conferred; he can't just say I am the owa, therefore I can do whatever I want.

I then asked why someone like that was selected. He said that the kingmakers were attracted by the money. But that within three months of his selection, they were sorry, and now they are fighting with him, like the other chiefs. Lamikanra commented that those who would be good as owa don't want to be owa, and those who want it, aren't good.

Back on the anniversary celebration, he said that he has an invitation, but he is not going. He doesn't have to go, he isn't a traditional chief. But the traditional chiefs also don't support the owa. They are all fighting, including the kingmakers. I tried to find out more about what they are fighting about, but he didn't really say. He just said that the owa has brought a lot of trouble and disruption. He said that if there is peace, it's possible to do things. But the owa does the things one doesn't want him to do, and doesn't do the things one wants him to do. He gave the example of when the President visited Ilesa last year. He said that the Owa was told just to greet the President, not to talk, because they knew that if he talked it would be rubbish. But then the owa distributed his own program, which the organizers of the event ignored. And when he was supposed to give his greeting, he spoke for 10 minutes, and contradicted the written speech which had been presented. The written speech had talked about the need for water, electricity, etc. The owa said that they had all those things, and that therefore they should make Ilesa the capital.

I asked what should the owa be doing. Lamikanra thought for a minute about the question, and then said that the most important thing the oba can do is to motivate people. He gave the example of the Alake of Abeokuta. He said that when the alake got there, he looked around and saw that Abeokuta is basically a big village. He started to call on people from there, to visit them and attend their functions. Then he began to ask people to build their houses at home. And if they said that they don't have land on which to build, he would help them find land. If he didn't see them at home, he would call them, and say that he hadn't seen them. So people had to resond to these efforts; when they come home, they have to go and see the alake, they don't have an excuse for not building a house, etc. After that, the alake became involved in economic development of the town. For example, if someone was jobless, he would inquire about what his field was, and then try to link him up with someone from Abeokuta in that field, and help him get a job with that person.

So now, if the alake wants to celebrate something, everyone will rally around. But the owa hasn't done anything like this, he doesn't have good human relations, so there's not much interest in this current celebration.

Basically what Lamikanra seemed to be saying was that the oba should act as a catalyst for others to do things in the town.

Just before I got ready to leave, a man came to see Lamikanra. Lamikanra explained that the man is the treasurer of a church group, and said that this group is another one of his activities; he's the chairman of the group. They wrote a proposal and got funds from Trinity Church in New York to put in some wells in various towns in Ijesaland. They got $8000 and plan to build seven or eight wells.

Notes81

Fieldnotes Thursday May 14, women's organizations in Ijebu-jesa

I met Mrs. Faseru in her office at the brewery at about 4:30 PM. After we went to the brewery canteen for a drink and after we discussed the situation in Lagos and elsewhere we went out to Ijebu-jesa, so that she could introduce me to Mrs. Ola, the president of one of the women's organizations there. Mrs. Ola had told her that she would be available after 6 PM.

We got there just after 6 and Mrs. Faseru picked up Mrs. Ola on the main road, as she was just leaving a meeting, and we proceeded to her house, which is to the right on a dirt road off the main road, before you get to the center of the town. It is a large, modern house. I met Mrs. Ola and her husband, who are both probably in their sixties or older. They have retired to Ijebu-jesa, which is his hometown (she is from Esa Oke), after spending many years in Abeokuta where they owned a bookstore, which they ran together. I think they also had branches in Lagos and/or Ibadan, and she said that at one time they had a branch in Ijebu-jesa, but that it wasn't successful. They moved back to Ijebu-jesa when they retired a few years ago, and built this house; but she pointed out that they always came back here even when living in Abeokuta.

When they lived in Abeokuta they were active in an organization of people from Ijebu-jesa living there, the Ijebu-jesa Union; her husband was the president. Their three sons still live in Abeokuta, they are now running the bookstore, and they too continue to come home to Ijebu-jesa regularly.

The main focus of our conversation was the Ladies Friendly Society, of which Mrs. Ola is President. This is an organization of women who are "daughters" of Ijebu-jesa, either by birth or marriage, whether they are living here or elsewhere. But unlike other organizations, such as those represented at Ijebu-jesa Day, it is based here in Ijebu-jesa, rather than somewhere else. Mrs Ola (Mrs. C.B. Ola) is the president and Mrs. Faseru is the secretary. The organization has just gotten under way again; it formed a few years ago, but the president died, and now they have just come together again recently and selected Mrs. Ola as president. They had a meeting recently and will have another in July. They want to do something for the town. Their idea is to build a park, for children and others. They hope to find a piece of land that they can buy, which is centrally located, and then to put playground equipment, plant flowers, etc., for a place where people can come. They are just at the initial stages, and Mrs. Ola pointed out that it is difficult because of the current financial situation, that it isn't easy to do projects like this. But they hope that by next year they will be able to build the park. The organization has 40 members.

Mrs. Faseru also mentioned another women's organization in which she is involved--the Friendly Mothers Society. Mrs. Faseru is the president of that, and the founder. It is made up of people who live here in Ijebu-jesa, or in Ilesa, but includes people from anywhere, not just daughters of Ijebu-jesa. It seems to be primarily a social group; she

didn't say that much about what it does.

When I was asking Mrs. Ola about other activities in Ijebu-jesa, she mentioned that her husband is baba ijo of St. Mathews Church (the Anglican Church).

I only stayed about half an hour, and said I would stop back sometime.

Before leaving Ijebu-jesa, I stopped briefly with Mrs. Faseru at her house. To get there, you turn down a drive which borders the Ijebu-jesa Grammar School compound, and at the end is the Faseru house. On the main road in front is a sign for Faseru enterprises. The house is in a large compound, with about eight small two-story buildings of flats between it and the main road (none of this is visible from the road). When I was leaving, an old woman was greeting Mrs. F.; she said that it was her mother-in-law who lives in one of the flats. Her brother-in-law's house in next door to her house. I asked about Faseru supermarket; she said that it was hers, but it didn't do well. After she voluntarily retired from the civil service, when her husband decided to come home from Ibadan in 1982, she set up the supermarket. But now she has the job at the brewery. I didn't stay long as it was getting dark out and I wanted to get back to Ilesa.

Notes82

Fieldnotes Sunday May 17, meeting of the Ijesa Society, Lagos

I called Olu Fadahunsi Sunday morning from Ife to check if I should still come to Lagos for the meeting this afternoon. He said that things seemed to be ok, and we agreed that I would meet him at the Bristol Hotel between 4 and 4:30. The meeting was scheduled to start at 4, but he said it wouldn't really start then. I got there before 4, and waited for him to arrive.

Someone at the hotel asked if they could help us, so I explained what I was doing and that I was waiting for someone who was attending the meeting of the Ijesa Society. The hotel people didn't seem to know anything about the meeting, but they suggested I wait in a sort of lounge area with tables and chairs, where we were able to get soft drinks. There were a few other people there, and after a while three men arrived who were pointed out as being with Ijesa Society. But of course they didn't know anything about me, so I told them I was waiting for Fadahunsi. He got there at about 4:30. He invited me to join the others, and introduced me. One was named Oluwasanmi, and is the junior brother of the late Vice Chancellor of Ife, he is from Ipetu-Ijesa. He is a lawyer. I didn't get the names of the others. I explained what I'm doing, and Oluwasanmi asked some questions, especially about whether the results would be available, and also why I had chosen Ijesaland. Then they went off to the meeting, and asked me to wait why they informed the others that I was there. I waited about another half hour before Fadahunsi came back and asked me to join them. He explained that there were fewer people than usual because of the crisis in Lagos. Also the president wasn't there because he had just been given a chieftaincy in Ilesa yesterday (at the owa's celebrations); Fadahunsi learned about that by reading the newspaper I had with me. Oluwasanmi was acting as president.

I joined the meeting; they were at a horseshoe shaped table. There were 11 people there, eight men and three women. The women were seated together on one side. I was asked to sit next to Oluwasanmi at the end of the table, and Bodunde sat down next to me. I explained again about my research, and again answered questions about why Ijesaland and about the availability of results. I had already told them about the questionnaire, and they expressed willingness to fill it out. They suggested that they would either get them back to Fadahunsi or bring them to their next meeting in June, for him to return to me. I distributed the questionnaires, and they served soft drinks and some sandwiches. The formal business meeting was already over.

While eating, I talked a little with the woman sitting nearest to me. Her name is Mrs. Adileye. In addition to the Ijesa Society she is also a member of the Ladies Social Elite. She said that there are only six or eight women members in Ijesa Society. She said that the society is concerned with the unity of Ijesaland. Members are from all towns in Ijesaland. They are concerned with progress, of the individual members and of the group. She said that if someone in the organization needs something, then they can contact the appropriate person or institution thru

contacts with members who are in government, working in different ministries, to help them.

After I had chatted a bit, and everyone had eaten, I was invited to leave so that they could conclude their meeting. Unlike the Social Elite, I was not present for any of the business meeting.

notes83

Fieldnotes Monday May 18, lunch with Dele Olashore, Lagos

Olashore had suggested meeting him at his bank at noon for an early lunch before he left for Abuja. I got there and waited a few minutes while he finished another meeting. Then I spent some time in his office while he tried to make several phone calls; he gave me a copy of the talk he was to give in Abuja, on money laundering, and also of his book. Then we left for lunch at La Brasserie, on Victoria Island. A friend of his, Mr. Adigun, who in an executive of some type with Agip oil company joined us. (Mr. Adigun is the person I spoke with at the luncheon following Iloko Day at Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa).

Most of our conversation was about the recent riots in Lagos, and the religious riots in Kaduna over the weekend, and about the broader implications--especially about the economic situation in the country. One comment that Olashore made is that what has happened in Nigeria is that there is no more middle class. Before Adigun got there, I had asked Olashore if he lives on Victoria Island. He said that the building where his bank is used to be where he lived; now he has a flat, but is building a house in Ikoyi, but the cost keeps going up. I said that there seems to be a lot of construction still in Lagos, and he commented that elsewhere that would be a sign of recovery in the economy, but that it isn't here, becuase there are just wealthy people and poor people and no middle class.

We did talk a little about Iloko Day. He said that about N600,000 was contributed that day, and that he has about another N200,000 that has been given to him since. Adigun commented that Olashore did it all. The money he gave is for the digging of two boreholes, that were supposed to cost N100,000 each, but now he is being told that they will cost N200,000. I asked what the other money will be for, and he said they want to build a town hall. I asked why a town hall is so important, and both he and Adigun explained that it is needed as a community center, a place for people to gather, for young people to go, for events to be held. They both clearly think it is very important for a town to have a town hall, seem to see it as a sort of unifying force in the town.

Olashore said that he expects to be in Ijebu-jesa the weekend of May 29, so I said I would check with him before then re. seeing him there. He will not be there this coming weekend for the Fatiregun wedding, because his nephew is getting married in Lagos.

notes84

Fieldnotes, Thursday May 21, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti

I hadn't seen either Kunle or Tinu for about three weeks, so we first talked generally, especially about Lagos, and his experiences when he went there last week.

Then he told me that the Ilesa Solidarity Group now has an executive secretary, a man who was a director in the Oyo and Osun state governments, but who retired at age 50 because he saw he wouldn't advance further in the state govt. We talked some about how ISG differs from other organizations. He said that the other groups are social groups, and ISG is not a social group, they don't have meetings, except once a year to get committee reports. The important work is done by the three standing committees: the economic committee which is looking for ways to get economic development, infrastructure etc.; the national affairs committee which is concerned with the larger context of the position of Ijesas; and the ways and means committee which the other committees have to come to for funding anything they think should be done. For example, if they think they should develop water at the Erin water falls for water supply, hydroelectric etc, the ways and means committee has to determine how much it will cost and if they should do it. He also talked more about ideas to develop industry, and said that there are different points of view. Some people like Olashore feel strongly that they should obtain land in each local governemtn area for industrial sites, and then industries will go there. Ifaturoti and others think they should encourage industries more directly, and not necessarily start in all areas of Ijesaland at once. He didn't get more specific than this, and I began to talk a bit about ideas for developing small-scale, or rural industries, but didn't get far with this, because someone else arrived, and then I had to leave, but said I'd like to talk about it some more.

I mentioned that I hadn't seen Kunle since Iloko Day, and that I had been surprised to see him there, and there seemed to be a lot of people there. He said that Olashore has a lot of influence and that's why so many people were there. Then we talked about Olashore's focus on Iloko; Ifaturoti feels it's misplaced, because Iloko will always be a village. I asked why Olashore is so concerned with Iloko and Kunle said that it's because his father was oba there, and he will probably become oba, and he thinks Iloko should be the equivalent of Ilesa. I asked why becoming oba is important for someone like Olashore; Kunle's answer was that there is still a portion of his brain which thinks traditional chiefs are important, that he doesn't realize they've become irrelevant. Kunle said that he has seen five owas in his lifetime, and that each has lost power, even during the British period, and during the time of the Action Group when the owa supported AG because he thought he had to support the governemnt, even tho the people in the area supported NCNC. And now the local governemnt chairman is considered over the oba. He further commented that in a democracy there is no place for hereditary rulers.

He mentioned a talk that Olashore gave, at a reception for the Deputy Governor, in which he compared Ijesaland to the British Empire. But Kunle

said that it's nothing like the British Empire, for one thing it is very small, according to the census has less than half a million people. If the people in the area don't work together, then they don't need enemies. They are too small for each town to try to work separately. And there is discrimination now in the state government in Oshogbo against people from Ijesaland, regardless of which place they are from.

We also talked about the ethnic/religious riots in the North, and the background to what is happening there. Kunle is concerned about the banning of ethnic organizations, because he feels that it could be extended to include organizations like ISG. He has written an article which he will send to the newspapers about this. He feels such a ban contradicts government cultural policy which has been encouraging local groups to develop museums and other cultural sites, and this is based on local ethnic affiliation. Also that it works against local development efforts of local ethnic associations.

Just before I left, a man came to discuss the Ilesa Cultural Foundation. The visit of the President has been postponed, or cancelled, and Kunle was relieved because he felt they were not prepared. He discussed with the man the need to really do a better job of laying the groundwork, and getting things better organized, that otherwise he won't be interested in being assoicated with it any more.

Notes85

Fieldnotes, Friday May 22, engagement for Fatiregun niece, Ijebu-jesa

The invitation was for 4 PM and I got there at about 4:30. The event began at about 5, with the arrival of the groom's family members. I didn't stay for the whole thing but left at about 6, since my interviewers were going to be waiting for me in Ife.

When I arrived I greeted Mrs. Fatiregun, who was inside, and then she showed me a place to sit outside. There was a group of women seated around a table; they included Mrs. Faseru, who had a pin on reading Mothers Friendly Society. She and several of the other women were wearing the same cloth, and she told me that they are the hosts but didn't explain their role further. One of the other women seemed to be the main spokesperson. When the groom's representatives--also a group of women--arrived there was questionning about who they were and what they wanted, they were told to greet everyone in English and Ijesa as well as Yoruba, and were asked where they were from (Kajola, another Ijesa town). Eventually they brought gifts--big yams, a goat, beer and soft drinks, and a tray of wrapped presents. I left while the negotiations over the gifts were still going on. Neither the bride nor groom were in sight yet when I left.

Notes86

Fieldnotes, interview of Mobo Akinola, Mon. May 25, Ilesa

Mobo and I got together at her house Monday morning. We started out talking generally, about the strike at the university and other things. Then she began to talk a bit about her children and their education, so we started out the interview on that subject. She was talking about the secondary schools her children attend, and the one she hopes her youngest daughter will attend, and the problems with getting in to the top schools which are very competitive. I asked if this is one of the difficulties with having moved back to Ilesa; she said, yes, that the standards are not as good in Ilesa as in Lagos. When she lived in Lagos, her older children attended the Corona School, which was one of the best nursery schools in Lagos at that time, between 1972 and 1975. And in Lagos there are a lot of good nursery and other schools. But the same is not true in Ilesa. When she came to Ilesa, the best school available was the staff school at the University of Ife, which is where they went. Except her third daughter, who was four years old when they came to Ilesa; she first attended Agnes School (Mrs. Ifaturoti's school) and then she went to Federal Government College at Oyo, which is where she is now.

She has six children. The oldest, a daughter is 22. She went to Federal Government College Bakori (in the NOrth) and then to Yaba College of Technology, to study fashion design; she is now in Lagos. The second daughter attended St. Margaret's Grammar School, here in Ilesa, and is now at the University of Ife, studying accounting. The third daughter is at Federal Government College Oyo. The fourth daughter is also at Federal Government College Oyo, and the fifth, a son, is at the Navy School, Abeokuta. The youngest will be going to secondary school in September.

She talked about the top private schools in the country. She very much wanted to have her son attend Adesoye College, in Offa, which has a very good reputation. But he didn't do well enough on the exams so wasn't admitted; she tried to convince the headmistress (an English woman) to let him in, but was unsuccessful. He then started school at Atlantic Hall in Lagos, which is also a very good school. But it's not a boarding school so he was staying with a family in Lagos, and she decided that perhaps that was too much of an imposition so moved him to the Navy School. She is still thinking of moving him back to Atlantic School because that was a better school. And she is very concerned about her children--especially her son--having a good education, and feels that they are at a disadvantage having started their education in Ilesa and Ife.

She also said that she would like to eventually open a school of her own, of international quality, like Adesoye College. But is not sure she'll have the necessary capital, as it will take a lot now to get it started. She commented how important timing is, that had she started the school a few years ago it wouldn't have taken nearly as much money as it would now. This is especially true if she wants to hire any expatriates, as she indicated she would like to, because of the problem of paying an expatriate salary.

Mobo said that she came back to Ilesa in March 1979; her husband had come here in June 1978. When she was in Lagos, she worked with the federal audit department, and her husband worked at Lever Brothers as an accountant. She had been in Lagos since 1971, when she came back from Britain. She was in Britain for six years.

She went to Britain in 1965, to study accounting at Leeds College of Commerce. She got married in England, and her first daughter was born there. She knew her husband here before she went to England; they were boyfriend and girlfriend here. He went to England to study in 1964; but since he was supporting himself he spent a longer time studying and worked while a student and afterwards. She had support from her parents for her studies.

Her husband is also from Ilesa. They grew up in neighboring sections of town. He is from Ijama, while she is from Ilemo; she described the location, but I'm not sure I got it. I think Ilemo is fairly near the roundabot, and Ijama not far from there. Her family lived in that area when she was growing up. Her father moved to his house at Imo (near her present house) when she was in Britain; he was building it when he was governor, between 1962-66.

She grew up in Ilesa, then went to secondary school at Queen's School, Ede. She left school in 1963 and worked til 1965 for an accounting firm in Ibadan; she already knew she was interested in being an accountant. Her father was governor at that time, and was living in Ibadan (Earlier, before she went to secondary school, her parents were living in Ilesa).

Before he became governor, her father was a produce buyer and a politician. Her mother was a cloth trader, and she also taught school before becoming a trader. Her father continued his business during and after the time he was governor. The business is called Kobinu, Joe F. Fadahunsi and Sons; one of her brothers is now running it. It is based in Ilesa.

I asked how it was, coming back to Ilesa after living in Lagos. She said that she thought she wouldn't be able to cope, especially with the family here, especially her husband's family. Most of her family is actually in Laogs, also they are well-educated. She felt lonely coming to Ilesa, leaving members of her family and her friends in Lagos. She explained that the attitudes here are different. Whatever you do, people feel you are proud. For example, with regard to dress: if you dress well to attend something, people feel you are exagerrating, showing off. It's difficult to make friends who will accept you for what you are. It's less of a problem now, because the brewery has brought development, and also the college of education; these have brought enlightened people to Ilesa, and there is now a more modern attitude here. But the first few years that she was back here, she concentrated her friends at Ife, at the university. (She started working there as the head of the audit department at the university when she came back.) Most of her friends were there, and she had little to do with Ilesa, especially in the first five years.

After about five years, she started moving with some people here. She identified a few people who were also forced (her term) to come to Ilesa

because of their husband's work. But most of her friends are still at IFe.

I asked about the reason for coming back. She said yes, it was because of her husband's job; he saw it as a challenge. He was given an opportunity that he felt he must take. His uncle (Lawrence Omole) was the chairman of the brewery. He felt the brewery would bring to development to Ijesaland, so he took up the offer to come and work at the brewery, first as general manager, and then he became Managing Director. And she added that when you see the brewery today, and how successful it is, you see that he did a good job of it.

Her husband's family is here in Ilesa. She said that family ties can make things difficult; you have to accomodate people coming to you, demanding things from you. Responsibility is placed on them to do things for people.

She and her husband have rather different backgrounds. Her family is highly educated; her father and mother were both educated, as are all of her brothers and sisters. She is the fifth of six children of her mother. Her sister is a pharmacist in Ibadan; her sister's house is the big white house on the way to the Akure rd; it is her sister's husband's house. And one of her brothers is the one I know who is a sociologist at ABU. I mentioned the other brother, Olu, who I met in Lagos; from her response I couldnt tell if he is a full brother or perhaps a half brother. On the other hand, her husband is the only well-educated member of his family. Besides him, only the last born is university trained, and that is because he (her husband) trained him. Her husband got help from his uncle (Omole) to travel to Britain to study, and then he was working while going to school.

I asked her about organizations she's involved in. She said she's involved in church activities; her society in the Methodist Church is her priority, she said, whenever they're doing something she takes part. Her husband is a Rotarian so she is a member of the Inner Wheel. And as soon as she got to Ife she joined the Ijesa Ladies Society there, which was started in 1981, and she joined it soon after. It does charitable activities, such as donating equipment for the handicapped children's home, and sponsoring the education of children who don't have money. They have given money to the children's and women's wards at the hospitals both in Ife and Ilesa. They make donations both in Ife and Ilesa, but do more in Ilesa. The organization has about 30 members, including Ijesa indigenes and the wives of Ijesas. It's mainly people who stay in Ife, tho she of course only works there. In addition, she used to be active in Girl Guides, along with Mrs. Ifaturoti, but people lost interest; she may do it again.

I asked about involvement in the Ilesa Solidarity Group. She said that she should be involved, but that once her husband is doing something, she tries to play second fiddle, as she wants there to be one voice from the family. She doesn't want to attend the same meetings as her husband. She wouldn't be able to be completely independent to say her own feelings. They would want to get her own view on somethings, and if she doesn't agree with her husband, she would rather keep quiet. She will argue with him at home, and thereby influence him, but not show difference of opinion outside. She emphasized that this is her own personal feeling, not necessarily the way

other women feel. She said she will definitely join the organization, because she "supports it completely", but she will not play the full role that they (others in it) might expect.

She said that if she were still in Lagos, it would be better. There would be some areas that she could get hold of, and many societies that she could join, that would be separate from what her husband is doing. If she were still in Lagos, she would now be in a high position in the federal government, and her position wouldn't have anything to do with her husband. But since she is here in Ilesa, it's not the same. She said that that is one thing she misses from Lagos, not being "more in the limelight of government".

In Lagos she was a member of a women's organization, the Ijesa Progressive Society (she didn't seem to be sure of the name of it).

She also has a first cousin who is very active in an organization in Lagos. Then she said that the woman is in the process of being installed as a traditional chief, the Yeyedole, and that part of the ceremony is this afternoon. She said it would be interesting for me to see, but agreed that since I hadn't known in advance, it would be difficult to change my plans to be there. (and she didn't really push it).

I asked if her mother had been active in Ilesa activities, and she said that she had been, both in the church and in the town, as a member of the progressive society. She said that she was one of the leading women in Ilesa at that time. I asked about women who are active now, and she mentioned the same two who have been previously mentioned--Mrs. Fajuyitan and Mrs. Thompson. We discussed how I might get introduced to them, and ended up agreeing that probably Kunle Ifaturoti would be able to introduce me.

Notes87

Fieldnotes, observations while mapping in Imo area of Ilesa, Monday May 25 and in Ijebu-jesa, Thursday May 28
Comments on cooperativeness of people in different areas

Imo: We found that the Imo area includes more streets and goes further back than I had originally thought. Most of the houses are new, cement houses, some quite large but others are basically bungalows. We didn't see too many people around (it was about noon) and decided that interviewing here should probably be done at least in part on a Sunday.

Ijebu-jesa: It was a market day in Ijebu-jesa, so there were lots of people around, especially in the market area. We covered most of the area behind the market place, which is mostly old houses, and which is quite extensive with a lot of streets. Then we decided to include the main road and the road on which Mrs. Ola (the woman Mrs. Faseru introduced me to) lives, which goes back a long way, and finally connects with the Iloko Rd near the local government offices. That road doesn't have too many houses, all are quite new and large, and are spread quite far apart.

We then went to the other side of the main road, near St. Mathews Church and mapped an area including two streets there.

When we greeted people they greeted us back, but no one seemed very friendly. While we were walking around a man came up to us asking for my alien card. After some discusseion he went on his way, but said I should tell the immigration people in Ilesa to inform state security in Ijebu-jesa about my presence. Later (on Friday) I told Mrs. Fatiregun about this; she was surprised because she said people have been seeing me around and that people come to tell her that they have seen me in Ilesa or elsewhere.

From Ijebu-jesa we drove to Iwoye, and finished doing an outline sketch map of the town from the car. Then we went to Iloko and did a map of it, also from the car. We will do interviews in the whole town in these two places.

Comments on cooperativeness of people: The interviewers are finding quite a lot of variation on willingness to cooperate, from town to town. Osu seems to be the most friendly and cooperative. People were ok in Ikoti and Ijoka areas of Ilesa, and in Iwoye; in Iloko they were more friendly. The most difficult place so far is Ijebu-jesa. The interviewers reported that many people refused to answer; others asked for money or for them to buy something. I said it's ok to buy something but not to give money to them otherwise. They said a lot of people are saying that they always answer questions and government never does anything for them. (the assumption being that we're from the government). I discussed this with Feyisitan (today Thurs. June 4) and he said he finds the same thing, a great deal of variation from town to town and village to village, and even when the chiefs tell people to cooperate they sometimes don't do so.

Notes88

Fieldnotes, conversations with members of Sociology dept. re. my research, and Ijesas, Tues. May 26

When I stopped at the department office today, I happened to see Mrs. Odebiyi and Mrs. Oloruntimehin, and talked with them for a while. They asked how my research was going, and as I was talking about it, Mrs. Odebiyi asked what I was actually working on. When I told her, she immediately said that I've picked an excellent place to do such a study because the Ijesas have the strongest links with their hometowns. That it's really important for them to retain those ties. She compared it with her own town, Abeokuta, and said that people don't go home to Abeokuta. They're afraid that something will happen to them if they do, they're afraid of juju. She said that her father will be buried in Ibadan, he won't go back to Abeokuta to be buried.

Mrs. Oloruntimehin commented that Ekitis also maintain strong ties (she is from Ekiti) but may be not quite to the same extent as Ijesas, that there are now a lot of big houses in Ekiti.

They talked about how Ijesas maintain very strong ties. Mrs. Odebiyi said that there are a lot of rich people from Ilesa, and they build houses at home and give money. I mentioned going to Iloko Day, and she then mentioned the man who is in the microbiology dept here, Prof Odeyemi, who is from Iloko. I said that I had met his wife there, and she said that the wife had told her that they would be going to Iloko Day.

As we talked, Mrs. Odebiyi mentioned how some of the rich people from Ijesaland, people "like Olashore" have built big houses at home. (I had not mentioned Olashore, she simply brought up his name as an example of what rich Ijesas do). I then said that he's one of the people I've been talking to, and would like to interview further, to find out why these connections are so important.

Mrs. Odebiyi said that she has a lot of friends from Ijesaland, and that "they're a different breed" in their strong attachment to their hometown. She said that a person from Ilesa will definitely feel he has to be buried there. And they will also try to do matchmaking for their children; e.g., two people based in Lagos who are of similar wealth and background and both from Ilesa will try to introduce their children to each other. I then asked if they children will continue to feel this way, and we agreed that that's less likely.

They also talked about how industrious the Ijesas are, and how the Ijesas want Ilesa to be a commercial center, it's "not a village any more". They mentioned the way that some Ijesas are establishing industries at home.

Notes89

Fieldnotes, Friday, May 29, interview of Oladele Olashore, Ijebu-jesa

Olashore had told me that he would be in Ijebu-jesa this evening, and had suggested this as a good time for me to interview him. I called him in the morning to confirm this, and he said I should come after 7 PM. I decided to stop to see Mrs. Fatiregun on the way to his house, and got to her house just after 7. She thought that Olashore hadn't yet arrived from Lagos, because he hadn't yet stopped to see her husband. So I stayed and visited a while. Then she said that she was going to a prayer vigil at Illo (the village between Ijebu-jesa and Ilesa) and I offered to drive her there before going to Olashore's. While I was waiting for her to get ready to go, Olashore showed up at the Fatiregun house. He said he had arrived from Lagos at about 5 PM, and had gone to see various people, had stopped in Iloko. By this time it was about 8:00. He sat down to visit, and just as Mrs. Fatiregun and I had decided to leave, Mrs. Faseru arrived. She too sat down to visit, so all of stayed and talked for a few minutes--including Olashore, both Mr. and Mrs. Fatiregun, Mrs. Faseru and myself.

Olashore and Fatiregun began to discuss the book that the Owa launched during the celebration of his tenth anniversary, and made other comments (all negative) about the owa. Fatiregun had apparently seen the book. He said that the Owa claims that he didnt want to become Owa, and that he prayed and fasted for many days when he was selected, to decide what to do. They were laughing about this because it's well known that he tried very hard to get the position. They mentioned a large sum of money that the Owa paid the kingmakers. Then they also talked about something that the owa says about his father, and his claimed birthdate. They referred to his "alleged" father, and then said that his real father was Ayoola, but he claims that his father was the owa. There was also something about his birthdate vis a vis when his "father" (the owa) died.

The conversation then shifted to a discussion of the church. Olashore said that he is building a chapel at his house in Iloko, but that he hasn't decided whether to give it to the Anglicans or the Methodists. They were talking about various bishops and their attitudes, and I think all of them (except Mrs. Fatiregun who is Catholic) are Anglican. But I didn't really follow the details. Mrs. Faseru told Mrs. Fatiregun that their women's group, which is a church society, was probably going to meet in Lagos instead of Ijebu-jesa since the Lagos members don't seem to have time to come home. Olashore said they shouldnt do that, that those who are really interested should take time to come home, and the others may not show up at the meeting anyway.

Finally, I left with Mrs. Fatiregun, to drop her in Illo. In the car, I asked how her husband and Olashore are related. She said that Olashore's mother is of the same parents as Fatiregun, that she was Fatiregun before she married. If I understood correctly, that would make Olashore Fatiregun's nephew, although I don't think there is that much age difference between them. (Olashore is 57, I think Fatiregun is in his sixties). Mrs. Fatiregun refers to Olashore as "uncle" but I think that's just a figure of speech not an actual relationship. Mr. Faseru is also a

relative of Olashore.

After I dropped Mrs. Fatiregun I drove back to Olashore's house, and was taken inside by one of the men there. He came back a few minutes later. We sat in the second sitting room of the main house, the room where I first sat on the day I went to Ijebu-jesa Day. On the table in the middle of the room was a three-dimensional plan of a house and a number of other buildings. He told me that this is his current project, the house he is building in Iloko. It will include a chapel, tennis courts, swimming pool, guest chalet, as well as a house. The large house will be built later, while the first phase is the chapel, guest chalet, etc. He said that he will live there eventually, that he wants to come back here from Lagos, tho he also indicated that since he already has the house in Ijebu-jesa there really isn't any rush to build the other large house. He said he is doing it gradually. He mentioned several times Friday evening and again Saturday morning that he eventually wants to come back to live here. He said that he won't miss Lagos, although he will still have informal contacts there, and he will still be chairman of the bank; he will have his house there as a sort of guest house and place to stay. In showing me the plan for the house in Iloko, he mentioned that his father was the oba of Iloko. I then asked if he wants to be the oba as well, but he didnt really answer.

He said that the Iloko house is on the road between Ijebu-jesa and Iloko, on the left hand side going toward Iloko from I-I. He said the place is already fenced, and that he plans to have the first phase built this year.

I asked which place was his hometown, Ijebu-jesa or Iloko. He said both, and also Ilesa. Then he explained that his father was from Ijebu-jesa, and that his father's mother was part of the royal family here. (But since it was on the mother's side he can't be oba here tho is related to the royal family). His father grew up in Ijebu-jesa. But his father great, great, great grandfather (or some such) founded Iloko, from Ife. According to Olashore, Iloko was at one time much larger than it now is, that it was greatly affected during the period of slavery and the Yoruba wars. So his father was eligible to be the oba in Iloko, although he hadn't actually lived there before that. He became the oba in 1954, and was oba for 37 years (I think those were the dates and years, but am not sure, because that would mean his father died in 1991 and I thought it was two or three years ago when he died, so I should check this).

He is also connected to a chief's family in Ilesa, but that is through his mother's side of the family. She is related to chief Ogboni of Ilesa.

Olashore was born in Kano; his father was there working for UAC. He came to Ijebu-jesa to live for 4 years; he lived with his grandmother and went to school here. Then he returned to the north, to Minna where his father was working. His father had worked for the railway before UAC, he retired from there and then went to work at UAC, and finally retired as a factor for UAC, meaning that he had his own shop. His father became oba of Iloko 1954 and by that time Olashore was in secondary school, so he came home on holidays, stayed in palace then. Other than the 4 years here with his grandmother, he didnt live in Ijebu-jesa, just came on holidays.

Olashore's education: he went to Offa Grammar School and was 21 when he finished seondary school. Then he went to the University of Ghana for 3 years, then to Britain for 2 years, to study accounting. He commented that it took a long time to finish secondary school, but that then once he got to university and to Britain, he moved thru school quickly. He was supposed to spend more than 2 years studying in England, but finished early. He was in school throughout, started school when he was about eight but the number of years involved was more than in the system now. We talked a bit about how now children can finish secondary school when they are still young, and that his son could have gone to university when he was very young, but he didn't send him, instead sent him to England to do A levels, and then he went to university there. The idea was to have him be old enough to know what he wanted to do, but he studied engineering and then decided he wanted to be an accountant, and now works as an accountant at Olashore's bank.

Olashore has six children. The oldest is the son who studied engineering (electronics) but is now an accountant. One daughter studied statistics and is also now an accountant. One son is now at the University of Maiduguri, and the youngest are twins who are still in secondary school. His wife was formerly a teacher. He had hoped that she would start school in I-I, and he tried to help encourage her to do that. She moved here and stayed about three months, and he took a flat in Lagos thinking he would mainly be in Ijebu-jesa (ie. every weekend), but his wife decided that she wanted to go back to Lagos. His wife is also from Ijebu-jesa. .

As we talked we were served dinner, and the TV was on, tuned to CSPAN (he has a satellite dish) with news of American politics. So our conversation about Ijebu-jesa was interspersed with comments about US politics, and also about Nigerian politics. He commented that he would love to be a senator, but not with the way politics is here. If you are part of one party you are seen as the enemy of those in other party, and he doesn't want to have his house burnt down (which has happened to people in the past). He also commented that the way politics is set up here is too expensive for this country. He said that before, the parties would come to ask for money, but now all the different candidates are going around asking for money. He gave N25,000 to one person who he knows, but who he doesn't support as a candidate. He showed me a poster for someone he said he does like, an NRC candidate who is from the north. He also commented on politics vis a vis hometown ties, that there is a need for a political base and that has to be in one's hometown. It's not like the US where you can move somewhere and be accepted and get invovled in politics etc. He said that here you can't advance if you're not from the place; for example, his friend, Ilori, who I met at his dinner party, who is on the Lagos High Court -- he knows that he can never be the chief judge there because he isn't from Lagos.

I raised the issue that everyone seems to discuss of Ijesa unity. He talked about the historical relationships between the different Ijesa towns and how the other towns were dominated by Ilesa, with Ilesa putting chiefs in the outlying towns, and having those towns supply food to Ilesa. He said that people in Ilesa continue to look down on the smaller towns. There is the attitude that if something is going to go to one area of Ijesaland, people would rather see it go elsewhere, out of Ijesaland, than

to another Ijesa town (e.g. Ijebu-jesa instead of Ilesa). He said that there is no unity. There is a need for them to work together, since they are discriminated against. But there is a long way to go. They are not like Ijebus or Egbas, who have been able to get a lot of positions in government because they help each other.

I asked about the attitudes of his children. He said that they are less involved in the hometown, that they dont like to come here, there is nothing here for them, no friends. But some things are affecting that, and are making it important for people like his children to have a hometown base, e.g. the way politics is set up.

He commented on his social contacts in Ijebu-jesa. He said that he doesnt have contact with people, that he doesnt visit people except for his cousin (Fatiregun); he emphasized that he doesn't interact much. I asked, but don't people come to see him, and he said yes, but that is different (ie. they come to ask for things). He said that he is "like an expatriate" here and people treat him that way, they know he has lots of visitors from elsewhere and don't really see him as one of them. He seemed to be saying that he doesn't have much in common with most people here. (When I had earlier asked Mrs. Fatiregun about my staying at his house, she too had said that he has lots of visitors and no one will think anything of it). I then asked why if that is the case, the hometown is so important for him. He talked about the need for a base, for roots.

We also talked about Iloko day and his involvement in that. He said that he was asked to play a prominent role, like finding the chief launcher and the chairman, and that he refused, he told them that they should do it themselves. But at the same time, he knew that if it was a flop it would be said it was due to him, that he hadn't done enough, because people know he's from there; if successful, they could count it as their own success. So it was important for him to help make it a success. But rather than playing a prominent role, he wrote letters to people inviting them to come, and many came. He didnt know how many would come, planned lunch for 150, plus 50 drivers; he said that he doesnt know how many were there, but no food was left over. Some who came never actually went to Iloko Day, but just came to his house. But he went on to say that he was responsible for 90% of the money that was raised, and that he'll be paying it back--ie., he will be expected to give when those people he invited have something. So I asked, then why does he do it? He talked at some length about the importance of having roots, a base, that if one is not known in one's home area, then one is nothing. He recognizes that someone like him might seek recognition nationally, internationally, but said that one still needs a home base, and that in this society, there is still discrimination, you don't get positions just on merit. If you're not recognized at home, then you are nothing.

But at the same time he emphasized that he doesnt have much to do with people here and seemed to be saying that there is not much in common. He said that if he wanted to go into politics he would have to interact more. If you don't maintain ties, then people will ask where you've been later on. I asked about people going into politics--how do those here feel about people who've been living in Lagos coming back to enter politics at home?

He said that it depends, whether they have been coming home regularly, and have been involved in things here.

He also told me about his mother:She is 82 years old, and still lives here, near the market square. She was in business in Ibadan, then came back home to Ijebu-jesa, in business, was trading various things, but he didnt specify what. He did say that she started the first bakery here at one time. Then she went into farming. She owned the land on which his house is located, and bought other pieces behind it, was farming there til recently. She would still be farming but he felt she shouldnt be any more although he says she's still very active, so he has converted it to a fishpond. He said that she was one of the largest farmers around here. He is the only child of his mother; the brother who is a lawyer is a halfbrother.

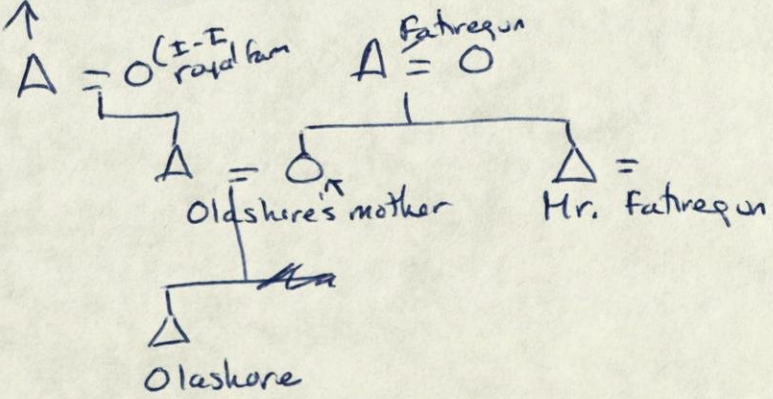
I saw the fishpond Saturday morning; it has not yet been stocked with fish, but he said it should be ready this month to do so.

Also on Saturday morning, before I left, he got a visit from Chief Lejoka, Bibilari. The three of us went to look at the fishpond, but otherwise I didn't learn what the visit was about. Another young woman also stopped briefly to greet him Saturday morning.

Aditional q"s--
devt--ideas re (and credit/banking--look at book)--specifics for Ijesaland
involvement in orgs--ISG, other
amount money gives/has given to I-I, Iloko, other, also to individuals?
rel to Fatiregun
meet mother
dates father was oba
was involvemnt/contrib increased recent yrs (effect of SAP on people willingness to contrib?

paternal ancestor = Iloko founder

relationships to Fatregun (acc. to Mrs F)



Notes90

Fieldnotes Sun. May 31, meeting of Ilesa Frontliners, Total Petrol Station, Staff Club, Ikorodu Road, Lagos

I had been told that the meeting would begin at 3 PM. When we got there, there was only one man in the room, looking thru some papers. The room was a fairly small one, a sort of lounge, with comfortable chairs and a couple of coffee tables, and a tv at one end which wasn't get very good reception. After a few minutes, others arrived, including the president of the Frontliners, B.A. Ibironke, and the other Ibironke and Prof. Jegede. Eventually there were nine men there. Those who hadn't met me didn't ask anything about my being there, and I was only introduced at the end. The President apologized for the fact that not many people were there; he said that there are usually more, about 18, but that several were ill. He also apologized for starting the meeting late.

A circular had been sent out about the meeting, with an announcement about me and my questionnaire. Several had the questionnaire with them but hadn't filled it out yet because they just got it a couple of days ago.

There were no minutes from the previous meeting, because the secretary wasn't there and hadn't circulated them. After a brief discussion they decided the minutes weren't important, and that they could go over some of the issues that had been discussed at that meeting.

Prof. Jegede ran the meeting; the President sat and listened, at times with his eyes closed, but made crucial contributions at several points.

The first issue discussed was the idea of an Ijesa State and another local government area in Ilesa. They said that they need the census results, the details; someone is supposed to be working on that but hasn't yet reported. Jegede said that his view is that they can't have a new state if there isn't a large enough population. And Osun State is small. They also have to know the population of Ilesa to see if there is a strong case for another local government. He also referred to the pronouncement by Aikhomu, the Vice President, that there will be no more states formed, and said that this had dampened interest. He said they need to get the population of each local government, and if it is less than 200,000 then there is no point in trying to get more. He said there is a man who is supposed to be doing this, who has access to the information. There seemed to be some frustration with the fact that they haven't yet gotten the information they need.

Then he asked for committee reports. Jegede reported regarding chieftaincy issues. He said that the council of chiefs and obas set up by the governor is wrong, and that the paper that the owa wrote, as a letter sent to the governor was very good. He said they should associate themselves with what the owa presented. Also, the Owa's view is in his book.

Now there is a commission being set up by the governor to look at these issues.

When the Owa's book was mentioned, there was a brief discussion about getting copies of the book. The President said he would get 20 copies when he is in Ilesa tomorrow. The other Ibironke said that he has a copy.

Then they discussed taking a position for presentation to the commission. They said that if they were to present a paper to the commission they must take a reasoned stance. Two issues were outlined: one, the traditional positions within Ijesaland, i.e., the owa and other chiefs, and two, the domestic position within Osun state, that is who is represented on the council of chiefs in the state. He said that they should look at what Ifaturoti has written, along with what the Owa wrote. (It turns out that this is something by M.A. Ifaturoti). This concerns the issue of the owa vis a vis the other chiefs, and the view of the others that they are also obas.

They said that the Deputy Governor, in his capacity as being responsible for local government and chieftaincy affairs, had set up a committee with Lawrence Omole as the chairman to look at the district obas vis a vis the owa, and also the local chiefs vis a vis the owa. There were submissions from the district obvas and from the Ilesa chiefs. That of the Ilesa chiefs gave historical background. The district obas didnt go into history; if they had, it wouldn't support their position. New they have clarified that all agree that the owa is supreme, the others are under him (not clear that all really have agreed to this).

Jegede said that the question of whether to present a memorandum to the commission from the Frontliners can't be separated from the issues of the owa vis a vis the other obas. They decided that when the Frontliners President goes to Ilesa tomorrow he should find out the position of the commission now--i.e., where it is in the process. Ibironke said that the person who has the papers of the commission set up by the Deputy Governor is Omole, since he was the chair. They suggested that they should use these as the basis for something that the executive committee meeting would write up, and present as a memo to the commission, and also that they should look at the paper written by M.A. Ifaturoti in working on this.

They mentioned that the Egbe Atunluse is having their celebration of their 70th anniversary this coming week.

There was also a report on letterhead and a report on finance. They said that Ayo Oni wasn't here because he was hosting a meeting of Methodist Church people from Ilesa.

They said that no one has paid the subscription for this year; they are supposed to pay N250. Someone asked for people to pay, but no one did.

Then the President discussed making a presentation to the Owa in commemoration of his 10th anniversary. They possibilities were a congratulatory ad in the newspaper of a donation of not less than N2500. Jegede said that he felt it was too late for a publication of an ad. That it would be better to present something. He said that he spoke with Ayo Oni and that he is enthusiastic, but they need to decide how much and what. Ibironke said that what others are doing is that those societies that have

given something have given N5000 each. So the President then moved that they also give N5000. Someone else said they should give more and be different, so then it was agreed that they would give N5500. Other organizations mentioned that have made donations were the Social Elite and Ilesa Union. They also agreed to send a letter of congratulations. And decided that they should send cash, not a check. The entire discussion was brief.

They also discussed having a representative on the Council of Ijesa Societies, and agreed that they should formally apply to be on the Council.

Then there was an announcement from the man who had been looking at papers when I first came in. He is with Prudent Merchant Bank and was distributing a prospectus for something which requires an investment of a minimum of N300,000; there was some joking about the amount.

Finally my presence was mentioned and Jegede talked about the research I'm doing and the importance of filling out the questionnaire. They agreed to return them to the President, and I said I would get them from him. There were a few questions; one person asked for copies of my previous publications and I said I could give them some if they can wait til after I return to the US.

The atmosphere of the whole meeting was very relaxed and convivial; business was done and things were discussed, but the procedure wasn't very formal. They got soft drinks -- and one person had a beer-- when we arrived, before the meeting started but apparently this isn't the usual practice as several people commented on it; it was because of me apparently.

The President gave me his name and address so I could collect the questionnaires: he is B.A. Ibironke, at the Nigerian Law School, phone 613144.

On the way out of the meeting I spoke with the other Ibironke about possible meetings with women active in women's organizations.

Also, a man who attended the meeting came up when he saw the car with Nike's logo, and asked where the gallery is located. He has a gallery and art school in Lagos, and is setting up something in Ilesa, the Fasuyi Cultural Center, opposite Ireti Ayo Hospital, km 3, Ijebu-jesa Road. He gave us flyers about his center, and said he would be in Ilesa the week of June 8.

Notes91

Fieldnotes, interview of J.O. Agbeja, in his office, Ikeja, Monday June 1

Agbeja is one of the people who filled out the questionnaire; he is a member of the Ijesa Society. His office is on the same street as Clara Osinulu's house. It is a small office, with a couple of outer rooms, and then his office, set in the upstairs and back part of a building; we had to walk thru an alley way to get to the stairs that went to that part of the building.

I explained that I was interested in his answers and would like to talk with him some more if he had time. He readily agreed.

We began by talking about why ties with the hometown are important. He said that in the African/Yoruba context, as soon as a child is born, he is part of an extended family. Other people besides his biological parents are very important. He then went on to say that his father died in 1980; he had been the head of the family. When he died, another man became family head, and that man died in 1988. In the period between 1980 and 1988 his own set of friends expanded, and when he went to bury the family head who died in 1988 many of his friends came from Lagos to bury his "father". Most of his friends didn't know he was actually an uncle and not his real father.

He said that all Agbeja sons in Lagos are brothers and sisters. One wouldn't know that he is the only child of his mother. If anything happens to anyone in the family, he has to go; and he has to show affection, and love among his people.

Then he went on to talk about Ilesa. He said that ppeople in Ilesa are dynamic and industrious. People believe that individuals make themselves--and many are successful--engineers, lawyers, doctors, ambassadors. For example, he is the first Nigerian metallurgist. All of them got where they are by hard work. But they lack a simple ingredient. He said that if you take the highly educated people from five or six cities, Ilesa is the first. In the 1950's Ilesa had the greates number of engineers. Then the question is why is Ilesa still the way it is? In the field of law also, nowhere has produced more lawyers than Ilesa; at one time in Western State all the top judges were Ijesas. So why is the town not developed?

He then answered his question by saying that they lack the ingredient of cohesion. People don't believe they need anyone else to get on. If you compare the Ijebus and Egbas, they form a group, they develop something, a project, or industrial concern, and they will carry it out. But in Ilesa, there's nothing there.

He mentioned that responding to the questionnaire gave him a chance to put down what he thinks. He asked, Why do we have opportunity we can't tap? He said that in 1967 the Owa came to London, that he was trying to develop industry in Ilesa and he asked people to contribute money, which people did. But when he came back, no one wanted to do anything.

He mentioned the minerals in Ijesaland. He said that there are more than 16 associations, and they talk about the minerals but that no one has ever done anything about it. He said the government says they should get together and do community development, but nothing happens in Ilesa. He commented that it's "sad".

I asked about the various groups and organizations which seem to be interested in development in Ijesaland. His response was that it they had come together we should have seen the manifestation of their efforts. He said that some people have contributed money for industries to take off. He said if he starts to count the amount of money he has contributed--for example, they said they want a brick factory and he contributed N2000, but the money has stayed in the bank and nothing happens.

He said that in his own way he is comfortable, but that they have to transform things to a state where others will also enjoy that comfort. There is lots of joblessness. He is patron of the 72 club (referring to the year they left grammar school) which is an Ilesa organization. He asked them what they are planning. They have lots of ideas, but no one says, ok, let's start today. They will say they have no time, because they are devoting their time to their own business. For example, he suggested establishing a carpentry place, a furniture factory, and said that if others would contribute he would contributed. It would have given jobs to some people.

His strong feeling is that it is difficult for people to come together. And further, that that is why others are exploiting Ijesas. He said the present government is exploiting Ijesas. They know they are hard-working but can't come together. They're too individualistic.

I asked if the situation is changing at all. He said, no, they just talk about it. When he was in the civil service he identified minerals, but no one will go and tap them. He said that it took Omole a long road to establish the brewery. There were two people who worked for the brewery--Omole and Ifaturoti--and to some extent, his uncle, Chief Apara. When people knew that it was coming up, then others started to buy shares. But few people will come in in the early stages.

Ijesas like to say that they did it on their own, that no one helped them get where they are. Yet at the same time, everyone goes home, they guard their family connections jealously.

He himself grew up in Ilesa, and went to Ilesa Grammar School. I asked whether things are changing for the children. He said, for some it is changing. The elders put pressure on you to build a house at home, and they know that then the children will come, so the children will know the family. His own children go home on their own. But it would be different if he didn't have a house.

I asked if he thinks he'll ever go back there to live. He said that is the million dollar question. Whether he would go and stay like Ifaturoti has, he doesnt know. But some day he will establish a farm and that will lead

to greater frequency in going home. But the people he grew up with aren't there, so except for junior members of the family, and friends who are also visiting at home, there isn't anyone he knows there, it's lonely. He said that those who go home either join politics or something. He discussed whether it's possible to retire and go home, saying that when you do, with whom do you relate? You don't have friends there. Except of weekends; now when he goes on weekends, you can't stay in your house for one hour, they are so many people you have to go to see.

I asked if he is a member of Ilesa Solidarity Group. He said that he was invited but that he hasn't attended meetings, and that he told them no. Apara (his uncle) called and he told him that he's not interested, that when they require him for something, they should call him. But he has been part of many organizations and each time they start, they have hifallutin ideas, to develop Ilesa, etc., You can't but join if you have the interest of that town. But then you discover that the prime motive of the organization isn't being satisfied.

He gave the example of the Ijesa Society, to which he belongs. He said that the object of that organization was being eroded. They originally started out to develop industry, to be a pressure group on government. He was a foundation member, and he was very happy initially. They are people of his age group, and they think alike. But it has degenerated into talking, and getting involved in things like how to settle chieftaincy problems. It has degenerated into awarding medals, although there is nothing wrong in merit awards, but the object of such awards should be to give them to those who have affected Ijesaland, they should have done something for Ilesa. He said that he didnt attend the Ijesa Society award dinner although he did contribute N1000. He said that if you're giving medals to those who have made themselves what they are, then all are qualified. But if it's for doing things for Ilesa, then only Omole has done that of those given awards. The others are famous because they worked hard for themselves. For example, Justice Eso (also his uncle), what affect has his position had on Ijesas? Others think as he does, and they are withdrawing from the society. The objective is being eroded.

Then he talked about the tag of osomaalo, that an osomaalo is an individual who goes about trading and makes himself. The Agbeja family (his family) is famous because they have worked hard and made themselves. Osomaalos made money, built houses, but they can't pool their resources. If you ask an Ijesa for N50,000, will he bring it? He'll say he's not interested. Even when people have put money into a project, such as Obokun Investment, people forget their money there. He has money there, and others do too, but it is still in the bank. No one dares ask for their money back. It's not that they're misusing the money, it's just there in the bank. The question is, why aren't things taking off. He added that an Ijebu man will ask for his money back if he sees that there's no progress. People don't know what to do about this problem; even the owa doesn't know what to do.

We seemed to be finishing, so I put the notebook away, but he continued to talk a bit longer. He referred to Ifaturoti, and said he has tried very hard, but has had no success. For example with regard to minerals. He said that when he (Agbeja) goes to see him, since he is a metallurgist,

Ifaturoti gets sentimental about what could have been.

More on the tag of osomaalo--that it was good for our grandfathers, for our fathers, but does that make it good for us? Ijesas are essentially traders. They're not concerned with the overall community, they let other towns get ahead. For example in the new state, 90% of the civil servants are Ijesas. They (the govt) will come and get money from Ilesa, and then the Ijesas will just watch while the Ede man (ie the governor) develops industry in Ede.

Finally he said maybe someone from outside (i.e someone like me) can help then figure out how to solve the problem.

Notes92

Fieldnotes, conversation with Dr. Irene Thomas, at luncheon, Airport Hotel, Ikeja, Mon. June 1

Clara Osinulu had told me that she would be at a meeting with Irene Thomas, and since Clara and I were planning to meet anyway we thought it would be a good chance for me to get reaquainted with her. Clara told me that Thomas is a chief in Ilesa and quite involved in things there. She is also one of the people who got an award at the ceremony in Ilesa.

I spoke with her briefly over lunch. I asked about her chieftaincy. She said that it is a traditional chieftaincy, belonging to the house of Loro, that her father was made a chief by the present owa's father, and now the owa has made her a chief. She is part of the Council of Chiefs in Lagos (Ilesa chiefs in Lagos); she said that there are many here.

I asked if she goes to Ilesa. She said that she doesn't go there much, that she hasn't been there to see the owa to congratulate him on his tenth anniversary. She commented that she wishes there were an airport so it would be a half hour trip instead of four hours. She said that on the day of the award ceremony she had to get back to Lagos that same day, for something in her church the next day (which was Easter).

We discussed my talking with her further. She gave me her address and phone number: 5 Elias Close, V.I. (after Adeola Adeku, after Federal Palace); 614912 or 614909.

notes93

Fieldnotes, conversation with Chief Ajijola, President of Ilesa Social Elite, in his office, 5 Lewis Street, Lagos, Monday June 1

I went to see Chief Ajijola in his office, which is near the High Court in Lagos. He is a lawyer. He did not have any questionnaires that had been returned for me, but took the names of the people from whom we were still trying to get them, and promised to contact them and get the questionnaires. I said that either I or Bodunde would come to get them on June 17 or 18. While we were there another man came in who was introduced as a doctor (and I think his office is nearby). Ajijola said that he is also from Ilesa, and told him what I am doing. Then Ajijola went on to talk about the fact that "we" (people like himself) are sojourners here in Lagos, that we may have been here twenty years, but are still sojourners.

He also talked about the owa, and the celebrations there, saying that he attended as he is one of his chiefs. He suggested I should meet the owa, saying that he is a scholar, and we talked about the possibility of his taking me to meet the owa June 25 or 26. We also talked about the owa's book and he said he would get me a copy.

Notes94

Fieldnotes, conversation with Mrs. Ayoola, Lagos, Monday June 1

I had stopped by Ayoola's house Sunday evening and he suggested I come to see him around 6 on Monday. But when I got there he hadn't returned from work. After about a half hour his wife tried to call him but couldnt get hold of him, so I left. In the meantime, I talked with her a little. She told me that she had spent the day sorting eggs, from their poultry in Osu. They get 400 crates of eggs each week, each crate contains 30 eggs. She has to sort them to mix the sizes. Those who sell them come to get them here at the house. I tried to find out how many sell them, and she said that they could sell all to just a few people, but instead they share them out to a number of different sellers.

She also told me that she thought her husband would be coming to Osu on Thursday this week. She said that he hadn't been there in some time because his shoulder had been hurting. She promised to call me later in the evening and let me know, which she did, saying that he would be there on Friday. I said I would try to stop there on my way to Ilesa. (Which I did on Friday, but he hadn't arrived yet, and I was busy in Ilesa the rest of that day so did not try to see him again.)

notes95

Fieldnotes, Tuesday June 2, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti

I went to Ifaturoti's house Tuesday afternoon after returning from Lagos. We talked about a number of different things:

1. his trip to Lagos on Sunday. He had gone to attend a meeting of his Methodist Church Society at the home of Ayo Oni. The society is called the Working Men's League and was started in 1943. They do things to help in the church. About 35 people attended, most of whom came from Ilesa for the meeting; they drove there together and came back the same day. About nine were people who are based in Lagos. Most of the members are about the same age, the oldest were about 30 in 1943 when it started. They've been trying to get younger members into the group. Everyone felt it was a very successful meeting.

2. On women's organizations. He said that women's groups "are like mushrooms"; they spring up suddenly and last for a while and then disappear." When he lived in Lagos, he was the patron for one group, and then after about eight years, some of the leaders began to fight among themselves, so that two women who had been the best of friends stopped talking to each other. He found that some of the women who are now members of the Ijesa Society were formerly members of that group.

3. On women in Ilesa who are active. I asked him about Mrs. Fajuyitan and Mrs. Thompson. He said that Mrs. Fajuyitan is active in the church and didn't say anything further about her. On Mrs. Thompson, he immediately said yes, she's involved in the women's branch of the Egbe Atunluse, and that he could call her to make an appointment. He spoke with her on the phone, and then I talked to her and she suggested I come over then. Which I did a few minutes later. When I saw her I said I wanted to attend the symposium of the Egbe Atunluse, which was about to begin so we made an appointment for next Tuesday at 4 PM.

4. On Egbe Atunluse. I asked if they were doing something this week. Kunle immediately went and got a poster, announcing all the events in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the organization. There had been a press conference on Monday, and today at 4 PM a symposium on the unity of Ijesaland was scheduled. A book launching is on Friday; according to the poster, Olashore is to be chief launcher.

Kunle said that he had been a member of the Egbe Atunluse but that he had just resigned, because they didn't send any notices to the members about the week's activities although these posters are all over town. Also, he had received a request some time ago for a N500 subscription to support the activities, but that his name was spelled wrong (without the initial I) and that they know how he spells his name yet they always spell it wrong, so he thinks it's done purposely to irritate him. He did not send the money. He's annoyed also because he didn't know of the week's events in advance, and generally feels it's poorly organized. Nevertheless he planned to attend the symposium today, and we agreed to meet there after I went to see Mrs. Thompson.

5. I asked for suggestions about another area of Ilesa to survey. He suggested the St. Margarets/Wesley Guild area, known as Ishona. The road to St. Margaret's is known as OkeOye, the next one is Ijofi and the next one is Ishona, but the whole are used to be called Ishona, meaning the people who build roads. (As it turned out, after we drove around the area a bit, we decided not to use this area but rather the road to St. Margarets and Ifofin.)

6. Kunle told me that there had been a robbery at Fatiregun's house in Ijebu-jesa on Sunday night. That led to the subject of robbery more generally. He said the problem here is that people are very individualistic. That when there was a robbery at Akinola's house, when he was Managing Director of the brewery, he (Kunle) suggested that an alarm system be set up for some of the key people at the brewery, linking their houses to an alarm. But others were not interested, and Omole, the chairman then, felt the person in charge of security wouldn't be able to handle it.

Notes96

Fieldnotes, Tuesday June 2, symposium of the Egbe Atunluse Ile Ijesa.

When I went to Ifaturoti's on my return from Lagos this afternoon, I learned that there was a symposium scheduled for 4 PM as part of the 70th anniversary celebrations. According to the poster, the title of the symposium was "The Unity of Ijesaland--The Concept, Is It Worth Fighting For? What Method to Achieve It?" The moderator was to be Chief J.A. Adedeji, the Risawe of Ilesa and the Discussants were listed as Prof (Mrs) Bolanle Awe, Prof. Michael Iyiola Jegede, Chief Kunle Oluwasanmi, Mr. Adejuyigbe Ibironke. It was to be held at Ilesa Grammar School.

When I got to the school just before 4 PM, there were just a few people there. Kunle Ifaturoti was already there, and I met M. B. Ilesanmi, who was one of the organizers of the event. People were taking seats, but none of the speakers were there, except the moderator. Shortly thereafter, it began to pour, and rain came in the open windows. So people moved their seats, and the students who were around moved chairs; this was done two or three times before the rain subsided and people settled down again in their seats. At this point there were students from the school seated on one side of the room, and about 18-20 men, mostly fairly elderly. It was obvious that nothing was going to begin on time. After a while Kunle began to say that if nothing happened by 5 he would leave. Eventually he told Ilesanmi that if the speakers weren't there they should get other people and get on with it.

Kunle pointed out his brother to me, Loja M.A. Ifaturoti. I asked about the statement about chieftaincy that the Frontliners said had been written by Ifaturoti, and Kunle said it was by his brother, he is the historian. I also asked if he knows anything about the Owa's book, so he went to ask his brother and the man sitting next to him. He came back with the response that few people have seen the book.

One of the four discussants arrived at about 4:45 PM, Adejuyigbe Ibironke (this is still another Ibironke, also a lawyer I think). At about 5, Ilesanmi announced that they would begin and invited a number of others to join as discussants. The people asked to come up to the front were: Loja Ifaturoti, the Principal of Ilesa Grammar School (also a loja) (he never actually spoke), Kunle Ifaturoti, and also the President of the Egbe Atunluse (Fafawora) and the Moderator, Risawe.

The Moderator began by introducing the theme of the symposium. Then Adejuyigbe Ibironke spoke. He started out by apologizing for being late and said that he had started out from Lagos at 11 AM but that it had rained the whole way and it had been very slow getting out of Lagos. Then he said that he knew about the symposium a month ago but didnt know of the them until yesterday. He then congratulated the Egbe on its achievements, and noted that without the Egbe Atunluse they wouldn't be where they are today as there would be no Ilesa Grammar School.

He then began his talk, saying that first of all Ijesas must be thoroughly united. He talked about what has happened because of the lack of unity.

He said that in appointments to the public service, an Ijesa man doesnt seek an appointment unless he is qualified. Up to the 1960's, under colonial rule, many Ijesas got appointments bcause they were based only on merit. An Ijesa symbolizes hard work and honesty, he said. Since then there has been change in Nigeria, but Ijesas haven't changed. With the introduction of the need for appointments to reflect federal character, there has been lobbying for positions. He then asked, what do they do as Ijesas in this situation? He said that an Ijebu ,man who belongs to an Ijebu society, when he hears of a post he will put someone forward. But an Ijesa man won't do that. He added that he's not saying this is the best thing, to have lobbying, but that this is what happens. Ijesas get on top only by their individual merit and don't help each other. He mentioned names of Ijesas who have been chairmen of federal agencies. He said one had been appointed and then it was 25 years before the next one was appointed. All since then were appointed on their own merit and not because of any lobbying.

Then he talked about resources. He said that other towns have gotten things before Ilesa. For example, he said that Okitipupa got a phone exchange before Ilesa. The cocoa processing plant went to Ede. With regard to economic development, he said that with SAP, the federal governemtn has allowed private investment in banks. There are now about 120 merchant and commercial banks in Nigeria. Ijesas have three of these; at this there was applause, but then he said that Ijebus have ten. Further, in Ijebu, they invite subscription from other Ijebus to help set up a bank, but in the Ijesa case most of the promoters have kept what they are doing close to their own chests, and others didn't know about the banks until theyh were about to open. Likewise, nearly every village in Ijebu has an industry.

Then he said that now that he's talked about what they've lost by not uniting, he will now give suggestions about how to achieve unity. First, he said that all chiefs, community leaders should push the need for unity. Secondly, it's not just enough to preach unity, but they should show it by their actions. He said "the northern area of Ijesaland looks at you and me with suspect", it's time to bring them back into the fold. Why are they referred to as ara oko? Also, kin in other areas, outside Ijesaland (mentioning specific locales, in Ekiti area I think, should also be brought back. They should have taken the celebration of the kiriji war as an opportunity to bring them back into the fold.

He also talked of the need for Ijesa history, that a short and simple history of Ijesaland should be written. And the leaders should do a study of the issues that cause divisions in Ijesaland and find ways to ameliorate them.

He went on to say that many Ijesas don't come home. They may build mansions in Lagos, Ibadan, etc. He said that an Igbo man will build at home before he builds at Lagos. But there are rumors that Ijesas in Ibadan preferred to remain in Oyo State instead of having the new Osun state, becuase all their assets are in Ibadan. But he said there is no point in asking an Ijesa man to come home if there is nothing here. IBL shows the possibility that an investment can be secure here. At this point, he said

"Thank god, that IBL came along 20 years after IUTTC". IUTTC is the Ijesa United Trading and Transport Company (but he did not say what happened to it, the implication is tht everyone knows, and that it failed).

He said that when industries are established, the shares should be divided among different communities. Likewise, now that the federal government is putting money into community banks, they should embrace that idea not only for development but also for unity. His proposed division of shares for banks and industry: 35% for Ijesas outside the community where located; 55% for those in the community; 10% for anyone. He mentioned that one of the problems with investment as the basis for unity is the problem of acquiring land.

He commented on the acrimony that is associated with chieftaincy contests. He said that there is no reason why ruling houses shouldn't unite, and give support to others without rancor. He said that there are cases where suspicion has lasted over twenty years beyond the cause of the dispute.

Now that Nigeria is on the last stage of transition to civilian rule, he said that Ijesas should unite whether they are SDP or NRC; they should get out for Ijesaland. He mentioned the situation where the Governor is "at loggerheads" with his Deputy Governor, and said something about how another Ijesa son is being used against the Deputy (someone in the Assembly I think).

Ibironke then summarized what he had said, and pleaded with the chiefs for unity. Then the moderator spoke again, saying that there is now friction where there wasn't any before. The situation before was one where there was unity among Ijesas. He said that the next speaker would talk about history, and introduced Loja Ifaturoti, to focus on unity within Ijesa history and culture.

M.A. Ifaturoti then spoke. He said that one had to look at how a group became a nation, that it happens over centuries. And that there was unity, so how did it start? He said that the question of unity has arisen in part because of changes that have taken place within the country. They were a fairly closed community before, and had relations with those outside. For example, there was no fixed boundary with Ife. One of the causes of division has been land disputes with Ife over the past 50 years. This developed because land became a saleable commodity and taxes began to be paid on land. Things that had never been sold before were sold and people started making money.

Also with regard to chieftaincy, in the past people didn't fight because of chieftaincy. This has happened now because what was never sold and never meant to be sold has become a saleable commodity (ie the selling of titles).

He said that with regard to the Ijesa, his article of faith is that the unity of Ijesland is predicated on one thing, the supremacy of the Owa. He gave the analogy that if you have a family and there is no cooperation within it, and the head is not listened to , then it's not a family. When the head loses control then there are problems in the family. Likewise,

unity in Ijesaland is predicated on the supremacy of the owa. Once that is challenged, and that challenge is allowed to go on, then that unity must disintegrate.

About tradition, he said that what is tradition today is what our forefathers did. And what we do today will become tradition in 30-40 years. Our forefathers managed to run a viable society, without millions of Naira. He talked about how they did this, and the unity necessary for the successful prosecutin of the kiriji war. He mentioned Ogedengbe and the unity of Ijesa and Ekiti warriors. He said that traditions were never static, that there have always been ways and means of changing things. Also that it's not a zero sum game, that one can win and others can win as well. He said that people took part in arriving at and implementing decision; that if there is to be change, people must be involved in decisions.

He said that what unity is is not conformity. People may disagree. But something is binding us together, and that is an idea, loyalty and patriotism, at the national level--the Ijesa national level. They should bring their ideas together, then argue and discuss them, and then there should be someone who says, yes this is where we are going.

He then asked why unity is necessary. Why not let everyone go their own way, what more is needed? He responded with a quote from Churchill: if one is not loyal to one's own county, then one isn't loyal to the country. Likewise, if one is not loyals to Ijesaland, then is also not loyal to Nigeria. They need to start with loyalty to Ijesaland (and other groups with their own areas as well. They have a stake in Nigeria outside Ijesaland, and building loyalty to Ijesaland is building loyalty to the country.

He went on to say that sometimes unity is defined as a sharing of resources. He said the question is how to make sure of the building up of resources, to be shared by the country. As long as people can't go elsewhere and be accepted there (i.e., to other parts of the country), then they must come home. He said that Ijesas don't insist on that (i.e., on asking others to go home). He asked what can we do to bring people here to settle here, and pointed out that one of the past presidents of the Egbe Atunluse was a non-Ijesa, and that they shouldn't allow that spirit to die. (He asked others on the platform for confirmation that a president was a non-Ijesa, and they said that was the case; the name wasn't mentioned.) They should stop the use of derogatory terms. People still do that, sometimes in a jocular manner, but they should be responsive to the feelings of others. He said but elderly people will still remember that their greatgrandfather carried yams like slaves to Ilesa.

He said that rigidity and individualism aren't working for our own good. On the other hand, one can be so flexible that there is no spine in him. You have to know the principles to be kept.

When people say they are civilized, and civilization means making money at the cost of the community, then they are wrong.

Then he came back to his theme about the owa: that there cannot be unity unless there is a leader. They know who he is in Ijesaland, and that they need to find a way to strengthen him (or his position) with modern approaches.

M.A. Ifaturoti ended his presentation at this point. It was about 6:15 and there were now about 25 men present, as well as some of the students from the grammar school (others had left). There were no women in the audience.

The moderator then said that he would open the discussion up, since there was no light and they would have to end soon (the lights had gone out when it began to rain). But then he went on for about 10 minutes himself, talking about history, and how he wants someone to discuss the history of unity in Ijesaland. While he was talking, soft drinks were served to those on the platform, and then to everyone else. Then there was a lull for several minutes during which nothing much happened. There was consultation among those on the platform, and the school kids began talking among themselves. Then the moderator repeated himself about wanting someone to discuss history.

Finally the moderator called on Kunle Ifaturoti to speak. Kunle began by talking about the kiriji war. He said that all the warriors who came back home formed a group. Ogedengbe became the obanla, and other warriors also became chiefs. He said that one aspect of the kiriji war was the assistance from those people who had been taken as slaves to America and were liberated and returned home, people like Haastrup who became Owa Ajimoko. Haastrup Their contribution was that they obtained guns for those fighting in the kiriji, which led to a stalemate with Ibadan. (In talking about this, Kunle seemed to be addressing the schoolchildren, saying he wanted them to know about the history). He then went back to the theme of the discussion, saying that before, Ijesas regarded themselves as one family. He mentioned Imesi Ile as the place which was central in the kiriji fight, and how other Ijesas rallied around to help. He said that the relevance of this today is that when we come to share in the national cake, those who contribute the most in baking it deserve a fair share.

He went on to say that we (Ijesas) are very small, and mentioned the census figures showing that Ijesas make up less than 1/2 million within Nigera, and since they're very small, they can easily be forgotten and maltreated. People know that Ijesas are very dynamic.

He said that the constitution (? not clear what constitution) recognizes the sovereignty of the owa and places the chiefs in order, whether they are here in Ilesa or in the district. It is a matter of history that this is the case; it has no relation to today but is a matter of history. He said that whatever the future political arrangements among chiefs, there is a need for those who call themselves Ijesa to defend their own rights. Unless we can secure and assure these, we haven't arrived. Unity is necessary so that we can defend what we have an entitlement to, so we can defend our rights and prevent individuals from being denied things. Since we're small we can easily be mistreated.

Then Ibironke spoke again, about the point that the focal point for Ijesa

unity is the Owa. He said that they must keep that tradition sacrosanct. It doesn't matter if the incumbent is a billionaire or poor, if he's old or young.

The moderator then summarized what had been said. That they agree on the need for unity. Without that they will lose more, it's important in politics, in the distribution of offices, distribution of industries, etc. And that they've identified that in the center of our concept of unity is the owa. If there is going to be unity, the center must be able to hold. It is very desirable to sink personal differences and individualism to seek unity. And he gave some examples of people from the past who have worked for unity.

Then there was a prayer said (quite a lengthy one) and the program ended at about 6:40 PM. I left right away to go back to Ife.

Notes97

Fieldnotes, Wed. June 3, visit to Fatireguns after learning about robbery at their house

When I saw Kunle Ifaturoti on Tuesday afternoon, he told me that there had been a robbery at the Fatiregun's at around midnight on Sunday night. So I went to see them today on the way home from Ikogosi. There were a number of people (probably about 10) in the sitting room when I got there at around 4:30 PM. Mr. Fatiregun met me outside, then I went in and talked with Mrs. Fatiregun, who told me and others some of the details of what had happened. Fatiregun's daughter, who also had things stolen, was also there. People commiserated and some prayed; some people left and others arrived.

When I was leaving, I talked some more outside with Mrs. Fatiregun. She told me that she thinks the robbers were sent by someone to harm her husband, but she doesn't know why, what he could have done to anyone. She also asked me if I would call "uncle", i.e., Olashore, in Lagos, as he doesn't yet know about what happened. I said I would do so, but probably wouldn't be able to reach him til Thursday because I only have his office number. She said that one of the numbers on his card is his home number, but I called the one I thought she meant on Wed. PM and didn't get any answer.

Notes98

Fieldnotes phone call to Olashore, Thurs. June 4

When I saw Mrs. Fatiregun on Wednesday and she told me about the robbery at their house, she asked me to call "uncle"--Mr. Olashore, to tell him about it. I reached him in his office at about 9:30 Thursday morning. When I told him about what had happened, and he asked for some more details, then he said that he won't be able to go home this weekend, because he has some obligations in Lagos Saturday and Sunday, and that the earliest he can get home will be next Thursday (which is the start of a public holiday). So he asked when I will see Fatireguns again, and I said I could see them Saturday, and asked that I convey his sympathy to them and tell them that he will get there next Thursday.

One interesting thing about his saying that he won't get home this weekend is that he is listed as the chief launcher for the Egbe Atunluse event this week Friday (June 5); apparently he is not planning to be there (I didn't say anything about it to him).

Notes99

Fieldnotes, Friday June 5, book launching of Egbe Atunluse history book
Ilesa Town Hall

When I saw Kunle Ifaturoti Tuesday afternoon, he told me about the book launching on Friday. The poster he had announced that the chair would be Akinmokun, and that the chief launcher would be Olashore. The special guest was to be Lawrence Omole. The program which I bought also listed these same people. Chief Akinmokun and Lawrence Omole were there, but Olashore was not. In his place was Mr. Fatiregun, representing him. It was scheduled for 11 AM, and I got there a little late, after 11:30, and things were underway, but I think they had just started.

(Also in the program is a copy of the address given at a press conference by the President of the EGbe. The program also includes citations for people to be honored at a dinner on Saturday, which I did not attend, but for which Justice Eso was to be the chairman).

When I arrived, a prayer was being said, and people were already at the platform in front. these included Chief Akinmokun, Akin Akinola, Chief Adedeji, Lawrence Omole, the President of the Egbe, Fafowora, Haastrup, Fatiregun and four others I couldn't identify, three of whom were chiefs. The prayer was in Yoruba.

Then Akinmokun, the chairman of the event, spoke. He spoke first in Yoruba and then in English. He talked about the 70 years of the Egbe, and its goals, saying they are: to promote social and economic growth of Ijesaland, and to foster unity among the sons and daughters of Ijesaland.
He mentioned the educational activities of the Egbe, its role in setting up the Ilesa Grammar School, and Obokun High School. He then went on to say that there is disappointment, that after all they have done they are not doing more now. He said, if small towns all over are doing things, raising funds for development, why not Ilesa?

I couldn't understand everything that he said (even when in English) but he talked about the untarred roads, and the need for money for tarring township roads. He mentioned social clubs like Rotary and Inner Wheel, and said that he salutes Mr. Akinola for his role in beautification of the town(I think this refers to the sculpture in the roundabout which was erected by Rotary).

He said that it's better to speak the truth, that he doesn't want to embarass anyone; I think this was with reference to stating criticism about things not done. He also told a story, referring to Dr. Lawrence Omole, but I didn't get the whole thing or the point of it. He tended to switch back and forth between Yoruba and English, so it was hard to follow. He mentioned on roads again, the roads between Ilesa and other towns, saying that a few years ago there was no road between Ilesa and Ibokun.

Finally he said that people will follow the leadership of the Egbe, and with regard to the book being launched, he said that he wishes it wide circulation.

Some observations on attendance: There were mainly older men sitting in front, about 25 altogether (members of the Egbe?). There were about twenty other people there, including 10-15 women sitting in the front. I later found out that those in a group in the front were from the Ladies Improvement Society.

The chairs in the town hall were stamped on the back "Presented by Ilesha Frontliners".

After Akinmokun finished speaking, there was a review of the book by a relatively young man, named Femi Adesanmi. He was hard to hear because the mike kept going on and off while he spoke, although he spoke in English. He started out by talking about how he is too small a person to be reviewing the book, that it should be someone like Dr. Ifaturoti. (Kunle Ifaturoti was not there; I saw him later that afternoon and he told me that he had had a stomach ache so didn't go, although he had promised his brother--who is one of the authors of the book--that he would be.) The review was essentially a chapter by chapter summary of the contents of the book. The reviewer said that the pioneer members of the Egbe were "the avant garde for the progress of Ijesaland." He also said that there main impact was on education.

After the review, Akinmokun called on Chief Fatiregun, representing Prince Oladele Olashore, to launch the book. Fatiregun started by saying that he is representing his cousin who is the chief launcher and to present a sum of money from him. He then went on to give his own comments, saying that it is a beautiful book, a book that researchers will rush to get. He mentioned the two authors, M.A. Ifaturoti and someone else (I think a historian, I've never heard the name before), and said that they were lucky to have had Chief Ifaturoti as one of the contributors. He emphasized that these were his personal observations, not those of Olashore, as an Ijesaman himself. And then said that Olashore was launching the book with the "modest sum of N5000." He gave the envelope to the president, Fafowora, and then was asked to hold up the book for a photograph.

Then Akinmokun introduced Lawrence Omole as the special guest of honor, and asked "baba" to talk. Omole had a written speech which he read; it was in English. He began by thanking the Egbe for considering him worthy of the place of honor in launching the book. He said that although he was never formally enrolled in the Egbe he has always supported its activities. He said that he didn't join because he was not sure he would have enough time to devote to it. He noted that the key period was between 1934-38, and referred to the fact that the Egbe had brought secondary education to Ilesa, and asked "what more could the Egbe have done?" He said that time was his greatest constraint. He also mentioned that in 1968, when General Adebayo was governor of Western State, there was a scheme for industrialization that received support from the Egbe. He (Omole) was then the chair of the Ijesa Planning Council). They were unable to achieve the objectives of industrialization, but they underlined the need for it. He said that the lessons of failure of the 1968 planning council led him to work with a smaller team for the establishment of IBL.

Omole went on to say that all can be proud of the Egbe's achievements. However, they have failed to deal with some problems, such as the unity of Ijesaland, the place of Ijesaland in Nigeria, and the economic development of Ijesaland, which are linked issues. He said that it is time for self-examination and hard work. "We must protect the values we cherish and which are now threatened." He then made a contribution, but didnt say the amount. But shortly afterwards Chief Ilesanmi, who was around in front but not behind the table on the stage, announced that Omole had given N10,000.

At that Akinmokun said "That's a fortune within the framework of the economy of this country. Baba e ku nowo." Then Akinmokun continued to speak in Yoruba. He referred to page 9 of the program where there was a list of launchers. He said that there are 174 launchers of the book. Another man spoke and called on the lojas to launch the book. The first to speak was Chief Gabriel Esan, the Olole of Ilesa representing the Owa (he was sitting on the platform). He said that the Owa is buying 10 copies for N500.

(this led to an announcement that 10 copies were being given to Omole, and 10 to Olashore, and 10 to the chairman, Akinmokun).

Then they called on Oba Olowu of Epe (?) to launch; he too was sitting in front; he bought one copy and handed over several N20 notes.

Akinmokun then called on "an industrious son" from Lagos, who is always contributing to Ilesa affairs. This turned out to be Chief Adedeji, or H.S.A. Adedeji, from Leventis Foundation who I had met in Lagos some years ago; I spoke with him afterwards. Adedeji said that a lot has been done in the past but there is much more to be done in the future for the progress of Ijesaland. It's not the Egbe alone that must do it, but all Ijesa men and women. He said that Ijesaland is blessed with resources, but for some reason we haven't been able to unite. We need to think seriously about this and see what we can do, especially the chiefs should do that. We need to be more united to have progress. He contributed N1000.

At around this point I saw Chief Mrs. Thompson arrive and join the other women in the front.

Then they called on "another industrious son", an important member of the Egbe, who was playing a dual role, both as a member and taking part in the launching. A man who loves this town very much. This turned out to be Prince Ambassador Haastrup, who simply said that he doesn't like to say anything publicly about his contribution (but he made one).

Then they called on "another giant in this town--our son--God has made him a giant". This was Akin Akinola. Akinola said that he was buying five copies for N2000.

The man who was announcing people then said that there were many others who could have been at the high table. He called on Chief Dr. Maxwell Falomo, who gave N2500.

Then he called on Chief ----, whose father was a founding member of the

Egbe. This man was unusual in the crowd as he was wearing a suit. he gave N500. Then a person at the high table who had been missed, Chief Awe, made a contribution but I didn't hear the amount.

Then he called on a woman, "a daughter of a highly respected chief and in her own right she has made a mark"; she was the representative from Ilesa in the Oyo State Assembly. This was Chief Mrs. Aluko (one of the women sitting in front). She got up and said that although she wasn't invited, when she heard the announcement on the radio, she came in the interest of her father who was a founding member, she decided to be here with a "widow's mite"; she gave N50.

Then they called on one of the children of the founder of the Egbe, Mr. T.O. Ogunseyitan, who also gave N50.

At this point Omole left; this was announced and everyone stood as he left.

Then Chief Mrs. Thompson got up, as President of the Ijesa Ladies Improvement Society, (Mrs. V.A. Thompson), she gave a donation on behalf of the Ladies Improvement Society, which she described as "a little token"; the amount was not stated.

At this point Ilesanmi announced that the cover price of the book is N30. The announcer asked for other representatives of the invitees, or others who wished to launch the book. A man got up and said he was giving N250. Another said he received an invitation through the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ibadan, and that he was giving N600. Someone from another Ijesa organization gave N200. The announcer asked if anyone was there representing Adediran Steel and Wire, or Ijesa Progressive Circle; there was no response.

A couple of other people got up, and then a woman was announced, as Chief Mrs. ----, the Yeyedole of Ilesa, who came from Lagos for the launching. I think this is the woman Mobo Akinola told me about who was just installed as a chief, and who is her relative. She spoke in Yoruba, and mentioned something about Fadahunsi, and gave a "widow's mite" of N250. Then the announcer called on a Mr. Fadahunsi who gave N100. Another man got up and said that as a son of Ijesaland he would like a copy of the book.

The announcer called for respresentatives of the Ijesa First Club, of Club 64 and of the Ijesa Improvement League. Then Akinola said something quietly to the announcer and he stopped asking for specific organizations and simply asked for other launchers.

Then Akinmokun said they should end the program, and talked about dedication to the progress, stability and unity of Ijesaland. He switched to Yoruba midway. He also said that he is giving what he can afford to give, and then called on M.A. Ifaturoti. But before Ifaturoti spoke, Ilesanmi took the mike and said that Akinmokun had told them that he wouldn't have anything to give after his mother's funeral, but that he had just given N10000. He thanked him.

Then another launcher, from a woman's society, got up.

And finally Loja Ifaturoti was called on to give the vote of thanks.

The program then ended. I went up front and spoke briefly with Akin Akinola to arrange a time to meet him a little later in the afternoon. Then H.S.A. Adedeji came over to speak with me, and we agreed that I would try to stop by his house in the evening (he lives next door to Justice Eso). I also bought a copy of the book from Chief Ilesanmi, for N50. On the way out, I saw and greeted Mr. Fatiregun.

notes100

Fieldnotes, Friday June 5, interview of Mr. Akin Akinola, Ilesa

I went to see Mr. Akinola in the afternoon of the same day as the book launching of the Egbe Atunluse. So naturally we started out by talking a bit about the launching, and the Egbe and other organizations.

I asked if he is a member of the Egbe. He said no, that it was open only to the children of the founders. (and he is not in that category). But later he was invited to join, but has not done so, partly because he felt the membership should be open. He also talked about Omole's comment during the launching that he didnt join the Egbe because of lack of time; he doesnt think that is really the reason. I asked if he's involved in other organizations, and he said no, because those groups have no vision. Then I mentioned Ijesa Solidarity Group, and immediately got the response that that is different, they are working for something. In particular they are working for Ijesa unity. But they are not getting those from other towns to join as much as they would like to.

We then discussed the issue of unity and why traditional chieftaincy issues seem to be so important in these discussions. He explained that in the past (during the 1800s around time of kiriji war I think), there were powerful warriors from Ilesa. The Owa gave land to high chiefs and generals from Ilesa. Now there's still tendency for the best jobs, offices, etc. to be given to those from Ilesa. But now things have changed, people in the other towns say they don't owe allegiance to the owa; they regard him as the titular head of administration, but say that no, we're independent. Most of the Ijesas who have had high government positions have been from outlying towns, so they have changed the rules of the game. Some will refuse to be called Ijesa, but when there is a crisis they will come back and see themselves as Ijesa. There is now some change in attitude, but to a large extent the prejudices of the past are still strong. He said maybe it will change with their children. He said again that there are strong feelings based on the past, as well as the fact the people from Ilesa get priority in jobs. But he pointed out that everyone in Ilesa really comes from a village too; for example he's from Oke Bode (or his family is).

Then we talked about the start of International Breweries and who was involved. He said that Omole invited people from other towns to be part of it, but they mostly refused. Akinmokun heard about it, and he got involved. But then, according to Akinola Akinmokun (who is from Ikeji) is seen in his own town as being Ilesa, for example his vehicles are numbered with Ilesa license numbers. There was one other, someone named Olaniyan from Imesi Ile, who has since died, but he was ostracized by others for getting involved.

He would like to see more industry come to Ilesa and Ijesaland. He sees the Ijesa Solidarity group as a catayst that will help to find areas of investment and help provide infrastructure. It will encourage people to invest in Ilesa and help with infrastructure. It will encourage people of like minds to form an association, like IBL.

I said that it seems that most industries here are started by individuals rather than partnerships. He said that in his own case, he started his oil mill (vegetable oil processing company) with a friend and with money from Oyo State government. Then he will bring in others when it is successful, but he will remain the main shareholder. He started the company three years ago, and is still developing it. He now still stays three days a week in Lagos (doing his other work there), but wants to start spending more time here. He wants to make the oil mill the number 2 or 3 industry in the area, after IBL. Other large industries are Adediran's steel and wire, and the packaging company, but these are both capital intensive. He wants to be the number 2 in profitability and in terms of the presence that is felt in the community, and spin-offs from it. At present the factory has 30 employees. They are making groundnut and beniseed oils as edible oils, and they also make palm kernel oil, an industrial oil used in soap. There are also byproducts which can be used as animal feed. One of the problems for the company is the supply of raw materials.

He mentioned his other business activities, in Lagos. He is involved in real estate, and is developing properties in Lagos. He also has a finance house in Lagos, and is in the stock market; he said that he is very active in the stock exchange. (He mentioned that the Nigerian stock exchange has been rated the 11th most profitable stock market by the IMF.)

Then we talked more about his background. He was born in Nguru, in the far north, where his parents were traders. His father was involved in animal husbandry, he said, I assume that he was trading in animals and or animal products but he didnt specify. He came to Ilesa for primary school, and stayed with an uncle, in the family house. Then he went to Lagos, and attended the Yaba College of Technology for secondary school (junior secondary school). He finished there in June 1960 and then worked in Barclays Bank, Lagos. Then he came back to ILesa to work for his uncle, Lawrence Omole, in 1961. In 1964 he went to the UK to study accountancy; he was there for 7 1/2 years. He studied at Harrow College. While he was there he also worked as a tax officer with Inland Revenue, then he did full-time studies, and then worked with Unilever as an accountant. In 1971 he came back to Nigeria, when Unilever sent him back to work here. He worked for UAC, and then for Lever Brothers. In 1978 he left as Deputy Chief Accountant at Lever Brothers to come to Ilesa and start work for IBL. They were starting from scratch then, they were just starting to build the brewery.

I asked why he came back. He said that he saw a chance to be a pioneer. It was a lot of sacrifice to leave his job in Lagos. But he saw it as a chance to be a pioneer and try to make a name for himself, and this has worked out. I asked about the sacrifices involved in leaving Lagos. He said that he was a clubman, his life style had to change a lot. He was a member of the tennis club, the Ikoyi Club, etc, and there is nothing like that here. He misses the life style of Lagos. During his first six years here, there were no telephones here, the power supply was eratic. He didn't have friends here; all of his age group were in Ibadan and Lagos. That hasn't changed but now his friends come here, and he goes to Lagos every week. He is a city man, he said, but now he prefers the countryside

and wouldnt go back to live in Lagos.

He built his house here in 1981. They were first in an apartment when they came back. He had bought the land from his father-in-law (Fadahunsi) in 1972.

He would like to get others to come and invest here. But now the cost of money is such that it's hard. Others mostly come back when they retire. A group is trying to organize a joint industrial venture.

He left IBL in 1990. He had other contacts from before, so he could easily renew his financial base. He had things in place to do so before leaving IBL.

I asked what he considers development to be. He said that development is to generate employment; to aid the economic prosperity of the community; activity that will draw people to Ilesa to live there. He sees a linkage between social activity, good roads and houses, and the willingness of people to come to live here. He said that it is sad the way that Ilesa is now; that he would like to rebuild the whole town. He wants a new town, he said. His ambition is to pull down the family house and put a modern house there, and this is what he would like to see throughout the town.

I asked if he has any interest in small enterprises. He said that that is not the core of his focus. But that small enterprises would be beneficiaries, spin-offs of large industrial development. For example the brewery has brought opportunities in trading. His focus is to draw the right people, such as engineers and graduates, and get large industry started.

He went on to say that the government has failed in promoting development. There is lots of money from oil, but they are spending it on things like buying cars for army officers. The problem is what the government spends money on, not the amount of money it has to spend. So development has to be done by private groups, it involves enterprise and leadership. He thinks that the various activities going on now will lead to change in ten years, that there will be improvement in Ilesa, more industry and so on.

I asked if he would have taken a job out of Lagos if it hadn't been in Ilesa. He said no, he wouldn't have come to the brewery if it hadn't been in Ilesa, that that was number 1, is the magnet that drew him here. He wouldnt have gone elsewhere. He is optimistic about the future in Ilesa. And feels that he is contributing towards the movement toward the goals he (and others) have, he's not leaving it for others to do. And in addition, the Ijesa Solidarity Group can help as a catalyst, it can multiply the effects of individuals.

Notes101

Fieldnotes, Friday June 5, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti, Ilesa

I stopped by at Ifaturoti's house in the late afternoon. We discussed a number of topics:

1. the article that he wrote on the banning of ethnic groups has appeared in the Nigerian Tribune. He gave a copy. The paper also had an editorial on the subject in the same issue. He said that he didn't tell Justice Eso before hand, because Eso would have told him not to write it. But Eso called him up as soon as it appeared, and liked it.

2. On the Egbe Atunluse. He said that he had planned to go to the launching today, but he hadn't been feeling well. His brother had wanted him to go. He asked if Omole was there. I showed him the program and the book. He saw the Ayoola name in the program, and said that Ayoola's children have the files of the Egbe and they won't release them to anyone else.

We talked about the symposium on unity the other day. I asked why there is so much concern with chieftaincy. He said that his brother (Loja MA Infaturoti) is a loyalist, he believes that the institution of Owa is important and must be supported regardless of who is in it. He said that he doesn't know, but probably his brother prostrates for the Owa (his brother competed for the position). On the other hand, Kunle feels that how the person in the position acts affects the position. He mentioned various things the owa has done vis a vis others. For example, he told me about a man in Lagos who came to see him--a very prominent person, apparently--and the owa indicated that he should prostrate. There are problems with the district chiefs and the local chiefs; for example when people are being considered for chieftaincy, there is money that they give to the chiefs, and then some of that goes to the owa. But now the owa wants to get the money directly, and the chiefs aren't getting it. He mentioned his experience when he was head of the Zonal Health Board, the contrast of his interaction with the ooni and the owa. With the ooni, he wrote him, and got a letter back promptly giving him an appointment. When he went to see him, he immediately greeted him and made clear he didn't expect him to prostrate, and knew a lot about him because he knows his brother. The owa didn't respond for a long time to the letter, and then when he went to see him he was kept waiting with others. But finally when he did see him he indicated that he didn't have to prostrate; which Kunle said was a good thing or otherwise there would have been problems.

He also mentioned an incident between Omole and the owa concerning land that Omole bought from owa Agunlejika. The land is near Iloko. The Iloko people felt the owa didn't have the right to sell the land, so Omole paid for it a second time. Then the current owa put a sign on the land saying it was his. They nearly went to court over this

There's also controversy over the owa's choices for appointment to chieftaincy positions, for example a case where there are supposed to be several rotating lines, but instead the owa appointed the son of the man

who had been in the position.

So overall he said that it's hard to get support for the owa, and this is a problem for those like his brother who say that the owa is the center of Ijesa unity.

3. The name of Chief Ajayi-Obe was mentioned. He is Kunle's uncle. He said that he is still alive, is now 93 years old. We talked about going to see him sometime. Kunle said that his grandfather got his military training from Ajayi-Obe's grandfather.

Notes102

Fieldnotes, Friday June 5, conversation with H.S.A. Adedeji

I met Mr. Adedeji at the Egbe Atunluse Launching. He seemed to remember me from when we had met several years ago in Lagos. We arranged that I would stop by to see him this evening; his house in Ilesa is next door to Justice Eso's (it has the name Hope Villa on it).

We first talked generally about his coming home. He said that he does so regularly, about every three weeks or so. He then told me a story about his daughter, when she was very young and they first came back from England. His daughter had lived with an English family in Surrey while they were there. She was 2 1/2 and they came home to Ilesa, and went to his uncle's house. The daughter was very upset to discover that there was no toilet and no wash basin in the house, and she wanted to go home to Ibadan. He convinced her that they would stay through Easter. But after that he built his own house, his first house was behind GBO, and they came home regularly. When the children were young, they always wanted to come. But as they got older they got less interested in coming home, and they don't come so much now. One of his sons was with him this weekend, but apparently that's fairly unusual. He said that a while ago he asked his son why he didn't like to come home, and he said that he didn't like to share a toilet with his sister. So they built a separate flat over the garage, but it has only been used two or three times.

The house he's now in was built in 1979. In Lagos he lives on Victoria Island (he gave me his card).

He worked for a long time as a civil servant, and became Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Health and then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance. He retired voluntarily from the latter position; people were surprised that someone would retire from such a position, but he said that for those of them that were brought up in the colonial civil service there were too many changes under the military. After he retired, he learned that the Leventis Group was looking for him because they wanted to hire him. They offered him a job, and he was there til 1990, when he became fulltime with the Leventis Foundation, although he is still on the boards of other companies in the Leventis Group. He told me a bit about the Leventis Foundations and its agricultural schools in Ilesa and Kaduna.

After a while, his wife joined the conversation. They invited me to have something to eat. His wife also comes from Ilesa, but they said that he comes home more often than she does. They often come separately for different functions. This weekend they both came because they both had ceremonies to attend.

We talked about the Egbe Atunluse. He said that he will go to their dinner tomorrow night. He is not a member, but said he supports them. (He said that the membership is not closed, although the original group was an age group, and then the children of the original members). But he said that they haven't had as much results as would be justified by their efforts. We discussed why that is so. He said that it's because of chieftaincy

problems and disputes. The chiefs should be leaders, should unify the people, instead of fighting. It has gotten worse in recent years. Everyone else is involved in doing their own activities, it's the chiefs who should be the ones to sit down and discuss issues of the town. He mentioned that only two chiefs were at the launching today, one of whom was representing the owa, and one chief from another town. He said that the same was true at the recent Anglican synod, that all the chiefs were invited but only two came.

I asked about memberships in organizations. Both he and his wife are involved in church societies--the Iloro Young Women/ Young Men organizations. He also talked more about the church synod, this was the Synod for the Ilesa Diocese, which involves 50 churches in all of Ijesaland. The Diocese is divided into archdeaconries, which basically coincide with local governments. The synod is held every year, and people come home for it. (Justice Eso is a key figure in this, and I think Olashore is also involved, as there was a folder that I saw at his house from the synod, with his name and "financial advisor" on it.

Adedeji told me about his children: one daughter (the oldest) is a doctor in England, and there are two other daughters, one of whom is also a doctor. One son is an engineer, and the other is the one who was with them, presumably the youngest, looks to be in his twenties. aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa

Pacific Funds
Limited

D. Tunji Fakoya
Senior Manager
Head Accounts & Administration

•Investments
•Financial Services
•Project Consultants

17, Karimu Kotun Street,
P. O. Box 75152,
Victoria Island, Lagos.
Tel: 610562, 617534
Fax: 613302
Telex: 22077 PACIFY NG.

JOHN HOLT LIMITED

T. A. IGE
GROUP CHIEF ACCOUNTANT

Office:
EBANI HOUSE,
149/153, BROAD STREET,
P. O. BOX 2508, LAGOS.
TEL. 664794, 661938, 663819
661744, 660830, 662973

Private:
P. O. BOX 5835,
LAGOS.

Notes103

Fieldnotes Saturday June 6, Iwoye, meeting of Iwoye-Ijesa Descendants Union and interviews with people there

When I arrived in Iwoye just before 11 AM, I decided to go to Mr. Babatayo's house, to check on the location of the meeting. Another man was there and they were getting ready to go to the meeting. I was going to go with them. But then Babatayo said that maybe I could interview some people while they were attending the meeting, ie. call them out of the meeting. I said I thought I could attend the meeting, and he and the other man said, no it's only for descendants of Iwoye. We discussed this for a while, then agreed to go to the meeting place (a church near the center of town) and see the president. By this time, Babatayo had suggested I come back at 2 PM and when I saw the president (Ifaturoti's cousin) he suggested that I come at 4. I said I had other plans and had come at 11 because that was the time they had asked me to come.

There were several men standing around waiting for the meeting to begin. I suggested that perhaps I could interview some of them while they were waiting. So I went inside with two of the men and interviewed them, briefly, until Ifaturoti said he wanted to start the meeting. I left when the meeting began; at that point there were about twenty men in the room.

Interviews:
The two men I talked with were D.T. Fakoya, who is Senior Manager, Accounts and Administration, Pacific Funds, Ltd., and T.A.Ige, who is an accountant at John Holt. Fakoya did more of the talking.

Fakoya is a native of Iwoye. He works in a finance house--Pacific Funds; this is his second year there. He is an accountant. Before that, he worked in many places, including 11 years at Shell, Mandilas Construction for 5 years, and a motor company for five years. He was born and bred in Iwoye, and lived there til he was 26, when he went to UK to study; that was in 1964. He did further studies there in management accounting.

At this point Ige interjected that they attended the same course, at the same time.

On development in Iwoye, Fakoya said that there has been a lot of development, and that he has taken an active part. The Iwoye-Ijesa Progressive Union was formed by those who are educated. The one meeting today--the Descendants Union, is the mother union of all the others, it's the apex of all the unions in the town. The aims and objectives are the same:to improve the community and to monitor projects, and to make sure the government is aware of their needs.

I asked about what the needs are at present. He said that they have already fought for electricity, but that it isn't functioning well, so they want it to be better. The water system: they have pipe borne water, thru the efforts of the community (the union) but sometimes they take aways water for days. There is a community health center that was built by the community, they want the government to take it over and equip it. They

fought for the grammar school, and it is functioning, but there are few teachers there. Some subjects are without lecturers, e.g., science. They have made a report to government, to ask to get more science teachers; at the moment it's a problem between Oyo and Osun state.

He also said that the women have been involved in rural development activities thru Better Life. They have planted a farm, and have (or want to have?) a nursery school. They expect the governemtn to help them. Mrs. Babatayo is presdient, and another woman is Mrs. Osewa.

The meeting today is the annual general meeting. They have executive meetings four times a year. In each area there is a branch union, e.g in Lagos. These branches take decisions.

The project they are now working on is the oba's palace; they still need more funds for it. This will be one of the major items discussed today.

I asked more about their own connections with Iwoye. Fakoya and Ige both have houses here. They said that everyone has to develop their own locality. There are many things that one can't go into in Lagos, you can only be recognized in your own community. And your parents, brothers and sisters are here, you can't say that because you have education you've gone abroad and are no longer interested here. They said further that their expertise will make this town develop, that what they have acquired abroad, they will be able to contribute here.

At this point another man came to greet them, and we were introduced. His name is Ogunbiade, and he is an architect.

They said that people like to come home, they like to keep their families together, and to develop the area. They also said that people look up to those who have gone outside, and that there is strong inclination to come home. Life in the countryside is very different; Fakoya said that he prefers the country, it's more enjoyable, there's fresh air. He said that when he retires he will come back and make a farm here, but that will be later, not yet.

I asked about their children. They said that they bring them home. When you have a house and you introduce them to people, then the children are familiar with the place. They know people. But if they aren't brought home, then there's no familiarity.

They also commented on the role of the government, that in the US and UK, the government does things for people, but here you can't depend on the government. Finally they said "If you have people in government from your place, then you get more. But if not, you have to do what you can on your own."

Ifaturoti came over a couple of times to get us to stop talking, so that he could start the meeting, so we ended the interview and I left.

Notes104

Fieldnotes, Monday June 8, follow-up interviews, Osu

Bodunde and I went to Osu to try to see some of the people who had been interviewed in the survey. We only found two women of those we looked for. We also looked for another woman, in a house at the end of the road leading from the market. We also tried to see the man who Kaiser Barnes introduced us to on that road, but he said he was about to go out so we made an appointment for another day. We tried to see the old man on the other side of the main road as well, but he was not home. Finally, we went to the loja's palace, but he had gone to Ilesa.

The two women we did talk with:
Chief Florence Alegebeleye. (Osu #45). I asked her about contributions. She said that she had contributed money a long time ago for building the town hall. this was a long time ago, but the town hall hasn't been completed. (There is a building facing the main road, near what was identified as the loja's palace, which I believe is the town hall.

She has been a chief for one year. The chiefs aren't doing anything at present with regard to the town. There are men chiefs and women chiefs, and they meet separately; she said that everyone compound has a chief, although I'm not sure I understood that correctly.,

She is farming, growing corn and cassava, and has been doing this for a long time. Her son was present while we talked; he helps farm and is a radionic (radio repair).

I asked about other organizations she's involved in. She said she is a member of the Methodist Irepodun society. They have meetings; they contribute money; and at the end of the year they buy the same cloth and wear it to the church. She also said that they help themselves with money, but didn't elaborate on how.

She lives in a compound on the road that goes off to the right of the main road; her sons repair shop is in the front of the house.

Janet Famurewa, Aiyetoro St. (Osu #43).

Her house is located nearly at the end of Aiyetoro St, just before the last few houses and then the bush. When we talked, there were a number of other women around, and lots of kids gathered. We sat in front of her house.

I asked about her response that she contributes money. She explained that she belongs to an organization, the Egbe Cooperative Alajeseku, which had both men and women as members. Members contribute money (no specific amount) and then they can borrow money. For example if you contribute N200 then you can borrow N400. The amount people contribute and borrow depends on the business you are doing. If you return the money you borrow after two weeks, you can borrow more. The society meets every two weeks, and people make their contributions; some contribute N100, some N20, some N50.

People can borrow at the meetings every 15 days, and then after getting a loan you have to wait six months before you can borrow money again.

She also talked about the contributions she makes in the town. She gives money for the night guards; men pay N20 a year, and women pay N10 a year. Everyone is expected to do this. Before, women paid N2 and men N5, but the amounts went up three years ago.

Also, if any chief wants to do anything, he will ask people to contribute money to help, and she has been doing this when asked.

She said that if she has money, she would like to do other things, such as bring water to the town; there is no water system there now, just wells.

I asked about whether there is any group doing things like this. She said that the women and men don't do things together, so she doesn't know if the men are trying to do anything.

By this time, there were about 20 kids standing around listening, but that didn't seem to affect her willingness to answer. She was very forthcoming on everything I asked.

She said that she came back to Osu about ten years ago. I asked about changes since then. She said that at that time, there was no light, and no tarred road. There were no houses around the place where she lives. Now there is light, tarred road, and houses are being built. It could have been better but there's no money.

Before she came back she was in Bendel State, working as a tailor. I asked why she had changed to selling cooked food; she said that she has many children, and that if you're selling food, the children can eat. I asked why she came back and she said "she just likes to come home."

Finally, on the cooperative society she belongs to, she said that this is part of a larger organization, but that the members of this one all live here in Osu.

Notes105

Fieldnotes, Tuesday June 9, follow-up interview with Chief Sunday Abraham Olayide of Ifofin, Ilesa

Chief Olayide had been interviewed earlier today, and the interviewers thought I might like to talk with him more, so when I got to Ifofin, Bodunde and I went to see him, and talked with him for about an hour. He lives at A58B Ifofin St. (Ifofin #3)

He is the chief, or head of Ifofin. He has a house, where we talked to him, for him as chief, and also a palace, where he meets once a month with the other chiefs in Ifofin. They discuss the problems facing Ifofin. For example, one problem is water; in some places, the pipe doesn't get to the place, and in other places the pipe is there, but they get no regular water. So they go to the water corporation and ask them to do something about it. They have promised to get pipes for them when they have the material. And they helped get water from those pipes where they weren't getting it before.

He said that there is a places in Ifofin where they had water before there was pipe-borne water--apparently a spring--and that a house was built around it. They still get some water there, and take care of the place.

They contribute money for the night guard. There are some chiefs that take care of the night guard, and everyone in Ifofin is supposed to contribute. As chief he pays N10, the other chiefs pay N6 and everyone else--both men and women pay N5; they make these contributions two times in 6 months. I asked how they keep track of this. He said that they have an auditor who checks the receipts (they got a printer to print receipts). The night guard is paid every month. the money contributed is part of an account for the community, it's not just for the night guard. They first take out the money needed for the night guard, and the rest is for the general fund. Other things that they have done with the money include money for drainage and for leveling the road, before the government built the road. And for water before, to repair the place and keep it clean. Also for anything in the palace (the owa's palace), they will be invited to contribute, and will make contributions. And for his own palace, the money is used for repairs there.

He explained another system whereby they get contributions in kind, rather than of money. He said that there are three chiefs in the quarter: the Olori Okunrin (himself), the olori obinrin (of women) and the olori of youth. When someone dies, the youth organization will go to the house, and take three cloths, one for the head of the women, one for the chief, and one for the head of the youth. And they will also take food and soft drinks and beer for each of these. Then they account for what they have taken at the next meeting. Also when someone dies, the children of the person will take their friends from the youth organization who will help to dig and cover the grave. When they are finished, they may give a gift, if the person who died was nice and did things in the community.

There is a society of men, a society of women and a youth society in the

quarter--the Egbe Lori Omo, and they have a house where the youth meet, and the Egbe lobinrin, who also have a house where they meet. There is a head of each of these, and he is the one who appointed the heads of the women and the youth. Also there are the elders of Ifofin (men); he gives them chieftaincy titles, and he is entitled to give 10 chieftaincies.

I asked about his role at the owa's afin. He said that before Ilesa was big, there were 70 different communites, and his chietftaincy was the number 6 in position (rank), he can go to the palace every morning and is free to see the oba whenever he likes. The major chiefs are as follows: chief of Idasa; chief of Ibogi; Lomofe of Omofe; Lofoso of Ifosan; Likoti of Ikoti; Lifofin of Ifofin. When there is a meeting at the palace, he sits in front. The oba comes to see him. And if he wants to see the oba, he can go there, no one can stop him. He lets the oba know of any problem facing Ifofin.

He pointed to a sword on the wall, and also the beads he wears; he said that when he was made chief, he brought this sword (like a machete). The story behind the sword is: The Olofin of Ife gave the sword to the owa and if the owa wants to make anyone a community leader he has to give him a sword.

He became a chief 6 years ago. Before theat, he lived in a number of different places. The last place he lived was Badeji, in the Nupe area. Then he came home. He was first secretary of the Ifofin area. He worked as a Reverend Pastor, with the Apostolic Church. He showed his id card showing that he is a JP.

I asked if he came home much and was involved in Ifofin activities before he came back home. He said that when he was living outside Ilesa, they used to send for him, if they are contributing money for something, he would send money, if they need him for anything, he will come. For his good behavior, when he came back and retired from church work, he was asked to become a local government counsellor. He refused, they begged him, and then he ran and was elected. Then the other counsellors elected him Local Government Chairman, for Ilesa Local Government; he held that position for 3 years, beginning in 1979.

After the council was dissolved, he was then elected chairman of the Town Planning, for 3 years. But before the 3 years was finished, they dissolved everything. This was then the time when the chief of the area died, and they said he should be the new chief. That has been his main activity since then.

The chief is chosen by the elders from Ifofin and by the chiefs from other areas. Then they take the person selected to the Owa. The Owa takes the necessary things from the person and fixes a date for the installation; everyone comes to the installation. He showed us a certificate from the owa when he was made chief, dated 1987.

Before, when he was outside Ilesa, he would come home every year, and if they send for him in the town or if the community (ie Ifofin) is doing anything, then he will come. I asked when he came back. He said he

returned when his father died, but doesn't remember the year.

I asked about things that the chiefs are doing, to help develop the area. He talked about the night guards, water and roads. He said that after 11 PM, if anyone is suspected of doing something wrong, they bring him to the chief. If he is from this community, he will flog him and follow to be sure that he lives where he says he does. And if he is from another commuynity, they will follow him to see when he leaves their area.

He then told me that his "aburo" (same father) was the Olayide who was Vice Chancellor University of Ibadan and mentioned that he schooled in America (Olayide died a few years ago).

He asked me some questions about what I am doing. He suggested that when I come back next year I might attend one of their chiefs' meetings. So I said perhaps I could attend before I leave. He said they meet the last MOnday of the month, and the june meeting will be June 29, and agreed that I should come if I wanted to.

In addition to the quarter chiefs' meetings, he attends chiefs meeting at the palace, Saturdays at 10.

In talking about my liking Ilesa, he said that "Ijesa to gbe ajoji" meaning that people support strangers.

I left in order to get to my interview with Mrs. Thompson.

notes106

Fieldnotes, Tuesday June 9, interview of Chief Mrs. V.A. Thompson

I went to see Mrs. Thompson at her house, in the Iloro area of Ilesa,(off the street leading to Iloro Church) as scheduled at 4 PM. While waiting for her in her sitting room, which is just inside the front door downstairs, I observed that there were some 70th birthday greetings around, as well as various photos on the wall, as usual. The house is a fairly large, two-story house, set on a dirt road, in an area with mostly small, old houses.

The main focus of our discussion was the Ijesa Ladies Improvement Society, of which Mrs. Thompson is President. The organization was started in 1945, with eight members, all of whom were about the same age. She was one of the foundation members; four of them have died. The first meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Adeyokunnu at Egbe Idi Street (she has died). They decided that they should form the Ijesa Society to help the community. At first the organization was called Ijesa Society, then it was changed to Ijesa Ladies Improvement Society. They inaugurated themselves at Otapete Church. She was elected the first president at the second meeting of the organization, and five years ago she was made the Life President. There are also two vice presidents, one secretary, and financial secretary and a welfare officer.

She gave me copies of the Rules and Regulations of the Society (dated 1987) as well as copies of their Programme of Activities for 1990 and 1992. She talked about the things that they do. She said that they have a yearly anniversary, and for this they attend different churches in rotation. Each year they go to a different church for the anniversary. They have members from all denominations (all Christian however). They are not involved in politics in any way.

They meet the first Sunday of every month. And have a program at each meeting, talks are given on various subjects (as indicated on the program for the year). Three people cater each meeting, and the meetings are always held at her house; they have been held there ever since the beginning of the organization. For example, scheduled for September is a discussion of Polygamy vs. Monogamy, and for November one on female circumcision.

The organization also has a day care, which is located at the back of the Owa's compound. They engage someone to run it, and she (Mrs. Thompson) oversees it, as she is a nurse. She checks that everything is ok. The organization also visits the handicapped and old people.

There are 70 members, about 50 of whom live in Ilesa, and the rest live elsewhere. The members elsewhere come home for the anniversary, and some come for the meeting day. The oldest member is 78; she herself is 74. The youngest members are about 50-60 years old. They have asked their children to start their own organization--that is, their daughters. But not many are in the town. But they did come on the anniversary day. They've asked them to try to start their own organization, because they don't want the

group to die off.

All members are Ijesa women, that is daughters and wives (the latter become Ijesa on marriage). Some of the distant members, who were living outside, have come own and retired in Ilesa.

Besides the day care, they are proposing to build a hostel, for students attending local schools, but they have no money at present to do so. They also give scholarships to poor students at Ilesa Grammar School and St. Margarets School. The scholarship consists of paying their school fees. And they give a prize to the best student at each school. They used to give books as the prize, but now they give N100.

They have also organized the market at Ilojo, which is an 8 day market. This was done 5 years ago. People who were bringing palm oil for sale were fighting, so they got land from the chief at Ilojo for a market there. The market meets every Monday. (I think this is the market that Mrs. Onibonoje in Ijebu-jesa described to me, where she goes to sell some of their farm produce wholesale. I am not sure where it is located--I don't know the Ilojo section--but think it's on the road to Wesley Guild or someplace around there.

I asked about the connection between the Ladies Improvement Society and the Egbe Atunluse. She said that they have separate meetings, but that they go to each other's functions. For example, at the book launching recently, the women sitting in a group towards the front were from the Ladies Improvement Society.

I asked about her chieftaincy title; she said that that is a title given at the church. She is the Iyalode at Cathedral Church, Iloro (St. Johns Church, Iloro); she was given the title in 1970.

Mrs. Thompson is a nurse, and she has had her own maternity clinic since 1966. She is still working there.

Her children are resident outside Ilesa, some in Lagos, others in Abeokuta. None are in Ilesa. One son is a doctor, and another a reverend pastor. I asked if they come home to see her. She said that "they come and see her every time". She said that since her husband (their father) died in February, they now come almost every weekend to see her. Two came on Saturday, and returned home on Sunday.

I asked about the occupations of other members of the Improvement Society. She said that some are traders, some teachers; many are now retired, including retired nurses.

She talked about some of the problems they have in the organization. She said that if someone outside is having a ceremony, it is difficult for members to attend, because they have no transport; few own cars. But if the occasion is in town, then it is easy to take a taxi and everyone will attend.

With regard to the day care, she said that people are not paying enough to

cover the salary of the workers, so the members have to tax themselves to support it in order to pay the salaries. They feel that the community has to provide help for working mothers. Now that everything is more expensive, some will take their children out of the day care and take them to old women who live near their work place. People pay N20 a month. Before, they had about 20 children at the day care, but now there are only about 12 children there. The day care was built in 1981.

We left Chief Mrs. Thompson's house at about 5 PM. She had a meeting at the church, which she was late for, so we dropped her off there on our way out of town.

Notes107

Fieldnotes, Sat. June 13, conversation with Dele Olashore, Ife

I tried to get answers to some of my questions, regarding his ideas about development and about the amount of money he contributes.

When I asked him what he means by development, he talked about infrastructure--electricity, water, roads, etc. He said that to him development is "building", "building things like town hall and houses, also building roads and other infrastructure, building communities." He said that he is also concerned about moral development, about ethics, but that this is a different kind of thing, and that perhaps I wouldn't understand because I'm not a Christian. In an earlier conversation, at his house in Ijebu-jesa on Thursday, I had asked the same question and then asked about things like efforts to support people's income-earning activities. He agreed with me that small-scale enterprises are central to economic activity here, but didn't seem to think there was anything to be done at the local level about them. He said that when he was with one bank, he had seen that credit was made available to small enterprises, but that they had had perhaps a 25% repayment rate. I mentioned Grameen Bank, but he hadn't heard of it, but seemed to think that what might work elsewhere wouldn't work in Nigeria. He also said that he thinks the government, thru Ministry of Industry, should be involved in determining what kind of industries and enterprises would be viable; he was quite clear that this should be done by government, and didn't seem to think that something might be done locally or by non-governmental agencies, but we didn't discuss it at length.

We talked about the money he has given for Iloko. I asked about the N200,000 for boreholes. He said that now it looks like it will not be used for boreholes, because it turns out that boreholes are very expensive to maintain. More likely, they will be able to dig wells for considerably less money. He will give the money to the people in Iloko to use, perhaps for the town hall. I asked about this, if he will give it to them to use how they want, and he said he'll be sure to keep track of it, to make sure that it is used well. Then he told me that the actual amount he gave in Iloko was as follows: N100,000 from him, and N200,000 from the family. He also mentioned that 90% of the other money collected was thru his friends and connections, and that he still has some of it with him, until they actually are ready to start on something. He will see that what is not spent in put in an interest-bearing account.

Then I tried to get an idea of how much he has given overall, in recent months. This was much more difficult. I mentioned Ijebu-jesa Day, and he immediately said that there's not just Ijebu-jesa Day, that there are other things, such as the book launching last week where he gave money. But he said he couldn't give any overall figure, because it varies from one period to another; there might be a lot in a few months, and then not much. Also he said that right now he has cut back on expenditures, because he only spends the money he earns from property and interest, and he is spending a lot on capital projects right now (that is building houses and maybe other things--he didn't specify) so he has less to spend on other types of things. He said that his income is from real estate he owns in Lagos, and

from interest.

He was however willing to talk about what had been spent in the past, and to point out that it's often not his own money in a project, but money he is able to get others to contribute. But then he will pay back later, by making contributions to projects that they have. He said that the palace in Iloko cost N350,000 to build at that time (in 1982 or 1983 I think), but that less than N50,000 of it was his. The rest came from people he knew, outside the town, several of whom he mentioned, like S.B. Bakare, who respected and liked him and would therefore contribute to a project that he had. No money was collected from townspeople themselves for building the palace; rather the money they collected was spent on furnishing it.

I asked about the Ijebu-jesa palace and town hall. He said that he got contributions from friends elsewhere for the palace, and that he was president of the social club that built the town hall.

He said that he also contributes to the church.

I asked if he does these things as part of organizations or on his own. He mentioned again being president of the social club that built the town hall, but said that he prefers to act on his own, and to get things done, rather than to have to wait for others to collect money and then to have to provide an accounting to them. If he wants to get something done, he would rather just go ahead with it on his own. He is involved in some organizations however--the social club in Ijebu-jesa, which formed when he was a student, and also a group of Iloko literates, which also formed when they were students, but which later changed to be inclusive of everyone not just literates.

I asked about Ilesa Solidarity Group. He said that that has a completely different purpose, to try to foster unity and get away from the chieftaincy problems which are splitting Ijesaland. They are trying to find common ground. He did not say how involved he is, or isn't in ISG.

He discussed plans he has for the palace. He said that it was built in such a way that an upstairs can be put on it, and that he wants to make the upstairs completely private, just for the use of the oba, and leave the downstairs as the public area. From the way he talked, it sounded as if he plans to be the one living there as oba. But when I have asked directly, he has denied it. In fact, the other day he said that he has been offered the position and refused, and tried to get his brother to become oba. He also said that he has more respect in his current position than he would as oba.

On other things, he told me that he had had a visit from his cousin, who was one of the people we interviewed in the survey in Iloko. The man is a first cousin; he confirmed with him that he was the one we interviewed. He said that he spent many years in the north and probably speaks Hausa better than Yoruba. He was a factor for UAC, as well as having various other jobs. He said that he is very knowledgeable, so I said I would try to talk with him again.

On seeing his mother, he said that Mrs. Fatiregun could take me to meet her but that she hasn't been well recently and is an old woman.

He also told me that he had a visit from the Lejoka of Ilesa again, on thursday evening. And that they want to involve him in their chieftaincy problems. There is conflict between the district obas and the other Ilesa chiefs. he said that there is agreeemnt that the owa is superior to the other obas, but that now the Ilesa chiefs are trying to say that they too are superior. But his position is with the district chiefs. He also referred to this in discussing Ilesa Solidarity Group, saying they are trying to find common ground to get away from these issues. He said that part of the problem is the fact that the owa is not well liked or respected.

Notes108

Fieldnotes, Wednesday June 17, interview of Dr. Irene Thomas, Lagos

Dr. Thomas lives at 5 Elias Close, which is after Adeola Adebu St, after the Federal Palace Hotel, Victoria Island. Clara Osinulu had told her that I would come after 2 PM, and she was expecting me when I arrived. She lives in a flat on the ground floor of the building. When I got there, several other women from the Inter-African Committee were there; they had been there for a meeting, apparently and she had asked them to stay because she wasn't sure what I wanted to discuss with her, but when I said it was about Ilesa, she told them they could leave. One young woman stayed however, she was working on papers and is probably a secretary. Dr. Thomas runs the IAC from her house, so the sitting room and dining area of the flat look somewhat like an office--the table, for example, had lots of papers on it.

Dr. Thomas is a woman in her seventies; she dresses in western-style dresses and wears a wig, and speaks with a very British accent. I explained that I am interested in her connections with Ilesa, and the fact that she is an Ilesa chief. I asked if she has ever lived in Ilesa.

She said that she is an "expatriate" Ijesa. That her father and grandfather were from Ilesa, but didn't live there. Her paternal great granmother was a princess in the oba's palace. She married and had her grandfather. Then there was a break; it was during the war (i.e. Yoruba wars), and her grandfather became separated from his family. He married someone from Abeokuta, and then they went to Sierra Leone. He died in Sierra Leone. But her father and his older brother made their way back to NIgeria. They knew of the family connection with Ilesa. Her father worked in the customs department, and his older brother died early. Then her father resigned from the customs dept and started his own business, S. Thomas and Co. It exported hides, sheabutter, palm kernel, and groundnuts. He started the business in 1907 in Lagos. As a businessman, he went back to renew his relationship with his people in Ilesa. The ruling house recognized him as being from Ilesa and related to the ruling house. But since his relationship was thru the female line, he wasn't eligible to ascend the stool. Therefore the Owa gave him a title, the Lokoyi, in recognition of his contribution to the development of Ilesa, especially with regard to education, health and christianity. The father of the current owa is the one who gave him the title. Now, the current owa has given her a title--the Yeyelokoyi.

She worked in the business with her father for 8 years before she went to England to study medicine. She continues to be very interested in Ilesa and in her connections there; after all, not everyone can say they come from the ruling house. She feels that she owes an obligation to the area and to the people to use what knowledge she has acquired to help in the development of the area. The is involved in things concerning education, health, and the church; for example she is a visiting delegate to the synod (of the Anglican Church).

She is involved in an adult education program organized thru the Anglican

Church. The church asked her to help, and she pays the salary of the teachers. This started in 1981-82, but now there is a new bishop in Ilesa so she doesn't know what is happening now with the adult education classes. They have written to her about it or asked her for the salary recently. She hopes to check on what is happening soon.

She has never lived in Ilesa. He father didn't live there either, but he would visit. And he helped people there with contacts with the government, since he lived in Lagos.

She is a member of the Ijesa Council of Chiefs, Lagos, that is the Ijesa chiefs who are based in Lagos. They look into any matters that are going on that affects the welfare and people of Ilesa. For example, if there is anything related to health, they contact her, because she can immediately contact the Ministry of Health. Also with matters concerning education, she can contact the education minister, and people like Bolanle Awe.

There are subcommittees within the Council of Chiefs. The Council includes both men and women; there are about 10 men and 10 women chiefs who live in Lagos who are on the council.

I asked why she is so involved in Ilesa matters if she hasn't ever lived there. She said that it is still home. She has bought land there, and wants to develop a citrus farm on it.

Right now, however, she is very involved in the Inter-Africa Committee, which is very time consuming and she has time for little else. She has been doing that since 1985 and it has kept her especially busy since 1988.

She said that she thinks Ilesa is a "lovely town". When she goes there she stays with the Fajemisins). She mentioned that in the days of her father, all the young people who came to Lagos from Ilesa would visit her father; presumably this included Fajemisin. When people like her go to Ilesa, all would first go to the palace for a courtesy call on the owa. When she visited Ilesa officially in her job at the Ministry of Health, she would call on the owa. And the owa recognized her as a member of the royal house. She said that she feels that this is something you want to hold on to, and that she wants to contribute as her father did. She said that now one of her sons says that he wants to continue this connection, and that he is happy that she has a plot of land. But the son doesn't actually visit Ilesa, although her children were there when she got the award given by the Council of Ijesa Societies.

I asked about changes in Ilesa. She said that it is true there hasn't been much change there. That they are hoping for change, and that this is why the Council of Chiefs has subcommittees, so that those in leadership roles can help thru the subcommittees. She said that "if people could put aside sentiment they would get much more done". She said that people had hoped that the College of Education would be the nucleus of a university, but because of politics that didn't materialize.

She said that they need the right people to put their heads together, that they should draw up a master plan, as to how to proceed. There are lots of

highly educated Ilesa people, why should they waste their own human resources. She said that sometimes a person in a position is not the right person, but that people shouldn't worry about hurting someone if it is the right move (this was rather vague, she didn't explain exactly what she was talking about). Then she said that personality clashes are also involved, but that these could be easily ironed out.

I asked her about what kind of development she would like to see in Ilesa. She said she would like to see industrial development, involving women. She commented that Ijesa women are very hardworking and gifted. But they are not making the best use of them. (She gave the example of an old lady who attended the adult education classes who learned to sign her name at the age of 70). They should intensify education and give girls as much chance as boys.

There are many clubs in Ilesa, and they want to build recreation clubs and things like that. These are good ideas, but they need to plan what they do, they shouldn't create a vacuum in the lives of the girls. The clubs need to come together and work together, so that there is not duplication of efforts. They don't need competition among them. I asked if there is any evidence that this is happening. She said that there is hope within the Council of Chiefs itself, that there are three women on the Council who are thinking in the right direction. If they have at least six such people, then there should be some development.

She added that when things settle down, that is, right now there is electioneering and hence things are at a standstill), but when they know who the government is, then people will be able to isolate areas of priority and concentrate on them. For example, in Osun State, they haven't really come to terms with themselves yet. Questions include: what is the treasury like? What data is available? There has been no planning and they have wasted a year, she said.

She has suggested that the health and education ministries should work together, they should consider themselves husband and wife; they should work together instead of competing.

The things that are needed in Ilesa include industry, improvement in education and health. Women contribute a lot to the economy but they are recognized as having an input. There is a need to recognize them, and plan for their welfare.

She has offered her assistance. She mentioned that she met Lawrence Omole for the first time at the award ceremony. She sees Omole as an example of someone who belives everyone should be given equal opportunity to develop.

She believes in the Ilesa people, she feels that they have an innate pride, and that they believe that one's position is due to what one makes of oneself, that people succeed with hard work.

She mentioned other women I should also talk to, asking if I had met Chief Ilaka, who has done a lot for Ilesa. Her phone number is 963722. She also mentioned Yeyebokun (Mrs. Olusanya; phone 835995), who she said is

very dynamic. She mentioned that Mrs. Olusanya's grandfather was a chief, and when he died her mother put on her father's beads.

The conversation wound down at this point, and I waited for Bodunde to get back so I could leave. While waiting, I noticed a wooden plaque from the Temidire Improvement Society, Ilesa and asked about it. She said, oh yes, that's another organization she's involved in, that she is the matron of that group. It is a mixed group of men and women. That was the only thing visible that connected with Ilesa in the sitting room/dining room area.

Notes109

Fieldnotes, interviews with Mrs. Abe and Mrs. Remy Farinde, Lagos, Thursday, June 18

Mrs. Abe called me at Asuni's Wednesday evening; Mr. Ibironke from Ilesa Frontliners had contacted her, in response to my request to meet some women from Ilesa who are in Lagos. We decided to meet Thursday morning at the home of her friend, Remy Farinde, who lives at #6 Adebisi Close, in the Idiroko area, near Maryland (Directions to the house: go on Ikorodu Rd, service lane, past the DeBasco motor company, turn right just beyond Debasco, go straight along army barracks (wall) and thru gate, which is Adebisi Close.

Mrs. Abe's phone number is 822800.

I got to Mrs. Farinde's house at about 10:30 Thursday morning. They were waiting for me, and had materials out from their organization. The organization they belong to is the Ijesha Young Women Progressive Society, Lagos; they gave me a copy of the constitution. The society was formed in 1970; Mrs. Farinde was the first president; her husband is in the Social Elite. She was a founding member of the society, whereas Mrs. Abe joined in 1972.

They first talked about the organization, saying that the aim is stated in the constitution, and concerns the unity of Ijesas, to promote sisterliness among Ijesa ladies, and give moral and financial support.

The members are married and settled women, who are literate; they are Ijesa either by birth or marriage. Mrs. Abe is Ijesa by birth, whereas Farinde is Ijesa by marriage. They meet monthly at members' homes. The organization includes people from other Ijesa towns, although they are from Ilesa. The members live in Lagos, although some have moved back home. For example, the wife of Oba Adeyeye, in Ido-Oko was a member; when they moved home from Lagos, they consider her a distant member.

The kinds of things the society is concerned with are: the affairs of Ijesaland. They communicate with people at home if there is anything that needs attention, for example issues between the chiefs, or between the chiefs and the oba. They send delegations home. If there is an important chieftaincy matter to be settled--such as a vacant position--with the organization, they can intervene to see that the right candidate is chosen, not necessarily those with lots of money. They write letters and advise in such circumstances. When there are disagreements between the district obas and the owa or chiefs in Ilesa, they are part of the Council of Ijesa societies, Lagos, and they might form part of a delegation sent home on such issues.

They are also concerned with improving the lot of women and children. They have land in Ilesa and want to build a hostel for students in the community. The land is on the Ijebu-jesa Road, it could be used by students at the technical school. They are also planning to build a play

center, where people can go when they're on holiday, for relaxation. They said that their children don't like to go home with them, because there's nothing there to do for fun, so they would like to have somewhere for them to go. They launched this project last year, but there are some crops on the land, so they are waiting until they are harvested before starting work on it. They expect to start soon.

I asked about the reason for forming the organization. Mrs. Farinde said that there was the men's organization, the Ilesa Social Elite, and that the women thought they should do something. There is another women's organization, the Ijesa Women's Association, headed by Yeyebokun (who I talked to in the afternoon), but that consists of much older women. The younger women thought they should form a society for improvement; about four of them had the idea, and there were about 12 members who started it, and then invited others to join. There are now about 30 members. Most members are between 30 and 60 years old. They are now recruiting more younger members, so that there is continuity, and also so that they can get "bright new ideas".

We then talked more about their own backgrounds. Mrs. Farinde lived in Ilesa briefly (at first she hesitated when I asked if she had ever actually lived there, and then Mrs. Abe reminded her that she had). She taught there, at St. Margarets School, for two years, before she got married. She met her husband in Lagos, and since then she hasn't really ever lived in Ilesa, except for going there for weekend visits. She is now a legal practictioner. (She is probably about 60 years old now).

Mrs. Abe lived for 15 years of her life in Ilesa, she did her schooling there. She taught for two years at Methodist Girls School. She got married in 1953 and since then she has always lived in Lagos. She goes back for short visits, at weekends and holidays. (She too is probably about 60). Mrs. Abe's husband was from Ilesa; he died many years ago in a car accident.

I asked why they continue to be involved in Ilesa activities. Mrs. Abe said that although she lives in Lagos she has a strong connection with home. She must care for her old parents, for age relations; family life is very important. One goes home to bury relations, to accompany one's friends for celebrations, etc. Sometimes one finds that one is spending every weekend at home. Mrs. Farinde added, "one can go east, or west, but home is best". One day one must return there. One is just a sojourner here, whereas you have your place of abode there, you have a home of your own there.

Mrs. Abe said that when her father died at age 84, it had been her policy for the previous five years to go home every two weeks. She didn't want to wait until he died and then just go home to bury him. Even after her father died, there was still her uncle and other older relatives there that she had to go to see. Her mother is now 91 and is living with her in Lagos. But her mother goes home to Ilesa with her, at Easter, Christmas, etc. She said "that attachment (to home) is always there".

I asked if they think they will eventually go back to Ilesa to stay. Mrs.

Abe said that she has strong reasons to plan to settle back home. She has been made a traditional chief, and so she either has to go home very frequently, or to go and stay there. She plans to settle there. Mrs. Farinde said that what she does depends on her husband, and that "he has his own plans", may be they will go to Ilesa to settle (she did not say what she thinks her husband's plans are). But they went on to say that there is a problem of what to do if one goes home and if you've been active here in Lagos. With regard to business, etc, there isn't much you can do in Ilesa. The exception is church work. They mentioned Mrs. Fajemisin as an example of someone who went home and who has kept busy with church work and as a volunteer.

Mrs. Abe mentioned that she has known Tinu Ifaturoti for a long time. They were in teacher's training college together in 1951-52, and they were also together in secondary school.

Mrs. Abe worked as a teacher until her husband died, about 25 years ago. He had started a small business--a petrol station--and she took that over when he died. Before that, he was the founding principal of a school, and then he worked for Shell; since he was working in the oil business he started a petrol station. Now the business is mainly involved in distribution, of petroleum products, tires, etc. They don't run the petrol station any more. Her first son has now taken over running the business. Her other children: one of the girls works in a bank, another is in the US with her husband, who was a student at MIT and has stayed in the uS. The other boy is in the export business. She said that when her husband died her oldest child was 13, and she has 6 children.

I asked if their children go to Ilesa. Mrs. Farinde said that when they were young, they went. But now that they're grown, they find it dull and boring. Unless their friends are also going, there is nothing for them to do. She sympathizes with them, but also tells them that it is their hometown.

Mrs. Farinde is from Lagos. I asked if she sees Lagos the same way, as her hometown or if it's different when you come from Lagos. She said yes, Lagos is her hometown, that Lagosians view those who come from "upcountry" as not being true Lagosians.

They asked me about myself and my husband. When I told them about Dick returning to Racine, they said "Omobowale"--the child comes back home.

We discussed the questionnaires, and they said that they would be having a meeting on July 12, and would ask members to fill it out there. I said either I or Bodunde would come during the following week to collect them, from Mrs. Farinde, since we know her house.

Mrs. Abe also told me about the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting that is coming up. She said that she is a member of the Council and that they are having a meeting on June 27, but that she won't be able to attend, because it clashes with a church meeting. Also that on July 11 there will be a general meeting. I asked if she thought I might be able to attend that meeting and she said I should check with Mr. Ifaturoti. Mrs. Farinde said

that she has heard of ISG but would like to know more about it.

Mrs. Abe said that ISG is concerned with the development of Ijesaland--industrial, economically, socially. It's concerned with the whole of Ijesaland, not just Ilesa. They want to get as many people involved as possible, and spread things around Ijesaland, especially now with the new Osun State. She mentioned people like Kunle Ifaturoti and Justice Eso as being very hardworking.

I asked Mrs. Abe about her chieftaincy title. She said that she was just installed as Yeyedole, which is a traditional title. (She is Mobo Akinola's first cousin; it was her chieftaincy installation that Mobo recently told me about). She has had a title since 1981, Iyaloja, or woman leader in trade, because of her business activities (she mentioned that the head of the market women also has this title, or iyalode). That title is an honorary one, given by the last Owa (Agunlejika). But her title now is a traditional one. The main male chiefs are the kingmakers, and this is one of the parallel women chieftaincies. She is number 4 on the list. They are concerned with the administration of the whole town; they meet with the men chiefs and the oba, every two weeks. They discuss anything concerning the town. Also the women chiefs meet on their own once a month.

I mentioned that I knew the last arise, and used to attend women chiefs meetings sometimes. Mrs. Abe then commented on the current arise in comparision with the last one. She said that there's been a lot of controversy over the present arise, that the owa picked her and she is a "stark illiterate"; she is illiterate and difficult, she doesn't agree with the other chiefs, and they go their own way, they have their own leader. Most of the new chiefs are literate. The current arise was iyaloja before she became arise. In Mrs. Abe's view they are "going backward" in having someone like her as arise.

I asked why chieftaincy is still important. She said that it is still very important, that it operates at the grassroots. Also the federal government attaches importance to these positions, by having the councils of obas.

Earlier, she herself was not interested in chieftaincies, she didn't want to be involved, and thought that fetishes were involved, whereas she is a Christian. But then she saw that there is no idolatry or fetish, and that educated people are now involved; many of the obas and other chiefs are educated now. So she decided it was ok to get involved.

We chatted a little more in general, I said I would hope to see her on July 11 at the ISG meeting, and that we would come to get the questionnaires. She gave me directions to find the Yeyebokun this afternoon

Addressed on copy of constitution
(& added to disk)

Notes110

Fieldnotes, interview with Yeyebokun, Mrs. Olusanya, Lagos, Thursday June 18

When I met with Mrs. Abe and Mrs. Farinde this morning, Mrs. Abe told me that she had made an appointment for me to see the woman known as Yeyebokun this afternoon, at her house in Surulere. She said that she would be expecting me at about 5:00 PM.

Her name and address are: Mrs. Oluremi Onasanya, Yeyebokun, 37 Karimu St., off Ojuelegba, Surulere. Phone number is 836995. We had a little trouble finding the house, so it was about 5:30 when we got there. Yeyebokun was standing on an upstairs veranda looking out over the street and sidewalk, so as soon as she saw me she called to me, and indicated the passageway that led to the stairs. She greeted me warmly, with an embrace. Bodunde had not come with me, as he was doing other errands, but it turned out that she speaks quite good English so there wasn't any problem communicating.

She took me in to the upstairs sitting room, which has windows facing out on the street; she lives at the corner of a busy intersection, of a main street Ojuelegba, and Karimu St., and from her sitting room one can easily look out on lots of activity. I mentioned this later in the conversation, and she said that that is one reason she likes this location, because there are always people around, even in the middle of the night.

The conversation was kind of free-flowing; mostly she talked about various things and I tried to take a few notes as we went along. She also showed me lots of photos of things she was involved with, so a lot of the conversation went along with looking at the photos. I first explained what I am doing, and said that her name had been given to me by several people, including Mr. Ibironke. She first explained that she is an Ilesa chief; her title is Yeyebokun. Later I learned that she is also known as Omobokun (which is how Ibironke first referred to her) because she had a storytelling show on radio for many years, where she called herself Omobokun.

Her father was also an Ilesa chief.

She has lived in Lagos since 1926. She attended some of her schooling in Ilesa, going to primary school at Iloro in Ilesa. Then she went to grammar school in Lagos. But it sounded like she had been living in Lagos when she was very young, (with her grandmother?) and then went back to Ilesa for a few years to go to school, then back to Lagos. Later she spent some time at Wesley Guild Hospital, working there, so she was again back in Ilesa. She gave me a copy of a program for a thanksgiving service held at the Methodist Church in Tinubu Square Lagos, in 1984, for her 70th birthday, which means that she is now 78. The program includes a brief biography.

When I asked about organizations, she said that she is involved in so many organizations. But the main Ijesa organization is the Ijesa Womens Association of Lagos, which is the older group referred to by Mrs. Abe and Mrs. Farinde; she is President. She said that no matter where you are you

have to continue to maintain contact with one's home.

She worked mainly as a trader. In 1953 she began to broadcast stories on the radio. She is (or was married) (later she mentioned having had two husbands) and has four children, 3 girls and 1 boy.

She was made a chief (traditional chieftaincy title) in 1970. She was also a lay preacher in the Methodist Church.

One of the first photos she showed me showed Dr. Irene Thomas, who is the patron of the Ijesa Womens Association.

She said that her group helps any organization at Ilesa with anything they are doing. For example, she used to help Olori Agunlejika, which she was with Save the Children. The organization would help raise money for events, would visit people. They talk with the oba about things that are going on in the town and what they can do to help.

One specific thing they want to do is to build a student hostel for people who don't have a place to stay in Ilesa. They have the land and are trying to get the money to build.

Her organization belongs to the Council of Ijesa Societies. She was the first Vice President of the Council. The father of Justice Thomas (on Lagos High Court) was the first President; now Justice Thomas is the president. The Council helps Ilesa and advises on issues. They work to bring peace to the oba and chiefs.

We jumped around from one topic to another, in accordance with which photos she happened to come to in the album. She showed me a lot of photos from a trip she took to the US as part of a Methodist Church group in 1962-63. She showed me photos of her chieftaincy installation, and later gave me a copy of one of them, as well as a copy of a photo of her alone.

She explained that the position of Yeyebokun of Ilesa, is the title of the one who takes care of the palace, and looks after the welfare of everyone.

Another photo was an old one showing the members of the Ijesa Womens Association, with their children (who were then young) at a meeting. She expalined that the children used to go to the meetings with their mothers.

She talked about her church organization, connected with the Methodist Church at Tinubu.

She showed me photos of the blessing of her house in Lagos, in 1968. Also a photo of Chief Ajayi-Obe who she said is her uncle: her father and Ajayi-Obe's father had the same mother.

She mentioned another organization in which she is, or used to be, active--the Egbe Ijinle Yoruba, Society of Yoruba Culture, which gives lectures for teachers and students about the Yoruba.

Then she showed me a photo of her house in Ilesa, at Isokun. She said that she goes to Ilesa once a month, usually going on a Thursday or Friday and returning on a Monday. She also showed me a photo of the engagement of Olori Agunlejika, when she married the Owa; Yeyebokun led the engagement.

She talked more about her radio show. She was called Omo Obokun, and she was on radio once a month, telling stories in Yoruba. She knows many stories and proverbs. She learned these because she stayed with her grandmother from the age of 2, and she used a lot of proverbs; anything she said, she would say in proverbs. She also learned how to tell stories from her. She said that she stopped going to the studio about five years ago, i.e., stopped having the show then. She said that it was a very popular program, that many people know her as Omo Obokun. (I have since confirmed this by checking with various people to ask if they have heard of her, or her radio program, and most people I've asked have).

She used to help people who came to Lagos from Ilesa; anyone coming from Ilesa to Lagos, who needs help, for example, in looking for work, she would help them. So people told the owa that he should thank her, and that is why she was rewarded with her chieftaincy title in 1969. The iwuye to install her as chief was held in 1970 (which is the event shown in the photo that she gave me later).

She worked primarily as a trader, and as a caterer. It sounds like she had some big contracts, because she said that she catered for the army. Later, she talked about her children, saying that she used her money to educate them. That their father didn't train them; at first he said he didn't have money, and later when he had money, he didn't spend it on them. Her son is a dentist, who lives in the U.S. She has three daughters. She introduced me to one of her grandaughters, a girl in secondary school, who was around (perhaps lives there, or very nearby).

She said that she was married twice. Her first husband was from Ilesa (she said that "he was an Ijesa man". I think he is the father of her children, as the name of the son shown on the program from her birtthday celelbration is Ogundipe. I don't know whether he died or they divorced. Her second husband was named Onasanya, and he was an Ijebu man.

Her own family name is Ibidapo.

She showed me photos of her 7oth birthday celebration, which was held in a church in Lagos. She is very active in her church in Lagos, so she said that she can't leave Lagos to go settle at home.

She is also involved in the church in Ilesa, and is a member of the Ladies League of Otapete Church. She said that she pays her tithe there. And she arranges her trips to Ilesa so that she can attend meetings of that society.

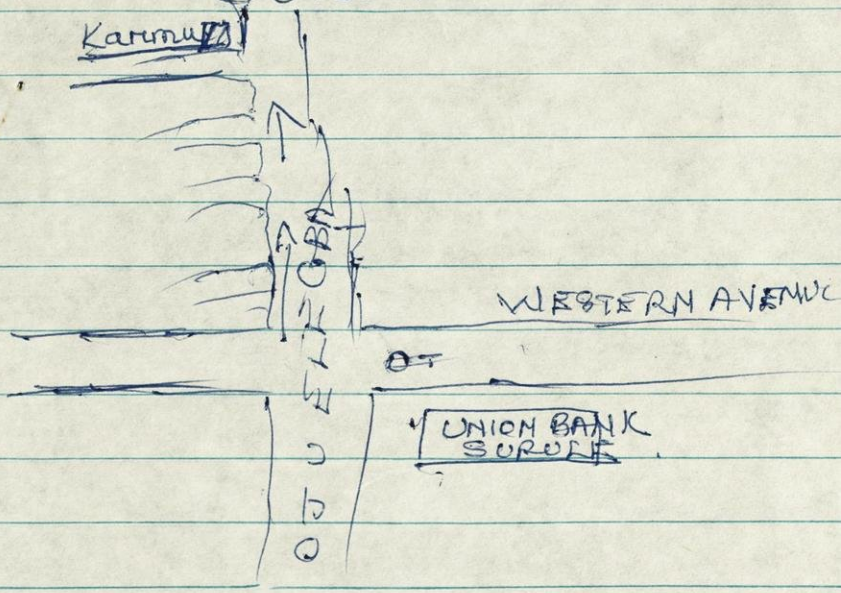
She added that she belongs to "so many organizations". Those she mentioned are: she is patron of YMCA at Methodist Church; member of Wesley Guild.

She said that one of the problems her Ilesa organization in Lagos has is

Nota ~~105~~ 110

5-1 5 pm.

CHIEF MRS OLUREMI ONASANYA
YEYEBOKUN
37 KARIMU ST.
OFF OJUELEGBA
SURULERE



the distance between places. They don't have houses near each other, and most members don't have cars, and transport expenses are going up. This is a problem for them to attend meetings. She said that many of the members of the group are traders.

She is also active in National Council of Women's Societies. A branch has just been launched recently in Surulere, and they did well at the launching. She has been elected President of the branch.

She talked about her interest in helping people, especially women. She said that one of the things she is concerned about is trying to educate women. Then she said that she is interested in educating them against women's circumcision (she didn't mention Irene Thomas here, but my guess is that she has learned about this from her). Then she asked me what I thought could be done to help women. This led to a discussion of women's economic activities and how these might be assisted. She agreed that women in Ilesa are very hardworking and have alot to contribute. She seemed interested in talking about ways in which they could be helped to make more money, and the idea of finding ways to get capital for loans for women. I said that maybe an organization could find ways to increase the amount of money that women have available thru things like esusu.

Before I left, she gave me two photos of herself, as well as a copy of some of her stories, in Yoruba, that was published for schoolchildren.

Notes111

Fieldnotes, conversation with Tolani Asuni re. Ilesa, Thursday, June 18

When I came back to the Asuni's house after my interviews with women from Ilesa, I began to tell Tolani about the people I had talked with. I already knew that he knew Mrs. Abe, because when I phoned her the other night, he was in the room and recognized the name, and asked to speak with her. I also knew from previous conversations that he himself has Ilesa connections, that his grandmother was from Ilesa.

I told him about the people I'd talked with, and wondered out loud why some of them maintain ties with Ilesa, such as Dr. Irene Thomas, who has never lived there. He speculated that for someone like her it is important because they are people whose ancestors went to Sierra Leone as slaves (she of course did not say that), and they are looking for roots of some sort, some place that they can identify with. In contrast, he said that for himself, he is interested in the fact that his grandmother was from Ilesa and he went there to see the place that she was from, but he wasn't interested in establishing ties there. I mentioned the work being done by Stephani, Judy's student, and her hypothesis that hometown connections are necessary for maintaining identity, and my feeling in comparison that there are many ways that people can identify, and for some, the hometown isn't terribly important, but that doesn't mean they have identity problems. He agreed, saying that he himself is secure in his identity, as a professional, he doesn't need to establish a "hometown" connection as a source of identity.

He also suggested that there is a political element involved. He mentioned a person he knew who suddenly started calling himself Ijesa, during the first republic, because of his involvement in Western State politics. Again, Tolani said that he has no interest in politics and wouldn't want to suddenly start claiming Ijesa origins.

He gave some other examples of people with Ijesa ties, pointing out that in some cases, people have successfully changed their identity, to be seen as being from some other place. And in other cases, they could have done that but haven't and instead of retained the Ilesa connection. The first example was that of the Oyewole twins, who are known as being from Abeokuta. They are very successful in their fields (I think one is in math and I don't know about the other). They recently had a big birthday celebration, I think for their seventieth birthday (I saw newspaper ads about it). Tolani went to the celebration, and in addition to the Alake of Abeokuta, he was surprised to see the Owa of Ilesa there; when he asked someone why the Owa was there, he was told that the Oyewole family is originally from Ilesa. But according to Tolani they are seen as being Egba now, and no one knows much about the Ilesa connection--they haven't maintained it.

The are others who are now Egba, but who originally came from Ilesa, yet are now seen as being "fully Egba". Then there are others who could have done that but instead retained the Ilesa connection. The example he gave here was of the Morgans, who are successfully established in Ibadan (I

think) and who could easily be seen as Egba, but they have kept the Ilesa connection.

We did not come to any conclusion about why there are these kinds of differences, simply that it is interesting to note these possibilities.

Note: the above makes it important to stress the degree of flexibility in hometown connections, whether one retains them, which town one claims, etc.

Notes112

Fieldnotes, conversation with Dele Olashore, Saturday, June 27 1992, Ijebu-jesa

I got to Olashore's house at about 7 PM. He wasn't there but I was told that he would be getting back soon. However, he didn't arrive until 8:30, at which point he said that he had been in Ilesa for the Ijesa Solidarity Group Council meeting, and then had gone to Iloko. He was now on his way back to Ilesa to see his "uncle", the Lejoka. He got back to his house at about 10 PM, and then had visitors to see him about the borehole for Iloko. So we didn't start talking until about 10:30 PM.

I had given him a copy of my paper on hometown linkages to read. He gave it back to me, with written comments, and then we discussed it further. His written comments were as follows:

As outsider have seen things that those involved take for granted. Quoted me at IS 6 mtg.

1. par. 1: The history of taxation is replete with promises by govt which completely absolves the people of any responsibility in connection with development once they pay their tax!

2. par. 2: Next is govt promise of participation in peoples' self-help projects, sometimes up to 50% of 100% donation. Today the situation is a complete reversal of govt responsibility with such slogans as quoted from the Administrator. Right now, leaders of the two political parties are back in square one with false promises of free this, free that and free everything. Who is to blame?

3. p.3 Local level community development efforts are hardly local. What with the occasional, sentimental return to base of some expatriate sons and daughters, invitations to non-local freinds of theise expatriates and other wealthy donors. Donations thus collected can only be occasional and cannot be regular or annual and thus cannot be used for regular maintenance of projects created through such efforts. Hence the incidence of abandoned or broken down projects, simply because local people are usually too poor to undertake regular maintenance of such projects.

4. p. 5 This pre-supposes the usual "downward" distribution of wealth which again goes to suport the argument that local home based sons and daughters are usually economically poorer than the expatriates who pay occasional visits for purposes of either showing off or genuinely making efforts at development efforts through grandiose projects which eventually become abandoned or broken down. This then becomes an area that needs research and conclusion over a period of say ten-twenty years.

5. p. 10: This is worthwhile, new and feasible if pursued beyond mere speech and paperwork. The surprising aspect is how local communities ignore religious organizations as a possible source of development efforts. Churches for instance haord large amounts of money. They pay no tax, tar no roads, but build fantastic edifices both for worship and for their workers! Yet contribute nothing to local dev. efforts!!

6. p. 11: The 1967-70 Civil War has taught many Nigerians to see the logic

in having a home base. At that time, all Easterners were locked in while all outsiders, no matter local investments made or development efforts made at local level, are locked out.

7. p. 12 This area of development should be restricted to possible individual investors to ensure success. Thieving and dishonesty has become a part of the Nigerian culture and has contributed to the ruin of so many ventures and industries all over the place, even where the ownership structure has been well defined and supervision strict. Dishonesty has become the bane of Nigerian business.

8. p 15 last par. And that supports what we stated at p. 3, that these development efforts are hardly local in execution, because they lack mostly local participation except in local support minus economic, financial and rhetoric participation.

As we talked about this, he emphasized that he doesn't think it's possible to have joint ventures and investments in industry from a community group. He indicated that he differs from some others in the ISG in this view, and that he has argued about it with them. He said that the only successful example is IBL, and that the reason it worked was because of the efforts of one person, Omole. He gave an example of another effort, in which he had been involved. A group of 15 people tried to set up a pig-raising enterprise, but when it needed input of more money, no one was ready to make a sacrifice to keep it going.

He said that building buildings is the most potent example of storing wealth, and gave the example of the money spent on his house when it was built versus what it costs now to build. He also said that when people contribute to something, they want to be able to come back later and ask how their money was spent, and see something that it was spent on, see something visible. With regard to town halls, he feels they are important for community unity, for a place for people to get together, for a community center. Also, it's not just town halls that are built but things like maternity centers.
The problem on economic development is that people don't trust others, that if he wants to start something he wants to do it on his own, and not have others involved who may misuse the money. I raised the possibility of something like the community bank idea (and mentioned doing it more locally, and mentioned Grameen Bank), but he feels the same way about that--either it operates like a regular bank, but he doesnt feel that people can put money into something like that and expect it to be successful, and he doesn't think there's enough money in the local community itself to support a bank. He feels very strongly that joint ventures can't work in this environment. He also commented that he doesn't think access to credit is the biggest problem that people have.

While I was waiting for Olashore to get home, I noted the various plaques in his honor around the sitting room:
Prestige Club of Iloko--patron

1989 Oyo State Merit Award winner, "Agboja Klub Ijebu-jesa Congratulates You"

Merit Award--Coundil of Ijesa Societies, Ilesa (the one given recently)

Council of Ijesa Societies, Ibadan, Recognition of Achievement

We also discussed a paper he has written on ethics and professionalism in banking, to be presented at Obasanjo's leadership forum in August.

And we talked a bit about the ISG meeting he attended this afternoon. He had various papers from the ISG which he let me borrow (see notes on ISGdocs). I mentioned that I plan to give a copy of my paper to Ifaturoti and he said that as he's been getting to know him better, he likes what he sees; apparently he didn't know Ifaturoti very well before. He didn't say much about what ISG is doing, except to repeat that they are concerned with unity.

When I went thru the papers, I saw that he is treasurer of ISG, so when he came to Ife on Sunday to collect the documents, I asked him about that. He said that he's supposed to be treasurer, but so far they haven't given him any money to do anything with.

Notes113

Fieldnotes, meeting of Ifofin chiefs, Monday June 29

When I met with the head of Ifofin a couple of weeks ago, he mentioned this meeting and said I could attend. On Sunday, Bodunde went to check about it, but the man wasn't around, although Bodunde saw his wife who said he was expecting us. On Monday morning I took the Stanford group around the Osu market, and then decided I would accompany them to lunch at the Owa's palace. So Bodunde and I went to Ilesa to see the chief, to ask if Bodunde could attend the meeting in my place. He said he could. Then he took us to meet the chief of the women, and I set an appointment to see her the next day.

Bodunde went back in the afternoon for the meeting. But he was then told that he couldn't stay for the meeting itself. They simply introduced him and he told them about my research, then they gave him their titles (or some of them did). They also wanted to know what help I was going to give them. Then he was told to leave.

There were about 25 people all together at the meeting, both men and women. Those who gave titles are as follows:
Olufofin of Ifofin
Chief Lofin of Ifofin
Chief Losi of Ifofin
Chief Orunbato of Ifofin
Chief Waseye of Ifofin
Chief Lobinrin of Ifofin, the head of the women
Two lori omo -- head of the youth:
--one for upper Ifofin, Chief Adeyemo
--one for lower Ifofin, Mr. Fajeyingbesi
Secretary of Ifofin community
Pa Olu Motosho

Their address is I-70 Ifofin Community, Ilesha

Notes114

Fieldnotes, meeting with Ifofin women, Tuesday June 30

On Monday, when I went to see the chief of Ifofin, he took me to meet the head of the women--Lori Lobinrin. We set an appointment for me to come back this morning.

When I arrived outside her house, there was an elderly woman in front; as soon as she saw me arriving, she began to call to others that I had arrived, and went to get other people. When I entered the chief's house, there were already about 10 women--all elderly--sitting in the second room of the house. After I got there, more women kept coming in; they sat both in the sitting room (the second room after the entrance) where I was, and in the outer room. Altogether there were about 25 women there. After a few minutes, the woman who is head of the women indicated that we should speak, she didn't really say anything to introduce me. I said a little in Yoruba about who I am, and then let Bodunde do the talking.

Their basic question once we had finished explaining about my research was, What can I do for them? How can I help them? We explained again that I am doing research, and then I tried to turn the question around by asking what are the problems of the community and what kinds of things they are doing.

They told me that two of them are chiefs, and the rest form the egbe of women from Ifofin. I would say that all were over 65. They were all dressed in very ordinary clothes, and none seemed to speak English. As we talked, they seemed to emphasize that they are poor and don't have access to things from outside as others may.

I asked what kinds of things they do. They said that all of them have their own business, doing different kinds of things, such as selling palm oil, kola nuts, etc. Most sell from their houses, not in the market.

They said that the egbe has meetings where they discuss the problems of Ifofin. So I asked again about what the problems are.

One woman did most of the talking during the rest of the meeting, tho others joined in at times, and they continued to come back to the question of what I can do to help them.

They first said that their problems are the things that the male chief had already told me about, such as water, and fixing up the place that they get water from. Then they said that there is a problem with jobs for their children, that most of their children are outside because there are no jobs here. They said they want someone (me?) to start a company here in Ifofin, because then there would be jobs for their children. I then asked what about companies like the brewery, that have already been started in Ilesa. They all responded that the brewery doesn't help them, that it doesn't employ their children. They said that those who started the brewery employ their own families, not those of poor people. But if there were a company in Ifofin, then it would help people here.

I asked what kind of company they wanted to have. But they didn't have an answer for that, they just said they would have to ask their children what they want.

I asked if those who are outside contribute money, and if there is any project going on in Ifofin now. They said there is nothing in Ifofin. But that recently, during the celebration at the palace, they realized a lot of money (ie the owa's 10th anniversary). But they haven't seen any outcome yet. In any case, they haven't seen anything from the palace here; most of the things that they have here they have done themselves.

I asked if they have people outside who contribute. They said yes, that their children came home during the celebration at the palace and donated money there (given what they said about their children and their need for jobs I wonder the extent to which this is true). But they said they haven't asked their children to contribute to anything in Ifofin.

Their children who are living outside come home to visit. They have children all over the country--in Lagos, Ibadan, the north. They usually come home during Christmas, and whenever their mother sends for them, or when they feel it's time to see them. In the meantime, they (the mothers) pray that they don't have any problems.

I then asked the women if most of them have always lived in Ifofin, or if they have lived outside. They said that most have lived outside Ilesa, but that when they got old, they came home. Some were in the north, others in east, Benin, Okenne, etc. They were selling things like cloth, and some went to particular places with their husbands.

(Since this was a group interview I couldn't get specific info from any of them, but it would be interesting to check this general info against the questionnaires from this area).

I asked if they are working on anything for Ifofin or the town. They responded that most of them don't have enough money to do anything for the town. That they are just petty traders and they get money from their children.

I asked if they contribute money to the egbe. They said yes, they all make contributions at their regular meetings, and at the end of the year they get the money back. They use it for a celebration at Christmas, they eat, buy cloth, etc. When their children come home from outside, they cook for them, and entertain them.

Towards the end of this discussion, I decided that since it is an organization and since they kept asking me how I was going to help them, I would make a small contribution, and gave them N100, which seemed to be appreciated.

Comment: The way the women talk about Ifofin, it seems as if it is seen as a community separate from Ilesa, for them that is their town, not Ilesa as a whole. When they say they want a company, they want it in Ifofin, otherwise it won't affect them. It also doesn't seem as if much is going

on here at a community level, despite what I was told by the head of the community.

Notes115

Fieldnotes, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti, Tuesday June 30

I stopped at Ifaturoti's at around 11:30 AM and stayed til about 2 PM. Shortly after I got there, another man came to visit him, who was introduced as having been a lecturer in history at Ife, then acting provost of College of Education, and is now retired. They discussed a lot of issues concerning Ijesa Solidarity Group, so I stayed and listened, and participated a bit in the converation. (not sure of the man's name).

Before the other man came, Kunle was discussing some current problems in ISG. He said that he had gone to the brewery yesterday, and that the new administrative executive they had hired, was wandering around. They have an office for him at ISG, he has been working since May 15, and has been paid two months salary. When he saw him he asked what he was doing, and the man said that he was getting ready to go to Ibadan, that he was going there to get some things for a relative's wedding. Kunle was upset that he seemed to think it was ok to be going to do private business on a Monday morning when he should have been working. And that he's not in the office a lot of the time, he seems to think it's a leisure time job. Kunle discussed it with the General Secretray of ISG who is the Managing Director of the brewery, and he too said that he seems to spend a lot of time wandeirng around the halls, and that he spoke to him about it, pointing out that the brewery managers don't do that. Kunle is planning now to write to the man, to point out what he is expected to do, so that he is formally on notice to improve. Kunle said that he also hasn't been doing some of the things he's supposed to do for ISG. For example, with regard to their bank account. Kunle was able to open the account on his own name, but there are various forms that have to be completed, and they should have been ready for the signatories on the account to sign at the meeting on Saturday, since they were all there, but the man didn't have them ready. Also, he (the administrator) has talked about what "the members" should do, especially re. recruiting new members, rather than seeing this as something that he is supposed to be doing.

I asked what they are paying the man. Kunle said they're taking advantage of the fact that the man is retired, is a pensioner, but still they're paying him N24000 a year--N15,000 plus benefts such as housing and transport allowance. The man was a director in the Oyo State civil service before he retired.

I asked if he was the best of those who applied for the job. Kunle said that those who did the interviewing apparently thought so, but he didn't agree. There was someone else who applied who he thought would be better, even tho he doesn't have as good a university degree as this man. Another person was also considered, but everyone know that that man is a crook, so even tho he has lots of good ideas they knew that they would lose in the end if he took the job. (His father stole money from the church to send his son to school in the US and the son has continued in the father's footsteps).

When the historian arrived, Kunle began talking with him about the ISG

meeting on Saturday. He said that he had proposed the idea, but that the others had disagreed with him, that they feel they should be spending the time looking inward. I asked what the idea was that he proposed, and he said that he and the historian thought that ISG should do a study of what's gone wrong in Nigeria, why things are as they are. But that people think they should be more inward-looking, focussing on Ijesa unity problems, that unity is the first thing to be concerned with and that after that other things will follow. But Kunle feels that that can go on forever, but also that eventually others will see the need for the kind of thing he is proposing, so it will be done later rather than now.

On the issue of unity, he said that Olashore had issued a challenge--that people from Ilesa should make those from the district feel more accepted. The example given was the names of organizations such as the Ilesa Social Elite, that they have their club house where people can go for drinks, and that if the name were inclusive, ie., Ijesa Social Elite, then others would feel included. Kunle and the historian discussed this for a few minutes, with the historian saying that each group has its own interests and it will probably be difficult to get them to accept this. Kunle said that they are starting work on it already, because two people on the Council are members of the Elite, and they said they would raise the issue, but Kunle suggested they raise it informally first. Also the Social Elite are planning to join the ISG en masse, so that will give an opportunity to broach the subject. Kunle also commented parenthetically that the Social Elite is a dead organization.

Kunle also discussed with the historian plans currently being worked on to rebuild the obanla's palace. It wasn't clear if this is something being undertaken by ISG or by another group, or is something Kunle is working on on his own. He explained that the obanla chieftaincy is vacant right now, and that the caliber of people wanting it isn't high enough because the place where the person will live isn't in good condition. So they want to improve the place so that it will be more attractive to someone of high caliber. They have a group of architects working on this, they are doing a survey of the entire area (which is on Okesa Street), including where the shrines are, places that are needed for activities of the obanla, etc. What they want to do is a combination of the traditional and modern and they want to get a very good design, that will provide a model for others. I asked if they are going to use traditional design elements, and he said they will; the historian suggested that the architects should look at the descriptions in Clarke's book, Travels and Explorations in Yorubaland, for ideas.

Kunle and the historian discussed whether building the obanla's palace would be a problem when the owa is also trying to build his palace. The historian suggested there might be problems, because the obanla is a town chief, and Kunle's work on this (as a member of the royal family) could be seen as being in opposition to the owa. But Kunle didn't see it this way, and argued that since the other chiefs (e.g Lejoka) are not strong chiefs, they need to attract someone into the obanla position who will take a leadership role. Also that they will also get architects to draw up a plan for the owa's palace. (altho apparently he already has his own plan). He said that right now the person who is interested in being obanla has

already spent about N300,000, and he is a crook; they need to get someone of good character. He mentioned that someone who wants to be loja of a little town, Iyinta, has been told by the owa to bring a v-boot (mercedes, selling for N400,000) and that means he'll expect much more from someone for a big chieftaincy like obanla.

With regard to ISG, Kunle chuckled in relating that someone on the Council told him that before he had always thought he (Kunle) was an introvert; Kunle was surprised that anyone wouldn't see him as extroverted. But he said that when he first came back to Ilesa he didnt go visit anyone. For a long time the only person he visited was Ajanaku, who became his friend in 1941, and he could see him anytime, go to any part of his house. Later, when they began discussions of the brewery, he began to visit Omole as well. But other than these two, and the family house, he doesn't go anywhere in Ilesa. Later in the conversation, he told a story about how he had helped Ajanaku when there was a government inquiry into some of his business dealings. And then when Ajanaku supported Aromolarun's candidacy for owa he went to talk with him, but he was supporting it because of his own business interests (involving the brewery Ajanaku was then setting up). Later Ajanaku came to Kunle to apologize for supporting Aromolarun; Ajanaku died during the period Aramolarun was being installed.

Kunle commented that of those involved in ISG, only those of his generation are really committed to it, that the Akinolas and (?--guy who is MD of Brewery and secretary of ISG) aren't really committed. The historian (who is more of the younger generation, younger than Kunle, probably in late 50's) said that this is because his generation sees Kunle's generation as the ones whose thing it really is. Also, that they are influenced by people like "the Olashores" who are more concerned with their own small towns like Iloko, than with all of Ijesaland.

They discussed the problems between the owa and the district chiefs. Kunle said that a report has been written, it's a 25 page report with a 50 page appendix. He saw the report, and the meeting on it took place yesterday, but he isn't part of the group that met and hadn't yet talked with either Omole or Eso about it. But that they had expressed the view that there are problems with the report, and Eso had said that it will need redrafting. It omits some issues and takes a particular slant on others. The report was written by a civil servant who, according to Kunle, is also an interested party, as he is from the district.

They discussed a conversation with Bola Ige regarding what is happening with the poytechnic in Esa Oke and the one in Iree. Apparently theyr'e going to be given slightly different names, but Kunle and the historian agreed that that didn't really mean anything, that it's just politics. They said that now they really have to start working on a university (possibily in place of College of Ed, but they didn't say that specifically).

They also discussed the kiriji celebration and the fact that I attended. Apparently the historian was involved in that. Now they are beginning to plan another event related to kiriji--on March 14 1993. March 14 1893 was when the various war camps finally disbanded, 7 years after the signing of

the peace treaty. They are making plans for something, but haven't yet done anything. The historian pointed out that they need to involve people from Ekiti this time. Kunle said that one reason nothing has happened yet is the problem among the chiefs (it was in this context that he referred to the report described above). I expressed an interest in hearing what they plan when they do so.

In talking about some of my work and interests, the historian asked if I was familiar with the papers of Fadugba, which are located in the private papers section of the Ife library. Fadugba was first president of the Egbe Atunluse, and wrote on a lot of issues, according to the historian.

I asked Kunle about attending the ISG general meeting on Sat. July 11. He said there is no problem in my doing so; I told him about my experience in Iwoye, and he said that no one in ISG is likely to object, that I've already met a lot of them anyway. I mentioned meeting Mrs. Abe in Lagos, and he said that she hasn't attended a council meeting yet. I also gave him a copy of my hometown links paper, and said I would probably come back on Saturday.

With regard to Iwoye, we discussed his cousin (brother) M.O. Ifaturoti. He said that his mother is from Iwoye, whereas Kunle's is not, that therefore Kunle doesn't see himself as an Iwoye descendant even tho his grandfather was loja there. Kunle's father educated all of his brother's children, including the one I had met who died in 1989. But this man was the last-born and the mother said they would train him themselves, so he never got as much education as the others, altho he is very brilliant. Although they are first cousins, he calls him brother, as he did the man who died--and they would be insulted if he referred to them as cousins.

Notes116

Fieldnotes, interview with Iya Dunni, Osu, Thursday July 2

I met Iya Dunni on MOnday, when I went to her shop with the group of students from the Stanford Business school. At that time, we asked if she was around and were told she was in the house; we were taken in to see her, and she agreed that this morning would be ok for us to come back to see her.

She spoke with us in her sitting room, which is on the upstairs floor of her house. Because of the way the house is built--set back from the road, but at a lower level than the road itself--she has an almost direct line of sight out from her sitting room window to the street, and in other words to her shop, although when standing at the shop one doesn't realize this. In other words she can see people who stop there, as well as keep an eye on employees. She mentioned that she's been seeing us stop there.

When we got there, she waited for us to explain what we are doing, and when Bodunde did, she said that many people come to her with questions, say they are doing research, and that they will come back to tell her what they have learned, and that she never sees them again. So she wanted to know what I was going to do to help her business, and whether I really meant it when I said I would be back. We talked a bit about that, she explained that she's not asking for money, but wants help with her business, and I guess ultimately I satisfied her, because she said we should go ahead with our questions. She also said that she wanted to get to know me, for me to be her friend, i.e., not just someone who comes once to ask questions. Later, she talked more about this, especially during the period when the woman from Inland Revenue (who I met thru Ayoola) stopped in to visit.

Later in the visit, she gave me her card. Her real name is Mrs. Victoria Olorunnisola. Her mailing address is P.O. Box 4, Osu.

The other woman who stopped by, the one who was supposed to help arrange the meeting for Ayoola, and who I think works for Inland Revenue, but who said today that she works for ministry of commerce and industry, also gave me her card. She is Mrs. N.O. Bolorunduro, P.O. Box 121, IleIfe. She lives in Ife but her office is in Osu.

Iya Dunni is probably in her forties. She apparently doesn't speak much if any English, and the entire conversation was carried out with Bodunde translating.

I first asked Iya Dunni if she is from Osu, and whether she has ever lived anywhere else. She said that she was born in Osu, and that she is married to someone from Osu. She added that she is the fifth generation doing the akara business; her mother, her mother's mother, etc. were all akara sellers.

She lived in Gbongan for a while with her auntie (her mother's sister) when she was about 15 years old. That was the first travelling she did. She stayed there 3 1/2 years. Then she was in Ibadan for about two years,

staying with a woman who didn't have any children. Her father wanted her to go help this woman in the house. She said that her parents didn't think it was important for girls to go to school. Then she came with the woman to Osu, and she saw one of her brothers (not clear if this is actually a brother in our sense of the term, or a cousin of some sort); the brother said that it's not good for a girl as old as she was to not be in school. So he said she should go to school, and at the age of 18 she started school. The brother thought it would be shameful for her to start primary 1 at her age, so he started her in primary 3, and promised he would give her extra lectures at home so she could be up with the other students. She said that God has given her a very sharp brain, so she used to come in first and second in her classes, until she finished primary 6.

(Note: the years don't add up, if she went to Gbongan at age 15 for 3 years, and then to Ibadan for 2, she was more than 18 when she went to school; most likely, she left home earlier, or spent less time in each of those places, and she was about 18 when she went to school).

Before she finished primary 6 she was working with her mother in the akara business, and was getting money. So she decided instead of continuing in school to work full-time in the business. Then she got married. She was working with her mother until her mother got old, and then she took over the business. (Her mother is still around, and in fact is around the house).

She now has several branches to her business. She has a branch at the University of Ife, in Ibadan, at LASU in Lagos. She told how the former governor of Oyo State came and ate her akara, and spoke with her; he tasted her akara and liked it, he said he wanted to be eating her akara every day, so she should establish a branch at the secretariat in Ibadan. This was in 1984.

When her mother was in charge of the business, it was only located in Osu. And they were using palm oil then. When she took over she switched to vegetable oil, in 1981. She began establishing branches at the same time; the branch at the secretariat was established in 1984, I don't know if any others were established before that.

I asked if she had any kind of training in running a business. She said that apart from finishing primary 6 she has no other training. She said that she has been going out to do her own research on how to get a business going better. For example, there was a time when the people who were supplying her with vegetable oil brought oil that wasn't good. She went to Lever Brothers to find out how to refine her own vegetable oil by herself. They told her to get some materials and taught her how. But apparently she isn't actually doing this. Rather, what she does is take the oil to Lever Brothers and they refine it for her. But she brings them the raw materials. She buys palm oil in Okitipupa and mixes it with groundnut oil; they refine it for her and bring it in a tanker for her. She wants to do it herself, but she doesn't have all the materials she would need.

I asked who managers the branches, and who she employs. She said that the managers are all relatives. If she used people from outside, the business

wouldn't do well. But she employs people from outside to work, but those who run the branches are in her family. For example, her daughter is outside at the shop in Osu. Her other children are also involved, both sons and daughters. I asked if they will follow her into the business. She said that she would like her children to go to school, but she is sure that some will go into the business later on. One of her daughters came into the room later on, but she isn't the one who is running the business, she is in school,studying catering in Ibadan. It is her younger sister who is working outside.

It was at this point that the woman from commerce and industry, who we met thru Ayoola came in. She stayed about 15 minutes. At about this point, I asked her about problems in her business, and she again began to talk about whether she could trust me, whether I would be her friend, and would help her. Bodunde gave my friendship with Nike as an example, and that led to discussion of doing batiks. She said that she learned how to do batiks from a white woman in Iwo, but that when she got married her husband didn't allow her to go out.

It seemed that she wasn't interested in talking about problems in the business, so we switched the subject.

I asked about organizations she is involved in. She talked about the Egbe Alakara, which is registered with the name Egbe Temidire. She said that formerly there was no association of the people selling akara. One day she decided to go around, write down the names of the akara sellers, and take N5 from each of them. She didn't tell them what she was doing this for. She just got the names, and N5 from each. She gave them a date to meet at a big house, the house of one of the strongest chiefs. She asked the chief to calculate the money she collected; it amounted to N75. The other sellers still didn't know what she was going to do. Then she told them that they should start the egbe alakara. Every week they would collect N5 from akara sellers.

I asked what the egbe does now. She said that if the governor is visiting, they come out in a group, they buy cloth and dance. At times, when the Ijesa Student Union is doing a celebration, they go there and fry akara and give it out to them. The Student Union made her its patron. She did one such celebration about 4-5 days ago; they went with three containers of akara.

I asked if the egbe does anything else. She said that it helps children who don't have people to send them to school; it helps them financially. These are not necessarily children of akara sellers. They give money to help the School of the Deaf in Ibadan, and at times, like at Christmas, they tell the principal to bring the children and they cook for them. They also help motherless children.

She started the egbe about 16-18 years ago.

A woman entered the room, who she introduced as her aburo. Later, when we went outside to take photos, the woman accompanied her and posed in the picture with her.

WAR AGAINST AIDS

~~Mrs N O Bolorunduro~~

N. O. Bolorunduro
(Mrs)
P. O. Box 121
Ile - Ife

Osu - woman who works commercial indust

Aids is with us new in our Society.
Be warned

Okin Loba Eye

Iyadunni Special Akara Indastry Nig. Ltd

Mrs Victoria Olorunnisola
Managing Director

Head Office
No 1 Olorunsogo St.
Opp. Atakumosa
Gram. Sch. Osu

Branches:
Throughout Oyo
Ondo, Ogun and
Lagos States.

I asked about other organizations, specifically Better Life, because she had mentioned it the other day, saying that she was going to a Better Life meeting. She said that she used to be the chair of Better Life in this local government, but now everything is politics, and now the wife of the local government chairman is the chair of Better Life. She is still the assistant chairman.

But then she went on to talk about another organization, COWAD. I started to say that I knew the COWAD person in Ibadan, and she immediately gave her name--Ms. Feyisayo. Iya Dunni is chair of COWAD in this local government. She wants to make a fishpond here, so Ms. Feyisayo suggested someone from IITA to come and help her. COWAD went to see the fishponds around; when they saw them, they wanted to build their own. COWAD is also involved in farming here, they have cassava and corn. But on her own, she has planted palm trees; this is for the future, because she wants to have her own palms for palm oil instead of going to Okitipupa for it. She did not say how much palm she has planted, or anything else about the COWAD farm.

We ended the interview at this point. I promised to stop again next week. And I took photos both inside and outside, at the shop.

Notes117

Fieldnotes, follow-up interview, Egbeldi street, Friday, July 3

We went to see Pa Faduke, Ijoka/Egbeldi #23

The house is a large house about the middle of Egbeldi street. From the outside, it looks like one building, but when you go in and upstairs, there seem to be two separate buildings, and several sections to the one we were in. We had some trouble finding him at first, we had to ask and then walk around a passageway to one side, to the sitting room where he was.

We reminded him of the interviewers who had come, and of the fact that he had said he would like to meet me. I explained my interest in people who have come back home after living outside, and he said that "Ijesas help themselves, they love each other".

He said that when he was young, he was an osomaalo, selling cloth in Ilorin. He travelled from Ilesa to Ilorin and the villages around Ilorin. Then he went to Ibadan to work, again selling cloth. He didn't have a shop, but sold around Ibadan. When he came back from Ibadan, to Ilesa, he was selling planks at the sawmill. Later he said that he has a shop selling planks at the sawmill, that he still has it, but that there are others taking care of it now. Then he said that he owns the sawmill itself, but it wasn't clear if this is really the case. He said that he has a machine to cut the trees and a lorry to carry them back, and then they are cut at the sawmill. Now his children are taking care of the sawmill and he employs other people there.

Since coming back to Ilesa he has also been preaching the gospel, around Ilesa. He said that he is very deep in the gospel, in the Cherubim and Seraphim church. He would go out from Ilesa to other places, and then come back, but was basically staying in Ilesa. Later he said that he is the assistant head of Cherubim and Seraphim all over the world. they have churches all over Nigeria, and they go about preaching all over. He pointed out a calendar hanging on the wall that showed officials of C and S, including the head of the church. Another man who came in during the conversation was introduced as one of the apostles.

He grew up in Egbeldi, and owns the house in which we were talking. He said that he also owns other places, that he has many houses with shops.

I asked about changes in Ilesa since he was young there (he's quite old; on the questionnaire he said that he's 102, but my guess is that he is in his eighties). He said that the town is getting bigger, that there was no tarred road then, but there are many now.

I asked if people are doing things to help improve the town. He said that it depends on how rich you are. If you are richer, then you have money to do more to help the town. He said that he pays taxes, he pays for shops and other things. In the past, he contributed money to help bring electricity. The government brought the tarred roads. But now the government isn't helping as it did before. The electricity isn't stable,

and by taking it away and bringing it back, it damages his electrical equipment (e.g., he pointed to a television on a shelf). Also, water isn't regular. He said that about five years ago, there was no water here and in other places. The unstable electricity has damaged the refrigerator and other electrical equipment. They've been trying to get government to bring it back but there's been no response.

I asked if there's any organization of people in the area. He said that there are political organizations, and church organizations. With regard to his own church organization, he said that they go out teaching the gospel, letting people know about god and fear god. Those who are stealing and doing other bad things do those things because they don't fear god, so they go around and put that fear in them. They go around the whole world.

He talked about the fact that he has traveled to Jerusalem, London, and America. He showed us a plate from Jerusalem and a framed certificate that said "Attestation of Pilgrimage" signed by the mayor of Jerusalem. This was about 18 years ago. I asked where he had been in America, but he just said America--so I wonder if he's actually been there.

Towards the end of the conversation, he wanted to talk religion with me, wanted to know what church I belong to and pursued that theme for a while, til Bodunde and I left.

Notes118

Fieldnotes, interview of Mr. Akintola, Osu, Friday July 3

Mr. Akintola is the man Kaiser Barnes introduced me to (see notes75) who is the landlord of Kaiser's Ba'hai friend Bob. We had seen him earlier, and he had suggested July 4, but since the assemby elections are tomorrow and there's to be no traveling we stopped today, and he was at home.

We had quite a long conversation, but I didn't take notes at the time, just wrote some notes afterwards. After talking with him again today, I commented to Bodunde on the way home that he seems a somewhat unusual person, and Bodunde agreed. For example, he stated that he has no friends, and that he doesn't allow his children to mix with other people. He emphasized how religious he is (he is a Catholic) but also talked about being a polygamist. It seems that various past wives have left him, and left the children with him, and he is now married to a young woman from Ilesa who he described as a hard worker, and who he also said people thinks she is his daughter.

He had earlier talked about working in the customs department before retiring. Today, he talked about how he had no help when he was growing up, and worked as a laborer. I asked him how he got to the customs dept, and he said he worked as a laborer in customs. He retired nine years ago, and moved to Osu in 1986. It took him one year to build the foundation of his house, and six years to build the house.

He said that he goes to Lagos every fortnight, that he buys "essential commodoties" there and sells them to his customers. He said that he used to buy building materials, electric wire, electric iron, roofing etc. But now the price is too high. He still sells some electrical equipment; he was not very clear on how much he's actually involved in this now, although he said he had gone to Lagos recently. He said that now he doesn't always have money to buy, so sometimes he goes but doesn't buy anything or doesn't buy much. Also, before, he sold things like milk. He has customers in Ilesa and elsewhere. He said that he started this business when he retired.

When he goes to Lagos, he also sees his children who live there. But then he talked about not trusting all his children, that their mothers left him and they haven't all been brought up all. He told a story about a man whose son sold his building and left the country without his knowing about it, implying that his children might do something like that so he doesn't trust them. He said that one son is a teacher, only one has come here to help him farm and shown any interest in farming. They do come here to visit. He wants them to know their father's place, but one of his sons says he is a Lagos citizen. He mentioned what has happened in the north and the fact that people came back from there to Ilesa, but that they didn't even know the home of their father. So he doesn't want that to happen. At present, his young children who are still in school are here with him.

He has had five wives and eight children. His present wife is young, from

Ilesa, and very hardworking he said. He also mentioned that she looks like she could be his daughter. I did not see or meet his wife. They got married six years ago.

He emphasized being a Catholic and talked about how much the reverend fathers meant to him, especially those he knew when he was going to school.

He said that his father was from Ilesa. His mother died when he was nine, and his father when he was 18. He had no one to help him. He said that the relatives in Ilesa didn't help him. He said that when he moved here, some of his relatives in Ilesa wanted him to come to their area, but that he didn't want to go there because he didn't want to be too close to his relatives. They want help from him, but they didn't ever do anything for him. Later he said that his mothers relatives did help them, and that he still sees them (also in Ilesa?).

He bought the land on which his house is located. The land that he uses for farming he pays a little rent on; he emphasized that the amount he is asked to pay is very little. He grows maize, cassava, yam, for himself and family; he doesn't sell it. In fact, he said that most people here don't sell what they grow, but I wonder about that. They make gari and fufu out of what they produce; his wife makes them, and also helps on the farm. She is the daughter of a farmer.

He said that he likes farming, and working hard. he had never farmed before moving here.

I asked him about any organizations he belongs to. He said that when he was in Lagos he belonged to a savings group. They all made monthly contributions and through that he was able to save. He had N11,000 by the time he retired, which he used for building his house. And now he has his pension to live on.

He talked about how he had suffered when he was growing up, and said that his children haven't suffered, so he tells them about his suffering.

He said that he has no friends, that he doesn't allow his children to go out and mix with others. He doesn't like to go to parties. He likes to work hard. The only place he goes is the Catholic Church.

I asked him about coming to Osu, his reception here and whether he's involved in anything here. He said that the loja of Osu is a very good person, that he is a good Christian. He said that the people here welcomed him like he is someone from there. And that after all, Ilesa and Osu are like brothers so it's natural for them to welcome him. He isn't involved in anything in the town. The only contribution he makes is N20 a year to pay for the nightwatch. he would be willing to pay more, but that is all that is asked for, and many people aren't even paying that.

He mentioned that he has tenants in his house. He said that he only has two, although there are eight rooms. He said that he has tenants not for the money, but to have people around the house, implying that it's better, safer to have people around. He emphasized that he only wants tenants who

are settled down, married, not young single men.

It began to rain while we were talking and was getting late, so we left after a while.

Notes119

Fieldnotes, follow-up interview, Iwoye, Wednesday July 8

One of the people interviewed in Iwoye had told the interviewers that his wife is a councillor in the local government and that he and she would like to meet me. His wife had also been present for part of the earlier interview. His name is ~~Fabori~~ Falobi; interview number Iwoye #13.

ok

We started out first talking about where he has lived and when he returned home. He said that he was working in the North, in teacher training. In 1975 he returned home because a circular had gone out saying that one would be able to receive one's pension only in the state where you retired. He was at that time in the Northeast, in a place called Mubi, which is part of the former Northern Cameroons. He was in charge of teacher training and inspection for that region. Formerly Gombe had been in his base, but he had been in Mubi before in 1961-67, in some connection with UNO team he said (United Nations??) and again back there in the 1970's, before he transferred to the south. When he got that circular, he transferred his services here, and then later retired at home. He didn't want to have to travel 1000 km to get his pension. He transferred to the then Western State, and was working in Ijebu-jesa, living in Iwoye.

He built his present house in 1961 when he was in the north. He worked in many different places, in the east, in the north for a long time--about 15 years altogether in the north. Before he went to those places, he had also worked in Ijebu-jesa and had been at the teachers training college in Ilesa.

His house is a two story house on the main road into Iwoye from Ijebu-jesa. It's a fairly old and typical two story house (when I went back a few days later to interview his wife I asked to use the toilet and was shown to a pit latrine out in the back). The sitting room has calendars hanging, including one for Olu Falae as SDP candidate, and photos. The coffee table in the center of the room was piled high with books and papers, and Falobi said that he had been looking for something. When I came back to interview his wife there were still lots of papers there, and she apologized for the untidiness of the room.

When he lived in the north, he would come home at least one month every year for his leave. He had a post as a mobile teacher trainer, which meant that he moved around the country a lot. He did a combination of English and math, so was in considerable demand. He explained that a mobile teacher trainer was used because of the poor state of education in the north at that time. They needed him to upgrade certain categories of teachers. He had worked at primary, secondary modern, and teacher training levels. He had a special appointment to have him upgrade teachers' skills. He would give weekend courses for teachers, so that teachers could move up the scale.

He attended the Nigerian College of Art, Science and Technology in Zaria, so people in the north knew him from there. I asked how he had gotten to that school in Zaria. He said that he was secretary to the NCNC party in

this area--Obokun/OriAde--and they wanted to compensate him, he was able to get admission to Zaria, so they gave him a scholarship. This was in 1955, he was principal of the modern school in Ijebu-jesa at that time.

After he came back from the north to the western state he was basically in Ijebu-jesa, but he also spent one year in Osu. He explained that there had been a student demonstration in Osu, and the principal had been beaten. There was a commission of inquiry, and it was found that all the teachers were very young and the principal was much older. So they put him (Falobi) on special duty in Osu for one year to assist the principal, because they suggested that he could control the principal, and in fact for part of that time the principal was on leave because of the beating he'd received.

He also worked in Ilesa for a while. He helped as a biology teacher at a school there. But during these periods he lived in Iwoye the whole time.

Now he is farming. He said that he's always been interested in farming. He studied farming in the North, and had a refresher course thru Obasanjo's OFN program. He was farming around his quarters in the north; he had 3 acres around his building but he wasn't farming on a large scale. He moved around a lot, so he could only farm the area that his wife could supervise.

Now, he is engaged in real farming, he said. He said that people will say that he is the greatest farmer around. He had farm settlement land of 45 acres, but he reduced the size 2 years ago, because the son who was helping him died. He also had 100 acres of his father's land. Now he said he is farming only about 6 acres, and doing that on his own. His other children are graduates, so they are busy doing other things.

He said that there are just three of them in the house, but then only talked about his wife. However, there seemed to be several people going in and out, but they may have just been coming to do something, or to greet, so I don't know who the third person is (but the info should be on the questionnaire). His wife is the councillor for the ward. She is a retired teacher and runs a patent medicine shop, the only one in town. She is also from Iwoye and was in the North with him.

We talked about trying to see his wife. He said that she is at a meeting in Ijebu-jesa right now. But if we ask for the patent medicine dealer or the councillor, people will know who we are looking for. The best time to see her is before 10 AM; she is in her shop til then. She is the only woman councillor from the Ife/Ijesa area, who faced "the rigor of election". There is one at Ilesa, but she was handpicked, didn't run in the election.

I asked about his involvement in politics. He said he has been in politics all the time. He was active within the Yoruba community in the north. Here, he campaigns vigorously but he didn't want to take part in active politics. That is why his wife is doing it. He said that many retired men become very active in politics and it leads to premature death. Later he said that his wife is about 10 years younger than he is, the implication being that her age makes her more suited than him.

I asked more about his farm. He said that he grows maize and cassava mainly. The Ministry of Agriculture gives him a tractor to plow, and also in the past to help with planting. It's easier to use this with maize and cassava. When he was young he had 30 acres of cocoa land, in 1955. But he didn't get much from it. When he was in the north, someone set fire to it, and then when they wanted to build a grammar school in the community, there was a clash, and they used his land for the school. When I asked for more information on this, he said that he had applied for a grammar school (i.e. a private one) but decided it would be better to have it be a community school, and was in the process of handing over to the community, when there was a disagreement, and his land was used. This was still not very clear to me, but it's my impression that political differences were also involved.

He said that the Falobi family is always involved in politics. His brother was the leader here when he was in the north. People like their involvement because the Falobi family has produced the first and most educated people from the town. The family includes 3 doctors and journalists now. I asked why their family is different from others in the town. He said that in the early days people here didn't send their children to school; they faced farming, are all farmers here. But his mother, altho illiterate, encouraged them to get educated. Then he encouraged other family members. At that time, in the 1930's most people here didn't want to go to school.

He said that 90% of the people here are traders or osomaalo, and then they come back home to farm. The level of education is very low here. I said, then it's different from Ilesa. He said yes, and also different from Ijebu-jesa and Esa Odo, and that the standard of the grammar school here even now is very low. I asked about other younger educated people, and he said there are, but compared with other places there aren't as many, and they are people whose parents chose to live outside. They don't come home except to be buried, so their children don't know the place. The children don't come home except to bury their parents. For example, the chair of the Ilesa local government is from here, but he has no contact here. The problem is that the people from here who are educated or rich don't come back here. Most are not like him, they don't come to settle at home.

I asked why he had come back to settle. He said that, first, his wife was one reason; she is a native of the town and didn't want to settle anywhere except here. Then, secondly he said that only his mother's children are educated and they all decided to come home. Three have come back, he was the first, then the others came later. His brother stopped by while we were talking and he explained that he also lives in Iwoye. The women (daughters) are married in the town but didn't have education. And thirdly, he didn't want his children to take to the pattern of life in the North. He decided that his first child should have university education here, and all the others had their primary and secondary education here. His first child went to Federal Government College Sokoto and then to University of Lagos. This may have been the strongest reason he said.

I asked what he meant by the pattern of life in the north. He said that well-place people spend extravagantly. Also, Islamic religion makes them

not to tolerate others; he said that he wasn't affected by religion but that other people had problems, even in government service. He said that the expatriates in the north, especially the British, influenced the average northerner to be the antagonist of the average southerner, they sowed the seeds of hatred. Later, he talked more about north and south, indicating that he was very influenced by the frankness and openness of people of the north. He said that he speaks openly and says what he thinks because that is what he learned in the north, and he clearly saw that a positive. He also talked about how well he got along with people in the north. So the negative comments seemed more to be general, and fairly abstract, rather than things he'd actually experienced personally, whereas the personal experiences seemed to be largely positive.

I asked about involvement in organizations. He said that he belongs to the Iwoye-Ijesa Descendants Union. He was the first secretary of it, but that now he isn't as active as he was in the past. He is allowing the younger people to take over. He thinks that when one is above 65, if you're involved in too many activities you will soon die. He was also Chair of the Iwoye Progressive Union, but then handed over to someone younger, and now they just come to him for advice, but he is still involved in it.

I asked about activities of these organizations. He said that the IDU built the grammar school and the town hall. They strive to get natives of the place to stay home. But he said the mistake is that the leader for the past 15-16 years doesn't himself stay here; his family is at Imo in Ilesa and he is in Ibadan (obviously this is Ifaturoti tho he didn't mention the name). And also he isn't educated; he's an osomaalo, and it's more or less an osomaalo union now. The organization has deviated from the original plan, because of bad leadership.

The IPU helps the young to go to school, they give scholarships. But the Anglican Church has influenced the IPU and has converted it to a religious union. This happened while he was away. It wasn't meant to be a denominational union. But that is what has happened, so he's no longer so interested in it, he feels they've gone too far. He commented: the Anglican Church thinks everything should come from them. I asked what church he belongs to and he said that he is Apostolic, which he then said isn't as progressive and which is led by a lot of osomaalos.

I asked about activities the organizations are currently involved in. Falobi said that the IDU is now building a day care for babies. He said that when UNICEF brought the idea here, it was rejected by the community. But he told them he would carry it. He and his wife financed it for the first two months, then the IDU took it over. He said there was jealousy because of politics. He said that they used an exisiting hall, and he was there (as teacher?) but then the NRC brought it another teacher. He said that the IDU is carrying on well with it, the day care has been there for one year. He said that if the IDU hadn't taken over the nursery they couldnt get a central place for the building. Now, his wife goes there but he doesn't.

He said they are also involved in building the oba's palace.

I asked about other organizations. He said that his son heads a club consisting of people who are all graduates; they help others with post-secondary education, and also encourage people to settle at home. His son works for NNPC in Warri. People are starting to build here at home now, unlike their predecessors who built in the big cities. The other organizations are mainly social.

I asked about other things that could be done in the town. He mentioned the need to improve the roads in the town. Only the main road is good. He said that when he was young, every Friday, every street was encouraged to work, fill holes etc. Now there is no communal work. They tried to have communal work thru the local government but it doesn't work, people aren't interested in free service. This situation is caused by the politicians, who distribute money for things, now people want money for everything, there is no free service. He is trying to tell them that they should contribute if they sant something.

He mentioned that there is a youth organization, consisting of people age 20-55.

With regard to community development, there is no union to encourage it. He said that there is something called Community Development Union but that it has bad leadership.

He talked about the fact that this is an agricultural area, and said that from July to December people waste the money they get from the harvest on burials, marriages, naming ceremonies, etc, on unnecessary wasteful things. If they get money they don't invest it in agriuclture. He said that the Ministry of Agriculture was giving loans of N1000 to farmers but that they were not being used on agriculture.

According to him, one can make a profit from farming. For example, on his cassava, he made more than N5000. He won't sell his maize til February-March, he will store it til then (he has pesticides to use) and then will get better price. He processes his cassava himself; he employs people for this. Then he stores it and sells it later.

When farmers get loans, e.g., from Coop Bank, First Bank, Ministry of Ag, they don't use them for agriculture and they don't pay them back.

He went on the say that Ijebu-jesa is more progressive than Iwoye because they have little land. Iwoye has a lot of land, extensive land, there is no problem with land. They are also blessed with ogogoro, local palm wine, and the place is noted for that. But people don't use the land and ag resources well.

I asked about the involvement of Iwoye people living outside. He said that two years ago they started Iwoye Day, and that they hope to influence those outside thru that. They have had two so far, in early September. The first one was "not so grand" and it rained the second time. They expect many educated people and many traders to come. They don't contribute money but use it to discuss things affecting the progress of the town. For example last September they talked about the origin of Iwoye, and how war

scattered the people into several places in Yorubaland; for exampl,e Ago-Iwoye is from here, there is another Iwoye near Ede and another in Ondo STate. They talked about how to contact them. They all have similar native religious rites.

He added that his wife is more involved in the planning of Iwoye day than he, and mentioned that she is younger. He also mentioned that his wife wrote a project on weaving in Ijesaland and offered to give me a copy when I come back to see her (but did not do so).

When we were winding up the conversation, he mentioned that one thing he'd like me to discuss with his wife is the Better Life program. He said that it has had no impact here, that it works well where there are well-placed people close to the governor who introduced it to the area. His wife is trying to start something here. The wife of the local government chairman is supposed to head Better Life, but the wives of the chairman of this local govt are not here, one is in Ife, one in Ilesa. So the party chairman has put someone from his own village (Ijeda) in instead of Falobi's wife; he has made it a political appointment. The woman doesn't have education and according to Falobi nothing is happening, the woman doesn't know what to do. I asked if they have had contact with other organizations, thinking of COWAD for example. He said that someone from Ibadan wrote to his wife, but that people here were jealous and nothing happened. I offered to give his wife Ms. Feyisayo's name and address, and he asked me to do so.

Throughout the conversation he kept mentioning his wife's activities and said he'd like me to talk with her too. He also asked about ways I might help them, so we basically talked about information and contacts on local development and women's issues. We agreed that I would come back Monday at 9 AM to see his wife.

Notes120

Fieldnotes, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti, Wednesday July 8

I stopped by at Ifaturoti's at about 2 PM, and stayed about an hour. Kunle asked if I will be coming to the ISG meeting on Saturday, and I said I would be. I asked how long it would be. He said he didn't think it would last more than two hours. That his own welcome address would only be 5 minutes. And that his chairman's report has already been circulated; he then asked if I would like a copy, and gave me one. He said the committee chairman don't really have anything to report. And that he is hoping for reactions from people to have report.

I asked if he had read my paper (on hometown linkages). He had, and said he liked it. He said the only comment he has is that I assume that Nigeria is homogeneous and it isn't. That people need a home base, because they can never be sure what will happen elsewhere, they can never depend on being integrated elsewhere. On development efforts, he said that people now aren't so interested in white elephants like town halls, that he doesn't really see the use of them. I said that some people seem to feel they are important as places for community gatherings, and he said that in Ilesa the town hall isn't really very useful for that, it's not big enough, and it's not in very good condition. And there are bigger places, such as the halls at the grammar schools. Furthermore, there may be several events at the same time; for example, on Saturday when ISG is meeting, there will also be a prize awarding ceremony at St. Margarets School, which he would attend if it were not for ISG meeting at the same time. But he did agree that people want to see what their money is used for.

I mentioned having shown the paper to Olashore and his comment on that subject. Kunle said that Olashore is "heading for disaster." I asked why, and he said because he collected a lot of money at Iloko Day which he wants to use for boreholes, and in this geology, 90% of the time boreholes that are dug are dry. He went on to say that with expert advice from a geophysicist knowledgeable in finding groundwater, it is possible to be successful, and that then boreholes are better than wells. But that even after he explained this to Dr. Omole, he gave money for a borehole at Wesley Guild, which was then dry. I said I would think that he would be getting some advice, and Kunle said that people usually don't, but that he would like to advise him himself. (It wasn't clear whether he intends to talk with him but it sounded like he does).

With regard to the idea of getting directly involved in economic development efforts, Kunle said that there is a split right down the middle of the council of ISG. Two of the committee chairman feel that it's a good idea for the organization to have investments. But the one who should be most involved in it--the head of the economic affairs committee--does not agree. (According to ISG documents, the chair of economic affairs is Akinmokun). Others feel that they should just be helping to stimulate investments, but shouldn't invest themselves. I said that there seems to be feeling that it's difficult to get Ijesas to work together. And Kunle said that the counter-example is the brewery. But that Olashore says that the only reason the brewery was successful was because Omole was so

committed to it, that he could have done it on his own but didn't want to do it that way. According to Kunle, the original group for the brewery began planning in 1970 (or 1972?), but they couldnt get others to invest. Then when they were signing an agreement, and people saw that it really was getting underway, in about 1976, then people wanted to join in. They had to put an embargo on investments beyond the original group. Then two or three years ago, when the brewery was having problems, they lifted the embargo, but then bankers advised their clients that it wasn;t a good investment, that the brewery was on its way down. Now that it's picked up again people are again interested in investing in it.

One idea that they have is to establish a rice mill, for the rice that is produced in the area from Erin to Ikeji. They feel that there is no good facility for processing the rice that is produced, and that more could be produced and processed if there were a facility for doing so. I mentioned his earlier interest in cottage industries, and he said that his enthusiasm has died down, because the response from others on the council was largely negative. But that some feel that the idea shouldn't die, and he is hoping that this is something that will be discussed at the meeting on Saturday.

I also asked him about the plan he was discussing the other day for rebuilding the obanla's palace. He said that they have instructed the architects to include traditional architectural elements, although it will be a modern building. Also to use materials that are good. The reason they want to do this is part of an effort to maintain traditional things. If they are successful with the obanla's palace they later want to do the owa's palace. I think part of his point was to emphasize the difference between what they want to do and the typical oba's palace project.

Notes121

Fieldnotes, conversation with Mobo Akinola, Friday, July 10

I went to see Mobo this morning to let her know that I am leaving soon. I also mentioned to her that I am hoping to see her brother (Olu Fadahunsi) tomorrow as I understand that he will be coming from Lagos. She said that she just finished talking with him on the phone and that he will be arriving tonight. She said he is coming for a meeting. I asked if it is for the ISG meeting, and she said no, for the IUTTC meeting. I then asked about IUTTC, and she told me a bit about it. She said that it is a very old organization, has been in existence since about the 1940's. Her father at one time headed it. It was a very big business; it owned most of the big stores at Isokun, and was owned by Ijesas. They still have some big assets, such as a big building in Apapa, but they no longer have a noticeable physical presence in Ilesa, although they do still own one building here. But it has declined considerably in recent years. She said that if it were in the developed world, it would now be VERY big, bigger than UTC for example.

She said that her brother knows more about it than she does. Because he took over much of her father's role in it, and has been involved in it for quite a long time. She thinks that it was probably politics that led to its demise. She first said that she thinks it began to go down around the time her father was chairman of Nigerian Airways, and then when he became governor, because he was less involved. But then she said that she thinks politics affected it, because some involved were Action Group and others NCNC so there was a split. She said that when they were growing up in Ilesa the only company they knew of was IUTTC, but that by the time she came back from England, it really wasn't very important any more.

But it still exists, still has assets, and they meet because of the assets. But most of the original group is now very old. For example, Chief Ajayi-Obe is the chairman now. And the children of the original group have other interests. For example, one is Dr. Majankuola, who is head of OAU Teaching Hospital; another is a professor who is now in Saudi Arabia.

She mentioned that the organization wasn't just people from Ilesa, but from all of Ijesa. Majankuola is from Imesi-Ile, while the other person she mentioned is from somewhere near Ijebu-jesa. And they were all friends. She said the Ijesas were more united then than they are now, and she thinks it was politics that affected them. She said that all of the big Ijesa people were involved in IUTTC.

I said that it would be interesting to find out more about what happened, and she agreed, said that her brother would be the one to talk to about it. She then said that someone should write a book about it, and thought that maybe one of her brothers (Olu or Akin) should do that.

On other matters, Mobo told me that she has to go to a ceremony today for an old woman who died (there was an ad in the Daily Times about her). The woman's first daughter is Mrs. Omole. The body will be coming from Lagos, and a group will dance to accompany it from some point to the house. Then

this evening there will be the wake-keeping.

Tomorrow she will be going to Ibadan for something. And her husband will also be in Ibadan, for a Rotary meeting.

Notes122

Fieldnotes, Friday July 10, general on trip to Ilesa Friday afternoon

I went to Ilesa mainly to try to see some people to say goodby. I stopped first to see Chief Lamikanra. I mentioned the Egbe Atunluse celebration and he said it had gone well, but didn't say much more about it. While I was there a young man came to see him, who turned out to be the campaign manager for Ebenezer Babatope (SDP senate candidate from Ilesa who was recently banned from running). Apparently Babatope is Lamikanra's relative (cousin or nephew), and this man is interested in leasing Lamikanra's bakery (which is idle) because he distributes flour and wants to go into baking. (When I asked what he does, after he had left, Lamikanra first said "he's a smuggler", then explained that he's in flour business.

I looked for Fatireguns and Onibonojes in Ijebu-jesa but didn't find anyone. I stopped to see Ilesanmi and was told he was in Ibadan.

On the way back to Ife, I stopped at Iya Dunni's and told her I would come to see her on Monday. (She wasn't there when I first got there, but came back while we were buying our akara for lunch). The woman who works for inland revenue was there, however; her office is in the building right next door to Iya Dunni's.

While driving thru Ilesa, I noticed that several roads were blocked or being blocked for parties. The road leading off Okesa, behind the Texaco Station, was already blocked. Another one was being set up in Ikoti area. We also saw two funeral processions, one at the entrance to Ilesa, near the old immigration office, and the other outside Ilesa on the road to Osu.

Notes123

Fieldnotes, Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting, Saturday July 11

The meeting was scheduled to begin at 11 AM, at the hall at the brewery. I got there at 10:45, at which point there were about 5 people there--Kunle Ifaturoti and another man were sitting and talking at the table set up in the front of the room, there was a relatively young man standing outside the door, who greeted me, and one or two others were inside. I greeted Kunle and he introduced me to the man with him, and seemed surprised that the man didn't know me already. Later I found out that his name is Teju Oyeleye. Another man arrived a few minutes later, and Kunle reprimanded him for being late; he turned out to be the new secretary or administrative officer. He brought copies of the minutes from the last general meeting in October. I got a copy.

At about 11:10 Justice Eso and Ambassador Haastrup arrived. A few others had also come in and taken seats at the tables. The man at the door was still there, and a man in pink agbada circulated a sheet for names and handed out copies of the minutes. Some people were paying money.

By 11:15, there were only three people seated at tables, and five at the high table in front--Ifaturoti, Eso, Haastrup, the secretary and Oyeleye.

Ifaturoti began his welcome address at 11:15 and got the meeting underway. He didn't want to wait longer to begin even tho there were few people there. The following is based on a combination of the notes I took and the tape I made, but is not complete transcription of the tape.

Ifaturoti welcome speech was brief. He said that his chairman's report had been circulated, and that he hopes there will be reactions to it later. He also said that the constitution is in the process of being drafted and that there will be a general meeting to discuss it in March 1993, when it will be corrected and ratified. He said that the Council has begun an endowment fund, "endowment fund" in quotes he said, because usually an endowment fund is set up for a particular purpose, but in this case the fund is for the group to use for any of the purposes they need it for. "Later we are going to find a proper name for it." Members of the council have contributed N2000 each to the fund, and he asked other members to do so as well, in addition to paying their subscription to the organization.

He went on to say that two of the chairman of standing committees will speak and that the administrative executive will read the minutes. And he asked those who haven't completed the forms should do so.

Then he introduced me to the group, and told them about my research.

While Kunle was talking, a few others arrived, including Kunle Oluwasanmi (who I met in Lagos) and Mr. Apara, who joined the group at the table in front. By 11:30, there were about 15 people in addition to those at high table. They were all men, some were older but several were younger, appeared to be in their forties. Then a man and woman arrived, and both sat at the high table. Later I was introduced to them, and got her card:

She is Mrs. V. Olufunke Yoyole, while he is called Prof. Yoyole, I think they were both at U.I. but are retired. They live in Ibadan. Later, Ifaturoti told me that she was the first to contribute to the endowment fund. Mr. Fatiregun also arrived around this time.

Then the Administrative Executive read the minutes of the last meeting. (Since I have a copy I don't include them here).

Kunle then asked for any corrections to the minutes, there were none, and Dr. Makanjuola moved adopted and Teju Oyeleye seconded.

Ifaturoti then commented on some of the matters of interest that were in the minutes. He said that with regard to the delegation that was to be sent to Sokoto, that hasn't materialized yet, that there is still time to do so, but that there are some problems. Secondly, with regard to the assignment to Justice Kayode Eso to discretely find out "what it is we have against each other". That is being actively pursued, and Eso will make a report. He said that there is a member who is here today who has done research on why there is disaffection among the Ijesa. And that someone wrote about this for the kiriji committee.

Kunle was then going to have Eso speak on this issue, but there were some other people who wanted to speak in connection with topics from the minutes.

Haastrup asked about the statement that the various reports from the committees would be coordinated, and he wanted to know if that has happened. He then spoke about developments between the last minute and now in connection with Ijesa National Day. He asked if people have knowledge of this, and said that there is to be a planning committee which will be inaugurated on July 18 (next Saturday) and that people will be requested to serve on subcommittees.

Kunle then mentioned that the constitution is discussed in the annual report, and that is why he didn't mention it now. He then went on to talk about Ijesa National Day. He said that what he knows is that a number of Ijesa societies have been working differently toward the same goal. He said that he is aware of plans for an Ijesa National Day, but is not himself involved. Then he said that the "Ijesa Solidarity Group Council thinks it is a little premature to have a national day for the whole of Ijesaland at the moment. When we have resolved all outstanding problems, when we have resolved all issues affecting Ijesa unity, we will go into the quesiton of having a national day. Then the issue will solve itself. ...We all in the Council of Ijesa Solidarity Group identify will all national days throughout Ijesaland. If we are invited to any national day, we attend, we make it a point of duty to attend because we are Ijesas, whether you are from Ibokun, or Ipetu or whatever, if you are having a national day and you invite us, we will attend. But to have an Ijesa National Day, I think is a very very important issue, and we should leave it (unclear on tape)... " then he asked for discussion on this.

Teju Oyeleye spoke about the national day. He said they should monitor the meeting on the 18th, and mentioned other groups that are interested in it,

such as the Ijesa Society Lagos. He said that they need a list of all the Ijesa organizations. He also suggested that they have copies of papers to be discussed before the meeting so can review them beforehand.

At this point, Kunle introduced the Administrative Executive, Mr. Awofodeju, and said that the next meeting there will be lots of papers in advance.

By 12:00, two more women had arrived, and there were 8 people (one woman) at the high table, and about 18 others at the other tables.

Then Kayode Eso spoke. He first mentioned the need to have papers in advance, and suggested the chairman talking to the secretary to make sure that papers are circulated in advance. Then he spoke about the endowment fund, and said he didn't know how many of members had received notice about this issue. he said he knows about it because he's a member of the council, but he never received a notice. He said notices should be sent out, people shoud be tracked down by the Administrative Executive because they are all very busy. He said that the first person to pay is the lady here with us (Mrs. Yoyole), that she took out her wallet and paid N2000. Also mentioned that he had paid his today, and said that now that you have notice, please pay.

Kunle Ifaturoti then said that Engr. Oyeleye had paid N1000. then he said it won't be policy to announce what people have paid.

A man got up to speak from the floor. He said that his name was Bejede from Lagos. With regard to Ijesa National Day, he said they should resolve that today. About the endowment fund, he said he would admin exec to distribute papers on it, what it's all about, what's the objective, that's what motivates people to donate. Also, when donate, it shouldn't be done anonymously, even in the house of the lord, when people donate, it's mentioned. He feels it's good to announce contributions.

At this point I noticed that Mrs. Abe had arrived, she greeted me when she went by, and Kunle had her join them at the high table.

Then an older man spoke. First he thanked those who have organized the solidarity group. He said that the idea of an Ijesa National Day is a very important one and that it's important for those outside to know what is going on. All socieites in Ijesaland should be informed about it. He also spoke about endowment fund.

(note: I changed tape at this point and missed some of what was said).

Another man spoke about Ijesa national day, and said that it was important to have a national anthem for Ijesas, and that there is a group already working on this. He said the committee on the national day should take that up.

An older man got up to speak, introduced himself as a pensioner. He expressed gratitude to those who've organized group. He said there is a need for publicity. He said they should find ways to motivate Ijesas

wherever they are. He said he had some visitors from Ijebu-jesa and Otan-Ile and showed them the information on the meeting today. One of them is based in Kano, the other in Kaduna. He said that it is time "we wake up in Ijesaland, to address issues that affect people in our fatherland". Need to fight for our rights and issues that affect us. He then gave example that he doesn't like the way we are being treated with regard to the water supply scheme.

Then Makanjuola was called on, introduced himself said that he is based in Ibadan. With regard to the National Day, he said the broader the base the better. But then he said he hadn't heard anything about plans for the 18th. It was clear from his comments that he thought the celebration was scheduled for the 18th, didn't realize it was just a planning committee meeting.

Then Fatiregun spoke, saying something about the duties of the secretary. Then he pointed out the Ijesa National Day is not taking place on the 18th. He said that he is a member of the group, and that the inaugual meeting of the group is on the 18th, that the date for the day is to be fixed later.

At this point, another woman who had arrived was brought to sit at the high table.

Then Kunle spoke, saying he's like to react to some issues that have been raised. First about the endowment fund. He explained again that they will find the proper name for the endowment fund later. But that if we want to do things in the context of the aims and objects of the group, which are to promote the unity, social, economic, educational and cultural among all people in Ijesaland or of Ijesa origin; 2, to promote rapid and sustained economic growth, modernization and development of Ijesaland, and act within context of need for integration in Nigeria, to foster brotherhood among all Ijesas (this is close but not exact quote), the money we need will not be from the annual dues, which we hope to use only for maintenance of secretariat and current expenditures. We need money to defend the rights of any and every Ijesa, protect interests of any and every Ijesa, that has got to be within what we are calling the endowment fund. What we have in mind is N100million. We have in mind 125,000 members. I know the census gives total population of Ijesaland as 138,000--correction, 380,000 for whole of Ijesaland. In actual fact, there are some 50 million(15 million?) Ijesas in Brazil, and we attend to rediscover them and get them to participate in what we are doing. This is one thing the progressive socieities, improvement socieites, etc. cannot aim to do. This is why we want all of them to act under the umbrella of this society. So whatever you can afford to put into the endowment, put into the endowment.

About contacting other societies, he has already written to some. But now with the admin exec he won't just write but will contact in person.

Re national anthem, he thinks this is an issue that the council of the soicety will take up. "We must not adopt anything that is going to create antipathy among any group of Ijesas." He again emphasized that we are all Ijesas, that people elsehwere, e.g., in Ibadan, don't make distinctions among Ijesas, people in Osun state don't make that disticnction when they

say they're not going to allow Ijesas to dominate Osun State, as they have done.

With regard to the problem of water that has been raised, he said that this is the type of thing that they will set up an ad hoc committee to study, it's not something to be discussed here. Get people who are knowledgeable to give a report.

At this point Kunle mentioned that meeting would have to end soon. He then expressed his disappointment at the response, that out of 260 members only 30 people are here. That this is very very unsatisfying, but that it won't deter us from going on (applause at this). When meet again, please bring friends.

He then asked for the chairman of the National Affairs committee to address the meeting. Mr. Apara got up to speak. He said that what he wanted to speak about was the problmes that face them, how changes in Nigeria affect us as a group. He asked the question of how a group like theirs reacts to changes. He then listed various global forces that cause change, including things like war and famine, and ending with the creation of Osun State. Then said he'll concentrate on creation of Osun State. He also referred to what has happened in eastern Europe recently. (the comments were quite rambling for a while and I couldn't follow what point he was making).

He then talked about the creation of Osun state and said that he didn't think many of them realized how much they were hated at Ibadan until Osun state was created. As soon as the Ijebus left, attention was focused on the Ijesas. He went on to say that state creation had led to a lot of movement, with civil servants being moved from Ibadan to Oshogbo. He said that the instability in Osun State now reflects the fear and hostility of Ijesas. He said that there is also a crisis in the minds of Ijesas as to how they will fit in to the new state. And thirdly, the crisis of unity among Ijesas themselves. He said we are individualists and it is difficult for us to work together as a group.

(He said quite a bit more, which is on the tape but difficult to understand).

Then the Chairman of the Ways and Means committee was called on--Justice Eso. He said that he wanted to speak on two issues. He spoke first about the special assignment he was given to look at the problems of disunity in Ijesaland. He said that he wanted to talk about what he has done so far. He said that courtesy of Olashore and Akinola, he was at a dinner party at Ijebu-jesa, to which a cross-section of Ijesas were invited, including public servants who had just moved to Osun, Directors-General etc. He said they had general discussion and that he was able to find out that the problem, the real problem, with Ijesa as a whole is distrust. People outside Ilesa distrust Ilesa people, and they have reasons, very good reasons. Then, after that, another circumstance arose, where he was invited or coopted to be on a committee that was looking into the problems between the district obas and the high chiefs, and he was able to inform himself about the problems. He said that on one side there is conservatism, people saying that we must live with the past. The other

side is modernity, the extreme case, we are not interested in that past, the past is gone, let us talk about what we should do in modern day without reference to tradition. He said that the committee has submitted its report to the Deputy Governor, so he can't say what's in it, but that they have been able to go into a lot of issues and problems, and make recommendations agreeable to all. He mentioned that there were three members of the committee, 2 are not chiefs, one is, but not involved in the dispute.

On the issue of tradition vs. modernity, he then said that they have to try to find a basis for moving ahead, that they can't just stay where they are, and follow tradition, but must also pay attention to history. He advocated a middle course. He said that we have to think of ourselves that we are all Ijesas, people outside don't distinguish among them, even now, they are trying to drive them out of universities, out of tertiary institutions.(he got very loud, emotional at this point, expressing the outrage that they could try to drive Ijesas out of universities (in Oyo State). He then went on to say that the writer of the book, Ijesas and Nigerians, "would have thought Ijesas are one, Nigerians are another" (some laughter).

Then he spoke about the Ways and Means Committee. He said with regard to addressing themselves to 100,000 Ijesas, they should raise that to 125,000 Ijesas, and if they can get N1000 from each of them, that will be 12.5 million. Even in currrecny now, that's a lot of money, even in other currencies, outside currencies, Lillian Trager's currency, that's a lot of money. Then he said that if you think of raising that kind of money you have to think about what it is for. "Do we want it to build palaces for the oba? or to build market places? or for town halls in Osu or Ibodi? Let us use it for a purpose that will bring our children to Ijesaland, to create employment." He said that we've all gone out from Ijesaland, that we probably wouldn't have gone out if there were work here, if there had been something like IBL here, some of us, some of our children would have stayed here. We should use the money in a way that will bring a future to Ijesaland. With regard to the mention of mortgage banks, community banks, why not? If it's put in Ijesaland, this is money well spent.

Before ending, he raised one other issue, that the College of Education, that there are moves to make it degree awarding institution. He thinks they should try as a body to come out with something to donate, do something for the institution, will give publicity, but not just empty publicity. On this, they have to move fast.

Kunle then spoke, saying they have ten minutes before they have to end the meeting, because there is another event scheduled here.

On what Eso had spoken about, regarding the College of Education, he suggested that they send a resolution to the Osun State government with regard to the College of Education and the College of Technology Esa Oke, saying this group supports these institutions, and will give material support and other support, which will enhance their status. And if motion passes, will give publicity to it.

To this, Haastrup stated that he moved the motion as stated by the chairman, it was seconded, and there was a standing ovation for the motion. Then Ifaturoti said they would get it published so all those who need to know would know that both instituions have additional support from Ijesaland.

The man named Bejede spoke, regarding the problems within Ijesaland. He said he's quite sure that most of those here are from Ilesa, and wouldn't like to ask how many are from where in Ijesaland. He said they must try to bring others in. Also, he said that the "so-called district obas" must be made to feel very very important because they are very important to their people. And those districts must be made autonomous, that that is the core of the problem. Look at Yugoslavia, Russia, etc., He seemed to be advocating "being autonomous" while also being "together"; it wasn't very clear.

Then Dr. Makanjuola spoke. He suggested that with regard to membership, that a delegation of ISG should visit other organizations and adress them re. the usefulness of ISG. Rather than just trying to approach individuals. He also suggested that the chairman and other top officials of ISG could invite the top people of these organizations to a luncheon.

A woman sitting at the high table (don't know her name) spoke about the issue of unity. She said they are not united as Ijesas, we are only talking of being from Ibokun, being from (?), etc. She said that anything we can do to make that unity materialize, would be appreciated. She said that even the roads are sending us apart. If you are from Ibokun you go thru Ikirun, not Ilesa to go to Lagos. We should think of ways that can bring us together, we should get to know each other by providing roads and things that can provide ways for people to be able to come to Ilesa and begin to think of ourselves as Ijesa. There was applause after her comments.

Then a man named Dr. Aworinde from Lagos spoke. He said that it appears the chairman is discouraged by the number of people in attendance. He said he wants to appeal to the council not to be discouraged. He is sure that with time more and more people will join the solidarity group. He said that an important matter that has been mentioned is that of getting people from outside Ilesa, and to encourage those people. He said that he's sure there are people on the high table who know people from Ipetu-Ijesa, from Imesi-Ile, Esa-Oke, Ibokun, etc.; they should try and bring more and more of these people in. Will then succeed in bringing Ijesas together. He also talked about the idea of limiting or fixing membership. He said it's not the number, but the awareness of every Ijesa son and daughter. We shouldn't fix the number. In Ijesaland, 50 people could raise 125 million Naira, there is no doubt about that. Also people can contribute in other ways, not just financial. The main thing is to get people aware.

Kunle spoke, saying that he doesn't want people here to have the impression that all of us here are from Ilesa, that that is not true. We have a lot of people from all over Ijesaland and they are taking a very active part, very active in the council, they play a crucial role, so it's not something we need to overemphasize. I don't to make them feel that we are

condescending; they are playing their full role as Ijesas, they are playing a very vital role, from Ipetu, Ijebu-jesa, Ibokun and so on, they are all there. When I say we want 100,000 members I am talking of one in every three Ijesas, if you have one in every three Ijesas as members of this society, we will have everyone, we can't get everyone to be members, but one in three would be good enough.

Then Professor Yoyole, at high table, spoke. He spoke about the diagnosis of the chairman of the ways and means committee regarding disunity. It's a statement of fact that there is distrust between those from Ilesa and those outside. But we should also remember that a few of us have crossed that border, I am from outside Ilesa, I chose my wife from Ilesa (applause), we've been married for over 30 years and we're still going strong. I think we can think of several examples where it has worked. Sometimes we tend to propagate something that is already breaking down, and we should strengthen the breaking down of that distinction. Also make point that perhaps there is even more distrust among those who are outside Ilesa, among themselves, I can say that with authority being in the center of that kind of thing. Even one mile, two mile difference. We have to tackle this problem at a more grassroots level. Then he said he had a suggestion with regard to the endowment fund. The question of what is the purpose of the endowment fund, people want to know exactly what will it be used for before they put in their money, he thinks those are legitimate questions. He said that he thinks you get better results when people work on a common project, when each individual can see what he will get out of it. It's not enough to say that we're all Ijesas and the money is for the developmetn of Ijesaland. When you can't identify what you will get out of it, it's not all that easy (to get contributions). So makes suggestion, instead of just an endowment fund for general development of Ijesaland, you were to call it an investment fund, whatever you have contributed no matter how little, is already invested in savings or fixed deposit or whatever, and whoever has contributed knows that his money is yielding dividends. Then they know they are earning interest on their contribution. You may not know what the money will be used for, perhaps that will come later. But they know that what they have contributed in an investment, and for a larger purpose. And if something happens later, and the group folds up, they know they will get that investment back.

A man named Adegumi (?) spoke, about the report by Apara on the issue of the relation between Ijesas and others. He said that the problem is more of an elite problem, relating to competition among elites for positions. This involves a lot of emotion. e.g., with Osun State, he remebers his secretary, who is an Ibadan woman, actually weeping. He thinks there's more problem of disunity among Ijesas, of individualism and selfishness. He said that in his career in service (ie government) and even in the private sector, he thinks he's benefitted more from people from other ethnic groups than from Ijesa. It may be because we are very liberal we have traveled all over the world, and so the issue of where someone comes from does not really matter. It may be rooted in our history. But I think we need to love ourselves better than we have done in the past. Re. the issue of the obas, relations between Ilesa and outside, this is something that may be historical, I have even heard people from other parts of Ijesaland say they are not Ijesa. He suggested that this needs to be

studied, must recognize fact that within Nigerian society now, we are one. He made the suggestion that we need to give expression to the need for unity, even within ISG, so he suggested that meetings be held outside Ilesa, e.g. Ibokun, Osu, Ijebu-jesa. With regard to the fund, and idea that money will be invested. He suggested that we go ahead and establish a limited liability company whose objective would be to establish some economic projects. Thus people would be subscribing to shares, not just contributing to a fund. That fund would be yielding money, some merchant banks give high interest rates, up to 23% (?) per annum, and others probably paying 18. this is a way that people can be encouraged to part with their funds. It shouldn't be for some nebulous activity like building palaces. Of course, they can raise funds for other purposes too, but the actual fund should be an investment.

He went on to say that he is a civil servant in Osun State, and that he feels he should discuss the subject of the Ilesa-Oshogbo Road. It is a federal road, but he feels that road is too important for Osun State to continue to be considered a federal road. They should get the Osun State government to take over that road. When we were children in the 1940s that road was already a showpiece in Nigeria. That road is doing incalculable damage to the economy of Ilesa.

Kunle spoke, saying they have already exceeded their time. But that he feels compelled to comment on what last two speakers have said. To let people know that idea of investment of the endowment fund was the original idea of the ways and means committee. But that they have had counter recommendation, particularly from the committee on economic affairs, that starting an investment fund could be counterproductive. So will have bring the different viewpoints back to the council, and reopen the discussion. The least we can do for those who contribute to the endowment fund is to have the money in an account which will yield interest. And we will consider the option of investment.

He then commented that even tho the number attending has been very poor, he thinks this has been a very successful meeting. He thanked people. And said that at the next meeting, every one should bring at least 10 other people. There was a question about the next meeting, he said it would probably be in March, to consider the draft constitution, and that it would be circulated in advance.

He commented again that he was upset by the numbers, but that it had been successful. He asked for closing prayer, but someone reminded him to adjourn meeting first, which was done. Then Mr. Adeyemi said closing prayer, which was short and general.

By the time the meeting ended, there were about 40 people there.

People mixed and spoke with each other after the meeting. I stayed around and spoke with several people. Kayode Eso came over and we spoke briefly, and I told him that I would be going to Ibadan and planned to stop at his house on Sunday. Ayo Oni came up to me and apologized for not having been at the meeting of the Ilesa Frontliners, because he had traveled to the U.S. Mrs. Abe greeted me again and we spoke briefly. She also introduced

me to Mrs. Yoyole, who gave me her card, and then I met her husband--Prof. Yoyole--as well. They are from Ibadan. They were chatting with Ifaturoti about the issue of investment. Ifaturoti said that the problem is that Olashore and Akinmokun don't want the organization to invest. Yoyole's wife commented that those two can afford to donate, and Prof. Yoyole said that "they are in money and they can give 100,000 and won't notice it." But he agreed that they are the ones who don't want to put their money into something.

An older man came up to me and said he would be interested in my research. He said that he lives in Ilesa and that he could be contacted thru Ifaturoti but I didn't get his name.

Ayo Oni gave Kunle a ride to his house, and I followed him there, and stopped to visit for a little while. (see other notes).

Amoye Institute for Educational Research and Development

V. Olufunke Yoloye (Mrs) J. P. FCAN
B.Sc. M.Sc.

Executive Director

Office: 2 Olajide Close, Agbowo
Behind JKIC Hotel
P. O. Box 20691
U.I. Post Office
Ibadan, Nigeria
Tel. (022) 413544

Residence: 3 Opeyemi Close
Off Water Reservoir
Road
Orita Bashorun
Ibadan, Nigeria
Tel. (022) 712927

Notes124

Fieldnotes, conversation with Mrs. Abe, after ISG meeting Sat. July 11

I spoke briefly with Mrs. Abe. She said that she had come from Lagos just for the meeting and that she plans to go back to Lagos today, although she will see what happens when she gets to the family house, as she hasn't been in Ilesa recently, this is her first visit in a month, and she has to see what the family wants.

She will have her meeting of the women's group in Lagos tomorrow, and we arranged for Bodunde to see her to get the questionnaires on Wednesday.

Notes125

Fieldnotes, visit at Ifaturoti's after ISG meeting Sat. July 11

I followed Kunle to his house. When he got there, we talked a bit about the meeting. He said that he was very disappointed by the poor attendance. That he had expected more people, because he had received 40 confirmations of people who planned to attend and only 10 apologies. But some of those didn't come. With regard to the effort to get people from other parts of Ilesa, he is concerned of seeming condescending. He said that in fact they already have a lot ofkey people from other Ijesa towns, from Ibokun for example; they have Oluwasanmi from Ipetu, Akinmokun, "the cream of Ijebu-jesa", from Esa Oke they have Bola Ige and others. He said that he was pleased Fatiregun had come, becuase initailly he wasn't interested.

As we were talking, a young man and his wife arrived, they had just come from Warri and were coming for the meeting and were surprised it was already over. His name is Oginni. He discussed the meeting with Kunle a little. Then a young man, probably about 30, who was at the meeting, arrived, but now dressed in t-shirt, cap, jeans, jogging shoes, for the drive back to Lagos. I spoke with him a bit. He said that he had come for the meeting and is going back to Lagos now. We discussed the organization and its objectives. He thinks the key thing is economic development; he said that whenever he comes back to Ilesa, he's concerned about the state of the economy here, the joblessness, etc. He himself didn't grow up in Ilesa but has always come here, and is concerned about it. I asked about the involvement of younger people like himself. He said that those who are serious are concerned about their home area, although some are not, and those who are rich may not be interested because they are not affected. He added that home is always important to Ijesas.

He works in engineering administration. He gave me his name and address: Adebisi Arewa, National Engineering Centre, 1, Engineering Close, off Idowu Taylor Street, Victoria Island, Lagos. Phone 617349, 617315.

Kunle also talked about the idea of an Ijesa National Day. He said that he and others are going to things like Iloko Day, to show support, and that that is better than having an Ijesa National Day at this point.

notes126

Fieldnotes, discussion with Kayode Eso at his house in Ibadan, sun. July 12

I went to Eso's with Mijindadi's. At first only Mrs. Eso was at home, but as we were getting ready to leave, Justice Eso arrived from Ilesa, and we talked a little about the ISG meeting on Saturday. We discussed the issue of ISG involvement in economic development. He said that the people with money aren't interested in putting their money into something. But also, they (i.e. others) don't want those with money to dominate, and if they give a lot, then they will dominate.

I mentioned that there seemed to be things in the past that hadn't worked. He siad yes, the IUTTC, that in fact his father was a shareholder in that. But that the problem with that was that the members were competing with the company, e.g. his father's own business was bigger than that of IUTTC. We agreed that I should learn more about IUTTC and he seemed to be offering to tell me more. He said that there were a lot of divisions that led to its failure, and these divisions still exist. He said things like cults or fraternities (lodges) divideed them, and that the children of those involved are still aware of these. Also politics divided them. He said people don't like to talk about it, but sometimes they do, in a joking way. For example, at a family funeral recently, the younger family members were at his house and were joking about some of these things from the past. He commented that he wished I had been there, that it would have been interesting for me. (This was funeral for woman that I saw announced in paper a few weeks ago).

The couple from Warri who I met at Ifaturoti's yesterday--Oginni--came to Eso's to see her garden. They have a horticulture business.

Notes127

Fieldnotes, interview of Janet Falobi, Iwoye, Monday, July 13.

We had interviewed her husband in the survey and then did a follow-up interview of him (notes119) at which he suggested that I talk with his wife as well. We said we would come this morning at 9 AM, but because of the problem I had with the tire on the car on Sunday we didn't get there til about 11:30. She was still home, however, had apparently waited for me.

She told me the sequence of events in her life, in straight chronilogical order, giving years for everything she told me about.

She said that she was born and bred in Iwoye. She left Iwoye in 1949 to go to Ikirun to study. She joined her parents who were residing there, they were traders there. She was in standard 3 at the time. Before that she had lived with her grandmother in Iwoye.

She finished primary school in 1952. Then she taught primary school in 1953, in Oshogbo. In 1954-55 she went to do teacher training at St. Clairs College in Oshogbo, a Catholic school. Then from 1956-57 she was a primary school teacher in Ikirun; her parents were still there. Her father died in July 1957. In 1958-59 she taught at St. Johns School Iloro, Ilesa, and lived in Ilesa.

She got married in 1959. In 1960 they left for Otupo in Benue State, her husband was teaching at the teacher's college there, and she taught primary school. She was there from 1960-61. Then from 1962-66 they were in Mubi, Gongola State, where she was again teaching primary school. In 1967 she went to Keffi where she was teaching, and then from 1968-75 she taught in Gombe. In 1968-69 she became a Grade 2 Teacher, as a result of in-service training which she did.

Her husband left the north in 1974. she stayed on, but by August 1975 she came to join her husband here, in Iwoye. She was posted to a school in Ijebu-jesa for two years. Then from August 1977 to August 1979 she was at St. Peters School, Ilo-Aiyegunle (on road between Ilesa and Ijebu-jesa). From there, she left for Kotongora, where she went to the Federal Advanced Teachers College (now the College of Education, from 1978-81. She studied fine arts there, and after three years got her NCE. In 1981 she did her NYSC (youth corps) in Ijebu-jesa Grammar School, and then was posted there as a teacher. She stayed there til 1989, aand then retired.

Now she is a pensioner cum trader, she said. She has a provisions shop (her husband said it was a patent medicine shop). She started the shop after she became a pensioner. And in December 8 1990 she became a local government councillor.

I asked if she had been involved in other activities in the town before becoming councillor. She said she hadn't been. She had had an interest in politics before, but hadn't been taking an active part. Now that she is a bit free, she felt she was able to be more active. I asked what is involved in being councillor. She said that it involves interacting with

the community, not just Iwoye but also 7 other villages that are part of her district (ward). She goes around, sees people, listens to their complaints, takes suggestions to the council.

I asked what the concerns are of the people in the area. She said that in Iwoye they are concerned about the roads. They want to construct two major roads, a road to join the road to the general hospital and Ere, and one to join the Eti Oni road.

They also want to rehabilitate the health center and the primary shcool.

There is need for general repairs of the road. And they have pipe borne water but there are some areas which don't get water, so they want to dig wells.

She is the only woman in a local council in the whole Ife'Ijesa Senatorial district.

I asked if she is involved in activities concerning women. She said that she is trying to organize women for a Better Life group. They haven't been doing anything here in connection with Better Life, but she heard about it, and is now trying to organize. She has registered 35 names, they have their meetings on Friday. They have made a farm, but the maize that was to be planted came late, so they will plant it later, because now it is raining too much to plant. They got land from the town for the farm. And the maize from the Council, and they have been promised cassava sticks as well.

She said that the women here are generally farmers, altho some are traders. She then went on to say that personally, she doesn't like farming, but that due to the interest of the women, she had to get interested, she has to learn from them. She herself is interested in trade, she used to trade when she was in school, selling things around the villages. (I asked here what her parents had traded, and she said they sold general merchandise, things like building materials.) She sold things like singlets, shoes, provisions, etc.

I asked whether the women here are involved in production of palm products. She said that the palm oil here is processed by women from elsewhere (who are living here) not by Iwoye people. the palm wine is tapped here by men from here.

With regard to her Better Life group, she said that when it gets established, it will be connected with the main body of better life at Ijebu-jesa, and thru them with the state. But that will be later, when it is established. I mentioned COWAD and Ms. Feyisayo to her, and she asked how to contact her, so I promised to get the address to her.

I asked her about changes in Iwoye between the time she left there and when she returned. She said that there have been lots of changes. For example, the road: when she was very young there was just a footpath, now it is widened and tarred. They have electricity and pipe-borne water. They had one primary school then, now there are two. And they have a community

grammar school. the town itself has expanded, and is "a bit civilized than before". The mode of living here has changed--dressing, eating, living habits have changed.

I asked about people from Iwoye who are living outside the town. She said that there are more people outside than there are living here. They do come back, usually annually, at Christmas-New Years. The young ones mainly come back then, the older ones come regularly. When she and her husband were living outside, they came back to visit.

I asked about her children. The eldest and youngest are in Warri; the oldest works there, while the youngest is in school. One is a lecturer at Kontogora teachers college. Two are in Lagos, as journalists. One is in Ilesa, a teacher, and one is in Calabar, doing NYSC. They come back to visit about every three to six months. One was here yesterday; he (she?) came to check on them, and then go back.

I asked if those outside are involved in town activities. She said that they form clubs and organizations and decide what to do for the town, for example, to contribute money for the palace. There are other projects like the school fund and community development fund (she didn't go into any further information on what these are).

I asked if there are others like them who have come back to live here, and she mentioned her husband's brother as an example of another person who has.

I left, promising to have Bodunde drop off Feyisayo's address.

Notes128

Fieldnotes follow-up interview in Iloko, Monday, July 13.

Follow up interview with P.A. Olashore, Iloko #7

(Note: I had previously confirmed with Dele Olashore that P.A. Olashore is a relative, first cousins I believe).

We had stopped to see P.A. Olashore on Friday afternoon, and had said we would be back around 10:30 on MOnday. But because of delays, we got there around 12:30. We stopped at his house, which is a cement bungalow on the same road as the palace, but on the other side of the junction. He wasn't there, but a woman there went to look for him in the palace, and we were told to come there to see him. He said he had waited for us.

I explained a little about the research and that I wanted to ask him some more questions. His English is quite good and we did the interview in English.

I asked him about living in the north. He said that he had lived in Kasawe, which is now in Jigawa State; it's north of Kano, toward the Niger Republic. He went there in 1944. Before that he had lived in Zongo-Dawura, with his uncle, the late Aloko of Iloko (i.e., D. Olashore's father). Then the UAC transferred him to Kasawe as storekeeper and produce buyer. When he was in Zongo-Dawura he was doing some part-time work there (presumably with his uncle) and UAC saw his job, and transferred him to Kasawe. He ran a UAC store there, selling merchandise and buying produce. He bought groundnuts, Niger gum (which is used for chewing gum), ghee butter (Fulani butter) which would then be refined in Kano. They would send these things on to Kano, and from there they would be sent overseas.

He stayed in Kasawe since 1944. He finally left there this year. He retired from UAC in 1958 and then he continued to buy groundnuts, and deliver them to others for resale. He also did trade; he bought things in Kano and had people to sell them for him. He also had the Postal Agency at his shop.

His interview indicates that he did other work as a building contractor, but when I asked him if he did anything besides trade, he said no. So this time he didn't mention building contracting.

He stayed in Kasawe and had a house and farm there. He was farming groundnuts, millet, beans.

I asked if he ever lived in Iloko when he was young. He said he stayed in Ijebu-jesa when young, and left when he was about 12 years old. Then he went to the north with his uncle. He would come home to visit for two or three years, and then go back north; during that time he would go to with his elders to the farm. He did his schooling in Kano. He speaks Hausa fluently.

When he was working in the north, he would come home for his yearly leave.

His father was a town chief in Iloko, but he stayed in Ijebu-jesa. It was only after his uncle was given his post, as oba, that he started to come directly to Iloko, rather than to Ijebu-jesa.

He just came back to Iloko in February 1992. When I asked why he had come then, he said that the family said he should come home to help, since he is the head of the family. When he left the north, he sold most of his farm, but he still has a compound in Kasawe and is preparing to sell it. He said that when he was told to come home and lead the family, he was compelled to come home and do so.

I mentioned that I had attended Iloko Day. He said that that was the first one. He was not involved in organizing it, but he made a contribution. He said that they are trying very hard to do things in the town. I asked what they plan to do. And he said they want to build a hall, a general hall for the town. And they want to build a market. And they plan to have other amenities for the town.

I asked about his children. He said that some are in Lagos, some in Ibadan. He said that one works in First Bank, and that another one is also working in a bank. His first daughter heads a school in Akure, and the youunger ones are in school. I asked where they went to school. He said that they had started school in the north, but that he found that the school there wasn't as he wanted, so they came home to complete school. They stayed with his mother and other family members here. He feels that the schools are better here than in the north.

He asked a bit about the results of my work. When I mentioned that I sometimes give copies of what I have written to people, he asked for a copy and I said I would try to get him one.

I then asked what he sees as problems in Iloko. He first mentioned health, and said there is a problem with water. He said that the water comes from the river, there are pipes carrying it from the river, but that it isn't treated at all. He said people drink it that way, but that he himself "cooks" his water. He also said that the farmers aren't being shown ways to get more yield from their farms. I asked about women, and he said that the women are farmers here, even more than the men. He said that if they can introduce mechanized farming it will be better.

In relation to water, he then went on to say that his cousin (ie. Dele Olashore, tho he didn't mention him by name, just said his cousin) has started to drill boreholes. He pointed out that there are some workers at work in his compound and we went to the window to see what they were doing. He said that they are drilling one in the compound, which will provide water for the palace and will also have pipes to take the water outside. He said that one has already been drilled, at his cousin's compound (ie where Olashore is building his house). When I was leaving, some of the workmen were outside, and they said that the one at Olashore's house is just about finished, and that they did strike water. They will drill another at the maternity center, and altogether there will be 3 or 4 boreholes.

We did the interview in the first room you enter in the palace. It's a large room without much furniture. There is a big photograph of the late Aluko, and not too much else. I commented on the palace and he said that it was built in 1983. I mentioned that there isn't anyone here now as oba, and he said they are in the process of selecting a new one.

Comment: P.A. Olashore was friendly and helpful, and would have answered more questions. I found his answers about problems to be interesting, and a bit different from what you usually get.

Notes129

Fieldnotes, Monday July 13, brief visit with Iya Dunni, Osu

I had stopped by Iya Dunni's shop on Friday afternoon and had said I would stop Monday on my way back from Ilesa, which I did. I didn't stay long, it was mostly to say goodby and give her a gift (some earrings), She gave me a photograph of herself.

Notes130

Fieldnotes, attempts to see people in Ilesa and Ijebu-jesa to say goodby, Tuesday July 14

I stopped to see Chief Ilesanmi, and arrived as he was about to leave. He was going to a Chamber of Commerce meeting at the brewery. We talked for a few minutes. He told me that he would be going to Erua in Oyo State over the weekend for a YMCA meeting, that he has just been elected vice president of YMCA for Osun state.

(On thursday, Ilesanmi came to Ife and found me on campus to give me a gift).

I also looked for Olori Agunlejika at work, but was told that she is working in Ife for a few weeks, so I left a note for her.

On the road to Ijebu-jesa, we passed Onibonoje's son, who stopped to talk to us, to tell us that his father had travelled so that we wouldn't find him if we went there. He said he would be back on Friday. Bodunde and I decided that Bodunde would see him after I leave and bring the notes I promised.

I then went again to Fatiregun's, but neither of them was home. (I had left a note a few days ago saying I would come this afternoon). Again, Bodunde will try to see them after I leave.

Then I stopped at Faseru's house, and Mrs. Faseru was home, and I also met her husband for the first time. Her husband had a lot of questions for me. He didn't remember ever seeing me before, altho she pointed out that we were all at Olashore's dinner honoring the vice chancellor and deputy governor, but apparently he hadn't noticed me. He told me a little about himself, but not much. He said he had been a teacher, then worked in the civil service, and then went into the private sector when he retired. He asked about moving from government to private sector in the US, and indicated that it's difficult to do here, and that one loses benefits and has to start over again.

Mrs. Faseru gave me her address at the brewery: Mrs. Victoria Faseru, IBL, PO Box 104, Omi-Asoro, Ilesa.

Notes131

Fieldnotes conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti, Thursday July 16

I went to see the Ifaturoti's Thursday afternoon, to bring gifts and say goodby (tho I will probably see Tinu again when I return the stove on Saturday, but Kunle had told me he will be at a meeting in Ife on Saturday).

With regard to the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting last Saturday, Kunle said that quite a few people came by his house later, that they came late to the meeting. He said a lot made contributions, that they got about N35,000. At this point, I gave him my contribution (N1000), and his comment was "now they'll have to make me a chief". I asked if there had been any problem getting contributions and he said no, that people are willing to give something. Some gave N200, some N1000. His feeling is that something will come of the ISG efforts. I said that I hoped they could solve the problems of divisions over whether to invest in economic activities, and he said that it's the rich people who don't want to invest, they don't want to put their money into something.

He then went on to say that he intends to focus on the idea of rice processing mill for Erin-Ijesa, that he thinks this is viable and something that he would like to see done before he quits in March. I indicated surprise at idea that he would be quitting, and he said, yes, he wants to leave it to younger people, that the problem is that the younger people are in awe of the older ones like himself, so they don't speak up and offer their ideas. I said there seemed to be quite a few younger people at the meeting, and he said yes, but they don't say anything. On the Erin rice mill, we discussed how it could be set up. His idea is that they would first get a group together to make a study (I suggested MIjindadi as someone to talk to for information, since Eso already knows him), then they would buy whatever is needed to set up the plant and get it operating and then try to find a local group who would take it over, possibly a group organized as a cooperative. I asked who would run it and first he said they would have to hire someone as manager, but then said he wanted it to be something local people would be involved in, to be set up as a cooperative. The actual structure seems kind of fuzzy at this point.

He said that by the time of the next annual meeting of ISG he thinks it should take place outside Ilesa, that they should follow the suggestion that was made at the meeting on Saturday. They should decide on a place and then have a local group in that place make the arrangements. He said that the same suggestion was made in the past to the Ijesa Planning Council and it hadn't been followed and the Planning Council had failed, so they don't want the same thing to happen to ISG.

(Note: Ijesa Planning Council is something else from past that I should look into, like IUTTC).

Kunle told me that on Saturday he has to go to a meeting in Ife, and then be back in Ilesa in time for a meeting at the town hall, that people want him to be present at. This is the meeting to organize an Ijesa National

Day. He will go to the meeting, although he doesn't think this is an auspicious time for such an event. He said that there is a group of younger people organizing it (he didn't mention any names). But at present, when the owa doesn't get along with his chiefs, and the owa doesn't get along with the district obas, and the district obas don't get along with the Ilesa chiefs, this doesn't seem a good time to try to do this. Furthermore, he thinks that if there is to be such an event, it should be on the day of a festival, such as Ogun or Iwude, which in the past brought a lot of people home. I said that I get the impression that people organizing these activities don't want them linked with anything from traditional religion, and he said, yes, they don't want them tied with anything seen as fetish, but that not all the traditional ceremonies are fetish. For example, iwude isn't, and it involves all of Ijesa. But he said that all the chiefs have a role to play in iwude, so it would be hard to do when all the chiefs are going their own way. He also said that it is the local government chairmen who are behind organizing Ijesa National Day, but that beyond that he doesn't know much about it, that he'll see what happens on Saturday.

When I was leaving, Kunle said that the secretary had wanted to send me the letter that he was sending out to everyone who attended the meeting on Saturday, but that he had told him that I'm just an obersever and don't need a copy. So I asked what was in the letter. He said he thanked people for attending and asked them to react to some issues, such as the membership of corporate bodies (ie. other organizations). He said that some feel that it is presumptious of ISG to ask other groups to join them, since they are a new organization and the others have been in existence much longer.

Notes132

Notes132

Notes132

Fieldnotes, conversation with Tola Pearce, Thursday July 16, re. Akinola-Olashore connection

While talking generally with Tola, we were discussing the bad state of roads in Victoria Island. I mentioned trying to get to Olashore's bank, and she immediately said, oh, Leads Merchant Bank. Then explained that that is Akin Akinola's bank, that he and Olashore are in that bank together, altho she doesn't know Akinola's actual position there. She said they are very close, that she became aware of this at something that Mobo Akinola had for Inner Wheel, that Akinola and Olashore stood out there as the two "big men". She doesn't know the basis of the friendship, thought that perhaps since they are both Ijesa they are childhood friends. She pointed out that Ijesas are very "tight".

Notes133

Fieldnotes, general on Ilesa, Friday July 17

I went to Ilesa friday afternoon to take photos with Folarin. At the roundabout there was a big banner announcing the inaugural ceremony of the Ijesa National Day committee on Satu. July 18.

We saw several parties in progress or getting ready to start, one of the road into town before the motor park, one on the road from Ijoka where chairs were being set up.

Also to note re. Fri PM in Ilesa: number of mercedes around, traffic into town.

Notes134

Fieldnotes, converation with Kunle Ifaturoti, Sat. July 18

When I went to Ilesa to return the stove, I saw Kunle briefly. He was about to go to the meeting on Ijesa National Day. He showed me the notes for the brief speech he planned to make, which basically said that Ijesa Solidarity Group had various questions, including: 1) are we a community or a nation? 2) re. the relations between obas. Said that when faced with crisis, join together, and that all are working toward same goals. But it was clear don't really support national day idea at this time.

He also showed me ad in today's Daily Sketch based on the resolution at last week's ISG meeting, and said that will strenghten his voice when he speaks at the meeting today.

fnns1

Fieldnotes, new series

Saturday May 22, 1993

outline: 2 events
Main event--Iloko Day
background
tv announcement day before
prior conversations--Olashore, Nike Afolabi

trip there--gov entourage
arrival--gov, others leaving. followed to school, were returning, came back, Olashore greeting dignataries, I then went and greeted, intro to Gov.
events
speeches
donations
videotaping
dignitaries left
cultural dances, more donations
everyone left
lunch at Olashores--setup, people
left 3 PM, came back about 5, stayed til 7--more people, conversation with Olashore

Second event--Mrs. Abe chieftaincy
people there--Fadahunsi
appointments

I. Iloko Day

Background:
I learned that Iloko Day was scheduled for Saturday May 22 when Olashore telephoned me from Washington a few weeks ago. I changed my plane reservations in order to get here in time for it. While I hadn't spoken to him again after I did that, I did speak with Nike Afolabi when I arrived in Lagos, so she had told him that I would be coming.

On Friday evening, May 21, I was at Richard Olaniyan's in Ife when the Osun State television had the Yoruba news. One of the announcements was that Iloko Day was the next day, and that the governor would be attending. Richard predicted that more likely the Deputy Governor would be there.

Trip to Iloko:
I had asked Folorunso to come from Oshogbo by 8:30 AM, thinking that we would leave early for Iloko, possibly stop in Ilesa on the way, and if not, go first to Olashore's house to let him know I was around. But Folorunso didn't show up til 9:30, and I didn't want to leave without him, especially since I didn't know if there was enough gas in the car to get me there.

So we left at 9:30, together with Femi who had brought Nike's video camera. On the way to Ilesa, we were passed by about 10 cars with sirens going; it was the entourage of the Governor, and we figured they were on their way to Iloko, although it was only 10:10 AM (and I had been told by Nike Afolabi that it was to start at 11). The Governor's car was there, as well as other officials; Folorunso said he thought he saw Olashore in the governor's car but I don't know if that was the case or not, and by the time I saw him he was in his own car.

Arrival at Iloko:
I arrived at Iloko at about 10:30; the governor's entourage was leaving the site where the celebration was being held. We stopped to check on what was happening, it seemed like not many people were there yet, so we decided to go on to Ijebu-jesa to see if Olashore was at his house. As we were driving thru Iloko, we came to the site of Olashore's new school, and realized that that was where the governor's entourage was, we stopped outside, and again, they were leaving, and heading back to the celebration site at the primary school grounds. So we went back there and parked, and waited til the dignataries got seated. As the entourage was leaving Olashore's school, I saw him in his own car.

I saw that Olashore was seated in the front row of the large chairs that had been set up, and I waited off to one side while he greeted various dignataries who had arrived. Then I went over to greet him; he was sitting with the Governor of Osun State, and he introduced me to him. We spoke briefly, he said I should find myself a place to sit, and I told him that I had brought someone to videotape, and wanted to know if that was ok; he said I should "feel free". So Femi started taping, and Folorunso and I found seats a couple of rows back and on the side, where I could go back and forth if I wanted to get down to take pictures.

By this time it was about 10:45.

The set-up:
The place was set up basically as it was last year, on the grounds of the primary school just past the palace. There was a stand, with big heavy upholstered chairs in the front row, and then several rows of plastic chairs (with Olashore name stamped on the back); we sat in about the third row. Then there were two sets of chairs on other side of the long field, for the various groups from Iloko. The emcee was over on the right hand side; also there was a display of the model of the community center they hope to build. All the seating areas were covered with canopies. There was also a microphone in front of the area for dignataries, and some people spoke from there, but the mike wasn't working well and we couldn't hear them.

When we got there, the seating area was not at all full. The dignataries who came with Olashore were there, and quite a number of chiefs filled the second row of chairs. But the chairs behind them were pretty empty, altho they gradually filled up. The seats on the two sides were occupied by various Iloko groups, and some had banners displaying the name of the group.

When we got there the emcee was announcing the arrival of the dignataries; she announced that the Minister of Agriculture was there, and also introduced the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Deputy Governor's wife. The emcee was the same woman as last year, and there was someone else --a man--also making announcements.

There was a school band playing during most of the time while people were arriving and taking seats.

The program:
The program got started at 11:15, at which point there were still a lot of empty seats. I hadn't yet seen people like Mrs. Fatiregun, and in fact didn't see her til quite a bit later. Nike Afolabi arrived not too long after things began, and sat with Folorunso and me.

The program began with the singing of the national anthem, and then they sang the Iloko anthem, which was printed in the program that was being handed out.

Various announcements were made in Yoruba; it was my impression that more Yoruba was used this time than last year, but some of it was apparently translations of what was said in English.

Then J.O. Omoniyi was introduced; this was done in Yoruba, but he spoke in English. He was the chairman of the event, I think. I taped what he said, as well as other portions of the events. (but the tape isn't very clear)

Omoniyi first welcomed everyoned--the Governor and Deputy Governor, Members of the Transitional Council, etc., on "behalf of the regent of Iloko". He welcomed the Governor, and said they should make him an honorary son of Iloko. Also welcomed "our royal fathers" and said that "we feel honored by your presence". He welcomed the members of the Transitional Council,"all the way from Abuja". He spoke about the needs of the community--especially for a school and water. He said that they need a big overhead tank for the water from the boreholes. He said that they are connected to the water system from some place "but unfortunately the water never flows here". He said that this was an opportunity to let them know about the needs of the community and that he was "sure your excellencies will understand". He then talked about the fact that a year ago, on the first Iloko Day they launched a 10 million development fund and that they will always be grateful to those who responded. He said that they have been able to commence the building of a community center on the Ijebu-jesa road. And that they look forward to assistance from well-wishers. He then welcomed people again, wished them safe journey to their destinations, and said that we look forward to seeing them again some day.

Then there was a speech in Yoruba--which I think was a translation of the speech in English, describing the needs of the community. Also the model of the community center was displayed; it is also pictured in the program of events, and there it says that it's designed by Olumide Eso (Justice Eso's son).

Then the Governor made a speech--again, in English. He addressed various people, including "distinguished sons and daughters of Iloko". He began by saying something about the pleasure of being there, and then specifically mentioned "Omooba Oladele Olashore". He praised them for coming together (but the exact words are not clear on the tape; hopefully the videotape will be better), and.said that " community development cannot be left to government alone. He said that he "commends the self-help spirit of the people of Iloko" and noted that they have found avenues to solve their problems themselves. He said that on the first Iloko Day they had collected over N1 million that was used for 2 boreholes and that they have begun work on the community center; the community center will incorporate a "multipurpose community hall, library, and police post." He then said that "I believe that by next Iloko Day, I will be here to commission the community center".--which got lots of applause--

The Governor continued by referring to various projects, including the water project with pipes coming from Esa Odo. I couldn't hear most of what he said, and the tape is garbled. Towards the end he said that he was giving a personal donation of N25,000 to the community center.

Then he ended by addressing himself to the Minister of Finance and other officials from Abuja, and asking them to figure the cost of things, and to figure out how the states are supposed to survive on the amount given to them. (he mentioned a specific amount). He made a joke about it, which brought laughter and some applause.

One of the emcees thanked the governor, in Yoruba and then continued, again I think he was basically translating the speech.

While he was speaking, we began to hear sirens, and some cars arrived. It turned out to be the Ooni of Ife. He arrived at 11:45. Trumpets and drums played to welcome him. There was a lot of commotion as the Ooni arrived in his car, and got out with people holding big umbrellas to shield him. He came and took his place in the stand; his English secretary was with him and she took a seat a few rows further back.

After all that, and after the Ooni was seated, the program began again.

The Minister of Information and Culture (at least I think that's who it was) spoke, and announced various donations:
the Secretary of Agriculture donated N40,000
the Secretary of Information and Culture donated N25000
Alhaji Bakare donated N100,000.

But we couldnt hear most of what was being said because the mike wasn't working.

A donation of N100,000 from Babangida was also announced.

Then there was more in Yoruba, which was a translation of what had previously been said in English.

Then the emcee announced that there would be general donations--they were going to pass a collection plate, and that at the same time there would be entertainment from cultural groups.

Shortly after that there was an announcement that the Ooni of Ife had made a donation of .25 million Naira (ie N25000) which got a big response, that seemed to be to the word "million".

Two other donations announced at that time:
Isiaku Rabu (from Kano)--N250000

SEcretary to the Oni (not the English secretary however) N25,000.

Then Olashore spoke and thanked their "excellencies" for coming. Following that most of the dignataries--the government officials--left. I thought that Olashore had also left as I didn't see him for a few minutes after that, so he may have accompanied them somewhere and then come back, as he was definitely back there in a few minutes. It was about 12:15 or 12:20 when they left. There were again sirens and crowds and cars when they left.

Then several cultural groups performed. The first was a group brought by the chairman of the West Hill (?) Steel Company, located near Iloko on the Akure road; the group was from Asaba area. While they danced I saw Mrs. Fatiregun, who had arrived just before that, join them and dance with them, and spray them. Later she asked me if I had seen her dance with her people.

After some more cultural entertainment, more donations were announced, but I didn't hear names:

N50000
N25000
N3500
another for N100,000--that may have been Olashore as Folorunso told me later that Olashore donated N100,000, but I didn't hear the announcement.

There were also small donations, of N100, N50 announced.

Then the Owa of Ijesaland spoke. He spoke in Yoruba, greeted all the Ijesas. He talked about attending this year and not last, and about the fact that this year he was properly invited. He talked about donations and made a joke, but said he wouldn't announce his own donation.

Olashore spoke again, thanking everyone, especially the obas, for coming. This was again very hard to hear.

The obas all left, and then everyone else began to leave too. In a few minutes, just about everyone had left, and we were among the last people to leave the parking lot. Nike Afolabi decided to go with us, as she hadn't seen Sina who was supposed to pick her up.

Earlier, Olashore had come over to me and said he wanted to speak with me. I got down from the stand, and he thanked me for coming, and invited me to come to the house in Ijebu-jesa for lunch, that everyone would be going there.

Lunch at Olashore's:
When we got to Ijebu-jesa there was a traffic jam in front of Olashore's house, with cars parking and others stopping to let people off, and with a long line of traffic backed up trying to go past. We parked the car and we all went in, but weren't sure where to go. I didn't see Olashore anywhere. Tables were set up under the house on the right of the gate, as well as on the lawn on the left of the driveway. Musicians were also preparing to play out on the lawn. Nike and I went to look for a toilet, and then when we came back we went over to the area on the lawn, to take seats. But then she saw someone she knew, and at about the same time, Dr. Adigun greeted me--he is the Director of Agip who is Olashore's friend who I've had lunch with in Lagos a couple of times. He said he had seen me while I was taking photos (I hadn't seen him). Then I saw Mr. and Mrs. Fatiregun, so I went to greet them. At about that time someone came along who said that all of them should go upstairs to the big sitting room in the building on the right of the driveway--I followed them after first mentioning to Folorunso where I was going. When I walked in, Olashore was sitting by the door, and he immediately said to me to come in and get some food, before he talked with me. As with last year's event, there was a table set up in the center of the room with a buffet, so I joined the line and got food, and then sat with Mr. and Mrs Fatiregun in some of the chairs along the wall.

Most everyone was sitting on the chairs along the wall, but there was also a group of old men who I think are assistants to various chiefs; they were sitting on the floor. The obas were elsewhere; they appeared when they were leaving, walking thru the large sitting room. Also in the room were three other Europeans--the woman who turned out to be the secretary to the Oni, who I spoke with briefly, and the couple who Olashore has hired at his new school--the principal and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Burgess, who I also spoke with briefly.

Lots of other people were downstairs, at the tables set up there, and later there was also dancing there, but I didnt see that as I was still upstairs. There must have been several hundred people there altogether.

After I ate, I realized that the Ife Vice Chancellor was sitting across the room, but wasnt sure it was him, so I checked with Mrs. Fatiregun, who said it was. I went over, but he didn't seem to recognize me; then Dr. Adigun was there and began to introduce us, and then Omole looked at me and recognized me. He greeted me warmly and we chatted a few minutes; he took me over to meet Dr. and Mrs. Burgess, telling them that they should get to know me because I know so much about the area and have spent so much time here. I also had a chance to tell Omole about how the exchange is going,and about Lee's arrival soon. I told him I would come see him soon.

I talked a bit with Olashore, he was basically moving around among different groups of people, greeting new people. I talked some more with Mrs. Fatiregun, then found Nike again, who was still trying to figure out how she was going to find Sina. A lot of people seemed to have left by then, and it was about 3 PM.

Then Mrs. Fatiregun mention ed that she had to go to Ilesa to go to another event. She said it was a chieftaincy installation for Mrs. Abe; I asked if it was the Mrs. Abe who lives in Lagos, and when she said it was, I asked for more information. She told me that the reception was to be held this afternoon at the Social Elite Club on the Oshogbo road, so I decided to go.

I talked briefly with Olashore and said that I'd like to go to that other event but could come back to Iloko again, so we agreed that I would do that. He said that he could send a driver to take me back to Ife later.

I also mentioned my petrol problem, and it was good I did, because first he checked to see if there was fuel at the Agip station in Ijebu-jesa (which he owns) and was told there was, but I said the car was in Ife. So he called over Dr. Adigun and asked him about Ife, and he said that there was fuel there, and that he would write a note on his card (the last of his cards that he had with him) asking the dealer there to sell me petrol.

I left Olashore's house after 3, and returned at about 5. (info. on the Abe ceremony in other notes).

When I got back to Olashore's there still seemed to be quite a few cars around, and people were still arriving to greet him--I think a lot of them were people who hadn't attended. Some handed him envelopes with donations, which he gave to others to take care of.

When I went back upstairs, Olashore was sitting on a couch talking with Omole, so he invited me over to sit with them (between them of course). Olashore was talking about some interview he had given, as Minister of Finance, and then about a BBC reporter who called him in the middle of the night to ask him about the African Development Bank meeting. He thought some of his questions were stupid, and told him so. He also said the United States is trying to "hijack" the AFrican Development Bank.

A little later, Omole wrote out a check for the Iloko Development Fund for N5000.

There were various other groups of people sitting around--a group of men in one corner (about 8-10 people) and then smaller and more fluid groups. Mostly men but some women too. After a while the Fatireguns came back; they had not gone to Ilesa because an auntie had arrived, so they came back with her. Mr. Fatiregun introduced her to me as a businesswoman, and later Olashore said that she's a millionaire.

Olashore left me and Omole after a while to go talk with some other women who had arrived. A little later I went over to him, and then he was talking to an old man, to whom he introduced me. Then I realized that the old man was the man from Iloko who we interviewed last year in the palace--who Olashore refers to as his uncle. The man them seemed to remember me, and I said I might come to ask him more questions.

By about 6 PM I was getting pretty tired, and also concerned about how I was going to get back to Ife--and when. Olashore had gone outside to talk to some people, and I joined him, and we decided that we should talk, so I could give him the information about the school--about my conversation with Dwayne and others about interest in an exchange with his school.

But first, he was talking and joking with Mrs. Fatiregun and the other woman who had come with her. They were leaving to go to Ilesa. Before they left, he gave Mrs. F. N100. Then he talked some more with the other woman, telling me that she is a millionaire. Then after a few minutes he pulled out another N100, and gave that to Mrs. F. to give to the other woman. (I had an interesting conversation with Richard Olaniyan about this the next day).

Then we went and sat down and talked for a while, mainly about the school but also about various other things. I told him about my conversation with people in Wisconsin and the potential interest, and suggested he should plan to visit there next fall; we talked about September when he comes for the IMF meeting.

I had said I wanted to see the school, but it got too late so I'll have to do that another time.

We also talked about what else was happening in Iloko that evening; he said that there would be a late night party either there at his house, or in Iloko, that he would prefer it be in Iloko as he was tired. He said I could stay for that if I wanted, that his driver would take me back, or could even take me back to Ife and bring me back again, but I didn't see much point in that. He seemed to be considering whether there was any room there where I could rest, tho he didn't actually say so, but the impression I got was that the place was pretty full, and he didn't offer anything. At one point he suggested the school, but then said the place wasn't finished yet (the principle and his wife are living there).

He gave me his phone numbers, as I can reach him in Abuja, but since I don't generally have a phone, he can't reach me.

I finally left at about 7 PM and got driven back to Ife, got there about 8.

I told Olashore that I would like to give a donation, but suggested I give it to him in dollars later as I didn't have that much Naira to spend right now. He asked what I wanted to give so he could give the equivalent and I would owe it to him. I said $50, so he said that that is N1000 according to him, that unlike the US, he thinks their exchange rate should be N20 to the $.

Fieldnotes ns2 May 25 1993

Follow-up notes on Iloko Day

1. On Monday May 24 I saw Kings, one of the people from Nike's when I got to Oshogbo. He told me that the news about Iloko Day had been on TV Saturday nite, and that they reported that there were four ministers there, as well as lots of others.

2. I spoke with Folorunso on Tuesday, and he said that the four ministers included the Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Commerce, Minister of Culture. Three of the four are Hausa, one Igbo.

3. I spoke with Olashore on the phone Mon. nite May 24. He said that after I left he rested a while, then went to Iloko to see his uncle and others, and that he really didn't attend the party, which did take place at the house in Ijebu-jesa.

4. While we were at Iloko on Saturday, Nike told me that all the checks that are donated will come to her at the bank. I asked her whether her job there is more or less personal assistant, and she said that she didnt know, that she does lots of different things and that it is very challenging, but that she enjoys it.

5. Review of videotape:

There is lots of additional information on the video, which I watched in Oshogbo with Femi (who did the tape) and Folorunso), on Tues. and Thursday evenings. We plan to go back thru it to identify key participants, and to get additional material from the speeches and on the contributions.

Towards the end of the tape there is the speech made by the Owa of Ilesa. Femi didn't record all of it, but he and I and Folorunso discussed it, and they told me about some of the other things in it that weren't recorded.

They said that the Owa told a story: There was a very rich man and an oba; there was an argument between them as to who was the richest, the oba or the wealthy man. They called everyone in the town to help decide who was the richest. First the oba asked the rich man to declare his assets. The man showed them everything he had, he was very rich. Then the rich man told the oba to declare his assets. The oba looked around and said, to start with, you are one of my assets, so all of your assets are mine, so I am the richest.

The Owa went on to say that he wasn't going to say how much he's going to donate. He said that everyone who has donated are his property. The implication, according to Folorunso, is either that he didn't donate anything, or that he didn't give very much so he didn't want to announce it.

Folorunso and I discussed the Owa's speech some more. He said that Femi heard Olashore say something, indicating a negative reaction to the things the Owa said. I said that I didn't think Olashore likes the Owa very much. Olashore's own speech of course didn't directly indicate this. Olashore spoke to thank the obas who attended just after the Owa. In his speech, he mentioned the issue of invitations (the Owa had said that last year he wasn't properly invited so he didn't attend). Olashore thanked one oba who, even tho he didn't receive his invitation, heard about it and attended. But Olashore also said that the Owa had already said most of the things he wanted to say, and thanked the Owa for attending. (Olashore's speech is on the tape so can get more of it when watch the tape again).

Your excellency, Dep. Gov. of Osun State, Prince Adesuyi Haastrup, Transitional Council, Members of National Assembly, Hon. Members of various states house of assembly,honorable commissioners, our royal fathers, my lords, chairman and members of local councils, distinguished ladies and gentleman,
on behalf of the regent of Iloko, the chiefs and the entire community, I wish to welcome you all to Iloko-Ijesa on the occasion of the second Iloko day. We welcome to Iloko His Excellency, Alhaji Isiaka Adeleke, the Governor of Osun State, we welcomed you once in the past thru your deputy, Prince Adesuyi Haastrup. But today we are privileged to have you in person physically in our midst, for the first time, and the entire community has feelings of satisfaction at seeing for the first their elected executive governor. We in Iloko are peaceloving people and are always ready to cooperate with government. We salute you your excellency, for a laudable effort to give Osun State a good image, and we pray for god's guidance and for your personal ....(guidance?--tape cut). ... I am sure very soon we will have to make you an honorary son of Iloko. (applause), We welcome to Iloko our royal fathers, we feel very much honored by your presence. We cherish the kind gesture you always show to us by attending to our invitation. we welcome to Iloko members of the Transitional Council all the way from Abuja, who have come as a guest to one of them. We appreciate the kind gesture you have shown and the entire community is greatful to you. We salute all our friends from far and near who have done us proud as usual. ... We volunteer to take any of you who is interested... (some reference to what's in going somewhere, to climb the hill?, to come with us this afternoon to the popular....which you are seeing right in front of me now, which forms one of the most beautiful scenaries in Ijesaland. (applause). We use this opportunity of your presence (to say something about things?) close to our heart. Iwaraja-Iloko-Ijebu-jesa Road--we already commended the old Oyo State govt for tarring this road, which is now full of potholes. We already requested that the state govt help us to widen and tar this road. We are happy that the state govt has accepted our request. Our plea now is that one should start on the road before the coming rainy season inflicts further damage to the road. We pray your exellency to kindly force action to be taken urgently.

Atewusi Muslim Commercial School (?), there are no sufficient teachers to teach essential subjects, such as mathematics, English, the sciences and the humanities. The community in a bid to reduce some tension has engaged and sent for some teachers ... the ministry of education to provide us with teachers. The school has no workshop, which is the bedrock of the 6-3-3-4 school system, The contract was awarded by the old Oyo State govt but on the creation of Osun state, the project was abandoned at the .... level. We solicit for the resuscitation of the project. We are aware that some other requests we put forward in the past about the school are now being attended to by the state Ministry of Education. (applause).

Pipe-borne water. We are awaiting official govt reaction to our demand for a big overhead tank to distribute water from existing boreholes in the town. We are hopeful that our prayers will be heard. This town is connected with the water scheme at Esa Odo. Yet unfortunately the water never flows here. We are aware of the plan of Osun STate govt to improve the working efficiency of existing water scheme. We plea that this town's plight as far as the Esa Odo water scheme is concerned, is given some due consideration in this scheme.

Ladies and gentlemen, please forgive me if my speech looks a bit of a digression, you will

appreciate that it is not often that one is blessed with the presence of such august visitors in our midst, so we have to take this opportunity to bare our minds. I am sure your excellency will understand. Ladies and gentlemen, one year ago, on the occasion of the First Iloko Day, we launched a ten million development fund. We will always remain greatful to all our friends who responded to the appeal fund.
With your kind assistance we have been able to commence with the building of a multi-purpose community center on the Ijebu jesa Road. We are still very far from achieving our target for the fund. We look forward to our friends and well-wishers for assistance, to enable us to reach our goal, and we trust you will show to us your usual generosity. Once more your excellency, our royal fathers, my lords, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, you are welcome to Iloko Ijesa. We wish you safe journey back to your various destinations, and we look forward to seeing you again some day. (applause).

MC repeats in Yoruba what he said.
Says in Yoruba that the chairman said that they want the Governor to go with all the Iloko citizens to climb the hill. The founder of the town, Waseye--that was the hill that he came down from before he foudned Iloko. (joke). Syas the governor is the father of everyone in the state, altho the kings are the fathers but theirs is separate.

Re. the school, don't have enough teachers, no water in the school , want the gov to help them so that the school will be at the top like other schools.

--camera panning over audience during speech--groups of women in blue and white. group in green
--Olashore's cousin
--chiefs

4. speech by the Governor --transcribe later**
The Deputy Governor, Members of the Transitional Council here present, members of the state executive council, the chairman OriAde local govt, your royal highnesses, the chairman of this occasion, distinguished sons and daughters of Iloko, ladies and gentlemen. It gives me a great joy to be in your midst in this honorable occasion, of the celebration of the second Iloko Day. I therefore wish to congratulate the Regent of Iloko and also felicitate with the great prince of the town, OmoOba Oladele Olashore, and the entire people of Iloko. ... (tape cut) This cannot be overemphasized, because it will among other things bring all the sons and daughters of the community together, to plan for the development of their motherland. In fact, it will afford our people who have for long been away from home the opportunity to visit home again, see the progress and development that had
occurred, and make conscious effort towards contributing their own quota to our development. I wish to charge you that the task of community development cannot be left to government alone. There is quite a lot you can do individually and as corporate bodies to bring development to our doorsteps. Indeed I wish to commend the self-help spirit of the people of Iloko, who have not waited for the govt to provide everything for them, but decided to find avenues of solving some of the problems themselves. During the first Iloko Day, I learnt you realized over 1 million Naira, which you have utilized to provide two boreholes for the community. You have also

commenced work on the construction of the community center wish incorporates a multipurpose community hall, library, and a police post. All these are commendable efforts. I believe by the next Iloko Day, I will be here to commission the community center (applause). The Nigerian economy having been deregulated, reduced the public sector participation in business and industrial ventures. It is the private sector that is being encouraged to take up the task of settin up viable industries and businesses. The govt is primarily concerned with the provision of conducive atmosphere for industrial and business activities. I therefore use this medium to call on all our industrialists and businessmen and women to come to Osun State to aid our industrial and business development by way of setting up viable ventures. The state has what it takes to set up industrial concerns. I will also seize this opportunity to call on all wealthy sons and daughters of not only Iloko but the entire Ijesaland to come hooome (his emphasis), and invest to make their birthplace a worthy and proud place to live in. Abuja or Lagos is not your home. Come home and join hands in development of your motherland.

The last leg of the transitional program is the presidential election scheduled for the 12th June 1993 which hopefully will usher in a progressive democratically elected president for the federal republic of Nigieria. I am therefore calling on you good people to turn out in large numbers, to perform your civic duties, on the election day. It is by casting your votes, for the candidate of your choice, that our collective dream can be realized. Once again, I wish to congratulate the REgent of Iloko, and the entire people of Iloko on this memorable occasion of the second Day celebration. I wish to pray that Iloko and indeed the entire OriAde local govt may continue (unaffected) to enjoy unaffected peace and prosperity in its strive towards social economic progress. While wishing you all very very happy returns of this happy day, I wish all our distinguished guests, and all those who have come for this occasion, from far and near, journey mercies back to their respective destination. Thank you and god bless.
I will have to respond to some of your requests (holds up finger). I am glad to announce to you that contracts have been awarded as a palliative measure, for the rehabilitation of the Iwaraja-Iloko Road. (applause). It is one of the roads that has been earmarked to be reconstructed from the loan we secured from the World Bank. The water project is ongoing, we are doing some piping from Esa Odo and in due course it will get to Iloko-Iwaraja area. (applause). Due to the .... measures introduced by govt, govt has suspended donations to clubs, days, and so on and so forth. But however, I'm going to make a personal humble donation toward the community center of N25000. (applause).

I am glad your son is the Secretary for Finance (some laughter) and there are other members of the Transitional Council here. I want to implore, I want to beg of them when they get to Abuja, to please see to the plight of states. Osun State today, after the payment of salaries, is left with only N2 million Naira. out of which a whoooping 400,000 Naira is expended on water treatment chemicals a month. How do you run a state with 1.6 million Naira? I don't know. Secretary for Finance, "odi owo yin o" (it's in your hands).(turns toward Olashore) Ese o. (sit down, hands copy of speech back).

MC (in Yoruba)--let's give gov a round of applause, everyone should stand up-- some people in stands stand up.

5. arrival of Chukwumerije--in white suit

Videotape transcription with Bodunde, Folorunsho Nov. 11, 1993 - Iloko Day 1993

1. start of tape

three obas--one in white with gold embrodiery is Oba of Ijebu-jesa
man in blue--one of the ministers, sitting next to another one (the one who spoke later--min. of Ag?)

four secretaries (ministers sitting together), then Deputy Governor, then Governor
then Olashore, then wife of Deputy Governor

Song: I'm happy that I'm born in Iloko. Congratulations, my friends, shake my hand.

Boys brigade band and Girl Guides
Wife of Deputy Governor talking to Governor

Groups sitting under awning--Federation of Iloko Ijesa Students Union

MC announces Secretary of Agriculture, Alhaji Garba da Abdul Kadri--asks people to clap for him (He's in blue agbada.) Also Secretary of Commerce and Tourism in brown agbada and black cap (Olashore stops to talk to Min. of Ag). Also Sec. of State for... announced.(tape cuts) Introduce Deputy Gov. wife.

Then National Anthem.

2. start of program. Male MC announces that they will sing Iloko anthem.
Anthem on program in Yoruba. Trans. by Folorunso and Bodunde
Iloko, a town with a great name.
I will always look for its upbringing
I will always look for its success
The town that was founded at the foot of a high hill
Waseye was the first person (founder) of the town
Obalogun, the warrior who protects the town,
AjagbusiEkun was the first oba of the town

Let's bring our hands together
For the success of our land
So that the works of our leaders will not be in vain.

(Note: comments--this is very different from oriki for the town, which would have much more meaning to people. The music is like highlife music, but also like church music. People not really likely to relate to it This is more directed to the youths.)

3. welcome speech by Chairman of Iloko Day.--transcribe later**

Chairman is J.O. Omoniyi

Dep. Gov. stands up to greet him, but Gov. didn't.

6. arrival of Oni of Ife--umbrellas, retainers, English secretary
Is seated next to Governor.

7. arrival of Owa
song about Ife.
Owa sits on other side of Governor. Then Dep. Gov.

Announces presence of Financial Director of Mobil Nigeria Ltd.,
8. Min. of Agriculture speaks.
Says he is here in two capacities. One, to share with Hon. Chief Oladele Olashore on occasion of second of Iloko Day. Second, to represent Babangida, "in his personal capacity" to present a bank draft of N150000 as his own personal donation". Also from his two colleagues,
--Alhaji Mustapha Umara, chairman of National Planning Commission personal donation of N5000.
--Alhaji ...., Sec. of State for Local Government--N5000, personal donation
I myself have decided to donate N40000 (Min. of Agric)

.
Also Sec. for Information and Culture--N25000.
Gets check from Commerce and Tourism (black cap) and announces that Sec. of Commerce and Tourism, Alhaji Bakare, has given N100,000.

Takes his seat, chats with those sitting next to him, Olashore comes and shakes his hand, then hand of Min. of Commerce, then man on right of min of ag, then other man in blue, and then Chukwumerije.

MC repeats what Min. of Agric said.
Then refers to the Governors speech--that governor said that the budget for the state only has N2 million, how can state run on that. He advises everyone that they should do something for Osun State, that it is a new state, they should do something for Osun state so there will be peace (directed to Babangida, the Ministers).

Min. of Ag gets up to look for something.

Announces how much the ministers donated.

9. Announcement that the hunters want to sing now. Drumming, dancing. Hunters dance.

10. Oni's donation--(not shown on tape)--.25 million (i.e. N25000).
Song: Thank you, you will grow old in this world (you will live long). Women singing, dancing, thanking him.

11. MC announces donation of N25000 from Alhaji Isiaku Rabi (not present) (from Kano)--same amount as Oni--.25 million.

more singing dancing "ese gan".

12. Announces another donation .1 million.

13. Olashore speech--transcribe**

Your excellency the governor of Osun state, kabiyesi, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, This occasion will continue. You know the social side of this ceremony is yet to start, with the parade round of the various segments in the community, the dancing troups and various types to entertain you later, but as the governor has other commitments, in fact, the governor was here as early as 10:30 this morning, thirty minutes ahead of time, and I'm ever so grateful for that, and I'm sure the entire Iloko community will remain grateful for a very long time to come. My honorable colleagues, secretaries in the federal government, some of them too have to leave because of other appointments in Kaduna this evening. But I feel really personally honored that they still were able to fix into their program that they were able to be here with us this afternoon. Honestly, I was not sure how many of my colleagues could make it, When I saw them coming one by one, I saw that, well, the day is really made. I'm very grateful to you. this is the first stage of vote of thanks. I'm coming back to give the formal vote of thanks later. But it suffices that we should register our appreciation, deep appreciation, to his excellencies and the honorable secretaries who are here, who will be leaving us very shortly. The occasion will continue with all the usual merriments and the social that accompany it. Thank you very much for the patience and the honor you have done us this afternoon. Kabiyesis, I'm sure you'll still spare some time with us. I am staying behind, I am staying with you while the governor and the honorable secretaries who have to depart will be departing, and we shall continue as before. Thank you very much your excellencies for gracing this occasion, thank you very much honorable secretaries for gracing this occasion.
(applause)
MC --in Yoruba-- E ba mi fun baba wa Oladele Olashore latowo to rinle--
help me give him a very strong round of applause.

14. departure of ministers and governor--
play national anthem again. (umbrellas held)
Olashore walks over to area where they're standing getting ready to depart.
Governor leaves
ministers leave.
Deputy governor stayed

sing song--Muslim song--there's no one like god (Folorunso thinks it's because governor is muslim and is leaving
sirens as cars leave, drumming
15. The hunters dance

16.MC announces that people are going around with a tray so people can contribute money. Wants them to take tray around the way they did last year. Man holds up model of community center building

17. Mr. Peter from Delta Steel Company.
"As a way of introduction, we are from Delta Steel Company Ltd., Oria Alaja, Delta State. The Honorable Sec. of Finance, Prince Oladele Olashore, has contributed immensely to the survival of Delta Steel Company. But for his timely intervention,only god knows what would have happened to Delta Steel Co., Nigeria's premier steel plant. By the grace of god, Delta Steel Co. is headed by one of your sons, Eng. Olufemi Ojo, who is seated at the high table (applause). It is because of the contribution of the Sec. of Finance to our survival that we are here today to rejoice with you. Then he introduces the band, from Delta State.

Musice, dnace performance
The man who spoke joins the dancers.
Man sprays dancers

Mrs. Fatiregun joins dancers.
People spraying.

Note from Folorunso: Man in brown lace agbada is Ajewale Ifaloye, who is from Iloko, is car dealer in Oshogbo. sprays dancers

MC says something about the dancers originally being from Ife, before went to Delta (i.e. their ancestors

Mrs. Fatiregun sprays dancers

18. MC announces that people (Different groups) will be going to pay homage to the kabiyesis--ie going to where they are seated.
But not much really happened--no one really goes there.

19. Local dance group performed
Ajewale Ifaloye again sprays them.
One of dancers knelt before Oni, Dep. Gov wife--gave money (to the girl)
20. Women with trays collecting money.(for the town)

21. Man talking to Olashore works at Osun State Broadcasting

22. MC announces donations:
Received sum of N15000
Chief Akanni Aluko N100000
Vono Ventures N25,000 (foam business)
Comissioner of Agric Osun STate, Abiodun Opebiyi N2500
Mr and Mrs Okafor N20000
Edozien--N10000
Evangelist Oyedeji N500
Song: ese gan, dancing

N1000
N15000
N5000 (cant hear names on these)
Dr; Osundare N200
Inner Circle Club of Iloko N2000
Prince Ajibade Ojora of Lagos N20000
Women Progressive Society of Iloko N2000
Iloko Descendants Union, Ibadan branch --? (tape cut)

23. Owa's speech.
Pelo o gbojo Ijesa.
greetings--Oni
Greeting Dep. gov. Adesuyi Haastrup
They're noticing all the good works he (Haastrup) has been doing in Ijesaland.
Greets obas of Ijesaland
Commissioners, govt workers, well-wishers of the town

He says he want to tell them the main reason why he wasn't there at the first Iloko day. It's not that you write letter if you want to call the Owa. If you want to call the Owa to a ceremony, the title is Owa Obokun of Ijesaland, and this title is not him that is bearing the title, it's the whole of Ijesa people, when you're calling this title, you're calling the whole of the Ijesa people. Wherever he stands it's all the Ijesa people that stand there, all the Ijesa people at home or abroad,(n'ile ni idale = at home or abroad), in ilu oyingbo, ni Japan, ni Europe, these are the people talking. This means if you want to call all Ijesa to where they are doing a ceremony, you should know how to call an oba, that it reminds him of a ceremony not long ago, Ilesa Frontliners, that their chairman, Babatunde Ibironke, himself brought the invitation to him in his palace. we sat down we talked about Ijesa, about Nigeria...(tape cut), that they drifted to their personal life, (Folorunso remembers this last part).

24. MC calls Olashore to give vote of thanks.

Olashore speaks--transcribe**

Kaabiyesi, honorable secretaries here present, distinguished ladies and gentlemen. I said I gave the first part of my vote of thanks before his excellency the governor left. I have been told by the kabiyesis that once kabiyesi has spoken, I think all I can only add is to thank him for speaking, not to make any speech. --note on meaning of the above (from Bodunde and Folorunso)--that kabiyesi owa is speaking for all of them, and that once kabiyesi has spoken it's not necessary for someone else to speak again.
and I thank him for the speech, which is warmly received, I'm sure this is not the first time that we've been receiving the kabiyesi Owa Obokun of Ijesaland here. Of course this is to mean, and I always remind him that anything we are doing here, he is not our chief guest, he is the chief host. And he receives all the other kabiyesis that come to this domain (applause). So I do appreciate the fact that invitations or informations will be appropriately delivered. If there were mistakes made in the past, I crave indulgence and forgiveness on behalf of the community.(applause) Kabiyesi Oni has always been with us. I can only add that he is pillar

of strength of the entire Yoruba race. May god continue to give him strength, and the wisdom. You have always done us proud. (long pause, looking toward oni). My kabiyesis, all from Ijesaland, well, and kabiyesi, oluwo of Iwo, I think I better, because there was a previous occasion, kabiyesi the oluwo of Iwo was to be here, but he couldnt make it. I'm happy today that, um, I think, um, he just told me that he decided even in spite of some other pressing demands back home, he has to decided to stay double the length of time he was to stay,just to redeem the earlier privilege (?). So we have warmly welcomed, this will certainly be one of the earliest travels since he ascended the throne (applause). Thank you very much for being here. And of course my kabiyesis from Ijesaland, I do believe that, I can never never thank you enough for the promptness with which you always respond to our request in Iloko-Ijesa. You've never let us down, you've always accorded us every attention. In fact, one of the kabiyesis who never got the invitation but heard about it, is here with us now. I think that there can be no greater sign or demonstration of affection and solidarity. May god continue to strengthen you in your respective positions. (applause). My regent, my respected people of Iloko Ijesa I think you have seen what it is like to be united. I believe you will continue to be united in all your endeavors. It is only then that you will be responsible within the community of Ijesas and be responsible within the community of this country. I wish you all the very best.

25. Departure
--oba of Ijebu-jesa
--cars, sirens

26. at Olashore's house--Nike being sprayed. Men who work at bank spraying.

Note: discussion with Bodunde and Folorunso re "spray" Most people use the word spray. Yoruba:"Won na mi lowo= they spend money on me. (Na = spend but in this phrase refers to spending on someone, spraying).

field notes ns 3

Saturday May 22, reception for Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy installation

At Iloko Day, Mrs. Fatiregun told me that there was a celebration today for Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy, that the chieftaincy had been earlier in the day and there was a reception at the Ilesa Social Elite Club taking place right then (it was about 3 PM). I decided to go.

When we got there, there was music coming from inside the building, and there was a group of women, all dressed in green aso ebi, dancing. After a few minutes, I identified Mrs. Abe in the middle of the group. People were coming up and dancing, and spraying money. I stood there for a little while watching. Then I saw Mobo Akinola, and went to greet her. She was very surprised to see me. She told me that her brothers were there, and got someone to find Akin Fadahunsi, her brother from Zaria, and then a little later he found Olu, the brother from Lagos. So I was able to see and talk with all of them. I told Olu that I had wanted to contact him about seeing him in Lagos, so we set a date for the week I will be in Lagos. And I told Akin a little about what I am doing, but said I'd like to talk with him more. He is doing some work for UNDP in Lagos, so I may see him there. I asked if they had come from Lagos just for the celebration, and they pointed out that they are first cousins of Mrs. Abe, that her father and their father were brothers and that they are very close.

I sat with Mobo for a while, and she introduced me to another sister.
Eventually Mrs. Abe noticed me, and beckoned me in to the group that was still dancing, and I danced for a few minutes with her, and got sprayed by a couple of people. I told her that I hope to call her in Lagos.

Altogether I spent about an hour there.

Addendum:

Mobo Akinola showed me the program for Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy; her title is Yeyedole. What is not clear to me is whether it is a traditional town chieftaincy--which is what I was told--or something to do with the Methodist Church, as the program also indicated something about the Methodist Church. Also the music being played seemed to be sort of gospel music, to which they were all dancing. So I will have to check on all this. Mrs. Akinola promised to try to get an extra program for me.

fieldnotes ns4 May 25 1993

Other upcoming Ilesa events:

1. Nike Afolabi told me she will be coming to Ilesa next weekend for the funeral of an old man from her church.

2. Paulina Makinwa's mother died on Friday; the funeral will be June 19.

Brief information about past events:

1. Paulina told me that the Ijesa Solidarity Group had a party for Olashore. She attended that.

2. She said that there was some kind of Ilesa Day, but she didnt attend--wasnt clear if it was actual day, or planning of.

3. LaRay told me that the biography of Lawrence Omole is out.

4. Mrs. Fatiregun told me that Ijebu-jesa Day was in November and that they raised money.

fieldnotes ns5 Wed. May 26

I went to Ilesa from Oshogbo Wednesday morning, arriving there at about 11 AM. I went to Ifaturoti's house; Tinu was just going out, to a meeting, and she said that Kunle had gone to a meeting at Dr. Omole's house. I said perhaps I would stop there to greet them, and she indicated that would be ok.

So I went to Omole's, and was sent in to the sitting room right away. Kunle was there with Lawrence Omole; they both greeted me warmly and I joined them. It turned out that their meeting hadn't started yet, they were waiting for others to arrive.

Ifaturoti told me immediately that Omole's autobiography is out, and that the launching was very successful, with the room full and about another 200 people outside. The launching was held at NIIA in Lagos. He asked Omole to give me a copy; someone brought it, and Omole autographed it for me. Ifaturoti said he would also give me a copy of the review (presented at the launching) which was done by Prof. Bolanle Awe.

Then Kunle told me that he has been having a lot of trouble with his eyesight and can't see well at all; he is scheduled to have cataract surgery in June. He said he's been quite depressed about it because he can't read, but he's still very active.

While I was there the phone rang, and it was Justice Eso calling Ifaturoti; apparently he was in Ilesa.

I told Kunle that it looked like I would be staying at Paulina's house and that I would be coming the next day to clean it.

fnns6

fieldnotes ns6 Friday May 28 1993

I moved my things to Paulina's house in Ilesa today, getting to Ilesa around noon. Then Folorunso and I went to the market, so I could get some food.

Around 4 PM I planned to go see Ifaturoti, as I had told him I would stop by Friday afternoon. Just as I was driving down the road, Paulina arrived in a NISER car, with her daughter and a couple of other people. Her cousin, Mr. Taiwo, was also around. She was just stopping for a few minutes, to get some cloth that was in a suitcase, that she wants to use to make white curtains for use at the time of her mother's funeral. She briefly discussed with her cousin how she plans to set up the sitting room, with the casket, a blue rug, as blue was her mother's favorite color.

She also gave her cousin two black and white photos of her mother, which he then showed to me. He said that he will use these for advertisements of the funeral.

When she heard that I was on my way to see Ifaturoti, she asked me to please convey the message to him, to let members of the Ijesa Solidarity Group know that her mother has died, and that the burial will be on June 19. She said that she will be sending invitations later.

After her stop in Ilesa, she was going to her mother's hometown, Efon Alaye, to see her mother's relatives there, and then back to Ibadan.

Meanwhile, her cousin told me that they are trying to finish part of the other building she is constructing--which will have two flats--so that family members who come for the funeral can use that.

After Paulina left, I went on to see Ifaturoti; both Kunle and Tinu were at home, and I gave them the science books Dick had bought for Tinu's school. They looked thru them. I talked with Kunle briefly about several things. Told him where Paulina's house is. Asked how things are with Ijesa Solidarity Group, and he said they're going well, that they had a successful general meeting on May 1, which 76 people attended. He also mentioned that Paulina had just been sent a notice of a meeting of the urban renewal committee of ISG, which is to take place June 19, but obviously she won't be going as that is the day of her mother's funeral. I said that I'd like to talk to him further about ISG events, and other events, such as the kiriji celebration; they were on their way out to see the church choir about their daughter's wedding. he told me that Kike is to b e married Aug. 14; she is marrying someone "from the next village--Ijebu-jesa."

I mentioned that I went to Iloko Day. Kunle asked if it was "very grand". I said there were several ministers there, and the governor and deputy governor. He said that he thought Lawrence Omole went, or else sent a representative. He didn't offer any other comments, except to say that of course since the Minister of Finance is from there, lots of people would attend.

I left soon after 5, and said I would see them either Saturday, or Monday morning; Kunle said they would be busy with church and various meetings on Sunday.

fnns7

fieldnotes ns7

Discussion with Folorunso about kiriji celebration in March, Thurs. PM, May 27

Folorunso had attended two of the three days of the celebration, and they had videotaped. However, the tape got burnt when the man who made it had a fire in his house recently, so we have no tape. I asked Folorunso to tell me about it.

he said that Ifaturoti told them that the first day wouldnt be very important, so they didnt come that day. They came the second day, and went to the palace, where they hunters began their part of the celebration. The hunters went from the palace around to various parts of the town, where different famous hunters have their houses. At the palace, the Owa came out and greeted them, but said that he wouldnt go around with them, that they should just take this small donation.

Folorunso said there really weren't that many people there; that he had thought it would be a big event with lots of people but that wasnt the case. Ifaturoti did not go to the palace.

Ifaturoti had told them that they should leave the hunters' part of the celebration at about 3 PM and come back to his house, where he would do his own part of it. He then went around to the houses of various of his family members, and again they followed him around and videotaped it all. He spoke at each place.

there was a church service on the third day, but they didn't attend that; I'm not sure what else happened that day.

fnns8

fieldnotes ns8

Saturday May 29 1993

Nike Afolabi came to Ilesa and found me at Paulina's house at about 1:30 PM (she had looked for me in the morning but hadn't been able to find the house; went to Ifaturoti's and he was able to give her instructions). We spent the rest of the day together, first going to her funeral service--her reason for coming from Lagos--and then going out to Ijebu-jesa and Iloko.

1. We went to the burial service for one of the founders of The Apostolic Church, Pastor Fasan. He was 104 years old. The service was held at the church on the road to St. Margaret's School. The service was actually held outside the church. We stayed outside for a while, but it was very hot, so we went and sat inside the church under a fan, and chatted a bit, while waiting for the service to end. The main reason that Nike had come was that one of the pastors had been very helpful to her at the time of her parents' deaths, and she wanted to show that appreciation by coming to the funeral of one of the church founders. This was the church that her parents belonged to, and her father was an elder in the church.

We talked a little about the church. She said the Apostolic Church was founded in about 1930, there were several founders of whom the man who died was one. Another was Babalola, who then split off to found Christ Apostolic Church. I asked if she still attends the Apostolic Church, and she said that she does sometimes, but that there is the idea that one should belong to the church of one's husband, and Sina belongs to the Anglican Church. So she more or less has to attend that, even tho she prefers the Apostolic Church, and even tho Sina prefers it to some extent too. But his parents would think she has too much influence if he joined her church. She prefers the Apostolic Church because it is just concerned with religion, and not with all the social things that go on in the Anglican Church. Also if you're a member of the Apostolic Church you're not supposed to take chieftaincy titles, or belong to lodges like the Masons, but the Anglicans do all those things, and she doesnt think one should mix religion with these other things.

The service finally ended about 3 PM or later, and then we followed people down the street to a house, where there was some additional praying, and then the whole thing ended, and we went in to the house to greet the man Nike wanted to see. She also greeted several other people, both at the church and at the house, and several people recognized her. She also spoke with two women at the house, and seemed to be telling them who she is, referring to her mother, who was very active in the church and knew these women well. The man she wanted to see is one of the pastors in the church, who did a lot for her parents. He had us come into the inner sitting room of the house, and served us food--first, salad, and then iyan and stew.

We left there as soon as we had finished eating, and went to see an elderly couple who are relatives of her mothers; she said that the man is her mother's uncle--mother's father's brother. He is also a pastor in the Apostolic Church. The man and woman recognized me, and she knew my Yoruba name--Abeke--they were very friendly. We talked a little about the fact that it is twenty years since Nike and I first worked together. Nike changed her clothes there, out of the iro and buba that she was wearing into an "up and down" outfit, that she said she had worn to the office yesterday.

After we left her relatives, we drove to Ijebu-jesa. On the way, as we went past her old family house at Ijoka, I asked who is living there, and she said that her father's senior brother still lives there. Some people are renting the house that they built further out of town. She then said that her parents' deaths really changed things a lot, and affected a lot of things. That they

weren't prepared for it, and that things might have been a lot different if they hadn't died when they did. She mentioned that they had only recently moved to the new house. We discussed how close her parents were, and that her mother never really recovered from her father's death; she compared their marriage favorably to marriages of young people now.

I asked about her brothers. She said that Seun is in Ibadan, Boye works in Kaduna but right now has travelled to Japan for his job, and that the other brother works for the Nigerian Environmental Protection Agency in Lagos.

When Nike had arrived and when we were setting out for the funeral, she told me that Olashore was in town and asked if I'd like to go to see him; so I said yes. So after we left her relatives' house, we drove out to Ijebu-jesa, to Olashore's. We were immediately let in to the gate, but there were no cars around. The gateman said that he hadn't yet come from Lagos, but that they were expecting him. Nike was surprised he wasn't there yet, as he had been in the office on Friday and told her he was going to be going there today, along with Dr. Adigun. (She had not told him that she was coming to Ilesa to see me however). The gateman said that the cook was already there, so we went in the house and greeted the cook; it was clear that the cook knew Nike. We had some water to drink, and then left. The cook mentioned that the cow and rams had been taking to Iloko already--ie things for the holiday that is coming up.

On the way out, we looked at a photo in the sitting room, of the family, and she identified the various children. She didnt say anything about Olashore's wife, who was also in the photo, so as we were leaving I asked about her, if Nike had ever met her. She said yes she had, that she is a very quiet woman. I said it seems as if she must be very different from Olashore, and that she doesn't seem to come to all these events; Nike said that even when she is there you hardly know she is, that she seems withdrawn, and that they (Olashore and his wife) and like two parallel lines).

We decided to leave Olashore's and said we would be back. I suggested going out to the school, and seeing if the Burgess' were around.

Before we got there, however, we discussed several other topics while in the car. Nike asked if I had ever seen Olashore's house in Lagos. I said I hadn't and that I thought it was still being built last year. She said yes, they had the housewarming on his birthday in February. The house is in Parkview in Ikoyi, but they aren't living there yet, they still live in Victorial Island. She said that it's a very nice house. I said that it sounds like there have been a lot of events since she started working at the bank in November. She said yes, there was the opening of the chapel and school in December, and the housewarming in February. Then one of his daughters is getting married Aug. 6, so that will be another very big occasion, with all of the ministers attending. The wedding will be held at the chapel that he has built in Iloko.

Nike also mentioned that she has the list of contributors for Iloko Day, and sort of indicated that I might like to see it, or that maybe I'm not interested. Then she said that contributions are still coming in, including from people who didnt attend. Later I asked if she knew how much they'd gotten, but she said she hadnt totalled it yet. I will have to follow up on this again when I see her in Lagos; I wonder if I should first ask Olashore about this.

I also asked her about the video of the opening of the chapel and school, and she said that we should check with Olashore on this (but this was later, after I'd seen him, so I will also have to follow up on this).

Nike made a comment about the fact that a lot of people want to contribute for Iloko Day, because of who Olashore is.

When we got to the school, we found David and Lesley Burgess sitting outside, sunbathing in

front of thier house. We went it for a visit. They seem to have a nice set-up--a nicely designed fairly small house, with airconditioning! and nice views of the hills behind Iloko. They told us that eventually there will be a principal's house built on the grounds, that the house they are currently in is to be a guest quarters, and that Olashore is also building his own house towards the rear of the property. The school itself is across the street, and is still under construction; Nike and I went over there later, when we were leaving, and I took some photos. Olumide Eso is the architect for the whole place; they said he had just been to see them, and that we had just missed him. I said that I havent met him, and they said that he was at Iloko Day.

The only problem they're having is with water, they said. There is some problem with the pump from the borehole that is supposed to supply the water for the school; it isn't able to pump the water. so they are having to get tankers of water from the brewery, and then there is a problem that everyone else around, including the workers at the school construction site, are using that water, so it is disappearing very fast. So they are now trying to protect their water supply. They didnt seem to quite know what the problem is with the borehole. I asked about the other boreholes, they said that there is just one other, so that must be the one that was being dug at the palace, but they didnt really know if that is functioning or not.

Before moving to the house they are now in, the Burgess' lived for a little while at West Hill. This is the camp that was built by a group of Germans. According to them it is now owned jointly by Akinola and Olashore. There are a number of people living there but the place is not in very good shape, and there are water and electricity problems there. The swimming pool is empty. Later, when I saw Olashore, I mentioned that the Burgess seem to be well set-up; he said that he wanted to minimize any inconvenience, and that he is happier with where they are now than with West Hill, that he's not sure about the security at West Hill.

While we were visiting with Burgess, car drove in, which turned out to be Olashore; their cook came to the door, and said "The Prince is here". He was with Dr. Adigun, as well as a young woman, who was never introduced. They had heard when they got to Olashore's house that the oyinbo had been there, and I guess Olashore thought it was the Burgess, and then after seeing me, realized that it might have been me; I told him that Nike and I had stopped there. Adigun said that they had been to Oshogbo and Ila Orangun today, on the way from Lagos, so were just arriving (it was after 5). They stayed for a while and then went on to Olashore's house, saying they would see us later.

Nike and I visited a while longer, and then took some photos of the house, chapel, and school grounds, before leaving. There is a plaque at the entrance to the school indicating that the foundation stone was laid by the Governor of Osun State, Adeleke, on Dec. 18 1992.

We went back to Olashore's, and went in to the sitting room where we found Dr. Adigun by himself. He offered us something to drink, and then I said I wanted to use the toilet; I was heading in the direction of the one near the entrance, outside, and he said no, to use the one in his room, and pointed me in the right direction, making some comment about the barber. When I walked into the outside area that leads to the bedrooms, there was Olashore sitting and getting his hair cut. I explained that Adigun had told me to use the toilet in his room, and went in there. When I came out Olashore stopped me and we talked for a while while the barber finished the haircut. I told him where I'm living in Ilesa and gave him the address; he said he'd try to come see me tomorrow, but I doubt he actually will. He also mentioned possibly going to Ikogosi Warm Springs tomorrow, said he'd never been there and wanted to know how far it is. I mentioned that I'd seen him interviewed on TV the other nite, and he wanted to know how the interview was. I asked when he'd done it, and he said last Saturday, here in Ijebu-jesa (as I'd thought). He asked if he had made sense, and if he had said negative things about the Americans. I said there was just some comment toward the end ab out "foreign agencies" trying to tell the Nigerians how to run their economy, and he said that's right. He said that the IMF and World Bank people are terrible people. I said that when he

came to the US this winter (the first time as Minister) and he telephone me he said he'd had good meetings with them, he said that he was starting to set things straight, to let them know that they couldnt tell the Nigerians what to do. I asked if that was ever the case, and he indicated that with some of his predecessors it was. He said that he got them (WB people) to come here, in April, and again repeated that they are terrible people. I mentioned Gracia's paper, and question about what it's like to deal with them, and he said he's not going to tell me that now, so I more or less extracted a promise to be told more about that after he finishes this job, which he agreed to do.

By this time he was finished with his haircut, and he went towards his room, and I went back to the sitting room. Shortly afterward, he came in and said we should all go to eat, so Nike, Adigun and I joined him, and the young woman (actually she's probably in her thirties) who still wasnt introduced, but was obviously with him. Dinner conversation was pretty general; there really wasnt a whole lot of interest discussed. We talked a bit about the fact that Nike and I have known each other for 20 years, that she worked for me 20 years ago. That of course led to comments about age. And the woman with Olashore asked what kind of research I do.

The most interesting conversation was with Adigun, who wanted to know more about what I do, and who had already asked Nike about my research. He said that I should come to his village to do research; he is from Olupona, near Iwo. He also said that he did a course in anthropology and ethnology when he was a student at university; I asked where that was, and he said in Rome.

At one point, Olashore mentioned to his cook that he should be prepared to serve lots of guests the next day, as there will be plenty of people there. He did not however say anything to me about anything going on there. At the end of dinner, Olashore suggested going to the sitting room, but the woman with him said she would go back to the bedroom, and he said something about "going back to do your work". But as Nike and I discussed later, that seemed unlikely; we agreed that it was strange she was never introduced to us, and that presumably she is a girlfriend; Nike said too that from the way the woman was talking to him, it seemed more familiar than the way she talked with Adigun.

There were two women waiting in the sitting room, who had come to visit Olashore before we went in to eat. So Nike and I just sat for a couple of more minutes and then left. Olashore didnt say anything more about seeing me or getting in touch with me. I did remember at the last minute to tell him about the American couple I met this week who are school teachers and who might be interested in teaching at his school; I also mentioned them to Burgess.

Note re electric power: have done notes today in Ilesa. All seemed fine, but I noticed that I was getting a shock if I touched certain parts of the computer. Then a few minutes ago the power started to fluctuate, so I switched off the current at the outlet--and then got another shock, so have now unplugged it. But presumably there is some current flowing at that outlet even when it is ostensibly switched off. I may try a different outlet next time.

fnns9

fieldnotes ns9 Monday May 31

9AM- 12 noon

Conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti re Kiriji celebration and other topics.

Since we had scheduled this appointment to talk about the Kiriji celebration, Kunle started right in on the topic. He first gave some background, which involved talking about the various community day activities that have been going on. He said that, as I know, there have been these days, like Iloko Day, Ijebu-jesa Day, Iwoye Day, etc. A group called the Ijesa Awareness Group thought that there should be an Ijesa Day, and they started talking about it in July 1992. They had a lot of ideas and exuberance, but poor organizing ability. They fixed a date in November 1992, but realized they couldn't successfully launch an Ijesa Day, and changed it to Ilesa DAy. They started to mobilize people for this. The Deputy Governor invited Kunle to join the group and advise them, and he was invited to attend the October 31 meeting. He attended that meeting. He met the organizers. The Deputy Governor had mobilized the four local government chairmen and asked them to bring 14 people from their local governments. They included Lamikanra, Ilesanmi, and representatives of groups--representatives of the Council of Ijesa Society. He represented himself.

He said that he told them what he thought about the situation in Ijesaland, that he didnt think an Ijesa Day could be held that everyone would honor. The only way would be to hang it on to something that represented a national event for Ijesaland, and he suggested the kiriji celebration already scheduled for March 14. The others dismissed this idea, they felt the glory they were trying to realize would be taken by the Kiriji committee. After that he didn't go b ack to their meetings.

Then he went on to talk about the Kiriji Committee. He said that it didnt have support from local government chairmen, and it refused to canvas for funds. They felt that they weren't going to beg for funds. They did make an effort to get funds from local government chairmen on Jan 28, when he and Chief Risawe went around to the four local governments. In Ilesa they heard the bad news of Chief Risawe's removal from office: when they got to the local government chairman's office, they waited for 30 minutes. The Risawe--a man named Adedeji ("one of the bright young men", according to Kunle)--had been appointed by the Owa in 1985, but they've since had a falling out. When he and Kunle saw the l.g. chairman, they learned that a letter had come from the Governor authorizing the Owa to remove the Risawe. This removal was based on a request from the Owa. When the chairman told them about this letter, asked whether Kunle could get Lawrence Omole to get a delegration to go to the governor about it. Kunle said that they should leave Omole out of it and asked about the letter. The Chairman brought the letter, which said that the Risawe should be dismissed and another man named Gureje appointed. Following this information, the Risawe went off to deal with his own problem, leaving Kunle to continue to go to see the other lg chairmen.

About Kiriji, the Ilesa local governemtn chairman said that he was interested in Ijesa Day, not interested in Kiriji. He said that he had written a letter and that he was meeting with the other local government chairmen the next day, and that he would let them know. After leaving the Ilesa lg chairman, Kunle went and borrowed a car from Omole and then went to see the other lg chairmen. He met two of the three, who told him that they were all meeting the next day and that he would get feedback from them. Later one phoned to say that N20,000 would be given by each of the local governmnet chairmen, but up to now they haven't given anything.

The Kiriji committee decided to place an ad in the newspapers March 12, saying that they were rejoicing because it is the centenary of the return of our fathers, the heroes in Kiriji, and that they are committed to peace with all. They suggested that the allies should consider having an assoication to keep alive the sentiments that brought them together. The ad cost N17000. They borrowed N200000 from Lawrence Omole to pay for it. They were also given N100000 by another friend, as a gift. They haven't been able to pay back the rest of the loan from Omole.

The events of the celebration: On Sunday, they went to church for a Thanksgiving Service by the Anglicn Bishop. They did very well. They gave the Bishop a donation of N2000. Then they went to the Concord Hotel and had a luncheon. About 750 people attended the Thanksgiving.

The day before, on Saturday, the descendants of the war heroes were told to remember the ancesotrs in whatever way they liked. Ifaturoti's family got drummers, and danced around the town. They visited Chief Lemodu's house who is a descendant of Obe. They also visited Ogedengbe's house, Ariromoro's(?) and others. Also Kunle's father's house. (This was the activity that Folorunso had had videotaped for me).

At Ogedengbe's house they only met women. At Ariromoro, they met young people; they said that their elders were in Lagos, that they had received the letters about the celbration but didnt take it seriously. Ajayi-obe was really surprised when they came to his house.

In addition, the hunters came out and went round the town. They started from one end of the town, and went to Ijoka and other places. He met them at Obe's place; they wanted money, so he told them to go to Ijoka, where his father's house is, to get it.

One of the other descendants--Ogunmodede also had drummers and went around the town.

At the luncheon on Sunday, each person read a profile of their ancestor. Kunle's brother read a profile of their grandfather; Apara read one of his grandfather. Ogunmodede's was the most interesting, because he captured only female slaves, and came home with hundreds of them.

The Kiriji committeee decided it would try to publish the profiles, and that they would get others besides those given at the luncheon. Risawe was Chairman of the committeee, but he became very tied up with his case. He filed action against the Owa and Governor asking them to stop action on the letter. He won his case a few days ago. So now maybe something will happen with the idea of publishing. They want to publish them and have about N5000 they could spend, but only have three profiles so they want to get others, and they will charge a levy to publish them.

At this point in the discussion I got a more detailed explanation of the case against Risawe: The position is supposed to rotate, but the current Risawe inherited from his father. The main reason he got the position is that when the current Owa ascended, his main interest was in making money from chieftaincy titles. He agreed with the chiefs who had made him king to appoint a man named Gureje. But he didn't; instead he appointed the other man, Adedeji, as Risawe. They got on well for a while but after that they fell out, and the Owa has been trying to get rid of him since then.

I asked if other communities participated in the Kiriji celebraiton. Kunle said that they sent messages to 17 Ekiti kingdoms. They said they wanted to celebrate, but they didn't hear any more from them.

He also said that the idea of having an organization of those involved in Kiriji was criticized in the papers. The person who wrote he wrote as if he were part of the Ibadan camp. He said

that although they were talking peace, there was something sinister about forming an association of people who were allies in kiriji, that that type of association would have excluded people in their own (the author's) camp. But actually, according to Kunle, they belong to the same camp. Kunle decided not to write any rejoinder to it.

I then asked him about Ijesa Day, which he had mentioned earlier. He said that it was held April 10; it was billed as Ijesa (not Ilesa) Day. There was a full page ad in the Sketch saying that Omole greets the Owa, which Omole had not authorized.

Two other Ijesa towns were having their community day on the same day--Ilara Day and another. Kunle felt they couldn't do anything to attract all Ijesas. He feels that the Kiriji would have given them a suitable way to usher in Ijesa Day, and then after that they could look for something like Ogun, as the basis for an Ijesa-wide celebration. He feels there should be a ceremony that could attract all Ijesas, and that Ogun might be it. But then he added that people aren't doing Ogun any more the way they did when he was young, that Ogun was a big, national (ie Ijesa) celebration then.

I asked if Ijesa Day had been successful. He said that they raised some moeny, that MKO (Abiola) gave 1/4 million, and some man from his camp also gave N50,000; Omole gave N50,000, from which they placed the ad. Omole was shocked when the ad appeared, it cost N17000, he wanted to query the ad, but did not.

Kunle doesn't think it drew people from other towns beside Ilesa. He didn't attend because it was the Saturday between Good Friday and Easter. His children came to Ilesa to see him, and said he wasnt going to go anywhere.

I asked if he knows if they have any plans regarding the money collected. He said he thinks they got less than they spent. People to see about Ijesa Day are Lamikanra, Ilesanmi, and the local government chairmen.

(In this context he added that the Ijebu-jesa Local Government chairman is a very pleasant person).

We then talked a litle about other community day celebrations. He was the Chairman last year at Iwoye's celebration. His cousin would know when this year's day is scheduled. He did not save the program; he said that there've been so many community day celebrations. He said that money is being raised, but that he doesn't know what is being done with it. In Iwoye, the money is to contribute to the new palace.

When I was leaving, we briefly discussed Ijesa Solidarity Group, which I said I wanted to talk with him about next time. He said that it is doing well, but is at a crucial point right now. We agreed that that would be the subject of our next discussion, next week.

fnns10

fieldnotes ns10

Monday May 31, evening

attempt to see Mrs. Fatiregun

When I got back from Ife about 6 PM, I stopped at my house and then decided to try to visit a couple of people before it got completely dark. I drove out to Ijebu-jesa to try to see Mrs. Fatiregun, but was told by a young man at a nearby house that she had gone to Akure and hadn't returned yet.

visit with Mobo Akinola

Then I went to Mobo Akinola's house. By the time I got there it was about 7:30 or a little later, and dark out. She seemed surprised to see me in the evening, and asked how I got there. I told her where I'm now staying, and said that after I get back from Lagos, I'll let her know and she should come see me.

I asked her about Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy last week. She explained that it is a traditional title, Yeyedole, and that most of the installation had been done about a year ago. But there is one part that is supposed to be done after 40 days, but in fact it can be done any time, and that is what she has just completed. So now the installation process is complete. The event took place Friday and Saturday of last week. There was a traditional portion on Friday, when girls have a procession around the town with pots on their heads, and then on Friday it was mainly social celebration. She gave me a copy of the program and I asked about the connection with the Methodist Church; she said that was where the Thanskgiving service was held. She said that she did not go to the procession on Friday but attended the Thanksgiving on Saturday.

Mobo told me about her activities this weekend. She said that she had been in Lagos on Friday and SAturday, and then attended a chieftaincy for someone in Oshogbo on Sunday--but that that was a church chieftaincy, not a traditional one like Mrs. Abe's.

She told me that her husband is away right now, in Australia and then Singapore, on Rotary Club activities. They were both in the US, in Anaheim Calif. for international rotary meeting. her husband is about to be installed as the District Governor for Rotary, replacing Raymond Zard. The installation in Ilesa will take July 3, at IBL. I said I would like to attend, so made note of it in my calendar.

While we were talking, two women arrived, carrying a tray with a letter and a wrapped bottle. After greeting them, Mobo looked at the letter and then called a young child--her son?-- in to read it. But she didnt tell me what it was about. It seemed to be an invitation of some sort, and she said that she would reply to them. She did not unwrap the wrapping paper on the bottle. The two women stayed to visit. She had some fried meat (ram?) brought to them (she had served me a soft drink but did not offer me any ram).

After a while, the four of us talked about a number of topics. One of the two women did most of the talking; the other didnt say much. I found out that the one who talked is a teacher at Balalola School; her husband is an accountant at IBL. She is from Ilesa, but her husband isn't. But since they are living here now, she said he is becoming Ijesa. I asked if she likes living in Ilesa, and she said that it's small, that you see the same people all the time, that it would be ok if she did something like Mobo does, working in Ife, but she doesnt really like both living and working in Ilesa.

When I told Mobo where I am living, she said that Paulina Makinwa is the first "lady professor" from Ilesa. She said that everyone thinks Bolanle Awe is, but that she isn't because she's not really from Ilesa. Bolanle Awe is really from Ibadan; her father is from there. But that her mother was from Ilesa, and because of the role her mother played in the family, they came to think of Ilesa as their home. And the father even lived in Ilesa for some time. But actually the mother was trading at Ibadan. Mobo said that Bolanle Awe's mother's family is the Ilori family, and that she (Mobo) is also related to that family; that Bolanle is a relative of her (Mobo's) mother.

I asked if one couldnt have connections with one's mother's hometown in a situation like this. She said that everyone knows that the place you are from is your father's town(with emphasis on father's). But that since Bolanle Awe's father lived in Ilesa and her mother was strong, she influenced the children, to be involved in Ilesa, so people think of her as being from Ilesa.

She went on to say "like Olashore". Everyone thinks he's from Ijebu-jesa but actually that is his mother's hometown. Now he's taking his father's town, Iloko. I said but didn't they live in Ijebu-jesa before? She said, no, his father was the oba in Iloko and lived in that palace, and before that he was trading in the north. But his mother is from Ijebu-jesa and since he's the only child of that mother, he got his mother's land to build on, and built his first house there, for the mother, and his mother is still living there. People think he's from Ijebu-jesa because of that. he got free land from his mother to build on. I asked how his mother had land, and Mobo said probably from her father, and since he's the only son, it's all his. He built his country house in Ijebu-jesa. So people think he's from there, but really he's from Iloko. And now he's doing things in Iloko.

This led to discussion of the things he's doing in Iloko, especially the school. Mobo and the other woman discussed how much he's likely to charge there, and whether he will ask people to pay dollars. They speculated that since he's hired an expatriate principal he'll want people to pay dollars, so that he can pay the principal. They talked about Obasanjo's school and the high fees being charged there. Mobo's daughter is going to Adesoye College in Offa, and she said that if Olashore's new principal listens to the advice of Miss Howard from Adesoye, then they should be successful. Mobo commented how much she likes the principal's wife. She said it is important to do what Olashore is doing--putting in all the facilities before the students arrive. I said that it looked like there was still a lot to be built, but she said that there are classrooms built already so maybe there is more that I didnt see the other day.

We also discussed the upcoming elections, after there was an ad for Abiola on TV. Mobo likes him, and she and the other woman agreed that he and Kingibe can do a lot, that they'll be able to solve a lot of problems because Abiola is a businessman and Kingibe has international experience as an ambassador.

I left Mobo's house around 8:30.

fnns11

fieldnotes ns11

Tuesday June 1

Ibadan--attempt to see Justice Eso

When I came thru Ibadan on Tuesday, en route to Lagos, I stopped at Justice Eso's house, but was told he wasn't around, nor was his wife.

fnns12

fieldnotes ns12

Wednesday June 2

Lagos

1. situation in Lagos--petrol, etc.

When we got to Lagos Tuesday afternoon, it became apparent that there was no petrol available in Lagos. As a result there was also little traffic. On Wednesday morning I went to Ikoyi to pick up Lee VanDyke, and then to USIS later in the day. In general, there was little traffic anywhere. But on the way back to Ikeja later in the day, from Nina's house, we got into an enormous traffic jam, apparently due to one broken down bus on the Ikorodu Road.

By Thursday, long lines were forming at all the petrol stations, and by Fri-Sat things had eased somewhat, the lines were shorter and traffic was back to normal.

2. visit to USIS

Lee Van Dyke and I met with Margaret Westmoreland Wednesday afternoon; Lee also met Chuck Mike. Maggie and I discussed visas for Ogundele, and Folarin's Northwestern position.

3. PM--Phone conversation with Olashore

I telephoned Olashore in Abuja on Wednesday night, from Judy's house. It was after 10 PM, sounded as if I might have woken him up. He apologized right away for not coming to visit me in Ilesa on Sunday. He said that he had visitors all day, that he hardly had any time to himself all day.

I discussed with him the possibility of my coming to Abuja at the end of June, following Dele Olowu's Makurdi workshop. he said that he expects to be there then, he'll be away til about the 20th or 21st at a meeting in Cotonou and then in Vienna.

fnns13

fieldnotes ns13

Thursday June 3, conversation with Olu Fadahunsi

I had made an appointment with Fadahunsi when I saw him in Ilesa at Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy celebration; the appointment was for between 11 and 12. Since there was little traffic I got there just before 11. I went to his office, and found a woman outside who said he hadn't arrived yet, but that he would be coming. I waited about half an hour inside the office, then checked with her again. Then she decided to try telephoning him at home, and when she reached him, I spoke with him. He thought our appointment had been for last week, and he hadn't come in because of the fuel problem. But he said he was on his way and that I should wait.

He showed up at about 12:30. I was feeling very tired today, and also didnt want to get into the type of traffic jam I had gotten into yesterday, so basically told him that I couldnt stay too long today. We talked in his office for a little while, then went to the Apapa Club for a drink; we left there at about 2, I dropped him back at his office, and then went back to Ikeja and rested the rest of the day.

I told him about my interest in learning abbout IUTTC, the organization that his father had been involved with along with others from Ilesa. I said that his sister (Mobo Akinola) had said that he is the member of the family who knows the most about it.

He said that he thinks this particular business organization is the only one that lasted, that there were others but they failed, and that it would be interesting to find out why that is. He then suggested that it had something to do with his father, that his father was a person who thought about doing things beyond himself. He gave the example of property in Apapa, "across the street" he said (from his office building, presumably) and that his father bought the property and paid for it, for the company. He bought it at a time when Apapa was just beginning to be developed.

He talked a little about the history of the company, but didnt give much detail. He did say that there were 12 founders; the only one who is still alive is Ajayi-Obe, the Lemodu. He said that when they were starting to get old, his father sugggested that each one start bringing a son to the meeting, and then when the father died that son would replace him. And that of those still active, 11 are sons of the original founders. He commented that Ajayi-Obe's son has tended to lose interest because his father is 96 and he himself is in his 70's, so there's not really ever been a role for him.

He speculated about why IUTTC has been able to continue and others haven't. He suggested that it was related to the fact that some of the other attempts involved people who were then themselves involved in competitive individually-owned businesses. (My recollection is that Justice Eso said that was a problem with IUTTC as well).

Fadahunsi seems willing to discuss these issues further with me, said I should prepare some questions for him. We agreed to try to meet when he comes to Ilesa.

He said that he expects to come to Ilesa on the 12th, as he wants to vote there. But he isn't sure, depends what happens with elections, whehter people can move around or not. He wants to vote in Ilesa because that's where he has previusly been involved in politics, and wants to be in politics there again sometime.

In the course of more general discussion, he told me that he is involved in the shipping

business, along the coast of West Africa.

He also mentioned his uncle, Engineer Chief S.O. Fadahunsi and asked if I know him, or know his house in Ilesa. He has a house on Imo Hill, near Imo Hill Farms; has a swimming pool there. the uncle is mainly based in Lagos however.

fnns14

fieldnotes ns14

Friday June 4, visit with Nike Afolabi at her office at Lead Merchant Bank

I got to the office a little after 12:00, and was sent up to see Nike. Her office is at the top of the stairs, after the reception room which is tuned to CNN (all the time?). We visited for a bit; I stayed about 30-45 minutes. She said that she had heard from Olashore yesterday but that he hadnt phone today. She didn't know if he was going to come to the office.

She asked if I had met his sister who also works at the bank; when I said no, she took me to introduce me to her. She is the Manager of the Administrative section. Her name is Mrs. Olalekan; later Nike told me that she is the half-sister (apparently Olashore is the only surviving child of his mother). She had seen me at Iloko Day and asked if I had enjoyed it. I mentioned that I had also been there last year; she said she was there then but not really in the mood for it, as they had recently been bereaved, that they had recently lost a cousin who was only in his thirties, so she went but wasn't really in the mood, as that happened in November. (This left me confused; maybe she was talking about Ijebu-jesa Day this past year, I think that was held in November).

She didnt seem to realize that I know Olashore. My impression is that she thinks I went to Iloko Day with Nike. I told her that I'm living in Ilesa,a nd she asked if I've met the Burgess, suggesting that I could spend time with them. i didn't explain about my research.

I asked Nike about the Iloko Day donations but she didn't answer, so decided to wait til I saw her at home the next day.

fnns15

fieldnotes ns15

Friday June 4, visit with Mrs. Ebun Abe at her house in Lagos

I had talked with Mrs. Abe on the phone Wednesday evening and said I would try to stop by on Thursday but wasnt able to do so. So I decided just to stop and see if she was home on my way back to Ikeja from Victoria Island on Friday. I got there around 3 PM and found her at home; she said that she had just come in.

I looked at the photo album from her chieftaincy celebration two weeks ago in Ilesa. She said that this part of the installation is mainly social. On Friday there was a traditional portion--a procession around the town--but the activities on Saturday (when I saw her) were social. The rest of the traditional events took place last year. She in effect has been a chief for the past year. She has been attending the chiefs meetings in Ilesa, which take place every two weeks on Saturday mornings.

When we talked about the chieftaincy celebration, I told her that I had heard about it at Iloko Day. She mentioned that Mobo Akinola had not been able to go to Iloko Day because it was at the same time as her chieftaincy. She also mentioned that she and Mobo are first cousins. I told her that I had seen Mobo the other evening in Ilesa.

She said that the next meeting should be on Saturday June 12, but because of the elections she probably won't go. That means that the next time she plans to be in Ilesa will be the weekend of June 26. She hopes that the driver she has just hired will be able to drive her Mercedes and then he can drive her there on Friday and she can stay til Monday morning. I said I would try to look for her in Ilesa, probably on Sat afternoon June 26.

She gave me the address of her house in Ilesa, and drew a map--it is AY18 Igbogi Street. Phone in Ilesa is 036 461588. Igbogi is the area off the Oshogbo Road, before you get to Ishokun, when coming from the roundabout.

She talked about her house in Ilesa. She said that it is right in the town. I asked if it was a family house or family land. She said that she and her husband bought the house in 1954, that it was an old, traditional type Ilesa house. They renovated it in 1960. Then her husband died in 1967 and she closed it up and didn't go back there. Then in 1980 she renovated it again, so that she could use it for herself, making it essentaily one room. Then she built a story house behind it, which is what she now uses when she goes to Ilesa, and her help stays in the original house. She said that she had land on the Ijebu-jesa Road but decided not to build there because of the security problems when one isnt around. Where she is now--in town--there are people around. She just closes up the house when she isn't there, no one else stays there. When I said that I was staying in GRA, she said that she also had a plot of land there somewhere. She also mentioned someone else who she said has a house very near mine, but I cant remember who it was.

Mrs. Abe asked if I have met the Owa. I explained that I have some years ago, and that I'm sure he has seen me at events, but I haven't been to see him. We agreed that she would try to take me, and that we would work that out when I look for her on June 26.

She told me a little about her children. She has a daughter living in Victoria Island, and another child lives at Ilupeju. A son and daughter-in-law live downstairs from her; she introduced me to the daughter in law when I was leaving. One daughter lives in the US, in Melrose Massachusetts; otherwise they are all in Lagos.

We discussed Mrs. Farinde and the organization of Ijesa women they belong to. She said that they would be having a meeting on Sunday at Mrs. Farinde's house, that it is a sort of attempt to reorganize, because they haven't been doing much recently. The current president and vice president haven't been active. Their patron, Chief Lamikanra, is coming from Ilesa to talk to them, and to get them going again. They want to have Mrs. Farinde--who was the founding president--take over as president again, and to have her and Mrs. Abe more actively running things again, because the others haven't done much.

When we were discussing the chieftaincy, Mrs. Abe told me that Mrs. Farinde has also been made a chief--she has been given an honorary chieftaincy title in a small Ijesa town, Ido-Oko. the oba of this town is oba Adeyeye (the Ado-Oko), who is a retired permanent secretary. His wife was a member of their Lagos women's organizations, and is now a "distant member" as he and his wife stay in the town now, where he is oba. He celebrated his fifth anniversary as oba this year and conferred honorary chieftaincies on a number of his Lagos friends. Mrs. Farinde was given the title Yeye Mofin, meaning Mother of Law or one who knows law, since she is a lawyer. Her husband was also given a title, having something to do with accounting, since he is a chartered accountant. I said that I supposed the hope is that these people will then do something for the town, and she siad, yes, that's what the expectation is, isn't it? I asked what they will do, and she said advising, making donations for development projects.

She said that Ido-Oko is located on the road that goes to the Concord Hotel, about 12 km from Ilesa. It is one of 6 villages--called Ilu Mefa--that do things together. I asked if the Oba has a nice house in the town, and she said he does, and also if he is doing things for it and she said that he is. We talked about my going there with her to meet him sometime; it would be interesting to see a place where the oba is in a position to bring more resources into the town, and to see what kind of things they're trying to do there.

fnns16

fieldnotes ns16

Saturday June 5, visit with Nike Afolabi at her house

I got to Nike's house just after 1 PM. I had lunch there, and visited with her and the children; Sina was in Abuja on work. Later, we went out to Balogun Street market on Lagos Island, which was ok for a while, but very crowded, also very humid today and it started to rain, so we left before she finished her shopping.

I again mentioned to Nike that I'd like to see the video from the event Olashore had in December, opening the chapel and starting the school. She said that he has it, so I need to ask him about it.

I also asked her about the donations at Iloko Day. She has all the checks and will be compiling a list. She doesn't see any problem with giving me a copy, since, as she put it, there's nothing secret about the donations. I asked if people actually gave the amounts that were announced, and she said they did. But she said that Olashore had asked her whether the checks are all good, or if some of them will bounce. She is going to list all of them by number, so if any come back, they will be able to follow up with whoever gave the donation. (I wonder if that will actually be done, and how?)

We discussed the fact that having someone like Olashore makes a big difference in the fundraising at an event like Iloko Day. She said that this year's Iloko Day is very different from last year's, and next year's wont be the same either. That a lot of people who came and made donations did so because of who Olashore is, the position he currently holds. Even those who would make donations anyway, like the Ooni, will make larger donations this year because of that; the Ooni donated N250,000. And to have several ministers attend--that won't happen next time.

She is handling the checks; she said there's a N5000 check that came on Friday, and she is the only one to know about it so far, although she mentioned it to Olashore's son.

She told me that Sina, her husband, had made a contribution of N1000, and that other employees at the bank had also done so, and indicated that people did so because of their feelings about Olashore, that at other work places, employees might not do that.

She also mentioned that he'd been given a lot of rams, also cows, for Sallah last weekend, that they were taken to Iloko, and that he mentioned that they would be good for the wedding in August.

We discussed other Olashore events of recent months: she mentioned the housewarming for his house here in Lagos, which was held on his birthday in February (he was 58 years old). She was the one who made the presentation of the gift from the bank staff; they gave a large grandfather clock.

There was a party for him given by the Ijesa Solidarity Group; it was held in Ilesa. She wasnt there, but said he had mentioned that it was a very nice party.

The wedding of his daughter to be held in August will be a very big affair; Nike's comment was that the girl is very lucky to be getting married (implication being that she will get lots of gifts from important people).

This led to some further discussion of Olashore's family, and especially about his wife. Nike

said she hardly attends these events, and that even when she is there, she doesn't really participate. That she came to the housewarming when they were already in the midst of the prayer, and then she left as soon as others began to depart. It was the children who were really doing the hosting. She also mentioned that at the Iloko event in December, the wife was there, but more or less by herself and more or less ignored. She said that she never comes around the office.

This led to a discussion of some of Olashore's close friends, and how they accompany him to things, rather than his wife going with him. For example, she said Dr. Adigun goes everywhere with him. I said that Dr. Adigun must have things of his own to do , and she said that even if he doesn't want to go, he will when asked. I asked about Akin Akinola and his position at the bank. Nike said that he is like Olashore's "kid brother", although they are not related, he treats him like his brother. Akinola is a Director of the bank, as is Adigun; Adigun is now the chairman of the board. Akinola is always at events that Olashore is involved in; I said yes, that I had seen him at several events last year. I also mentioned that the Ife Vice Chancellor, Wale Omole, also seems to be at events of Olashore's; she knew about that connection as well.

We had this discussion after lunch, and then went off to the market; I left after the market trip as it was after 5 PM.

fnns17

Saturday, June 5, visit with Frank Hicks and Bisi Ogunleye

I stopped by to see Frank on my way to see Nike Afolabi. He wasn't home at first, but when I left my card, I got called back, and saw that Bisi Ogunleye was there waiting for him. I visited with her, then Frank came back, I left, and then returned in the late afternoon for a somewhat longer visit.

Got Bisi Ogunleye's Akure address: No.2 Afunbiowo Street, Behind IBWA at Old Garage, Akure, Ondo State, PMB 809, Phone: 034 231-945.

Told Frank a bit about my work, and promised to send the most recent papers after I get them photocopied. We talked about his current FF work, and that led to a brief discussion of the community banks. He thinks they have potential, and thinks Mabogunje is doing some good things. He knows about the workshop in Makurdi that Dele Olowu has invited me to and says he's like to attend but probably won't be able to as he's lea ving the country a couple of days later. Olowu has told him that Mabogunje will be there, but Frank isn't so sure. Frank thinks some of the urban ones are bogus, but that some of those in rural areas seem to be off to good start. He says the Foundation isn't putting any money into them, but might be interested in funding some evaluation and research on them. He thinks there's more chance with these than with the Peoples Bank, altho he had some hopes for Peoples Bank when it got started.

The work he's now doing is focusing on intermediaries, including setting up a new foundation that will be able to work with smaller groups, local community development associations. He sees some potential eventually for this organization to work with groups like hometown associations. The main focus of this group is going to be on credit.

Note: I should find out whether there are any Ijesa groups involved in community banks.

fnns18

Fieldnotes ns18

Saturday June 5, phone conversation with Mrs. Abe

I called Mrs. Abe to ask about attending the meeting of the women's organization Sunday afternoon, if I'm still in Lagos. She said it would be nice if I could pop in to say hello, and just stay a little while. That I shouldnt stay for the meeting itself, because it might be a little "fresh', they might be discussing some things concerning the inaction of the present officers and people will be speaking their minds about some issues.

fnns19

Fieldnotes Sunday June 6 1993, visit to Mrs. Farinde's house, Lagos
(written up July 1993)

I went to Mrs. Farinde's house at about 5:15 PM, based on what Mrs. Abe had told me the day before; she had said their organization would be meeting at that time and that I should stop by for a few minutes. Judy drove me over there; when we got there, there were no cars around so we began to wonder if there was in fact a meeting.

I found Mrs. Farinde inside her house; no one else was there. She explained that Mrs. Abe had had the date wrong, that the meeting is to be next Sunday.

We talked a little about the reasons for this meeting. She said that the group hasn't been very active recently, that they want to get it going again. She feels that it's important that they get going again, because they are among the elite, and people expect them to do things. She said that Lamikanra had suggested that they have a meeting and that he would come to it. She explained that she was the first president of the organization and that Mrs. Abe was the second. They each served a 3 year term. Then another person (not named) was elected and served her term, but no election was held after that. So now they are talking about having the original leaders (i.e., her and Mrs. Abe) take over again..

I told her where I am staying in Ilesa. She said that Mr. Ifaturoti's brother has his house near there.

She gave me the location of her house in Ilesa. It is off the Ijebu-jesa Road, on the road that goes off to the left just past the Methodist High School (the road that goes thru to the Oshogbo Rd); it's a short distance down that road. She said that she isn't going to Ilesa very much right now, because she doesn't have a driver. But she was there for Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy celebration.

I said that I had heard from Mrs. Abe that she had been given a chieftaincy title. She laughed and said it was a honorary chieftaincy, that the oba (of the small town that Mrs. Abe told me about) had given titles to some of his friends, these were honorary chieftaincies given to people like her and her husband.

I didn't stay very long, since Judy was waiting for me and there was no meeting.

fnns20

Fieldnotes Mon. June 7, Ife (written July 8 1993)

conversation with Mobo Akinola and Mrs. Odebiyi

I met Mobo Akinola outside Leventis Store in Ife, and as I was talking with her, Mrs. Odebiyi came up and joined us. We had a brief conversation about my research. Mrs. Odebiyi said--semi-jokingly--that I am just studying the Ilesa elite (such as Mobo). Mobo said no, I don't just study the elite, that I've studied market women and know all about the markets in Ijesaland. Then I said that it's true that my current research focuses more on people who maintain ties with home, and Mrs. Odebiyi said that that is what she meant, that it is the elite who do that. She said that she can't imagine that others are building houses at home, etc..

I commented that while it's true that elites do that especially, there are also others who come back home, such as traders.

We only talked for a couple of minutes before going off in different directions.

Fieldnotes Tues. June 8, observations in Ilesa (written July 8 1993)

While driving thru Ilesa today, I noticed some things that bear further exploration:

on the road going towards Imo, there is a sign on a building for the Imo Hills Community Bank; it wasn't clear if it was open.

In the same area, there is a sign for the Council of Ijesa Societies Secretariat.

Some things to check/visit:

Supreme Oil (Mobo Akinola)

Imo Hills Farms--ask about

There are more buildings and roads in the area by the Akinolas. The Imo Hill area should also be checked.

fnns22

Fieldnotes Wed. June 9, conversation with Ifaturoti (written up July 8 1993)

I had tried to see Ifaturoti on Tuesday June 8, after I returned from Lagos. He wasn't home, so I came back Wednesday morning. He explained that he had had to go to Lagos, because the son of close friends had been killed by an armed robber. We talked briefly and set an appointment for next week.

I said that I had started reading Omole's autobiography and wondered how it had been written. He explained that he had first started by asking someone named Ekemode to work on it, but the latter had said he didn't have time. Then Ifaturoti himself began to try to work on it, to get Omole to record stories on the tape recorder. Later, Ekemode came back and said he now had time to work on it. Together they drew up an outline of topics for Omole to cover. In addition to Ifaturoti, Justice Eso and Kunle Apara also helped. Omole recorded stories based on the outline they had drawn up. Then Ekemode put it all together, and then Kunle, Apara, and Eso went over it all, and made changes, edited it.

fnns23

Fieldnotes ns23
Thursday June 10, visit to Mobo Akinola at Supreme Oil Company (written July 8 1993)

Mobo had told me that she would be working at Supreme Oil this morning and that I should come there at about 10 AM, which I did. Supreme Oil is located on a dirt road off of the road leading to the Akure express road, just past the brewery; the road I took is not in very good shape, later I realized that there is a sign for the company at another road, so perhaps it's easier to get there on that road.

There are several buildings--an office building and large sheds where the oil is produced. Mobo showed me around the office building, and then showed me the area where the production is done. She explained that they are not producing any oil now. When they do, they produce both industrial oil--palm oil-- and oil for consumption--that latter is made from a combination of oil seeds. She said that the economic situation in the country has made it very difficult for small industries such as theirs to operate, because the costs are too high. They can't obtain enough produce to process, and it costs too much to buy it. She said that she is spending her time looking for money (ie capital). A man who works there went with us as she showed me around. She mainly showed me where the industrial oil is produced, and said that they'd just finished processing some. They sell it in relatively small quantities to people who buy it from them; if they produced more they could sell it to large companies.

The sign for Supreme Oil says that it is part of Amina Farms. I asked about that, and she indicated that Amina Farms is the larger company, and implied that there are other businesses that are part of it but didn't indicate what they are. (Later I learned from Lamikanra that Akinola is involved in Imo Hills Community Bank, and possibly has something to do with Imo Hills Farms, but the latter is run by UTC now. I also learned from the Burgesses that Akinola and Olashore own the area called West STeel, which is the residential compound that was put up by a German company some years ago. It's not clear what, if anything, goes on there now. Also, Mobo mentioned at some point that they have a citrus farm, that they sell the oranges from it (and Omole's book mentions that land that Omole formerly owned is now Akinola's citrus farm).

fnns24

Fieldnotes ns24

Thursday June 10, visit with Chief Lamikanra (written up July 8 1993)

I stopped to greet Chief Lamikanra and let him know that I am around again. We had a brief general conversation, and set an appointment for next week. He mentioned that he really hadn't ever told me much about the Council for Ijesa Societies, Ilesa, and said that they have a new secretariat. (I said that I had seen the sign for it). He said that right now it's just the building and a telephone, that they don't have enough money for anything else, such as a staff person, and that he's not even sure they have enough money to pay the phone bill. But he seemed to be pleased that they have the office, giving them more visibility.

fnns25

fieldnotes ns25, Sunday June 13, Ladipo wedding in Iwo (written up July 8 1993)

I went with Folarin and Lee Van Dyke to Iwo for the wedding of the son of Pat Ladipo and her husband. Among the people there were Olashore's friend, Dr. Adigun, the Director of AGIP. He explained that he is from Iwo, and was pleased to see that I had come to his hometown (he had said I should when I last saw him in Ijebu-jesa). But other than introduce him to Lee, we didn't talk further, and when I looked for him later, he had apparently left already.

fnns26

fieldnotes ns26, Monday June 14, visit at Ifaturoti's (written up July 9 1993)

I went to Ifaturoti's on my return from Ife Monday morning. Two men were visiting with him, an older man (in his seventies) and one considerably younger, in his forties or fifties. They had been discussing somthing and continued to do so after my arrival. Part of the discussion was in English. Towards the end, Kunle began to talk about coming home (ie. back to Ilesa). He said that he was surprised when the older man did so, that he never thought he would leave Lagos. The older man said that he left Lagos in 1974 after 34 years there, and that he has never regretted it. Kunle then talked about others who he think should have returned from Lagos by now; he mentioned by name S.O. Oni and Kunle Apara. He then told a story of something that happened to Apara recently; he was traveling in his car in Lagos, talking with someone on his mobile phone, when he was attacked by armed robbers. The person he was talking to could hear him say something about not having money, and then the phone was cut off; the person thought he was at home, and sent someone to check at his house, thinking the house had been broken in to, but in fact he was in his car. The robbers went off with the car but Apara was not hurt. But basically Kunle was telling the story as a way to emphasize how terrible Lagos has gotten, and that he doesn't understand why someone like Apara doesn't come back to Ilesa.

He then said to the younger man, that his advice to him is to "come home now". He went on the say that he would see Adedeji on the 17th to discuss the job with him, and told him he should come back to check with him on what happened. The two men left shortly after that.

After they left, Ifaturoti said to me that the man wants to come home, but that he is going about it in the wrong way. I asked what he meant, and he said that the man wants to get a job first. He has heard that there is a job at the Agricultural Institute (i.e., Leventis Foundation, which means that the person Kunle is to see on the 17th is Adedeji from Leventis Foundation) and he wants to try to get it. But according to Kunle, the man has no experience in agriculture; he has been a teacher (tho it's not clear if he's teaching now). Kunle feels that the man should first come home, and then look around for what kind of work he can do, rather than the other way around.

Ifaturoti and I also talked briefly about Ijesa Solidarity Group. He said that there is a problem with the administrative executive that they have hired, that he isn't doing things. I asked about other organizations that seem to be trying to do similar things to ISG. He said that there are other organizations trying to do the same types of things but that they are small and therefore can't really do the things that need to be done. Through ISG, they can all come together, and then there won't be a need for separate days like Iloko Day, etc., but they can work together for all Ijesa communities. He went on to say about the community days, that it is o.k. for a place like Iloko, because they have Olashore who monitors the money that is contributed. But in other places it's not clear what happens to the money. He gave the example of Itagunmodi Day; he said that he donated N5000 at that event, and that Kunle Apara was the Chair and he donated N25,000. But he asked, "what has happened to the money?" He said they haven't seen anything happen since then, and that most of the people involved in collecting it don't even live in Itagunmodi. He added that they didn't even entertain the chairman of the event (Apara) on that day, that it seemed that they just wanted the money for themselves.

I left after setting an appointment for the following morning to discuss ISG in more detail.

fnns27

Fieldnotes ns27, Tuesday June 15, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti (written up July 9 1993)

We focused mainly on Ijesa Solidarity Group, and events of the past year. Ifaturoti first told me about the General Meeting, which was held on May 1. He said that it was a very good meeting; 76 people attended. He presented the Chairman's report and it was discussed (he gave me a copy of the report). He says he plans to step down as chairman, particularly now because of the problems with his eyesight. They also discussed the minutes of last year's general meeting. But the auditor's report had not been circulated in advance, so they didn't discuss that; the meeting therefore adjourned for 3 months and there will be another meeting in 3 months to discuss the auditor's report, at which point he will also stop being the chairman. The election will not take place until after that meeting. He added that his title has been changed from Chairman to President.

He said that there have actually been two general meetings in the past few months; there was a special meeting to consider the constitution, which was approved, and then the regular general meeting. I asked for a copy of the constitution but he didn't have an extra one, and said he needed his copy for a committee meeting to be held on Saturday June 19. But the constitution was approved; it has however been changed in various ways since the version I had last year.

The Executive Council still consists of 16 members as before.

I asked about what was happening with plans to carry out economic development activities. He said that there was a lengthy discussion of that at the general meeting, that the discussion took up 3/4 of the time. But that they are still stagnating on that. He explained that last year Prof. Iyalole (from Ibadan) had suggested that there be an endowment fund; he felt people would subscribe if they saw it as an investment rather than an outright gift to ISG. In this plan, the money would remain the person's own, and they would get something back. In other words, the idea is that they would buy shares. Kunle agrees with this suggestion.

But there was a lot of discussion about this. A new idea was proposed. That if they want money, they can launch the organization and get donations, not only from Ijesas but also from non-Ijesas. Kunle disagrees. His feeling is that if they are to have economic development, you don't ask people to donate money, that that is not how a business works.

He feels that the administrative executive who works for ISG should have taken notes on the debate and put the arguments together to present to the Executive Council for discussion. But he hasn't done anything along these lines. I then said that perhaps he could summarize the issues on a tape recorder, which I could then transcribe for him. But he rejected this possibility, saying that his own view is very strong, and he wouldn't be seen as putting the arguments objectively.

According to Kunle, there are basically two points of view. On the one hand, the fund could be considered as an endowment, with the money becoming the property of those who administer it. On the other hand, it would be an investment, and it would still be one's own property, rather than the property of ISG; i.e., people have subscribed to it. Then at this meeting, a third element was introduced--the idea of a development fund, which could be launched. But Kunle doesn't see that as relevant; a development fund would get contributions from outside but he doesn't see that as the way to go. So far as he is concerned, the choice is between the endowment fund and an investment fund, and his preference is for the investment fund.

In his view, if there is an investment fund, they can still have a launching for a specific project,

such as a new town hall or a palace museum (which is something Bolanle Awe wants). But for general development, there should be an investment fund. People should feel they are investing in something, and they can either increase the amount they invest, or they can sell their shares if they don't see things happening. If there is a fund, there will be a large sum of money, which is there is the name of the society. The Economic Committee will then come up with ideas to pursue for economic development. For example, one idea is to have a big rice mill to process rice produced in Ijesaland. The procedure would be for the Economic Committee to come up with an idea, and then to do a feasibility study to see whether it's possible. Then they would float a company from the fund, taking a percentage (e.g. 20%) of the shares, with others --both members and nonmembers-- taking the other shares. Then the company would come on stream, and start producing, and the profits would then be shared, with 20% going back to ISG and the rest to the other shareholders.

There are ideas for other types of projects too. Kunle said that the advantage of having a large sum of money is that it can also be used for other things besides setting up business, that they may want to do. He gave the example of a shopping complex in Oshogbo that has been put in by the government. He said that most of the traders along Station Road in Oshogbo are Ijesas, and the rent in the new complex is high. Traders could come to ISG and ISG could lend them money; ISG would be like a guarantor of credit for loans for them. (Not sure if this complex already exists or is projected).

I asked about opinions about these ideas on the Executive Council of ISG. He said that there are differences of opinion, but that it is a matter for the Economic Committee to consider. He said that he wrote to the Chair of the Economic Committee, who is Akinmokun; he wrote to him in May, asking that the committee make a recommendation by the next Council meeting in September.

We then talked about other ISG committees. He had already mentioned a committee which Paulina Makinwa is suposed to be on, which will meet on Saturday June 19 (the day of Paulina's mother's funeral). This is a committee on rural and urban renewal, they want to look at ways of making the cities, towns and villages look better. They also want to look at the raw materials, agricultural or other, that exist and that can be produced in this area. The committee is also supposed to work on population projections for their area, and to consider other projects, such as improvement of markets, and the building of an airstrip. The Committee has been set up and has had one meeting, with the second on June 19. They are supposed to write a report, and have one year to do the work. Then the ISG should be able to take points they make and work on some of them.

The goal of this committee is to improve the standard of living, the productivity of the area, and the infrastructure so that life is easier. They want to maximize the utilization of resources, in order to improve the standard of life.

Kunle showed me the letter to the committee members regarding the meeting on June 19, and also the list of committee members. I noticed that Onibokun from Iwoye is on the list, and mentioned that I know of him and his new organization (which received some funding from Ford, and suggested that he should be a source of information on possibilities). Kunle then said that Onibokun didn't attend the first committee meeting, but that he did attend the general meeting, and that he was one of the people who was very vocal about development, and about the idea of launching a development fund. (In fact, Kunle gave the impression that it was Onibokun who put forth the ideas that he had criticized in the earlier part of our discussion.) Kunle went on to say that since Oyoloye wasn't present at the general meeting, he, Kunle, had to push his point of view (about the endowment fund) and take a stronger role than he would otherwise have done, and in fact, there were questions raised about whether he was taking too strong a viewpoint given that he was chairing the meeting. (He said that Oyuloye wasn't at the meeting because he was at a meeting of the Ijebu-jesa Community Bank which was taking place on the same day as the ISG General Meeting).

The members of the committee include a four architects, engineers and others. It includes Akin Agunbiade, who is an architect, and Olumide Eso, also an architect. There are two estate surveyors, include Eso's younger brother. Also Abiodun Lamikanra, who is retired, was formerly with BP. Also two engineers, including S.O. Fadahunsi, but he didn't attend the first meeting. Others are Onibokun and Paulina Makinwa.

Some of the issues they want to be concerned with include doing something about the various government housing estates that have been abandoned. Also concerned with markets. They are interested in doing things in the smaller communities as well as in the city; in fact, they want to play down Ilesa and focus on other towns more.

Over all, Kunle said that he is very pleased with the progress Ijesa Solidarity Group has made. He said they have made significant progress, just by getting people together. He said that Ijesas are very skeptical, and the fact that there were 76 people at the annual general meeting was significant. People won't come unless they think it is worthwhile. People came from places like Warri and Katsina. One person came from Kano as an observer; he was skeptical and said he wanted to see what they were doing, and that he came in order to give a personal report to their society in Kano. More people would have attended except that there were other events on the same day. And everyone who attended took part.

In addition to the annual general meeting, they also had the launching of the ISG on that day. They wanted to do something symbolic, since the organization has now been in existence from July 1991 to May 1 1993. And they've been trying to have a membership drive, and from the people who came there was a broad cross-section of people. So they wanted something symbolic. They decided that after the annual general meeting they would have a meeting to be attended by Omole, where he would launch the society. And they would have the traditional chiefs pray for the organization. They invited the owa and the district chiefs. It was a small ceremony and impressive. They announced the approval of the constitution and other decisions of the ISG. They invited Lawrence Omole as the patron to launch the society. Omole gave a small speech and launched the society. He called on the obas to pray. The Ogboni of Ibokun said that he was designated by the six obas who were there to pray on their behalf. He prayed in Ijesa that everything they do will be done well. It was a small ceremony. They also recognized Prof. Makanjuola who was given a national merit award this year.

The obas who attended included the Awara of Iwara, the Ogboni Ipole, Ogboni Ibokun, oba of Imesi Ile and two others (he couldnt remember the other two). The Owa did not attend. Kunle said that he met him later at a similar gathering, and the Owa said there that if he is invited properly he always attends (similar to what he said at Iloko Day). The event where Kunle had seen him was something organized by the Frontliners; the Owa said that the president of the organization came and spoke with him, and then later sent a letter. If they don't do that type of thing (ie. come in person) or if they feel they are too big to personally invite him, then he said that he's not likely to attend.

Again, Kunle said that the event went well and he was very happy. Ijesa Solidarity Group now has more than 300 members. Kunle has been doing the membership drive. Omole thinks that someone should be employed specifically for that, but Kunle thinks that the Administrative Executive (who is employed already by ISG) should be doing that. They need 120 members paying N200 a year to pay the Admin Executive's salary, so he should be involved in getting the members.

Kunle went on to further criticize the man who is the Admin Executive, who has his office in the brewery. He said that he's never in the office; he comes in for a while, then goes out, goes to collect his children from school, and otherwise does various things taking him out of his office. Kunle feels that he's not doing the job, and in fact seems to feel he should be fired, but I got the impression that that view is not shared by others on the Executive Council. One

thing he feels the Admin Executive should do is to put out the newsletter on a regular basis, that that is the only way to let members know what is going on. There should be four issues a year. They had one published in February, but he hasn't done anything since, and Kunle feels that one should have come out after the annual general meeting.

On other matters of organization in ISG, Kunle said that the General Secretary is Folusoye, the managing director of the brewery, but that he doesnt really have time to do it, and they will get someone else at the elections in September. There is a retired lawyer who is interested in doing it.

I asked Kunle briefly about other ISG events during the past year. Specifically I asked about the party given for Olashore. Kunle said that it was very successful, but did not give any details.

I also asked about the launching of Omole's autobiography. He said that the launching dovetailed with the Solidarity Group because of Bolanle Awe's review, in which she discusses Ijesa unity. He gave me a copy of the review for me to photocopy and return to him.

fnns28

Fieldnotes ns28

Tuesday June 15, visit to Olashore's uncle at the palace in Iloko (written up July 10 1993)

Bodunde and I went to Iloko Tuesday afternoon around 3:30 or 4 PM, to try to see Olashore's uncle (who I interviewed last year and had seen at Olashore's house on Iloko Day). We stopped first at his house, and were told that he was at the palace so we went there. He was just seeing off a couple of men, and then greeted us and took us into a sitting room. I explained that I was interested in finding out more about Iloko Day, and he said that the person to talk to is the Regent of Iloko, the Orisa Iloko, Chief Akinsanya. He said that he is a Lagos-based businessman but he comes to Iloko regularly. He said that he would be able to give me more details, and suggested looking for him on a Saturday.

According to Olashore's uncle, the purpose of Iloko Day is to unite Iloko's sons. They are planning to build an "ultramodern town hall" and they collected money for that and for other purposes. The plan for the hall, which was on display on Iloko Day, is now with the Regent.

Another project is the school; they want to rebuild the classes as it's getting dilapidated. The school was built a long time ago; he said he wasn't home at that time. It is a government school but the community wants to render help for it.

I asked about last year's project--the boreholes. He said that the one at the palace is functioning. The other is at the dispensary but it isn't functioning. He said that when his cousin (i.e. Olashore) comes he will ask him to get them to come and repair it. The one at the palace is mainly for the palace, but there is an extension from it which provides water to others outside the palace. The one at the dispensary is for people at that end of town.

I asked about the man who was the Chairman of Iloko Day, Omoniyi. Olashore's uncle said that he stays in Lagos, he is a businessman there. But he didn't say any more about him, he again indicated that the person to talk to about Iloko Day is the Regent, Akinsanya.

I asked about some of the organizations involved in organizing Iloko Day. The only one he mentioned by name is the Federation of Iloko Students Union. He said that it is a group of elites and that they have a library here in Iloko. Now there is a plan to build a secretariat for them, or the join it with the new community hall.

I asked if he knew how much money had been raised at Iloko Day. He said that they raised N2 million plus. He told me that the community hall project has already been started, that they have started constructing the building along the Ijebu-jesa Road. After I left the palace and drove back towards Ijebu-jesa, I found the site of the new community hall and people were there working; there is a sign indicating that the community hall project is taking place there. It's a large site; I took a few pictures.

Before leaving Iloko I also took some pictures of Olashore's uncle and others around the palace.

fnns29

fieldnotes ns29

Tuesday June 15, visit with Remi Fakeye, Ijebu-jesa (written up July 10 1993)

When I saw Remi Fakeye in Ife a few days ago, she told me that she would be at home in Ijebu-jesa this evening and I said I would stop by to see her. She said she'd be there by about 5 PM but since it started raining while I was in Iloko I waited a while and got there at about 6 PM; she said she had just arrived.

She had told me that her family house is just before the mosque on the road leading in to Ijebu-jesa from Ilesa, so we went there. She said to look for some people playing drafts, which we did, and begin asking around for her. After a few minutes, we got to the right place, and she came out to greet us. We just stayed to visit for a few minutes.

Remi Fakeye told me her family name: it is the Arojojoye compound. The next story house is the house of Mrs. Onibonoje, who belongs to the same family compound as she; the house is next to the community bank.

Remi said that she had come to Ijebu-jesa to buy gari, because it is market day tomorrow. She took public transport from Ife, but her husband will come to pick her up tomorrow. She buys gari in Ijebu-jesa because she thinks it's cheaper and better. I asked if she also buys rice at the rice mill (as Folarin has done) and she said no, that sometimes they say they don't have rice so it's not worth it, she buys her rice in Ife.

She told me that among the people who live in the family compound are her uncle and her sister, also an old woman who she pointed out to me, and that there are also a lot of people living behind; since it was raining she said that she would show me the compound another time. We just sat on the verandah looking out on the main street, as the electricity was off as well so there wasn't much point in trying to visit inside a room. We just had something to drink and then continued on our way back to Ilesa as it was getting late.

fnns30

fieldnotes ns30

Tuesday June 15. visit with David and Lesley Burgess at Olashore International School
(written up July 10 1993)

After visiting with Olashore's uncle in Iloko, it was a little early for going to see Remi Fakeye in Ijebu-jesa, so I decided to stop to see the Burgesses, the principal of Olashore's school. We talked about a number of different things, including the school and the news about the fire in Olashore's office; they didn't know much more than was in the newspaper.

When I was telling them a little about my research, they mentioned having been at an event in May, just before I arrived, where Ifaturoti was honored. It was on Saturday May 15, and since they still had the program they showed it to me. It was an event organized by The Frontliners, at which Bolaji Akinyemi gave a talk, and Ifaturoti was given a citation. They said that Akinyemi's talk was interesting, and controversial, about the current situation in Nigeria. They also said that there were a number of comments during the occasion about finding ways to bring the children back home, and also about getting their children to marry Ijesas.

(This must have been the event that Ifaturoti mentioned to me, organized by The Frontliners, which the Owa was at--but he didnt tell me that he had been honored at it. People to contact about it would be Ibironke or Jegede.)

fnns31

fieldnotes ns31

Tuesday June 15--Wednesday June 16, preparations for funeral at Paulina Makinwa's house. (written up July 13 1993)

Paulina stopped by her house in the late afternoon of June 15, bringing with a number of things for the funeral. She unloaded yams, which she said she bought at 3 for N100, rice which she said she bought in Cotonou (where she was for a meeting last week), and beans. Everything was put in the garage, which was then locked with a padlock.She also brought cooking pots and firewood; she said that she would hire women to do the cooking, and they would do it outside. She also brought a cylinder of cooking gas, which she said would be used in the house, just for cooking for the family.

She told me that the Christian wake-keeping would be Friday night, and that they would stay up all night.

Her cousin Mr. Taiwo put up funeral notices, with a photograph of her mother and schedule of events; two were on the gate of the house, presumably he put up others elsewhere.

On Wednesday, Mr. Taiwo brought two water tanks for use during the funeral, and later in the week a water tanker came and filled the tanks.

The grave was dug during the week, in the corner of the property near the new building of flats which she has put up. Also, there was a lot of work going on so that that building would be completed so that people could stay in it; Paulina said that her mother's relatives from Efon Alaye would stay there.

On Wednesday evening, Paulina came back to Ilesa with her daughter. While she was out seeing various people in Ilesa, Mrs. Jeje stopped by; she is the wife of Prof. Jeje, in geography at Ife, and is a relative of Paulina's. She was discussing with Paulina's daughter details about the food preparation, and whether or not one cow should be slaughtered on Friday. They also discussed where people would stay who came for the funeral; the plan is to put them up at the house of the people for whom the street is named--Ogunbiyi--, they have a large house at the beginning of the street and they live in Ibadan.

fnns32

fieldnotes ns32

Wednesday June 16, interview with Chief Lamikanra (written up July 14, 1993)

I went to see Chief Lamikanra as scheduled at about 11 AM. I was there til almost 3 PM. We first discussed the current political situation for a while; he's convinced that Babangida has no intention of going. He also told me that he was one of the people who was involved in getting people out in the middle of the night when Abiola came to town recently, although he himself did not actually go to see him, but he called others to get them to go.

Most of our conversation focused on the organization of Ijesa Day/Ilesa Day and on the Council of Ijesa Societies-Ilesa.

He gave me the background on the effort to have an Ijesa Day. He said that last year, after the governor was sworn in, one society in Ilesa gave a party for him (or for the Deputy Governor??) and they talked about having an Ijesa Day. The Deputy Governor said that if there were an Ijesa Day he would give N100,000. So a group of people tried to organize Ijesa Day, but they didn't have a credible group to do it. Instead they had an Ilesa Day, held in December, which was, according to Lamikanra, "a washout, a complete failure". They did not get the N100,000. I asked who organized Ilesa Day and he said "some group in town" but did not specify who or whether it was an organization or just a group of people.

When that effort didn't work, the Deputy Governor then organized some other people. He got the four local government chairmen together and they agreed to organize Ijesa National DAy. They then got others involved. There was first a group of five, consisting of the Deputy Governor and the four local government chairmen, and then they asked Lamikanra to participate; he was the sixth member. They approached him because of his role as the President of the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ilesa. They then formed an advisory committee.

The objective of having an Ijesa National Day was to create awareness in the whole of Ijesaland so that Ijesas everywhere begin to take pride in being Ijesas. Lamikanra pointed out that the relations between Ilesa and other Ijesas is "not savory". They wanted to try to break down that situation. The main goal was to create awareness. The Ijesas never do anything together; each town has its own events, its own community days, etc.

To get people interested in participating in organizing this event, they rotated the meetings among the local government headquarters.

The composition of the committee was as follows: The advisory committee consisted of the six of them--Lamikanra and the government officials. Then there was a working committee; they said that the Council of Ijesa Societies should nominate eight people, two from each local government. And the local governments should nominate 15 members from each local government. But in the end this isn't what happened.

At this point, Lamikanra gave me background information on the organization of the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ilesa. He said that the Council was reorganized in 1991 to put it on a proper footing. In 1991, they looked at the old council, which had become defunct, and started holding monthly meetings. They invited the socieities in Ilesa to join the council, so there would be one body representing as many societies as are willing to join. The Council has two representatives from each society. The merit awards given last year was there first outing.

Lamikanra was elected President of the Council, and Ilesanmi Vice President. By the time they started organizing Ijesa Day they had 20 socieites as members of the Council, so they

were able to draw some committee members from the Council. But the Council basically consists of societies located in Ilesa, although many of these organizations also have memb ers from the other local government areas. He noted that the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ilesa consists of societies whose members are largely based in Ilesa and have their clubs here, as opposed to the Council of Ijesa Societies, Lagos or Ibadan.

In the end, the committee organizing Ijesa Day consisted of officials of the local government councils--the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman, the Secretary, and the information officers. It also included the "women's wing", that is, based on the Better Life set-up, where the local government chair's wife heads Better Life, so she was included. Women on the committee included the Deputy Governor's Wife, the wife of the local government chairmen, and some other women. He showed me the program from Ijesa Day (gave me a copy) and went thru the names of the committee members with me, pointing out who some of them, especially the women, are.

Number 8 on the list, Pricess Adeyinka Haastrup, is the wife of the Deputy Governor; Number 9, Mrs. Ibidun Olatona, is the wife of the OriAde lg chair; Number 10, Mrs. F. Ogunniyi, is the wife of the Obokun lg chair; Number 11, Mrs. R.O. Olatunde, is the wife of the Ilesa lg chair; Number 12, Mrs. R. Amasa, is the wife of the Atakumosa lg chair. Numbers 13-16 are the secretaries of the four local governments. Number 17 are are the members drawn from the Council and from the four local governments. Most of the members are based in Ilesa, including those from other lga's who live in Ilesa. In going thru th list, which has 61 people on it, there are four other women besides those listed above. He didn't tell me who they are.

The committee was then split in to sub-committees to take care of various aspects of the event. There was a publicity committee; a mobilization committee (or was this the publicity committee?) to let people know about what's happening, to send people to Lagos, Ibadan, etc., to let Ijesas there know about it; a quiz committee that organized a quiz for schoolchildren. They had a competition for the secondary schools; there are 77 secondary schools in Ijesaland . They started with a competition in each school, then a commpetition between the four best schools in the local government area; then the best from each lga competed in the final. The winner was Ilesa Grammar School.

There was also a lecture committee and a symposium committee; these were two different events on two different days. The lecture was given by Ekemode, the former Deputy Provost of the College of Education, who spoke about the places of Ijesas in the history of Yorubaland. The former Governor of Oyo State, Bola Ige, was the Chairman of the event.

The symposium drew people from outside Ijesaland. They had several different people to speak, from different fields, such as industry, agriculture, a sociologist, an enginner. Each spoke for five-ten minutes on different topics, such as education, local government, industry, etc.

There was also an agricultural/industrial exhibition, held at Ibokun. Farmers exhibited their produce, and some industries did as well. They were judged and given prizes. (Each event was allocated to different local governments; the quiz was held at Osu, the lecture at OriAde, (Ijebu-jesa), the exhibition at Ibokun, and the symposium in Ilesa.

The Grand Finale of the whole event was Saturday April 10, held at the Ilesa Sports stadium. He gave me the program for that day. This was a fund-raising event. There was a raffle drawing. And also donations. People invited included people from beyond Ijesaland; the Deputy Governors of Oyo and Lagos came. Abiola was invited but he couldn't come, but he sent a team to represent him and gave 1/4 million naira. There was also a beauty contest, which was an evening show, and a band; this was done to draw young people.

The Oni of Ife was represented, and the Owa of Ijesaland was there; chiefs from the four local governemtn areas were also there. There were also people who came from places like Lagos, Ibadan, Ilorin. According to Lamikanra there were several thousand people at the grand finale. They had a band and food sellers there.

I asked about the N100,000 promised by the Deputy Governor. Lamikanra said that he gave the money; he gave it personally, not on behalf of government. The local governments all gave money. In organizing the event they spent the money contrib uted by the Deputy Governor and the local governments, and also money given by one or two individuals (not named). But they didnt spend the money that was donated. They made ab out N700,000 from donations.

I asked if there are plans about what to do with the money. Lamikanra said that they watned to raise funds; their stated goal was N50 million, which was, he said, too ambitious. They didnt intend to raise 50 million that day, but the idea was that they would do so over the years. The overall goals is to raise money towards industrialization of Ijesaland. I asked for more specifics, e.g., the type of industry, and he said that they want to maximize the raw materials that are available in Ijesaland.

For the moment they have the money collected in the bank. Perhaps they will raise more next year, and perhaps in three years time, they will be able to start something, according to him.

I asked if the Ijesa Solidarity Group was involved in organizing Ijesa Day. Lamikanra said that they were not involved as a group, but as individuals they were; for example he mentioned that Ifaturoti was on the committee. He said that no societies were involved as such; rather it was representatives of societies that are members of the Council of Ijesa Socieities. He said that Ifaturoti was on the committee as a member of another organization (but I'm not sure this is the actual case).

We then went on to talk more about the Council of Ijesa Societies and what it is doing. He said that the council is also talking about industrialization. They have a committee to look at the possibilities, and they have identified three types of things. These are: cottage industries; small scale industries; and full-fledged large industries. An example of cottage industry they have suggested is one that would produce sandpaper.

He gave some background on the Council: He said that there have been town unions for a long time; these started with friends coming together, or people of the same profession, there were both men's and women's organizaitons. For example, the Egbe Atunluse is the oldest in Ilesa; there is also the Ijesa Progressive Circle, and many others. For a long time, most of what these groups do is talk. They hold meetings in rotation at the members' houses, they rarely discuss anything beyond social issues, putting out "bush fires" (e.glk settling quarrels, chieftaincy disputes), doing things like when someone is being married or buried, they put on their dresses and show up (i.e., where the same dress--aso ebi). He said that we don't think much about the things that bind us together. Those who organized the Council thought that they have common interests and that there should be a body which should be able to look out for their common interests. If they are doing something like Ijesa Day, then it isnt difficult for the Council to pull together the resources for it.

In 1990 or 1991, when Justice Eso retired, he was given a reception. This was done by the Council; thru the members of the Council it was easy to get people together.

The Councils of Ijesa Societies in Lagos and Ibadan are larger establishments than the one here in Ilesa. One thing that the Ibadan group is doing is providing accomodation for lecturers at the College of Education. They are building five houses on the College compound.

He also mentioned that it is easier for the Council to make a concerted approach to government on issues of concern, because they can draw on members of the various societies, who may have contacts.

He said tht he is President, Ilesanmi is Vice President, and both get called on to do various things.

With regard to the idea of promoting industrialization, he said that the Council's idea is that the Council is not going to establish industries, but that there are members of members socieites who are in a position to do so; they would do so as individuals. The Council is coming up with ideas; the committee looking at this has suggested that there be cottage industries, small industries and full-fledged industries. They are making suggestions of specific industries that might be possible: such as kaoline, talc; forest-based industries; mat-making; spring water. As I understood him, the idea is that the Council would look into possibilities but it would be up to individuals to actually pursue these ideas and develop industry.

The Committee is to report to the Council; and then the Council is to pick some which they think they can persuade people to subscribe to financially. They would get individuals to be the foundation subscribers, he said. The role of the Council would be to promote industry, not to own industry.

I asked if he was familiar with what Ijesa Solidarity Group is talking about with regard to industry and economic developmetn. He said that Solidarity is talking about doing the same type of thing. He thinks it is good to have several groups trying to do this type of thing, and doesnt think there's conflict between them.

I asked if he thinks people will put their money into industry. His response was "We're traders, and trading leads to industry." He gave the example of the East India Company which started in the textile trade and then got into industry. But he said that the problem now is that there is no incentive for manufacturing in Nigeria, that one can put one's money in a merchant bank and get 10% interest in a month, whereas if you put money into manufacturing it takes a long time to make anything.

He then pointed to some pottery which he had displayed on a table, saying that he is trying to help a young man who is setting up a cottage industry making pottery. We discussed what the man --trained as a doctor-- is doing, and who is making the pottery. He said that the man is hiring young men. This led to quite a lengthy discussion of why he was hiring men instead of women, and disagreement about the problems of hiring women. Lamikanra said that he had women working in his bakery who became bakers but that he wouldnt have hired them initaily in that capacity and that it would be too much risk for someone like this young man to do so at this point in his business.

After a lengthy discussion, and digression, on this, I asked his opinion of efforts like Community Banks. His immediate response was that community banks, and the Peoples Bank, are " a lot of crap". He specifically mentioned the Imo Hills Community bank and said that basically rich people are using it to make money. He also said that there is one in Kajola which is failing.

On the other hand, he said that the community bank in Ijebu-jesa will succeed. He went on to say that in Ijebu-jesa people do things in common, that they all work together. He gave the example of the Egboro Trading company; he said that there are about 10 people who set it up and that they have made millions. In his view Ijebu-jesa works together more than other Ijesa communities; he said that the town hall there is the best in Ijesaland.

I asked who I might talk to about the community bank in Ijebu-jesa. He asked if I have met Chief Fatodu, and siad he is the one to talk to, that he is active in the community, but not to

start by asking about the community bank. Fatodu is retired registrar from University of Ibadan. He lives on the road that turns off just past the Grammar School; about 100 yards in there;s a road to the left and his is first house on that road.

As we talked about Ijebu-jesa, I mentioned the five places I'm working in. When I mentioned Iloko, we began discussing Olashore. He made it clear that he's known Olashore for a long time. Lamikanra asked me if I've seen the school, and what I think of it. I then turned the question back to him, and he said that in his view it is just for the elite. There won't be ten out of 100 students who are from Ijesaland who are able to attend. He feels it won't have any effect on the community. There won't be jobs there for people from the community, except things such as sweepers, housekeepers. They'll buy food in bulk. He said that the school introduces a class element. I asked why Olashore is setting it up. In Lamikanra's view, it is for his ego, so that people can say that he has put Iloko on the map. He said that when you go to Adesoye College, there are all these big cars dropping off the students. We'll see the same thing in Iloko. Olashore will be able to say he's put Iloko on the map with his school. Its for his ego.

He went on to say that Olashore has done a lot of things for the community. He said that he is public-spirited and always has been. I mentioned the boreholes; Lamikanra said, "ARe they for the community?" When I said that I thought one, possibly two, are for the community, he said, okay, that's good.

he said that Olashore built the palace, but then asked, do they really need one that big? all of Iloko can fit inside, he said. He then said that Olashore built the road to the town, that is he got the government to build it when he was burying his father. The road (from the express road in to Iloko) was bad, and when he was burying his father, he told that to people in government, and in two or three weeks they had tarred it. Now he is building the community hall, again, all of Iloko will be able to sit inside it. He also mentioned the chapel, and its size; he said he isn't there to attend the chapel and even when he's at home, he doesn't attend, since he's out til 3 AM; he's a socialite, he said.

I asked why is it important for Olashore to do all these things. Lamikanra's response was, well, it's his hometown. He (Olashore) is a success--however you define success--and he has to do things at home. He was born there. His father was the oba there, and he'll be the oba there some day.

When he said that he was born in Iloko, I interjected "was he? or at Ijebu-jesa?" Lamikanra said, well, even he (Olashore didn't know he was from Iloko. His father never lived at Iloko until he became oba. The Fatireguns and others in Ijebu-jesa didnt know that Iloko was such a big (ie important) place or that Olashore was from there. The implication of the way he put it was that it's really all part of the same place.

Lamikanra indicated that he knows Olashore well, and has known him for a long time. He mentioned that after all, he has his problems; I acted like I didn't undersand, but he just said, well, everyone has problems; he has money but he still has problems.

We then discussed Olashore's current job, and why he took it. Lamikanra said that he asked him that three times, which was a way of letting him know that he doesnt think he should have taken the job. He said they kicked him out (from the First Bank job) and didnt make him Governor of Central Bank when they should have. He said that it was Aikhomu who did that, not IBB, and that this was a kind of repayment.

AT this point, we were interrupted by the arrival of a young man, who I was told is from the Council of Ijesa Socieites and a medical doctor. I asked what his role is in the Council, and he said he's part of a "think tank" (my guess is the committee that Lamikanra was discussing earlier, but neither of them said so specifically). I didnt get the man's name. Mainly we

discussed the political situation for some minutes, as the man seemed to have more details of how the voting had gone and what the results were.

After the man left, Lamikanra went back to the subject of Olashore again, briefly. He said that after all, he knows them all--referring to northerners, people in government. He said he speaks Hausa fluently, grew up with them. When I acted sort of dumb, he went on to say, after all, he's corroborated (collaborated) with them all along; he knows them, he knows the army, the police. When I asked what he meant, he said, well, three months after he was kicked out of First Bank he had established his own bank--that speaks for itself, he said. (ie that wouldnt be possible without help from high up).

We finally ended the conversation Lamikanra inviting me to come to a get-together on friday June 25 to honor the woman from IITA who has helped him with setting up bee-keeping. I said I would do so.

fnns33

fieldnotes ns33

Friday, June 18 and Saturday June 19, funeral of Paulina Makinwa's mother (written up July 13 1993)

Paulina came to stay in Ilesa on Wednesday June 16, together with one of her daughter's. I was there that night as well, and then went to Ife on Thursday morning. I was supposed to go to Ibadan with Folarin that day, but we decided to postpone that trip til Friday, and therefore I changed plans to see go visit Nike in Oshogbo on Friday. I didn't go back to Ilesa until time for the funeral on Saturday morning. But I was told that everyone stayed up all night, and there was music playing all night, for the Christian wake-keeping; the idea is that you have to stay awake with the dead. I was also told later on by Mobo Akinola that Mrs. Odebiyi came Friday evening to help arrange flowers, but she didn't stay for the night. On Saturday, Mrs. Jeje (who is a relative of Paulina's) also told me that her husband was there on Friday, but not on Saturday for the funeral.

When I arrived on Saturday morning at about 8:30, there were relatively few people around the house, and they were having breakfast and making preparations for going to the funeral. The casket was open and in the sitting room. There was a guest book for people to sign who came to visit, so I signed it (the housegirl showed it to me). A couple of elderly people were in the sitting room, eating, but otherwise people were either outside and the family was inside in the bedrooms. I just stayed around, trying mainly to keep out of the way. Tables were set up outside, and people were hanging nicely printed signs identifying areas for different sets of guests: Ijesa Solidarity Group, guests from Ibadan, guests from Lagos, NISER, guests from Efon Alaye, etc.

At about 9, people began to gather to bring the body outside and to leave the house. Some people I recognized showed up, and expected me to be accompanying them; they included Mrs. Afolayan from UI, who I had met in Dakar in March. But I was expecting Bodunde and Femi to show up from Oshogbo so thought I should stay around the house a while longer.

When the casket was closed, Paulina's housegirl went into hysterics--actually a sort of possession trance--and people came to help her, but after a while, when she continued, they began to say "o ti to" and to indicate that she should stop. The family then came out, and the coffin was brought to the hearse. They then left in a procession of cars. They said that first they would go to the house of Paulina's father, and then to the church. It was quiet around the house after they left, and those who were still there asked me when I was going; I explained that I would go directly to the church.

Some people from Ibadan showed up a little after 9:30, and I decided to leave for the church when they did, even tho B odunde still wasn't there. I parked a little distance from the church, and met an elderly woman as I was walking there; she said she was going to the funeral. The funeral was at St. Mary's Catholic Church at Oke Pade, Ifofin.

When I got there, most people were outside the church. The family was there--Paulina and her husband, and two daughters and son, and the coffin was still outside; they were outside praying. I met Mrs. Afolayan there and stayed with her, later we sat together. After about 15 minutes, shortly after 10 AM everyone went into the church. Meanwhile Bodunde and Femi had arrived and I realized I had forgotten the videotape so they went back to the house to get it, and then came back again after the funeral started, so the videotape that Femi did starts about 20 minutes into the funeral.

The funeral lasted for two hours. The church was about half to twothirds full. The entire

service was in Yoruba, and mrs. Afolayan translated a few parts of it. The sermon focused on Paulina's mother and her involvement in the church, as well as on the family.

After the service, everyone left the church to go back to the house for the burial. I didn't go directly back to the house because I wanted to stop and buy some food in the market. So the burial was over by the time I got there, but Femi videotaped it.

When I got to the house, a lot of people were already there, seated at the tables and drinks were being served to some. I found Folarin and Lee VanDyke there, seated at a table, and joined them. But also went off to see various other people I know. When I first got there, I saw Bolanle Awe; she was inside, in the kitchen, and trying to get Paulina and the rest of the family to come outside as there was something more that they needed to do--a final prayer or something--before food was served and the celebration part could start up. Later, I talked with her a little, mainly to set up an appointment to see her in Ibadan, and for her to tell me about a job she's being considered for with MacArthur Foundation.

Other people that I know who were there included: from NISER, Bello-Imam, Mrs. Mbanefoh (who I met in Dakar), also Mrs. Iyun from UI. Despite the sign for Ijesa Solidarity Group, I didn't see anyone from there.

Food was served--rice and meat primarily, but also pieces of fried meat. there were a lot of people there til about 4 or 5 PM, and then people left, and there were just a few people around--the family, those who came from Efon Alaye, and others who came late. I joined Paulina and her family who were by then sitting around on one side of the house, altho every once in a while they got up to dance. I gave Paulina an envelope with N500; she asked if that was part of my research and I said it was part of learning about Yoruba culture. Her purse was filled with envelopes with money that people had given her.

The band got ready to leave at about 7PM. But there was also a guy with recorded music; he is a relative and had volunteered to provide music, so he was ready to keep it going all nite (as he had done Friday night). he kept turning the volume up, while others, such as Paulina's son and daughters, and a close friend who was there, asked to have it turned down. I talked with both of Paulina's daughters, who talked a little about their grandmother. Both mentioned that people had told them they shouldnt cry at the funeral, but that they don't understand that attitude. I also talked during the afternoon with Paulina's son, who asked about my research. He was interested in it, in an intellectual sort of way. He commented that people come up to him and tell them that they are so and so --relatives of some sort-- and then ask him for money, and that he doesn't know who these people are. He also mentioned that a problem for him is that his Yoruba isn't that good; he said he speaks Dutch more fluently than Yoruba (he has been living and working in the Netherlands for several years). He said that he would eventually like to return to Nigeria to work, and to do something on industrial development. He was interested in hearing about the book on Lawrence Omole, and borrowed it to read over the next few days; unfortunately I didnt get to see him again to find out what he thought about it.

Things got pretty quiet by about 10 PM, and everyone went to bed. One woman had stuck around and had left things in my room, but she seemed to think that she was sleeping there. When Paulina's daughters learned this, they asked Paulina and she told the woman to go to the Ogunbiyi house; the woman is some sort of cousin but not all that close. Later Paulina told me that the only person staying in the house other than family and me was one close friend.

On Sunday morning, the music started up again at 6 AM; people were outside sweeping and cleaning, and the housegirl was starting to cook breakfast. I decided to leave and go back to Ife. There was to be another church service, and then they expected some additional people to stop by.

I stopped back at the house on Monday afternoon, but didn't see Paulina, so I cam back Tuesday morning; she was leaving to go to Lagos that day. We talked a bit about the funeral; her comment at several points over the period of the funeral was "You see how we bury our dead?" She and her daughters indicated that if left to them they would probably not have anything like this, but that this is what is expected of them and they have to do it, and also it is what her mother would have wanted. They said that some people came on Sunday but not as many as the previous days. By Tuesday the house was back to its normal appearance.

Later, I found out about people who had not attended the funeral: Mobo Akinola told me that she planned to go, but that that week a man from Ilesa died in Lagos; he is the son-in-law of Lawrence Omole and she is very close to his wife (Omole's daughter); he was only about 50 years old, and when she heard about it she had to go to Lagos right away, and didn't get back til late on Saturday.

Kunle Ifaturoti told me that he planned to come with Justice Eso and Kunle Apara after the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting. But he said that it took a long time to get a quorum at the Council meeting, and then the meeting lasted til 7 PM. He was still thinking of stopping at Paulina's, but Eso wanted to go back to Ibadan. He convinced him not to drive to Ibadan at night but then Eso said he wanted to just go to his house and sleep so that he could leave early for Ibadan.

fnns34

fieldnotes ns34

Friday June 18, Bolanle Awe in Ibadan

I stopped in the late afternoon with Folarin, after we had spent most of the day at his house in Ibadan. Bolanle was just arriving home when we got there. We stayed about half an hour, mainly had a fairly general conversation. We did talk briefly about the funeral for Paulina's mother tomorrow and Bolanle said that she would be there. We agreed to try to talk more there.

fnns35

fieldnotes ns35

Sunday June 20 (Monday June 21) visit with Wale Omole, OAU Vice Chancellor

I went with Folarin to see Omole either on the evening of Sunday June 20 or Monday June 21--I think it was the former. I only talked with him for a few minutes, before a TV interview program came on focusing on the elections, and all of us began to watch that (there were two other men there, and after a few minutes Omole's wife joined us as well).

Omole asked me if I've gotten together with the Burgesses, the principal of Olashore's school. I said that I had talked with them a bit. He told me that he had helped Olashore interview the candidates for the principal's job in London, and had helped select the Burgesses. He seems quite involved in the school, but I don't know just what his role is, and we didn't get time to talk much further. In addition to the TV program, he got a phone call, and was still on the phone when we left about half an hour later.

fnns36

fieldnotes ns36

Friday June 25, interview of Chief Fatodu, Ijebu-jesa (written up July 17)

Full name: Chief Olufemi O. Fatodu

(stopped on Tues, left note with wife for appt)

Lamikanra had suggested that Chief Fatodu would be a good person to talk with about the things happening in Ijebu-jesa. He lives off the road that turns off just past the grammar school; there is a street to the left, and his house is on the corner. There is a sign for a day care/nursery school, which is located in their compound and is run by his wife. On Tuesday, Bodunde and I stopped there to see if he was around; we met his wife, who said that he was at his farm. She suggested that we set a time when we would come back and that he would stay around if he knew when we were coming. I left a note saying we would be back on Friday at about 12 or 12:30. He was waiting in the sitting room when we got there. We went directly there from Ife that morning.

I had been told my Lamikanra that Fatodu is retired registrar from University of Ibadan. He confirmed that he is retired from UI, but didnt really say what he did there. I told him that Lamikanra had suggested talking with him, because I'm interested in local development activities in Ijebu-jesa, and that Lamikanra had also said that people in Ijebu-jesa have been invovled in such activities for a long time. So he gave me a kind of overview of some of the past and present activities there.

He started out by giving some background. He said that most of the people here are farmers, but that also many have been traders working outside the town, and that the educated people also worked outside. He said that those outside became aware of things that people were doing in other places, and wanted those things for their own community, so they began organizations which undertook various projects. Now there is the Ijebu-jesa Union Conference, which is an umbrella group of the organizations. The current project of the Union Conference is the building of a new palace for the oba. He said that in the 1970's he was involved in pioneering the building of the oba's palace, then they started it again in 1984, and laid the foundation then. But it wasn't built then. Then in 1992 the Union Conference started it again, and they are now trying to complete the whole complex. Fatodu's son is an architect who has studied traditional Yoruba architecture, so he has designed the palace, using a modified traditional design. Later, we went to see the palace (see below).

In addition, one union (organization) of people based outside the town has emerged and said they wanted to build the frontage fence to the palace, with a place for a gateman.

Another organization, the Ijebu-jesa Group, which is based in Ibadan and which he described as a "pressure group, think-tank group" is looking at the whole development progress of the town. They initiated the founding of the Community Bank in April. I asked for more information about the process of starting a community bank. He said that according to the regulations set up by the government, one group can't do it alone, they mus invite others to contribute. The Ijebu-jesa Group started with 1/2 million Naira base from thier group, and they commissioned the bank in April. He is one of the directors of the bank, and is a member of the Ijebu-jesa Group (since he was formerly based in Ibadan).

On community banks, he said that this is one of the good things the government has done, to bring banking down to the grassroots. He gave the example that a trader needing N200 can't get a loan from a commercial bank. At the community bank, they don't need collateral, they

only need to ask someone with good standing in the community to guarantee the loan. The regulations are less stringent than at commercial banks. Each community bank is a separate bank. The mimimum capital needed is N250,000, and no one participating is supposed to have more than 1/5 the capital of the bank. The federal government guarantees matching the N250,000, or whatever amount the bank starts with; that amount is then to be paid back to government. The community is responsible for finding the building, staff,etc.

The Ijebu-jesa Community bank has started operating; it is located on the main road into town near the mosque. People are coming in for loans, often small amounts like N100 to buy something. It also has savings accounts for people. In a commercial bank, you have to have a minimum amount to have a savings account, whereas in the community bank you can start with any amount.

Some bigger companies are also starting to put money into current accounts in the community bank, including churches, the local government secretariat and some others.

I asked what's in it for those who started the bank, i.e., the organization that initiated the project. He said that there is no direct benefit "except the satisfaction that they are able to help their people." He said that many gave up their time and money, for example to attend the board of directors meetings, but that the board doesn't get any payment for attending meetings. (I didn't ask about getting something back on one's shares, but I would presume that one does; that's something to find out more about it future). Later, he took me to the bank and I met the manager (see below).

Fatodu said that in the past most projects have been carried out by the community itself. For example, the community built the grammar school as well as the post office. The general hospital was built not too long ago. That was started by another organization, the IJSC, Ijebu-jesa Social Club, which is based in Lagos and which also has branches elsewhere, such as Ibadan, Ilorin, Kaduna. They contributed their own money and then they had a launching ceremony to take donations from others. After they had built four wards, the government took over. The club still gives some money for cleaning the surroundings. We talked about visiting the general hospital but decided to save that for another time.

Another association, the Igbora Club, had a street naming project, that is putting up street signs.

Fatodu said that most things that happen here involve people who have come together outside the town, and who want to have their hometown develop like other places. He referred again to his earlier point, that many people from here have been traders, and how that influenced their ideas about doing things in their hometown.

I asked how long he has been back in Ijebu-jesa. He said that he came back ten years ago, that he retired from University of Ibadan in 1982 and came back then. I asked if others have done the same thing and come back here after they retired. He mentioned the former principal of the grammar school here, who he said followed his example and came back; since Fatodu was already here, he "knew he wouldn't be lonely". Another person is the former owner of a bookshop (this is the man I interviewed last year; he was in the survey, and I had previously been introduced to his wife). Fatodu said that they think that by coming home, they will encourage others to do so also. And he said that "when we're many we'll be able to contribute more to the development of the place."

I asked if there are other projects that people have in mind to undertake. He said that they would like to see a telephone system here. Then he went on to say that since "one of our sons" is in the Transistional Council, he has promised to help with the phone system. I asked if this is Olashore, and he confirmed it is. This led to a conversation about Olashore and I mentioned that I know him.

I brought up the local government event scheduled for tomorrow, at whhich Olashore is to be honored, and asked about it. Fatodu said that this is being done because they think that he (Olashore) and the others being honored have contributed a lot either singly or in groups to the development of this place, and they want to give them some honor.

We then went back to discussing other projects/ideas for the community. He said that they would like to see some industry here, either a factory or some commercial activity. He said that for that purpose, the Ibadan group incorporated a company, and the aim was to develop into a big organization. But they have only been able to do one part, that is the establishment of the commercial part. This does buying and selling, of things like cement, flour, milk. It was quite successful, but is now thinning down, because of the economic situation in the country. But they want to be productive, not just trade. They would like to develop an agroindustrial project, and they have land, where they want to plant cassava, plantain, oil palm, but they haven't been able to do this yet. They haven't planted or produced anything yet. He didn't say why, but the implication was that they don't have the money or resources. On the commercial side of the company, he said that they have a two-story building just past the petrol station, on the left hand side of the road coming into town; this is where the commercial section of the compnay is located.

Fatodu said that people in Ijebu-jesa wanted an educational institution here, but that the government aborted that plan, and it went in another place instead. He didn't go into details on this, but I think he's probably referring to the state government, because I think there is something that went to Esa Oke when Bola Ige was governor (he is from Esa Oke).

Fatodu said that he thought the whole place would have been built up by now, by the people themselves. That is, that people would have built houses here. He said that in fact people have started building houses, but then things in the country have fallen apart, so they haven't been able to complete them. He feels that eventually these people will complete their houses.

I asked him about Ijebu-jesa Day and if he, or his organization were involved in organizing it. He said that his organiztaion was only involved initially, it didn't seem as if he himself had much involvement in it. He said that the money raise in the first year was used for renovating the town hall, and that the money raised this past year is being used for completing the palace.

I asked whether in his view there is more going on in Ijebu-jesa than in other towns. He said that it's now that other towns are trying to copy what Ijebu-jesa does. Ijebu-jesa started doing these types of things a long time ago. Because most of them went outside to trade, whereas elsewhere most people stayed home to farm. Those outside, even those who aren't coming back, build their houses here, even when they know their children aren't coming back either. They want to add to the beauty of the place. And whenever they have something to do here, a ceremony such as a funeral or wedding, they want to have a place to call their own. If they don't, it is a disgrace to the family, for example, if a man doesn't have a place of his own when his father dies.

So he said that it does seem that Ijebu-jesa has more activity than other places.

He went on to say that he could have stayed in Ibadan, he has a building there and a comfortable place to live. But he wanted to come back home. His wife, who is from Abeokuta, came too, and she started the day care. He mentioned that the day care helps people here, such as teachers who don't have a place to leave their children, because the nearest other place is in Ilesa.

After we finished talking at his house--and he served us something to drink (serving it himself, in fact), he then took us to see the oba and to see the new palace that is under construction. When we went to see the oba, he introduced me, and as before, the oba didn't seem to

recognize me from my previous visits. But he was friendly, as he has been in the past, and we had drinks, and discussed the situation in the country at the moment--ie, the political situation, about which Fatodu clearly has some views. Fatodu also asked about the event scheduled for tomorrow, and expressed doubt that Olashore would actually be able to be there. When we talked with the oba about projects in the town, he asked if I've seen the general hospital, and I said I hadn;t but that I would like to go there the next time.

Then we went to see the new palace, which is a short walk from the current palace. Most of the walls are up, and they were able to describe what the different rooms are, pointing out courtyards, areas to recieve visitors, the oba's bedroom, an area for the women of the household, etc. It's quite a large building. I took a few photos.

After we left the oba, Fatodu took me to the community bank. It was after closing hour, but there were several employees still downstairs, and we went it and went upstairs to meet the manager. The manager's name is S.O.
Fatokun. We talked with him for a few minutes and he gave me some information about the bank. He said that it started on April 5 1993. At the beginning, 90 people opened accounts, mainly savings accounts which have a minimum of N50. There are a few current accounts with a minimum of N200. By now, they have over 500 savings depositors. The catchment area for the bank goes beyond Ijebu-jesa itself, as far as Ilare (past Esa Odo). Most depositors are resident here, but some are from neighboring towns such as Iwoye, Ijeda, Iloko, etc. There are a few people who have put in larger amounts, that have to be left for three months and get higher interest rates. They are trying to encourage those resident outside who have money to put some of their money into the bank.

People have just started asking for loans. People think they have to wait a long time before asking, so they are trying to change that and let them know that is not the case. For a loan, one has to have two guarantors, and a proposal in writing about what they want to do with the money and how they will repay it. There is an assistant who checks the application, goes around and talks to people; while we were talking, a man came in who was introduced as the one who goes out to check on loan applicants. Fatokun said that it is starting to grow and more people are coming for loans. A person has to have an account before they can apply for a loan.

There are different types of savings accounts, including daily contributions and others; he showed me a sheet of paper given the different types of arrangements available. He gave me a copy of it: it lists: conventional deposit schemes, traditional savings schemes (daily/weekly/monthly), target saving schemes, creidt facilities. They also pointed out that the bank is open on Saturdays. At the bottom of this sheet is a statement in Yoruba about the bank.

After leaving the bank, we dropped Chief Fatodu back at his house, and then went to Ilesa. I told him that I would be there for the local government ceremony the next day and would see him there.

fnns37

fieldnotes ns37

Friday June 25, dinner at Lamikanra's house (written up July 17 1993)

Lamikanra had invited me to a party he was giving in honor of Hank Mutsaers and his wife, actually mainly for his wife, who had taught Lamikanra about bee-keeping. There were 20-25 people there; most were already there when I arrived a bit late, at about 6:30 PM (I had stopped to buy gas when I saw that the Total station was selling).

Among those that I knew or was introduced to were Chief Ilesanmi, the medical doctor who I met the other day at Lamikanra's, who is active in Council of Ijesa Societies, and Lamikanra's son, a lecturer at Ife. I thought that Babangida's speech was to be at 7 PM and was surprised that no one was talking about it, but then learned from the doctor (I think his name is Oginni?) that it had been postponed to Saturday night. I talked a bit with Ilesanmi about the political situation, who more or less went thru the details of what has happened in the past two weeks, and who mentioned that he was part of the group that welcomed Abiola here a few weeks ago, when Abiola came to the owa's palace. Wasn't introduced to most of the people there, and as is often the case at such events, the women stayed more or less to themselves.

fnns38

Fieldnotes ns38

Saturday, June 26, OriAde local government ceremony, Ijebu-jesa (written up July 21 1993)

During the week I had seen an article in the newspaper about this event which was to honor three people from the local government area, including Olashore. I then went on Tuesday to the local government office to find out more about it, and was able to see someone there (the secretary and chairman were both out) who gave me an invitation, which indicated that it would take place at 11 AM on Saturday. On Friday, when I interviewed Chief Fatodu, he mentioned it to me as well.

There was environmental sanitation day this morning, which meant no one could go out til 10Am. Bodunde and I had agreed that he would come to my house as soon as he could after 10, but when he wasn't there yet and it was nearly 11 I decided to go ahead on my own. He got there later. I arrived in Ijebu-jesa between 11 and 11:30. At that point I was still wondering if it was taking place, because Chief Fatodu had wondered about it, given the current political crisis. When I got to the local government secretary, I saw that there were a number of cars there, but didn't see any signs of official vehicles or of Olashore's car.

Chairs were set up on three sides of an open area inside the compound of the secretariat. The only ones that had people sitting in them were on the left hand side, nearest the building. I went in that direction and saw Mr. Fatiregun sitting there. I greeted him, and sat down in front of him in an empty seat. Then as I looked around, I saw that Leslie and DAvid Burgess were sitting in a row a bit further away, and that Chief Fatodu was also there in that row. Since there was an empty seat there, I went and joined them, with Fatodu sitting between me and David Burgess. Fatodu then introduced me to the other man sitting there, Philip O. Orunmiyi, who is the retired principal of the Grammar School; Fatodu had mentioned him in our interview yesterday (altho not by name). I got both Fatodu and Orunmiyi to write their names for me, as I had not gotten Fatodu's full name in the interview yesterday.

We sat there for quite a while before anything began to happen. Fatodu and I discussed the political situation some more, and the fact that Babangida was supposed to make his speech at 1 PM; I told him that I had brought my radio along and we agreed that we would like to try to listen to it. Later, after things were under way and Bodunde had arrived (and I had told him to try to listen for us), I saw Akin Akinola and mentioned something about the speech, and he informed me that the 1 PM time was incorrect and that it was scheduled for 7 PM tonight. Akinola, Fatiregun, Fatodu and the Burgesses were the only people that I saw who I knew.

I also asked Fatodu if Olashore had arrived in town. He said that he had arrived Friday night.

At noon, things began to get underway, with an announcer calling people to sit at the high table. The main participants (Olashore and the others being honored) still weren't there.

Those called to sit in the front got up and moved from their present seats to chairs in the next section, which was under a canopy and which had comfortable chairs set up. Each person who was called was guided to a specific seat. Those who were asked to go to that section included: Chief Fatodu, Chief Ogunmuyi, Chief Dele Fasorun, Chief Akin Fajemiyon, the Risa Ipetu, Prince Ogundele, the Chairman of SDP in OriAde local government, the Regent of Ikeji Ile. Various others whose names or titles I didn't get. Also someone who is a member of the National Assembly, and members of the Osun House of Assembly. I was asked my name, and was then called to sit in that area, as were the Burgesses. Tunde Olashore was called, also four obas were announced--from Ipetu-Ijesa, and others I didn't get. Also the Regent of Ikeji Arakeji.

Others were seated in the area facing us, and in the area we were originally in

At 12:35 they said there was going to be the opening prayer, but nothing happened right away. Then the guests of honor arrived and were announced, at 12:40. Olashore arrived, with the others who were being honored, and also the chairman of the event, Chief Akinmokun. As they arrived and took their seats, drummers were playing and I began to tape record (but much of the tape is difficult to understand).

Then the opening prayer was given, by the Archdeacon of Ipetu-Ijesa. This is on the tape but most isn't understandable. It mostly consists of thanks to God for various things and people, including the kabiyesis. He refers to those being honored, Olashore and the others, as their "sons". He also referred to this "crucial period our country is going thru".

Then the Secretary of the Local Government introduced the guests, in Yoruba. First he introduced Akinmokun, the chairman, as "Baba wa, I.O. Akinmokun" , head of Isoglass (his company), from Ikeji-Ile. Then he introduced, "Baba wa, egbon wa, Akowe ... Secretary Finance, Omooba Oladele Olashore". He said something more about Olashore (it's on the tape, in Yoruba). Each introduction was followed by brief applause. Then he introduced Dele Aiku, Senior Advocate of Nigeria, and then Justice Oyerinde Iyanda, High Court Justice, Ile-Ife. Then he introduced two kabiyesis, from Erinmo and Ijebu-jesa. Also someone from Ipetu-Ijesa, Erin-Oke. Then others were introduced. Then the wives of those being honored were introduced, for two of them--Mrs. Aiku and Mrs. Iyanda. Then I was introduced, along with the Burgesses, as being connected with Olashore Intenational School. The Chairman of the Social Democratic Party for the local government was introduced, followed by applause and some comments and calls from people about SDP from people sitting around; he was sitting quite near me. Then Omooba Tunde Olashore was introduced, who was sitting behind me. Then the Chairman of the local government, Rotarian Banji Olatona, also followed by loud applause and some shouts and laughter.

Then the secretary introduced Chief I.O. Akinmokun, the Chairman of the occasion, to give the opening speech. After addressing the various dignataries, he began by saying that he hadn't written anything down to give as a speech. Then he went on to say that "We have come to celebrate a very very joyous day. The OriAde local government has decided in their own wisdom to honor three of their eminent sons... This is the first time I've had the privilege of attending this type of function in Ori Ade local government. Even when we had the Ijesa North this is the first time I've had the privilege of attending an occasion like this. I want to say that I salute every one of you very warmly....And I want to say that I rejoice with the OriAde community". He then switched into Yoruba for a couple of minutes, addressing the kabiyesis.

He then went back to English, saying that "they are not only very eminent in this local government area, they are eminent Nigerians, they are eminent throughout the whole world" (applause). He said that he didnt want to say too much about each one because their citation is already in hand. But perhpas the reason he was asked to be chairman of the occasion is that he is very close to the three of them. "Honorable Justice Iyanda is my blood, we are of the same flesh." Prince Olashore, "we are brothers, we are friends". "When I am in Lagos, I remember on few occasions, I've had time, to stay in his house--then he switched to Yoruba and said something which produced laughter. And then added something that he said to the local government chairman about Olashore, again in Yoruba. Then he said, "My brother chief, Aiku," and said that when he comes to Ijebu-jesa and doesnt want to continue home because it's late, he stays in his house. Then he said, "which means, that the three of them, they are all friends to me."

He then continued by saying that he didnt want to make a speech, but that he did want to make a point. He then went into a religious statement about commandments, since the time

god created Adam and Eve. Then he switched to Yoruba and went back and forth between English and Yoruba in telling his story. I wasn't able to follow the story or the religious allusions. Then he said "this is where I rest my case." "These are eminent Nigerians, not only eminent here, but all over the world." Then he added "Before I sit down I want to express my deep appreciation to their wives for the support given them in making life a reality for them. He said I want to rejoice with the wives." Then he said "Mrs. Olashore is not here, because of the nature of the husband, he might leave here and go to (?) and then go somewhere else (laughter) so it would not be easy to tie a woman all along with him." "I want to rejoice with the wives for what they have done for their husbands. I have not seen any man be successful without the support of a woman." He then switched briefly back to Yoruba and ended.

Then two more people were recognized as being present, including someone from the National Assembly. Then the Chairman of the local government was called on to speak, to give the keynote address. A copy of his speech was printed up, and handed out after he spoke. I have a copy. He said something about each of the three being honored, and then listed the six projects that the local government was commissioning that day.

Then it was announced that they would go to the town to commission the library and then commission other projects, and then come back to the local government site for the rest of the ceremony. At that point, most people got up to leave; at first I stayed behind but then decided to go, so I was pretty much at the end of the line of cars that went out. We went first to the library which is located near the palace. When we got there, a crowd was standing outside a newly-constructed building, and Olashore was speaking; it turned out that he was the one doing the dedication of the library. There was a plaque on the wall indicating that he had commissioned it. Then everyone went inside and looked thru the building. There are several rooms, but no books or furniture at this point.

Then people got in their cars again, and again we followed toward the end of the line. The cars stopped on the road, just past the junction with the Iloko Road (the local government secretariat is on that road). People were standing on the edge of the road, and then we saw that there was a new road sign for "Prince Oladele Olashore Way", and they were announcing that they were naming the road between Ijebu-jesa and Iloko for Olashore. He stood there to get his photo taken by the official photographers. Then people got b ack in their cars and returned to the secretariat parking lot. I went and sat down for a while, then realized that the participants had not yet returned, and went to see what was going on. They had been to commission the new automotive workshop, and were on their way to the piggery and the school. So I followed them again; we walked down a dirt road behind the secretariat. I saw Olashore and spoke with him briefly as we walked along. Then we got to an open area where a foundation was ready to be laid. One of the other people involved in the ceremony then laid the foundation stone. Then we went to a shed--the piggery--and that was commissioned with a short speech by another of the honorees. Then everyone made their was back to the secretariat and sat down again. The whole process took about 45 minutes.

When everyone was seated again, they began giving the citations of the three people being honored. First someone was called on--Mr. Yinka Ojo-- to read the citation for Justice Iyanda. It's on the tape, but hard to understand. He gave biographical information on Iyanda--his educational background, the legal work he's done, his church affiliation, Rotary activities, hobbies. Iyanda is from Ikeji Arakeji. He is on the High Court in Ile-Ife. The citation said that he was being honored for his position on the high bench and his full identification with his people in OriAde local government. After the citation was read, he was given a sash, which was draped across his body, reading something like Ori Ade local governemnt eminent personality. There was quite a lot of discussion and various people involved in trying to get the sash on correctly.

Then someone else was called to read the citation for Chief Dele Aiku. The speaker said that Chief Bamidele Aiku, Senior Advocate of Nigeria, was born in Ijebu-jesa 55 years ago; he gave

the names of his parents. His father was a farmer and loja of ? Then he gave his education--St. Mathews School, Ijebu-Jesa, Ilesa Grammar School. Career in government and Union Bank. But wanted to further education. He did this in 1959 when he went to England and got a law degree in 1962; he was called to the English bar on May 14 1962. He returned to Nigeria and went to Nigerian Law School in Lagos. He was called to the Nigerian bar and enrolled as a barrister in April 1964. He was "one of the rising stars" in the Nigerian bar. But his legal career was cut short in November 1965 when he was invited to join the government of Western State. then there were some more dates and details of his government service, which I didn't get (and which aren't clear on the tape). In 1977 he was appointed Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice of Oyo State. The speaker then said "This distinguished legal luminary gave a good account of himself" while in government until 1979. "He was a giant..." "He was very outspoken on many issues". "He became a confidant of both the governor and the administration". There were then some more praises for him, saying how intelligent and wise he is. "He is a man of strong will" who would "sacrifice anything for the sake of the nation in which he believed." "In government", he would (...not clear on tape)"for anybody and anything that would benefit the Ijesa people both as individuals and as a body". ... "And because of his unalloyed love and affection for his fatherland he became the subject of discomfort and disaffection among certain groups of people both inside and outside government. He, with the cooperation of others, saw to it that the teacher training college in Ijesa North, later Obokun, now defunct" was retained and expanded in spite of "underhand work and threats" of groups... He worked to get electricity and pipe-borne water to many parts of Obokun local government area.

He then went on to say "Chief Bamidele Aiku has shown that it is possible to serve the nation" and ... "with integrity"... "This is the nature of a man we are honoring today". Since leaving government in 1979 he has been as successful as when he was a commissioner.

The rest of this speech is not on the tape (first side of tape finished and I didn't realize it). But the other things mentioned were that he was given a chieftaincy title in Ijebu-jesa, and that he is "a socialite par excellence", a member of many organizations. Specifically, the speaker mentioned that he is the secretary of the Ijebu-jesa Group and on the board of directors of the community bank.

Aiku was then decorated with a sash identical to that given to the first man; these were wide sashes in blue with white lettering that were draped over one shoulder and across the front.

Then the reader of the citation for Olashore was announced--Kunle Odeyemi. Again, the tape does not have the first part of this citation, altho it has most of it, but is difficult to understand.

Like the others, he gave his academic career. He then said that there are "few great men". He said that Olashore "is distinguished as a colossus in the banking industry", and mentioned the growth in International Bank of West Africa during his time there. He stated that Olashore was Banker of the Year in 1987. That he was head of First Bank. And that he then started Lead Merchant Bank.

What follows is again from both notes and tape:
Then he focussed on his activities at home: "Back home, at the grassroots level", where we...assess critically, "he has scored very high". "The hallmark of excellence".... He has complete identity with your people, the rural folk. "To you, Iloko is the biggest city in the world" (that was followed by loud applause). "Life has full meaning to you when you are around your own people". Then he mentioned the "generous assistance" he has given, for things such as bringing electricity and the secondary school. He went on "... Oladele Olashore, we celebrate in our own small way your appointment as Secretary of Finance". He said that "we thank God that you have used your position" to advance the position of your own people, and of the people of Nigeria. He then mentioned several specific things: the Ife/Ibadan Road, the Osun Bridge, the national electric grid being stepped down. That a telephone network for

this area "has received your serious attention" and that expect the telephone system to soon be in this area. He then mentioned Olashore International School, saying this is a "multimillion Naira intellectual investment" that will bring international fame. It is the biggest industry in the local government and will provide employment for the rural populace.

He then mentioned what happened in 1987, regarding Olashore's anti-government statement that led to his firing, and said that "in 1992, that same president" felt that he had to bring Olashore back.

He then announced that the Council has declared that the stretch of road between Iloko and Ijebu-jesa, commonly known as Iloko Road, is renamed Prince Oladele Olashore Way (loud applause).

then the speaker called on one of the obas to decorate Olashore with a sash like that given to the others. that took a couple of minutes, then there was applause after the sash was put on properly. Each of the sashes reads "Eminent Personality Award OriAde local government"

Akinmokun then spoke again briefly, and then called on one of the obas to speak. The Kabiyesi first called attention to a mistake in the article in the Daily Sketch that announced this event--which indicated that Akinmokun was one of those being honored, rather than the chairman of the event. And that one of those honored was left out of the article.

Then he began his formal talk, addressing all the distinguished guests as is usually done. Then he mentioned by name the three recipients of the award. And thanked the chairman and council of OriAde local government, not only for things done locally but also "at the national level where you have been taking some real practical steps to bring the various ethnic groups of Nigeria together". In addition, "we thank you for the honor done to these three men, the honor to Ijesaland, and Nigeria as a whole, particularly "Prince Oladele Olashore and Chief Akinmokun, the philanthropists" .... "There are other philanthropists in Nigeria, but they are sectionalists, hypocrits, who always like the world to know what they do." While Prince Oladele Olashore and Chief Akinmokun are ... (Yoruba phrase). (applause). He then mentioned the others honored and the "great respect and admiration you have for the royal fathers" all over the country, in Ijesaland and OriAde local government in particular. He then stated that he wishes to assure the local council that the royal fathers will not abuse this good will, honor and privelege.

Akinmokun spoke, thanking kabiyesi. Then he said they wanted to invite one of those honored to respond, and gave reasons why they decided not to invite a lawyer or judge (ie. Aiku or Iyanda). (making a joke about it). Then said he would call on a banker, "and naturally bankers are not supposed to make long speeches. They believe in multimillion dollar". He called on Olashore to speak.

Olashore started by referring to the introduction and saying he would try to be brief. He then said that he wanted to express "how very grateful we are for the honor done to us" and that they want to especiallly thank the chairman of the local government and his cabinet "for initiating this wonderful reception for us". He mentioned that there are many others in the local government who could be honored. that the three of them are the "guinea pigs to set example for others to follow". "We believe that there are many other men of achievement--and by men we include women because women.are not women any more.(unclear).. they are now men in all respects, there are men of great achievement in ORi Ade local government that deserve honor"...

He then said that "I always feel personally embarassed" when he gets to local government functions and he always finds that our royal fathers are always there before any of us. He then asked the chairman to let the royal fathers know the actual starting time. He also mentioned the fact that it was Environmental Day, and that if he had come after Environmental, he

wouldnt be here, yet the royal fathers had gotten there, including one who had to come from some other event elsewhere, and that "that shows the dedication of our royal fathers".

He then went on to say "We have quite a lot of challenges ahead of us". He mentioned the commissioning of projects that had taken place today, and said that one of those was to his "own personal embarassment", that is the naming of a street for him, he said that "I feel very grateful", hesitated a bit, then said, "I thank you very much". He said "I believe we have quite a lot to do in Ori Ade local government, and we have a lot to do in Ijesaland". Then he added "we have a lot to do in Nigeria but...I believe we have a lot to do in Ijesaland." He said "It is true that we have broken down into smaller units, the local governments," and that we are going to have more local governments, and that it is very much good (?) to have more local governments. This is not "because I want more breakdown, it is because of the manner in which benefits are dispensed" that more and more .... there is more break-up to get benefits to one own area; that is the only way to ensure benefits to own area. (this last part isnt clear on the tape but that is the jist of what he said. Also this part of his speech was reported in the Daily Sketch and I have the article).

Then he went on, "But having said that, after having broken down into small units, we want to continue to unite, and to ensure that we have a more vibrant Ijesaland to fight for." "Because it is not enough, nobody realizes whether you are an Ijesa of OriAde local government origin or Ijesa of Obokun local government origin, or indeed of Ilesa, or of Atakumosa local government origin, or anyother that may come up in future, we are all referred to as Ijesas. And I do believe that ... we must identify ourselves, and really fight vibrantly to uplift this entire society. this is what I personally stand for, this is what I believe, and I think this is what will stand us much better for the future.

He then went on to talk about the commissioning of the library and mentioned that education has always been highly regarded in Ijesaland. He commended the local government for initiating it, and mentioned that he understands that is the second in the lga, and that he believes there will be many more. and that we want to improve the academic content for our children.

He then ended by thanking the local government for the "wonderful reception" and thanking the royal fathers "for their patience, resolve, and for their identification" with things in the local government. And referred to more progress in the area. (last part not very clear on tape).

Akinmokun thanked Olashore and then called on the vice Chairman of the local government for the vote of thanks. He thanked Akinmokun, the royal fathers, then he switched to Yoruba.

There was an announcement that after the closing prayer there would be food and entertainment, with enought food for everyone there. He called on the imam of Ijebu-jesa to give closing prayer (in Yoruba).

After that drinks and food were served. The obas were escorted to another room for their food, and those honored were also taken upstairs to eat. We were served where we were sitting--a quite elaborate lunch, of fried rice and chicken, and moin moin. It was actually very good. I looked around briefly for Olashore and was told he had gone upstairs. Later, while I was eating he stopped by to talk with me and the Burgesses, and I asked if he would be around at his house, and he said he would be, and also invited the Burgesses to stop by there (they went home immediately after that, they didn't stop at Olashore's but he went there later, and I went along--see notes 39).

I left after eating, and after saying good-by to a couple of people--Chief Fatodu, and the local government chairman, who I thanked.

fnns39

fieldnotes ns39

Saturday June 26, at Olashore's house, Ijebu-jesa and to Olashore International School, Iloko (written up July 26 1993)

After having lunch at the OriAde local government secretariat site, I went to Ijebu-jesa to Olashore's house. I was expecting there to be a lot of people there, but there weren't. As I arrived, two women were getting out of a car with University of Ibadan Institute of Education on it, and they went inside just ahead of me. No one was in either of the two sitting rooms, and they were sort of looking around and seemed to be wondering whether to check the dining area when I joined them. There were voices coming from there so I looked inside, as did they, and saw that Olashore was sitting there eating, with a number of men. As soon as he saw us, he greeted us and got up, and told us to come in, and first invited the women to sit down, but they continued to stand as did I. The men who were there looked more like drivers and other helpers than like friends of Olashore, and he made some comment about not standing on ceremony. I said he should go ahead and eat, and he then indicated that we should go out into the sitting room. He followed us, and had the rest of his food brought there, and then had food brought for the two women. I said that I had just eaten.

As soon as we all sat down in the sitting room, a man came thru the room, presumably one of those who had been eating in the dining room, and said he was leaving. Olashore talked to him for a few minutes as he stood at the other end of the room. He asked the man when he would be coming home next, and the man said he wasnt sure. Then he asked how often he comes home; the man hesitated and then said "not often". Then Olashore commented that that's what he's trying to do, to get people to come home more. He told them man that on the following Friday evening he would be having a party, at the site across from his school in Iloko, and that he will have a gathering there every Friday whether or not he is there. He wants it to be a place for people to get together, to meet each other and learn about what they're doing. Olashore said that he would be there the following Friday and that the man should try to attend. Then the man left. Olashore said that he is from Imesi.

After the man left, Olashore turned his attention to the two women who had arrived when I did. They gave him some papers, and he began discussing them with them, actually with just one of them. At one point, he was interrupted and went outside for a couple of minutes, so I talked with them. I learned that the one who was talking with Olashore was Mrs. J.A. Falayajo. I asked if she is from Ilesa. She said that she is, that she grew up and schooled there, and then left. The other woman she said was her sister. I asked if she is at UI (because of the car) and she said that her husband is. Later, when Olashore came back he introduced us and told them about my research, and indicated that Mrs.Falayajo is very active in Ijesa affairs, so I said I might like to talk with her sometime, so she gave me her card. She runs the Abiodun Nursery and Primary School, and lives on the UI campus, on the road that goes left when you first enter the campus (the road you take to LaRay's).

With regard to her involvement in Ilesa activities, she said that she is a member of the Ijesa Women's Elite (Sister's Elite?) in Ibadan. She said that they had sponsored four students, two boys from Ilesa Grammar School and two girls from St Margarets, to go to secondary school. The students finished school last year, but the group hasn't had money to do such as sponsorship again.

What I gathered from her conversation with Olashore was that she was asking his assistance with getting permission from the Ministry of Education for her husband to receive medical care overseas. She said that the Vice Chancellor had written a letter to the Minister, and Olashore was discussing how best to approach it, and said he would try to do something but

didnt know if he would be able to because the Minister of Education likes to be independent of him. He told the woman that she should call his office in Abuja on Monday to follow up so that he could check in to it. He also indicated that he doesnt get along very well with the Minister of Education. This led to some talk about the Transistional Council more generally and about the current political situation, and I told them that I consdiered leaving the country this week. Olashore didnt say too much except he did express sympathy for Babangida's position, saying that he's the most misunderstood person.

After the women left, a man showed up, who turned out to be the architect for Olashore's school. They began to talk, and I left the room for a couple of minutes to use the bathroom. Then Olashore told me that we were going to go to see the Burgesses, the assumption seemed to be that I would go too, and that was fine with me since I wanted to see the school. By this time it must have been about 5 PM. In the meantime, Olashore had also mentioned to me that he wanted me to help him with the speech he was to give at Akin Akinola's Rotary ceremony the following Saturday, and I said I would have to talk with him about it before I could do anything.

So I followed him and the architect in my car to the Burgesses; the architect's name is Victor. When we got there, I saw the model of the school and had something to drink, and Olashore began discussing various details of the plan with the architect and with the Burgesses. Then they decided to go over to the school. I then realized that it was getting late, and that I should let Bodunde get back to Oshogbo. I mentioned that to Olashore, and he said he wanted his aide (the policeman who is always with him) to see where my house is, so after a couple of minutes discussion we agreed that his driver would take Bodunde and the policeman to my house, and then drop Bodunde on the Oshogbo road, and that way I would be able to keep my car and also go with them to the school.

We spent about 45 minutes on the school grounds, where Olashore went over a number of details of the plan with the architect, and indicated several problems with it. He and Burgess discussed these details and agreed on several changes. I took some photos. While we were there, some man from the Governor's office showed up to see Olashore about something, but he pretty much brushed him off.

We then went back to the Burgesses; it was getting towards 7 PM, and they and I wanted to see Babangida's speech which was supposed to be at 7. We had drinks, and sat around talking while waiting for the speech to begin. Then it turned out that the speech had been postponed til 9 PM, so Olashore stayed a bit longer and we talked some more, before he left.

He talked about how he would like to have more time to be more involved with the school, and said that he's getting fed up in his present position, that he just watches everyone take, while he is having to use his own resources. I suggested that if he's fed up he could come home, and then he would have more time for the school, but he said that he has a commitment to stay til Aug 27, that if he had refused the job that would be one thing, but that he can't leave it now, he has to keep his commitment. I asked what the role of the Transitional Council is if there isn't any transition but not surprisingly didnt get an answer. He did talk a little bit about the good thing that has come out of this, that the soldiers have seen that they really must go, but otherwise didnt say much about what was going on. He didnt stay for Babangida's speech but we figured that he already knew what it was going to say.

Before Olashore left, he showed me some comments he had written about the Nigerian economy and said he was thinking of using those for his speech at Akinola's ceremony next Saturday. I said I would read them and then we agreed that he would come by my house on Sunday morning between 9-10 AM.

After Olashore left, I stayed at the Burgesses and ate with them, and then watched the speech

at 9 PM.

On Sunday, Olashore showed up at 10:30, just as I was getting ready to leave for Erin water falls wiht Lee and Folarin. We talked briefly about his speech. When he left, he said that he would be back next weekend, and I said I would see him at the Akinola ceremony. (I had learned from Burgesses that he was going to be back in town on Thursday but he didnt mention that to me).

fnns40

Fieldnotes ns40

Sunday, June 27, visit with Mobo Akinola

I stopped by to see Mobo in the late afternoon. As soon as I arrived, she gave me an invitation to the Rotary celebration scheduled for next Sunday. The invitation indicates that Lawrence Omole will be the Chairman, and that "Prince Dele Olashore" will be the Guest Speaker.

After I called Margaret Westmoreland from her house, who told me they wanted Americans to leave, I told her that if I'm not there next week, it will be because I have left the country.

We mainly discussed the political situation. I told her a little about my conversation with Olashore the night before, and also mentioned the interaction this morning with Folarin, where the latter started to say what he thinks of Babangida. She said that Olashore had stopped at their house, but that she doesn't say anything to him about what's going on or ask him anything, because she knows he can't really say anything.

While I was there, her husband stopped in the sitting room to greet me. He said that he was on his way to Iloko, to deliver a letter that Olashore had asked him to give to the Burgesses.

Mobo told me that she hadn't been able to get to Paulina's mother's funeral last weekend because the husband of a good friend died--husband of one of Omole's daughters. She went to Lagos right away, and when she got back she didnt feel like going anywhere, and in fact hasnt felt like doing much all week.

fnns41

fieldnotes ns41

Monday June 28, conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti

When I stopped to see Ifaturoti today, we caught up a little on events, tho most of our conversation focused on the political situation.

He mentioned that he had not been able to come to Paulina's mother's funeral, because the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting of the executive council had gone on til 7 PM, after first not having a quorun for a long time. Then he was going to go to Paulina's with Justice Eso, but Eso said that he wanted to return to Ibadan. When Kunle convinced him it was too late to return to Ibadan that nite, he decided to go and sleep so he could leave early in the AM. So they nev er got to Paulina's.

fnns42

fieldnotes ns42

Monday June 28, conversation with Chief Lamikanra

I first stopped to see Chief Lamikanra in the middle of the afternoon, which is when I learned that the road into Ife was blocked and one couldn't get in to town. In the meantime, I left copies of my two papers with him. When I stopped back in the evening to use their phone to try to call Ife, he said that he'd already read the paper on SAP and local development. He then made some comments about it: After saying some complimentary things about my description of SAP, and about the efffects of SAP on ordinary people, he discussed the section about development. He said the question is, what is development? He mentioned that the example of Egbe Atunluse and the Ilesa Grammar School is an example of educational development (as an aside he also mentioned that it's not correct that the improv ement and progressive unions are elite organizations, that it is only recently that that is the case.

On development, he continued, that now the emphasis should be on economic development. So the Council of Ijesa Societies is talking about various economic activities, including cottage industries, small-scale industries, and large industries. These should be based on local raw materials. The goal is to expand employment; he mentioned in this context that the brewery has had a big effect on employment in Ilesa. He added that while it's true that government can't do everything, there are things that must be done by government, such as provision of infrastructure--he mentioned electricity specifically, tho then added "unless it's privatized". He agreed that for the moment it is just people talking about these ideas, not only in the Council, but also in Ijesa Solidarity Group, but that so far they haven't really done anything.

Wisconsin notes 1

Telephone conversation/interview with Oladele Olashore, Sun. Sept. 27 1992

I spoke with Olashore, who was in New York, after attending the IMF meeting in Washington. During the conversation we talked a little about whether there will be another Ijebu-jesa Day (yes, in November) and Iloko Day (yes, but he's not sure when, probably in March. Then he said that I should be finding out what has happened with the money raised at the last one. So I asked about Iloko; I told him that I had been shown where the borehole in the palace was under construction.

He said that two boreholes have now been constructed--one at the palace, and one at the maternity center. At the palace, there are pipes going out from it, to a place where people can get the water. And something similar has also been done at the maternity. And he got overhead tanks, which he bought from Imo Hill Farms, which had imported them but then apparently didn't need them; he bought two (or three?) at N15,000 each. I asked if they had found water. He said yes, that they went down, he thinks 150 meters, but wasn't sure of the distance, and found very good quality water, they had it tested in a lab and it is very good water. He said that they cost more than he had planned on. I asked how much they had been. He said that each one was about N90,000 each, but then there was also the pump, the tank, pipes, etc., so that altogether he has spent about N300,000 total.

He wants to do the same for the school--this is the school that he is hoping to build, an international private secondary school, that he has been talking with me about. He's also been talking with people while in WAshington about it.

I asked about the other money that had been donated. He said that he still has N450,000 in the bank--in his bank--and it is yielding good interest. They will begin work on the Town Hall project with that, they have cleared the site. They have a large amount of land for the Town Hall and other recreational facilities, which is on the left before you enter the town. (past his place).

He would like to locate the school on land across from where he is building; I asked if there is a lot of land there and he said there is about 20 acres.

I said I'd like to visit all of this when I get back next year, and he said there should be a lot of changes by then, that he is doing all that he promised, in fact, more than he promised.^Z

wisnt2

Telephone conversation with Dele Olashore April 28 and April 30, 1993

Olashore called me from Washington April 28; he is now Finance Secretary and is in the US for IMF meetings. He mainly wanted to know if I had received the information on his school, and what I am going to do to help. I promised to look it over again. (The information had arrived a couple of weeks ago). I then asked him about Iloko Day. He said it is scheduled for May 22. I asked if anything special would be happening at it, and he answered that "it's about money". I asked what the money is for and he said for ongoing projects, such as the town hall.

I told him my plans to arrive June1 in Nigeria, but said I would look into getting there earlier, in time for Iloko Day, and would call him back.

I called him Thurs. PM April 29, but he said he would call me back in about an hour. He didn't so I called him early Friday morning, and we talked a bit more about Iloko Day and related.

I tried to find out more about what would be taking place, and said I was checking on flights. He said that he would know more definitely what will be happening at Iloko Day after he returns from this trip. But that "If I want to make it big, I will make it big. and if I want to make it small, it will be small. I am the ace on this." He said that he'll be confirming plans when he gets back, but that most of his colleagues have been invited.

He also said that the person he's hired for the school --Dr. Burgess-- and his wife will be there by then. In fact, he is stopping in England on his return and they are going with him then.

He said he would phone me from Abuja to check what my plans are.

wisnt3

Wisconsin notes 3

Telephone conversation with Nike Afolabi, Wed July 7, 1993

I called Nike from Parkside to let her know that I had returned to the US. She said she had been concerned about me and wondering whether I was trying to get out to interview people when the demonstrations were occurring in Ilesa. We talked a bit about the current situation. She said all the markets in Lagos were closed and that there wasn't any food. She said she had gone to Falomo to get bread and it cost N40 for a loaf. I asked if Olashore had been in the office. She said he was there on Monday and then had trouble getting to the airport when he wanted to go back to Abuja, that he came back to the office and then went to the airport in the evening, and that he is now in Abuja.

wisnt4

Wisconsin notes 4

Telephone conversation with Mobo Akinola, Wed. July 7, 1993

I telephoned Mobo from Parkside to let her know that I'm back in the US and to apologize for not being at her husband's Rotary installation on Saturday. She said that it went ahead as planned and was very good. It was hard to talk much, because the line wasn't very good and I had trouble understanding most of what she said.

wisnt5

Wisconsin notes 5

Telephone conversation with Dele Olashore, Wed. July 7 1993

I telephoned Olashore at his house in Abuja from Parkside. He answered the phone himself. Seemed surprised to hear that I was back in the US. I tried to explain why, and that led to some discussion about the role of the US. He said it's fine for the US to say things about the importance of democracy and to emphasize in general (not only to Babangida) that the soldiers must go, but that he doesnt agree when the US does other things--he didnt specify what things he had in mind.

I asked if he had gotten to the Akinola's celebration on Saturday. He said he was there and that it was very successful. I asked if he gave the speech he had asked me to read, and he said that he hadn't, that instead he wrote another one on the Rotary theme of "Believe in What You Do and Do What You Believe in". He didnt tell me any more about it.

The rest of the conversation was about whether he's going to visit here, and when. We talked about meeting people in connection with the school, and I also mentioned that I'd like to invite him to give a talk here; he said the latter would have to be after he finished his current job. I said he should let me know what he plans, or that I'll call him again toward the end of the month.

wisnt6

Wisconsin notes 6

Telephone conversation with Tola Pearce, July 10 1993

Tola called me from Evanston. I told her about leaving Nigeria, and mostly we talked about the political situation. But we also talked a little about my research, and that led to a brief discussion about Olashore and his friends. I mentioned Mobo's husband, Akin Akinola, and she said that he and Olashore are very close. And I also mentioned the Ife Vice Chancellor, Wale Omole, and she said that he and Olashore are also very close. Then she said that I should be keeping a diary on all this and should write my memoirs sometime about all these people and their connections.

wisnt7

wisconsin notes 7

Telephone conversation with Niyi Akinnaso, Monday, July 12

I had called Niyi on Sunday and he called back on Monday. We talked for nearly two hours, mostly about the political situation.

But he made a few comments on the papers I sent him. He had referred to one in a paper he's doing on language policy, pointing out the increasing importance of local government and local-level activities. We also discussed the continuing importance of a variety of celebrations. His comment was that the Yoruba have an "irrational commitment" to Yoruba culture. He said that in his own case, people can't understand why, with both his parents dead, he has not given a party. And when he got his job offer from Temple, and his uncle learned his salary, he mentioned the amount to others. Then people translated the salary into Naira, and said that he's making more than a million, and why hasnt he had a party.

wisnt8

wisconsin notes 8

Telephone conversation with Bolanle Awe, Monday, July 12

Bolanle had just arrived in Chicago and I called her to let her know that I'm here and to invite her to visit. While we were talking she said that she has read one of the papers I gave her when I saw her in Ilesa, the one on women and migration. She said that she found it interesting, especially the discussion of two sets of women, those who are invovled in home activities and the others. She said that she can almost identify who the Lagos-based women are who I discuss.

wisnt9

wisconsin notes 9

Visit in Racine with Bolanle Awe, July 15-16 1993

I picked up Prof. Bolanle Awe in Chicago at about 2 PM on Thursday July 15; she was there for an interview with the MacArthur Foundation. I took her back to Chicago on Friday July 16. During her visit we discussed lots of different things, including a lot on the current situation in Nigeria.

Some of our conversation focused on Ilesa affairs:

1. I asked her about how the launching of Omole's book went and said I had started reading it. She said that she thinks that Dr. Ifaturoti, Justice Eso, and Mr. Apara had edited it heavily. Then she said that the launching was very succesful and was very well attended. But the the Owa wasnt invited, and that she had asked Eso why not. Eso had said it was because the author (Omole) didnt want to invite him. Other obas were there--the Oni, the Alake of Abeokuta, etc, but not the Owa. Bolanle's view is that both Omole and the Owa are very stubb orn, that they are the same type of people. Apparently they used to get along but have had a falling out. Then Bolanle said more generally that the Owa has a lot of difficulties, but that it is difficult for anyone to be Owa, that Agunlejika had problems too, as did the previous Owa, especially since he supported the Action GRoup. She said that Ijesas are too individualistic.

This led her to comment that people had warned her about Ijesa individualism in relation to the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, that people had try to discourage her from going ahead with it, and had said that she would get tired.

2. Later we talked more about the Ijesa Cultural Foundation. They got land from the Owa and started building a building, near the palace (going toward the Town Hall). Babangida laid the foundation stone last year (or in 1991?). they were planning a launching and Babangida was supposed to come to that but it never took place because there was too little time to plan it when he said he would come. This is to be a museum. They have also written a book, focusing on the cultural resources of Ijesaland, it is published but not yet available because the publisher (Chirs Bankole) has held on to the copies until they pay for them.

I asked who else is involved in the Cultural Foundation. She said that there has been support from Ifaturoti, that he is one of the signatories for their bank deposit. There have been donations from Akinmokun, Aluko, and S.O. Fadahunsi. We talked a little about Fadahunsi; she said that he is independent, that he is not part of the Omole group or the owa group. He isnt involved in social activities much. She also mentioned Adeyeye, the man who is oba in a small town outside Ilesa (who I've been told about before); he is a retired civil servant. Other obas have also been supportive, including those from Ibokun and Imesa, but not Ipetu-ijesa, because he thinks his town is not Ijesa, is separate from Ilesa. Also the local governments have been involved.

3. Regarding community days like Iloko Day. She said that the fact that each community is having this type of event goes against attempts to have an Ijesa Day. She didnt attend Ijesa Day and doesnt know if it was successful. She said that Ijebu-jesa has always "had something" of this sort, but that it is new in the other towns. She sees these events as good for development, but agreed with me that there are differences between the towns depending on who is from that place and also --especially--with regard to what is done with the money. She said that a person like Olashore will see that the money is spent properly. She also commented that he has put a lot of his own resources into these things. She also mentioned

the school and said that she's glad that there is an endowment fund for it, but I didnt really know what she was talking about and didnt ask for more information.

4. With regard to Iloko Day specifically, she said that her cousin, Justice Ilori is very close to Olashore (I met Ilori at Olashore's once last year). And also another cousin named Adedeji, as well as a third person. And that all of them had to attend Iloko Day, and said that they couldnt attend a family function that was taking place that day. I said that there were lots of people there, four ministers, etc. Her comment was that "success breeds success". Also on Olashore specifically, Bolanle commented that "Olashore is Iloko". And then she said "And he's also Ijebu-jesa."

5. We discussed Olashore's current position and she pointed out that there are Ijesas who will want him to stay there, as he is able to help the area by being in that position. He can do things. For example, she said that the Ife/Ibadan Road had been commissioned, but nothing really happened because there wasnt any money set aside to work on it. It was only when Olashore got there that he made sure there was money available to begin work on it. We also discussed some of the politics of being in such a position, and she said that it would be very difficult to get out of now.

wisnt10

Wisconsin notes 10.

Visit of Tola Pearce and her daughter Forabo to Racine, weekend of July 23.

Tola and Forabo arrived Friday evening and left about noon on Sunday.

In the course of conversation, we discussed some things concerning my research and Ijesas.

1. We talked a little about the funeral for Paulina's mother. I mentioned that I understood that Anwa Odebiyi had been there Friday nite for the Christian wakekeeping. Tola was surprised because she said that Anwa doesnt really know Paulina, but then her daughter reminded her that Anwa does decorating of coffins and helps with the decorations of the room (and the church?) for funerals, so the reason she came to help with the decorations (as Mobo Akinola had told me she had) was because this is a small business that she has.

2. On Saturday night I showed them the video of the funeral. They were very interested in it, and were able to identify a few people but not too many. One important identification: the priest who did the sermon is Fr. Ilesanmi, who is based in Ife (lives in the other half of the duplex that we have for the exchange).

3. In talking about Ijesas generally, Tola said that there are two groups of people who are known for doing lots of things at home--the Ijesa and the Ijebus. With regard to Ijesas, she said that people say that if a man who is not Ijesa marries an Ijesa woman, he will be pulled towards Ijesa, and that their children will be Ijesa--because Ijesas exert such a strong pull on those from there.

4. With regard to various of the people I've gotten to know thru my research, Tola said that there is an "Ijesa mafia" of such people as Akin Akinola, Olashore, and Wole Omole (the Ife VC). She said that when Omole became VC, the Ijesas worked very hard to get him into that positon. And that afterwords Akin Akinola had bragged about how they had been successful. They are a group that does things together, representing that generation. We commented that in the older generation there are people like Ifaturoti, Eso, Omole that also seem to work together. She doesnt know any of them however, whereas she does know Akinola (thru his wife.)

wisnt10

Notes from BBC radio reports Aug. 11-12 1993

BBC reports concerned the planned three day strike that was due to start on Thursday Aug. 12. They said that many people from other parts of the country were leaving Lagos on Tuesday and Wednesday out of fear of what might happen there. People from eastern states in particular were leaving; they said that buses were charging N1000 for trips that usually cost N200 and that there seemed not to be enough transport available. The report also said that there were reports of people leaving Northern Nigeria for towns in the south as well.

On Thursday Aug. 12, BBC said that Lagos was like a ghost town, with hardly anyone out on the streets. They said there were more military and police than civilians.

wisnt11

Nike notes

~~June 30 1993~~ July 30
Telephone conversation with Nike Afolabi, from Woods Hole.

Nike called me on the afternoon of Friday ~~June 30~~ July 30 to let me know that she had sent a fax from Olashore, containing the talk that he proposes giving when he comes to Wisconsin. I wasn't at the house when she called, so I called her back. We talked for about half an hour.

Much of our conversation was about the political situation and how no one knows what's going to happen. In that context she mentioned that her househelp had left Lagos; the girl's uncle came to get her, to have her return to her home in Akwa Ibom State. She said that people are worried about what is going to happen and are leaving Lagos. She said that Ibos in particular are worried.

She also told me that Olashore's daughter's wedding is scheduled for Saturday Aug. 6. She said it is going to be a very big event. I commented that people are still having events like this despite the uncertainties of the current situation, and she said yes, they are. She also asked my advice about a gift--whether she should give a gift to Olashore himself or to his daughter. I suggested the daughter, but she was concerned that then Olashore might not know that she had given a gift, and after all, he is the one she works for, so she wants him to know. She said she has met the daughter but doesnt really know ~~him~~ her.

Nike and I talked briefly on the phone again the following Monday, when she sent me another fax, with Olashore's biographical information. But we didnt talk long; she was calling from the office.

wisnt12

Phone conversation with Dele Olashore Aug. 26, 1993

Olashore called me in Racine at about 7 PM on Thursday Aug. 26. I had been listening to the news during the day and knew that a new Interim government was being installed. When I asked him where he was calling from he said from Abuja, and that it was his last night there. He said he would be going back to Lagos, and would be back in his office. He didn't say much about the overall situation. But when I mentioned that I'd been listening to BBC news he said that most of the news reports are inaccurate. But he didnt elaborate.

We talked for some time about his paper and I told him my suggestions (which he mostly seemed to disagree with). He didnt want to be committed to any date for visiting here, but said he should have a better idea of his plans by next week and and that he would call again then. I asked about his plan to go on vacation and he said that the current environment isn't conducive to taking a vacation right now.

I asked about the new government. He said that Shonekan had been sworn in but didnt mention other names, just said that he is not among them. Then I asked "Are you glad, or shouldnt I ask that?" He said that I shouldnt ask that, but then added that he thinks that it's his own personal wish that he not be part of them.

Altogether we probably talked for about half an hour, or nearly that long.

wisnt13

Phone conversation with Dr. Azuka Dike, Friday, August 27

Dike called me from Williamsburg VA, where he has just started teaching at the College of William and Mary. Naturally, much of our conversation was about politics.

We talked about the members of the Transitional Council and the new interim govt. I said that I knew one member of the Transistional Council and he asked who. When I told him it is Olashore he said that he was surprised that he was appointed to it, because of his earlier disagreement with government economic policies. He then went on to say that up until the recent events, he (Olashore) had been doing something about the economic situation, that the Naira had been appreciating. He said that Olashore is an expert in the field, that he knows what he is doing. When I said that some people seemed surprised that Olashore accepted the appointment, he said that his own surprise was that they appointed him, not that he accepted, and then went on to make some comments about when a military governemtn appoints you it is very hard not to accept, and that you may not even know about it until they announce it on the radio. It was clear that Dike still has a positive view of Olashore.

With regard to the elections, he told me that his state, Anambra, voted for Abiola. And that states like Anambra and Kano, the vote was really for Abiola (not because of his running mate as in some other places like Bornu) and that he himself supported Abiola. That this should be understood in analysis of the election, that you can't apply the old analyses based on ethnic voting. He also said that after the cancellation of the election, people in his area -- the leaders of thought, he said -- were willing to do something, but that they wanted the others in the south (i.e., the Yoruba) to start it. They wanted to follow a southern strategy. But it wasn't very clear to me what he meant by this, except that it seemed to mean doing something within the military, but he didnt want to elaborate. At any rate, he seemed disappointed that this had not been done.

wisnt14

Phone conversation Sat. Sept. 10 with Nike Davies

re: general situation in Oshogbo, Ibadan

I called Nike to check plans for ASA. We talked a bit about the situation there. She said that petrol is very expensive--50 litres are selling for N1000. She also said that a lot of shops are still closed. She had been to Ibadan that day and a lot of the shops weren't open.b

wisnt15

Phone conversation with Richard Olaniyan, Sat. Sept 10

I phoned Richard primarily to check on what was happening with Folarin. We also talked about the general situation.

He told me that the ASUU strike had ended and that the government had agreed with ASUU position that the agreement was binding, and that if anything was going to be changed it would have to be renegotiated. He confirmed that Aluko didnt accept an appointment in the interim government, but said he thinks he didnt because he was afraid of the reaction of his own people back home. That he wanted to accept but was afraid they would burn his house down.

He said that petrol is available but that there are very long queues, and that kerosene is like gold. He said that in Ife you can still get petrol at 70 kobo.

He also said that he is still somewht optimistic that June 12 will be recognized, and that if that happens there will be a lot of good will toward the interim government.

wisnt16

Phone conversation with Nike Afolabi Sat Sept. 10

I phoned Nike just to check on how things were going. We talked both about the general situation and about Olashore.

On the situation: She said that things had been very difficult especially during the strike. That there was no fuel, no movement, the market women couldnt get goods, and there was no food to buy. And prices went very high. Things went up to 3 times the former price, she said. She said that a lot of things still aren't available. Fuel is still very hard to get unless you have connections. Some of the commercial banks were still not operating, and people couldnt get money from the banks.

She said that people still want Abiola and are committed to him. That they think that IBB is going to come back and that the interim government is being managed by him. They were expecting Abiola to come back this weekend, but he isn't.

They are anticipating another strike, perhaps to begin around the 15th. So prices are going up again.

Re. Olashore, she said that he is back in Lagos, he's a private citizen. I said that I had heard from him before he left Abuja but not since, altho he said he would call and that he said he might be travelling sometime soon. She said that so far as she knows he has no plans to travel until NOvember when his son is getting married in Britain. I expressed surprise, and she said that I shouldn't say anything to him if he doesnt tell me about it.

We talked about Olashore's daughter's wedding which took place in August. She said that she went, and that it was very colorful, there were lots of people there. The introduction/engagement was held Friday night, and the wedding was at the chapel (the one he built in memory of his father) on Saturday. I asked what she had decided to do about a gift. She said that she given a gift to Olashore--a carton of whiskey or brandy, that is she got something for him for drinks, for entertainment. She also gave something to the bride, but didnt say what; the gift to Olashore as her boss seemed more important.

She mentioned that she had gotten my letter and had forwarded the one to David and Leslie Burgess at the school. Then she said that they have a phone at the school now, so presumably that means that Olashore succeeded in getting the phone to Ijebu-jesa as had been discussed the weekend I was there.

We also talked about the problems of educating children now, with all the strikes and problems. She said that they will probably bring Gbade back to Lagos to go to school (he's been in boarding school in Abeokuta) because with all the problems it's better to keep what is yours close to home. And they're always having to travel there to see him.

WISNT18

Notes on conversation with Bodunde and Folorunso when they visited Racine in Nov. 1993 (written up March 4 1994)

When we watched the videotape of Iloko day, they began to talk about the fact that the Ijesas do a lot to help their home, that it isn't the same in other areas such as there own. They said that they are supposed to go home, and to know their hometown but that in fact they --and others-- are afraid to do so, that they're afraid to visit because of the possiblity of witchcraft. They pointed out that Nike never goes home, and they said that they too really don't know their hometowns. That if people think you're successful they may be jealous and carry out witchcraft against you. They gave the example of Bodunde's brohter who began to build a house for his father in their hometown, and was then in a bad car accident, so he has stopped building the house and he doesnt go to the town any more.

I asked if one is supposed to be involved in the hometown in their area (they're from Kogi State, near Kabba but not from the same towns). They said yes, definitely, and gave me a Yoruba proverb stressing that:

Ọmọ a le loun fi ọwọ osi je we ile babe ẹ.

The bastard child that uses the left hand to describe his father's house.

Folarin - an irresponsible or contemporous child who will show his fa house w/ the left hand

WISNT19

Notes on conversation with Wole Ogundele about hometown connections, sometime in Nov. 1993 (written up from handwritten notes, March 4 1994)

I had given copies of my papers to Wole, and that was the stimulus for this conversation.

He pointed out that very often it is age groups or age grades that take on projects in the hometown, and that that is part of the reinvention. For example, his age group built a small library for the school, when the town was building a school in his hometown. He also noted that people are especially involved in these types of activitieis if they live in Lagos.

He said that he had participated in the launching, and that there was pressure to be part of this. But he didnt like having to wear the same dress, especially wearing an agbada, that he was put off by that.

He also noted that his club (the same group) sponsored the candidate who won the local governemtn elections.

He mentioned some things about traditional age groups/grades in Yoruba society: the ogboni only included older people; there's initiation, and also egungun which involved junior/senior relations. Traditionally there were also working groups, eg. people worked on the oba's farm by groups.

Wole said that the attachment to your home is drummed into you from the day you are born -- that you must never forget this place. The placenta is ritually buried in the compound (but nowadays he said the hospital destroys it). No one will tell you where it is buried, but you know that it was buried in your compound, and that is supposed to pull you to your place.

He gave an example of another club, that when a new oba was installed in 1983 or 1984, they bought him a 505 (Peuegeot). He said they weren't looking for any gain, they were people like judges, etc. In other places, people will buy a mercedes for the oba.

WISNT20

Notes of phone conversation with Nike Afolabi. Dec 12 1993 (written up March 4 1994)

She told me that before Olashore's son's (Bimbo) wedding, which took place in London, they had the traditional engagement in Lagos. But that she didnt go, and that he (Olashore) didnt take kindly to it. She had to be somewhere else that day.

She said that she would go to the carol singing and thanksgiving and will take place in Iloko next weekend.

On the economic situation: she said that there's not much in the market and the prices are high.

Fieldnotes Dec 94 series
file name: fnd94

fnd941 Mon Dec. 19, 1994

Lagos--visit to Olashore office

I telephone Olashore from Clara Osinulu's office when I got there at about 11 AM. He answered the phone and asked where I'm calling from; I responded "Victoria Island". I said that I was waiting to see a friend who hadn't yet arrived in her office and we talked about my coming to his office right then, but then Clara arrived, so I asked if he'd be there later. He said he'd be there all day. So after Clara and I talked and had lunch, I dropped her at the bank and went briefly to Swiss Air and then to Olashore's bank. I discovered that his office is located in a different part of the building than it used to be; and ther's construction going on. Apparently, the offices are in the process of being reconstructed and his office will be located up one more flight when finished. Later on, when I saw Nike she showed me where the construction is taking place.

Olashore's secretary met me on the stairs and figured out who I am, and took me back to his office. I asked her about Nike and she said she was out to lunch. Later I learned from Nike that she is now secretary to the Managing Director and not to Olashore, but that she still does some things for him, like she's now typing a book manuscript for him.

Olashore greeted me warmly, asked if I'd had lunch and said his had been ordered in; he asked his secretary to make me tea, which I had when his lunch was delivered. Apart from a couple of phone calls, we talked uninterrupted for about 2 hours, from about 2 PM to 4 PM. We covered a range of topics. He made some comments about how I must now have seen Nigeria's "booming economy"; initially I wasnt sure if he was serious, later it became obvious that he wasnt. He gave me a copy of a speech he gav e recently on the economy, in which he says that Nigeria has fallen over the precipice and the economy has collapsed. He also said that if he were from another part of the country he could be involved in politics, but that as a YOruba he cant be, because they make it more difficult for themselves, they tear everyone down. I asked for an example and he referred to a speech by Justice Aguda in which he criticized all leaders Nigeria has had, couldnt say anything positive about any of them. He said they specialize in "pull him down" which they call phd.

We discussed Jim Still's upcoming visit to his school, and plans for that. He said that the school is closed for vacation til the 8th so Jim won't see it in session. Also, the principal was leaving for a holiday. He gave me a brochure about the school's activities this year and also a schedule of events. (others have also told me about the school; Folarin said he heard a report about the caroling there last weekend).

We also talked about the couple of pages I'd sent him on ideas for a university. He seemed to be pleased with the ideas and said he has two possible approaches and hasnt decided yet which he wants to take. One is to follow his own area of interest, and do something in business and finance. The other is that he has a strong interest in history and to do

something that would build on that. He knows that he can't encompass everything. I asked if it is legal to establish a private university and he seems to expect that it will be possible. (Later Judy told me that there's a retired military person who is getting plans together for a technical university). I again offered to help with suggestions of peoplewho might work on planning, and when I talked to Judy she said that she'd like to meet him.

Olashore told me that he plans to travel to Britain on Jan. 14 and then will come back in early Feb. in time to plan for his birthday party; his sixtieth birthday is Feb. 18. He said something about my coming for that, and I said that he'd have to send me a plane ticket, altho maybe my research grant could pay for it since it would be part of my research. We joked about this for a while and then he said that actually he doesnt plan anything very big -- that "given the situation in the country," he doesnt think "anything lavish would be appropriate".

He told me that he is now building his house in Iloko, but didnt give any indication of when he plans to finish it. I asked which one he'll use then and he said the one in Iloko, which is located near where the school principal is living. I asked what he'll do with the one in Ijebu-jesa, and he said that I must think it is wasteful to have all these different houses. I said not necessarily, I just wondered what he would do with it. He said there are a lot of possibilities and then went on to talk about one:

He said that he wants to build a factory, and is working on plans to do so. But he hasnt yet decided what kind of factory it will be. Two possibilities are to build a jute bag factory or a cassava starch factory; someon from Korea has been to see him about the latter, but it would require much more capital investment. (in the millions dollars--figures he gave were in dollars; the jute bag factory would be something like 1.2 million.) He said he already has an application with Nerfund for a loan. We got off on a tangent, about the pros and cons of the two possibilities. The jute bag factory would involved imported raw materials, would employ a couple of hundred people. It would take less capital and he seemed to be leaning in that direction. The problem with the cassaava starch factory he said is to ensure supply. But it would employ more people, including people in farming. It would require much more capital.

We then returned to the original topic, which was that he plans that one of his sons, who is studying business, would be responsible for overseeing this factory and that son could live in his house in Ijebu-jesa.

We then discussed his activiities in the next week or so, and when I would see him. He said that he'd be going to ILesa on Tuesday for a funeral (or Mrs. Omole;s mother--but dont know which Mrs. Omole) and then return to Lagos. Then he'll return to Ilesa either Friday or Saturday and stay til Tues. He suggested that I come to visit Monday, Boxing Day, and I agreed that I would.

During our conversation Olashore had asked if I'd seen Mrs. Afolabi yet (Nike); I said I hadnt so at the end of our conversation I said I should see her, and he asked his secretary to take me to her; actually her office is in a sort of passageway that we went thru on the way to

his office but she hadnt been there then.

So I then chatted with her for a few minutes, and then since it was about 4:30 she decided she could leave and I went home with her, where I had dinner and saw her kids.

fieldnotes Dec94 -2

fnd942

Thursday Dec. 22 1994 -- Ilesa
visits to Ifaturoti and Akinola

I went to Ilesa in the afternoon, leaving Ife at about 12 and arriving at Ifaturoti's house at about 1 PM. Simisola greeted me at the door, and went to find Tinu, who was at home. Kunle wasnt there, but came back later from a meeting he'd been attending.

Tinu and I talked for a while. I gave her the books I brought from the US, as well as one of the cup plates from Sandwich. She told me about their book-- the book she and Kunle have written ab out their marriage, for their fortieth anniversary, and about the launching of the book in October. I told her that I had heard about it and had tried to phone them. She got two copies of the book, saying first that one was for me and one for Dick. When I said that Dick and I could share one, she decided that one should be for my parents. She asked Bodunde and me to check the pages, since the publishers made mistakes in the binding of some copies. Later, when Kunle got back they both autographed the copies. Kunle also decided that he wanted to send one thru me to Nike Davies, and got another copy which was also autographed.

I asked Tinu how she had found time to write the book. She said that she isnt that busy, since she only goes to the school a couple of days a week. Also, that they discussed with each other what they were writing mainly in the evening, when no one else was around.

When Kunle came, we also discussed the book and the launching. He also told another man who was visiting about it. The man said he wanted to buy one, and Kunle said no, he was giving away his copies, but that he would accept donations towards the expenses of the launching. He said that at the start of the process they depositied N110,000 and that after everything has been spent and accounted for, they now have N23000 in the bank-- in other words, they spent the difference. He said that the publisher is supposed to sell the book but he doesnt know if they are doing so. He thinks it's for sale at Makinde bookstore in Ilesa.

The launching was held at NIIA in October. It was originally planned for their anniversary date -- AUg. 23-- but was changed; it sounded like the pu blisher didnt have the book ready then. Some people knew about that date and came then, like the Sultan of Sokoto, but coulndt come again in Oct. I mentioneed that I heard about it from Olashore; he said that Olashore didnt attend. Kunle said that he wasnt going to tell me people's reactions to the book until I have a chance to read it myself. He did say that people have said that it reads very quickly, that once one sits down to read it, you cant stop til you finish it. He also mentioned amounts given by the chief launcher (a personal friend, he said; I didnt recognize the name) and some others. To the other man who was there to see him, he explained that the book was not an autobiography, that he didnt see that he had anything to write in an autobiography.

Both Tinu and Kunle also told me about other family events. Their daughter Toun is getting married on Jan. 14. Apparently, the marriage is taking place sooner than they expected, because their daughter Fadeke who lives in the US is going to be home in January for the funeral of her mother-in-law and Toun wanted to have her present for her wedding. The wedding will be in Ilesa, with the engagement on the 13th and the wedding the 14th. She is marrying a man from Ilesa; she did her Youth Service in Port Harcourt, and now works there, as does the man (not clear if they met there or elsewhere).

Tinu also told me that their other daughter, Kike, who got married in August 1993, had a baby recently.

Tinu told me that Ijesa Solidarity Group is to have a meeting on Saturday, and gave me a flyer announcing the meeting, which is billed as a Special General Meeting. When Kunle came home, I asked him about it, and he asked if I'd like to attend. I said that I would, and that I would also pay for the luncheon, and gave him the money (N250). We didnt talk much then about what is happening with ISG.

Shortly after Kunle got home, another man came to see him, to discuss something; it was clear that Kunle had been waiting to hear from the man for some time. The discussion concerned money, apprently relating to the development of a water system for Ilesa, and the fact that the plans had already been done (apparnetly by this man's engineering firm) and now the government is starting all over again-- I think it is the state government, and the individual specifically mentioned as causing problems for them is Ademola Arriyo. The man said that they hadnt yet been paid for their work, but that they are expecting money from another project very soon, and will use that to pay back what they owe (N10000) -- presumnably either to Kunle or to a group he's involved with -- it wasnt clear, and Kunle didnt explain any of it to me.

I left at about 3 PM, and went from there to the Akinola's house.

On arrival at Akinola's, it was apparent that a party was going on, and I realized that this was the children's party that Tola had told me they always have before Christmas. There were rows of chairs set up in the area that is usualy the driveway and parking area and little kids were sitting there, eating. There was also a group playing music. The kids were seated the way adults are at parties like this, all in a row, eating, not moving around much. Later, a couple of women were trying to organize something, and trying to get them to dance, but when I left most of the kids were still just sitting there.

I was taken to the back of the house where Mobo Akinola was sitting with three other women. I joined them, and was offered something to drink and eat; she said they had just finished. Bodunde sat with some others off to one side and was also given food. Mobo and I talked a little, to catch up with news in general. Mainly I just sat with the other women, Mobo got up several times to do things. One of the women remembered meeting me before; she is one of the women I met one night at Mobo's house a couple of years ago. Another woman who came later was introduced to me as Mobo's sister; I recognized her from the party for Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy (I think she's in my photos). I asked if Mrs. Abe would be

in Ilesa over the weekend; Mobo said she thought she would be, but that many people are canceling plans to come home for the weekend because of the fuel shortage. She said that last year people came home and then got stranded because there as no fuel.

The Akinola children were around, helping to serve and helping to take care of younger kids. They're teenagers and they and others their age were also hanging out in a room behind where we were sitting (we were outside in the shade, between the house and a small building in back, which is where the older kids seemed to be). The woman who was sitting with me (who I recognized from before) introduced two of her daughters to me -- one a university student, one in secondary school). The Akinola children were dressed in slacks and tights -- typical western teenage outfits, tho very neat looking.

Mobo and I briefly discussed Olashore's school. She mentioned that her daughter is at Adesoye College in Offa and I asked how Olashore's school compares with that. She said that of course Adesoye has been in existence for a long time, whereas Olashore's is just getting started but that she thinks it's going well and is off to a good start.

After I'd been there a while, Mr. Akinola arrived, having apparently come from a meeting. We greeted each other, he greeted others who were there, and then he disappeared.

When I was ready to leave and asked Mobo about when I would see her again, she said that they're having a party Saturday night -- a night party. I asked about the time (she said 8 or 9) and about whether it was safe to drive back to Ife that night, she said that it is safe now because there are more check points. (But later Richard and Folarin both said it wouldnt be safe and Bodunde wasnt able to take me). At any rate, I said I would try to come.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 -3
fnd943

Friday Dec. 23 -- Ilesa

I went to Ilesa in the afternoon to look for a couple of people but didn't find anyone. Stopped first at Paulina's house and saw the man who lives across the street as well as the tenant in her flat. They said she hadn't arrived yet, but were expecting her. I left her a note.

Then I went to look for Mrs. Abe's house; I remembered it as A18 Igbogbi Street; we found houses with numbers AU, but no A; when I got back to Ife and checked her address it turns out that it is AY18 (but we didnt see any AY so we werent in the right place apparently). It was very hot and we didnt search too hard, but returned to Ife.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 -4

fnd944

Saturday Dec. 24 -- Ilesa

visit with Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye and overnight at her house

I had tried to see Paulina on Friday afternoon but she hadnt arrived in Ilesa yet. I left a note saying I would come on Saturday, so when I got there at about 10:30 she was expecting me. I gave her the books she had asked me to order for her, and we talked a bit about the general situation in the country. Her comment was that things seem normal, but that in fact there is a lot of tension and things are not normal. I mentioned that everyone seems depressed, and she agreed. And added that there are more beggars and madmen than before.

Her family was with her in Ilesa; her husband and younger son, who is now in secondary school at Mayflower School. Her older son has also come from Europe where he works; he had gone to Ife before I got there, but I saw him later in the day. He has been home for four weeks vacation. He commented on how depressing it was to visit Ife, where he went to school, that his former professors hardly earn anything and there are no facilities. Paulina said that her married daughter lives in Ibadan now, and visited them before Christmas. The younger daughter was also in Ilesa. While I was there, Mr. Taiwo her cousin who takes care of her house for her also stopped by. Later on I saw the young man who lives in the boys' quarters in back, Mr. Daramola, and when his wife came in, he showed me their baby who is now just over a year old.

Also visiting was a young woman with several young children, the wife of a cousin who lives in Ilorin, who asked to come visit her for the holidays.

I told Paulina that I was on my way to the meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group. She said that she is supposed to go, but is not going. How can she go, when her son is home, her family is there for the holidays, it's Christmas, etc. She said that she is "with them", she has to be, since her father was an Ijesa activist (her term), but that she can't attend meetings at Christmas. She said that she usually doesnt go to their meetings, but she supports them, is a member, and "has to be". The only thing she has atttended is when they had the event for Olashore when he became Minister of Finance. She asked me to explain to Ifaturoti that she wasnt able to attend. She also asked me to bring him a Christmas card from her.

As I was getting ready to leave, Paulina asked to borrow the newspapers that were in the car, and to stop on my way out of Ilesa later on to get them back; then she asked when I was going back to Ife. I explained about the Akinola party that I wanted to attend and thatI wasnt sure if I was going back today or not, depending on whether I found a place to stay. She then said that I could stay there, that she has an empty flat that is not rented out. (She has constructed two flats, which were just finished around the time I was there in 1993 but only one is rented, to a doctor). So we agreed that I would return after the meeting.

I returned to Paulina's house at about 3 PM; I told her a little about the meeting, and she then got her housegirl to clean up the flat; they moved a mattress on to the bed that was already there, and it was then ready for me. I went and rested there for a while. Later, Paulina and family got ready to leave for church for Christmas Eve services at around 8 PM, and I got ready to go to Akinola's soon after that. I came back from Akinola's at about 11:30 (Paulina had said they would get back from church around 11) and saw here only briefly in the AM before I left to return to Ife. We also discussed my staying with her in Ibadan the first weekend in January. She will be in Lagos for New Years and plans to return to Ibadan Jan. 4.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 - 5

fnd945

Saturday Dec. 24 meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group

The meeting was scheduled to start at noon, at the Brewery. I got there about 12:10, as it took a little while to get there from Paulina's house. When we were parking the car, Bodunde pointed out that Justice Eso was just arriving, just getting out of his car. I also saw a woman getting out of another car; it turned out to be Tinu Ifaturoti. I greeted Justice Eso, who was heading away from the area where the meeting was being held, but said he'd be back later. When I arrived, there were just a few people there, sitting around a table; a number of tables were set up for lunch, but the meeting was to be held before lunch, so they were just gathered around the table. Kunle Ifaturoti was there, and several other men, who made room for me to sit with them at the table. Tinu Ifaturoti took a seat at another table, and generally kept herself apart from the meeting. As more people arrived, people sat at the next table to the side, and also behind the table where I was, so that there was a gradually expanding circle of people. At first, only about 10 people were there, but more arrived during the course of the meeting, so that there were eventually about 25 people.

The people there were mostly men, but there were a few women. In addition to Tinu, one ended up sitting next to me -- Prof. Mrs. Oni, a lecturer in Physics at UI (later we talkd a little and she gave me her card with her office address). Also, Mrs. Aginni, who came with her husband, an engineer; I've met both of them before at Ifaturoriti's. They are relatively young -- maybe mid thirties or early forties. They live in Warri (I talked with her breifly after the luncheon). Many of the men were older -- sixties, seventies. But there were also several younger men, several of whom participated quite a bit in the meeting. Those that I knew who were there included Kunle Apara and later Justice Eso.

They decided to start the meeting about ten minutes after I got there. Kunle Ifaturoti was chairman of the meeting. He asked one of the men there to start the meeting by saying a prayer.

Then the secretary gave names of people who had sent excuses that they wouldnt be attending. One of these was M.A. Ifaturoti, Kunle's brother (the one who is loja of a small town outside Ilesa).

Once the meeting began, I got out my notebook and took notes, and tried to write a lot down verbatim, tho I didnt get everything down. I decided not to try to use the tape recorder tho I had it with me. The secretary was taking notes on everything too; he was sitting next to me. No one referred to my presence or asked anything til the end of the meeting, when someone asked me to speak. (I've used quotation marks below when I'm pretty sure the words are close to those spoken; other parts are paraphrases, or I'm not sure).

Kunle began the meeting by discussing the reason for holding the meeting, and referred to the circular that had been sent out announcing it. He said, "When we started the Ijesa Solidarity

Group we started with lofty objectives -- the unity of Ijesaland, economic growth, to alleviate the suffering of our people." We tried to work out how to get support and how to deal with the problem of reaching members. "We thought that having a good administrator would solve the problem. We've had two administrators but we havent been successful. The first problem we face is how to reach people, and how to establish an effective secretariat. The second problem is that we've established three committees: the first committee is the national affairs committee, which deals with unity in Ijesaland, between the people, and between the chiefs. If we are to claim success, the net beneficiaries of our activities would be the ordinary peasants -- to bring to them something that would make their position better. So the economic committee was established to examine how to get economic growth in Ijesaland. But it hasn't happened, we haven't moved forward. The third committee was to survey rural-urban renewal. All over the world, cities are alive and changing. But that doesnt seem to be happening here."

These are the reasons for sending out the SOS (the circular). There was a good response (later Kunle referred to N50,000 having been donated after the circular went out). We want to show them the way forward.

Two more people arrived at this point.

Kunle then had the discussion focus on each of the problems he had listed. They first discussed the Secretariat. Kunle said that at the last general meeting people had indicated that they were unhappy with the records that were beingkept. There was a problem with people not getting notices. He gave a couple of examples of people who came to him to say that they hadnt been receiving notices, that he took them to the secretariat to check, and the response they got was that it would be looked into, that things would be taken care of. He went on to say that there had been a decision to raise funds for Ijesa historical research, and that money had been donated for that purpose. But that it was being used for the office instead because there was a shortage there. (The problem apparently -- judging from the ciruclar that was sent out-- is that they are spending more on having an office than they are taking in from memberships and donations, so money that was donated for historical research had to be used to take care of office expenses). Kunle said that they had thought that with a high level person they would be able to accomplish their goals, but that that hasn't happened. (In other words, such a person would have done more to bring in more members).

He then opened it up for discussion from others. The discussion focused on the issue of reorganizing the secretariat. One person suggested that they have the honorary secretary take on the role of secretary; the honorary secretary is an unpaid officer; he would do ths with the assistance of two paid clerks. They would then phase out the administrative secretary (who is the highly paid position refered to). An additional suggestion was that there be zonal assistant secretaries (unpaid) to assist in advertising the organization, letting people in different regions know about meetings, etc.

There was a discussion about record-keeping. Prof. Oni suggested that they should get a computer for record keeping, and said that if that were done, she would supply the necessary software for records. She said, and others agreed, that they should look for the donation of a

pc -- that that shouldnt be a problem. "This is the 21st century way of organizing a secretariat" she said.

Kunle called on Dr. Omole, who he identified as being from Canada, to speak. Omole mentioned the newsletter, and that that he thinks they've overblown the secretariat. That they should develop the office but minimize expenses. They should make the secretariat more efficient.

Others agreed with the suggestion of getting a computer, and Kunle said that "two of our boys" run computer companies so that it should be possible to get a donation. Someone else pointed out that it is necessary to also have the computer maintained, and said those donating should also agree to maintain it. Someone also said that it's necessary to have people who know how to use it.

Another, older man said that he had tried to reorganize the secretariat and had been working on it, but that when he asked for help he didnt get it. He said that now maybe he could work with the others who are doing this. During the discussion of record-keeping and the computer, Kunle Ifaturoti said that he and someone else are going thru the records to get them in order, and making a list. PRof. Oni pointed out that that list could be kept on a computer. A couple of people mentioned not receiving notices, and not knowing whether they owed dues, and how much they owed. Kunle pointed out that the last circular that was sent out indicated how much was owed.

Justice Eso arrived at this point, and joined the circle around the tabe, pulling a chair up so that he was sitting next to Kunle Ifaturoti tho slightly behind him. Then there was the secretary (taking notes), and then me. Prof Oni was then sitting next to me. There was a younger man at the end of the table on the other side of Ifaturoti, then a couple of other men. Apara was sitting somewhat behind the others on that side of the table.

Ifaturoti began to talk about the funds. He made the comment that "if you give me money to clear a bush and I build a house you'll call me a thief if you're a proper Ijesa." He talked about the issue of supervision of the secretariat. He said that it's not a question of performance bu of ability to pay.

On the suggestion of zonal assistant secretaries, Ifaturoti suggested this regarding their functioning: that they have activists who would serve as catalysts. These would be volunteers. They would be located in each area and would do things like get out circulars. They need to find people who will help in Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, etc; he indicated that they already have such people in some areas such as Ibadan. And suggested that they choose people with access to facilities.

Eso spoke at this point. He said that as Chairman of the Ways and Means committee he needs to know how money is being spent and who authorizes the spending of money. He asked if membership is declining and is this the problem with money.

Ifaturoti then said that this is what went wrong: the subscriptions (i.e., memberships) are not

coming in to provide enough money for maintaining the secretariat. The money for the historical research was put into the general account and was then spent for other purposes. Eso then said "So that is the problem." (his voice sounded angry altho it may just have been his way of expressing himself).

The suggestion was then made that they employ one clerk, not two, since expenses in the office are the problem.

The wife of the engineer, Mrs. Aginni, spoke and said that there is a problem with knowing how much she owes, the problem is with geting notices because of the postal service. Others agreed that they dont know what they owe, and also indicated that even when they receive notices, the notices get mixed up with other things or they dont see them, suggesting that they should be told when they attend a meeting how much they owe, so they can pay then.

At this point, Ifaturoti moved on to the next topic. There was no vote taken, or formal decision-making process, but there was apparently consensus that there would be a change in the secretariat -- that the general secretary (unpaid) would oversee the activities of a clerk who would keep records, that they would try to get a computer for record-keeping, and that they would have zonal representatives -- activists, assistant secretaries who would be responsible for contacting people in their regions.

During the course of the discussion, a young woman occasionally brought papers to the secretary, and she stayed in the background throughout; someone indicated her at one point, and it appears that she is the one already working as a clerk in the office. At one point someone asked about whether there is an office, and Ifaturoti said that they have an office at the brewery. Someone also asked about why they were meeting outside (under canopies) rather than in the room they usually use -- which is the brewery cafeteria. Kunle expalined that the brewery is working additional shifts right now, and therefore they need the cafeteria for their workers.

The second topic discused was the "pivotal committees." Ifaturoti began the discusson by saying that the original conception was that each committee would bring proposals, and that these proposals would be sent to the Ways and Means committee. (The three pivotal committees are Natiuonal affairs, economic committee and ways and means; the first two are supposed to deal with issues of substance -- the first with issues of "unity" among Ijesas, the second with ideas for development. Then these ideas are to be brought to ways and means (which is headed by Eso) for consideration of funding.) Ifaturoti said "It hasn't worked" and that they have to figure out how to go forward.

He then went on with his suggestion: that if a group has an idea, they should bring it to the secretariat, if it is relevant to a committee, it should be referred to that committee. This way they will get ideas from the grassroots of the membership, and won't have to wait for the committees to come up with ideas.

Eso said that the Ways and Means committee never got anything from the other two committees. Therefore they couldnt do anything. He again sounded annoyed and irritated.

It then turned out that Kunle Apara is the chair of the economic committee. He spoke next. He said that "the last two years have not been normal in the country. Things are at a standstill. When one's own business is not propering the peripheral things one is involved with suffer." He said that this has affected everyone, and that they must find a means to get around it.

Ifaturoti said he is not trying to place blame on anyone (since it seemed as if things were directed at Apara as chair of a committee that hasnt done anything). But he said, if there is interest from young people, there should be a way for them to bring their interest forward. Apara agreed, saying they need to find a way to invigorate the system, get ideas from the bottom. He said the problem is how to generate interest among the members.

A question was raised about funds, and Ifaturoti responded that they had raised N53,000 in response to the general appeal he sent out. But he said they need "activists" who will do things.

Someone else commented that a friend had expressed interest in ISG and that when he gave him the forms for membership, the friend wanted to know what the organization has been able to do. This person also said that he didnt think there was any alternative to the standing committees; "unless they work, we can forget the Solidarity Group"

Eso said that he agreed with this comment; he also said that the committees are dead.

Kunle Ifaturoti asked someone there to speak, who at first seemed hesitant. Then he made the comment that with regard to ideas, there are younger Ijesas with ideas but that they arent members of any group.

Ifaturoti then said "we've existed for three years and we havent done anything. The man in the village doesnt know we exist. Anything that will accelerate the process will be helpful." He said that there is no harm in getting members to propose ideas, that would be referred to the committee.

Prof. Mrs. Oni suggested giving the committees some sort of deadline, for example three months to initiate something. She said "just because the country is going to ruins we can't just sit back and let it happen." There seemed to be agreement to this idea.

Eso suggested that they form a "think tank" of the committee chairs and Kunle as President, and that they meet and produce something, and then call the others together. People seemed to accept that.

A younger man asked about the people who have been appointed to the committees, and whether they are the "appropriate" people. There was shouting from several people, saying "they're appropriate" in fact they're "overqualified."

Again, the discussion of the subject ended without any obvious decision-making, but apparently the suggesiton of Eso to form a think tank was the one suggested, and also that

there be a limited time to come up with suggestions.

Ifaturoti then moved on to the third topic: the Rural-Urban Renewal Committee. (This is not one of the three "pivotal" committees). He said that this committee was appointed 19 months ago to survey the needs of the communities. He said that the committee hasnt functioned because of the crisis in the country. He proposed the idea that they appoint a consultant to make a survey (for a fee) and that the consultant come up with ideas to give to the committee to be implemented by them.

Someone asked "what are they aiming to achieve with this committee?".

Ifaturoti said that they' ve made the observation that there are the old family houses in Ilesa; there are members of these families who are succesfful people but they dont bother to come to Ilesa or to think of what they could do with the old family house. People are abondoning the old central area of the city and developing the periphery-- such as the newer houses on the way to Oshogbo or this area (Imo). They are concerned that the central area will die. Also that the old houses are falling down, and in some cases people are still living in them.

Someon said that the family system wont allow them to do anything about this. (in other words because it is family property there cant be anything done to improve the houses).

To this, Apara said that they want to "identify areas where development can take place and also identify resources for it." He gave the exmaple of the chiefs' houses. He said that in Iloro, the loro's compound has been collecting money to be used to improve the house. But that the families may not be able to do it.

Someone (Ifaturoti?) said that another reason for forming the committte was that they had thought that the World Bank was going to be involved in rural/urban development and the water system.

Someone askd about membership on the committee. Ifaturoit read off list of names, which included people like the engineer S.O. Fadahunsi, who is the chairman, several architects including Olumide Eso; Paulina Makinwa, Onibokun, Lamikanra (the son who is on faculty at Ife), and other academics.

Mrs. Oni said that they should get a consultant and have the consultant report to this heavyweight committee to consider. Someone asked if there is money for this, and Kunle said that they can get the money to pay a consultant. Mrs. Oni said that the members of the committee are very busy, so cant expct them to do the survey work. But they have to get started.

Someone made the suggestion that they get Fadahunsi (the committee chair) to do this, since he "did Lagos practicaly singlehandedly". Kunle said that Fadahunsi is nearly 75 years old, and Eso said that he's "superbusy", and that the LADP (Lagos) was 50 years ago.

Again, there was apparently agreement at this point that they will get a consultant to get this

started.

Ifaturoti then said that there was some other business. Someone new arrived (it was 1:50); it was mentioned that he had sent a notice that he would be late.

With regard to other business, Kunle said that it is necessary to have a general meeting before the Annual General Meeting (the latter is scheduled for May). Someone suggested that the general meeting be held at Ibokun as was suggested at the last general meeting. Apparently, there was a previously scheduled meeting which was to take place in Ibokun but whic h was postponed because of the crisis.

The two men who had just arrived turned out to be from Ibokun; one was identified as a colonel (later it became clear that he is retired). They said that the person who was to be chief host was still prepared to be chief host. So it was agreed that the meeting would be in Ibokun, people consulted calendars, and it was fairly quickly decided that it would be on Saturday March 1 at 11 AM. The two from Ibokun agreed to this. Eso asked if they would guarantee food and beer, and the men from Ibokun added, "and palm wine".

Someone asked how to know the venue of the meeting; others laughed and said they when they get to Ibokun they will find it.

Someone asked for information about ISG to pass on to others; Kunle said that the February newsletter has the concept of the organization in it.

Someone else suggested that they do more to advertise meetings, announcing on radio and tv, etc. Kunle said that they do this occasion ally but that for sensitive reasons they dont overplay this. He said that on two occasions they had an ad in the paper, and that he got a response from an Igbajo person who seemed to want to fight him (a "stupid person" he said).

Eso said that the Ibokun meeting is very important. (This will be the first ISG meeting to be held outside Ilesa). He said that they should advertise it and let people know that Dr. Festus Ajayi will be the chief host; that Dr. Ajayi will attact a lot of people.

Mrs. Oni said that there should be no autocratic postponement of the meeting this time. Apara then mentioned that last time he had decided from London that the meeting should be postponed because of the crisis. (no one said exactly when this was).

Ifaturoti then introduced what he said was the last issue. He began by saying that "on March 20 1993 we had a reception for Prince Oladele Olashore. This was a very good event. The key note of the event was to tell hin to be completely honorable in carrying out his duties. Justice Eso was chair of the event, and our Patron (Omole) was present." He said that they spent a lot to have this reception, and that there were contributions -- N20,000 from Lagos, a contribution from the brewery, etc. He said that he thinks that this was a good thing to have done, that they were justified, and that in fact Olashore did carry out his responsibilities.

Then he went on to say that Babatope has now been given a similar appointment to that of

Olashore (Babatope is now a Minister in the Abacha regime) and the suggestion has been made that they should give him a reception. Kunle said that he would say something about this but that it would prejudice the rest of the group, so that he would just open it for discussion-- and several people responded that he shouldnt prejudice them but that they should discuss.

Immediately, an older man in blue spoke; he said that they should not do anything, that this is "an evil government". A younger man said that he was distrurbed about the decision to honor Olashore, because the military was already discredited by that time. There is no call for any Ijesa man to forge credibility for the military. He said there is a tendency to think that having someone in the cabinet provides an opportunity. He also said that "if we look at what Olashore did then we must agree that the honor was well deserved." But Babatope was appointed more than one year ago, so any honoring of him would seem belated now. He doesnt think anything should be done.

Another younger man said that he thinks they should be more pragmatic, and that they should treat Babatope like a prodigal son, a lost child.

The man from Ibokun who is retired from the military suggested that maybe they should honor him later, after the regime ends (Icouldnt hear all of what he said).

Apara agreed, saying that nothing should be done now, but that if (when) he left office, then they could consider it again.

Ifaturoti mentioned then that there had been a luncheon and that he had contacted three appointees in the current government. That Babatope had been invited but that he said healready had another appointment in Ijebu that day (people immediatley asked which Ijebu, and when Kunle said "Ijebu Ode",they indicated this further justified their decision not to do anything now to honor him.

There was agreement, that maybe they would do so later, but that it would have to be discussed again then.

Another young man, dressed in yellow agbada, spoke; he said that "we tend to honor political appointees rather than others" He suggested that they should determine some rules about what types of people they want to honor. Eso suggested they set up a committee on this. Someone mentioned that they have honored others, such as Majokudunmi.(?)

Kunle Ifaturoti asked if there was other business. Apara asked if they can discuss how the situation in the country is affecting us. Kunle said he thought they should save that for another meeting, such as at Ibokun. But then he said that they agenda for th Ibokun meeting is already set, which is to discuss what Obokun local government wants from the ISG.

Someone asked a question about the history of Ijesaland and the appeal to raise N2 million to investigate the history of Ijesaland. Eso said that it is essential that they do this, especially given the "Ooni's evil business" it is very important. (Everyone seemed to know what he was

referring to, or at least no one asked about it). They said they will name the trustees of the fund soon.

Someone passed a note to Ifaturoti asking if I would like to say something. He asked me to do so, so I spoke briefly noting that I had attended other of thei meetings, thanking them, etc.

The formal meeting ended at this point, and lunch was served; most people stayed in the same seats, altho some people began to move around at this point. For example, Eso and Apara went off together to another table, to discuss something, and Apara stayed there to eat, while Eso got ready to leave.

Some comments on the atmosphere of the meeting: It was quite informal compared to most I have attended here. Everyone sat in what was basically a circle which kept expanding as new people arrived. People seemed to be friendly with one another, and altho Ifaturoti did most of the talking, it seemed quite open with people free to speak-- both older and younger men,and also women spoke. People were frank -- Eso for example and the man who spoke on the idea of the Babatope reception. Also frank criticism of the fact that they havent done much yet. There was also joking and laughter at various points during the meeting.

I spoke with Eso briefly about seeing him in Ibadan and he said to call him and gave me his phone number-- 02 8101345, before Jan. 3 when he is going to be travelling to theGambia.

I sat in the same place for lunch as I had during the meeting. Mrs. Oni continued to sit next to me. I spoke with her briefly. She said that this is the first meeting that she has attended, that she hasnt been home for Christmas in a long time, but that she came home this time because her mother is getting old. She gave me her card, she is in the Physics Dept at University of ibadan.

After I ate, I went over to where Tinu Ifaturoti was sitting, and spoke briefly with her. I said that I thought she didnt ususally attend these events, and she said that she also attended last year. I also spoke with Mrs. Aginni, the wife of the engineer who lives in Warri. She rembered that we had previously met at Ifaturoti's. She said that she tries to attend the meetings, but that she doesnt do other things because of the distance. (Both she and her husband spoke during the meeting).

Akin Akinola arrived while people were eating, and was served lunch. I think he was the last person to arrive. By that time Eso had left. Others also began to leave. I stayed around for a little while longer, Ifaturoti was still there but both he and Tinu seemed to be getting ready to leave, and in fact they got into their car at around the same time I left. He told one or two people to stop at the house to pick up forms for membership to give others. I did not stop off at Ifaturoti house but went back to Paulina Makinwa's.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 - 6

fnd946

Saturday Dec. 24 -- party at Akinola's

When Mobo Akinola told me about the party on Friday, I asked what time, and she said 8 or 9, but emphasized as well that it would be a "night party". I left Paulina's house at about 8:30 and got to Mobo's around 9, and seemed to be one of the first people there. I parked th car outside the gate, and then someone at the gate asked if I wanted to see Madam, so I said yes. He took me thru the driveway/parking area where tables and chairs were set up, but only a couple of people were sitting there, and around to the back of the house, where I had been during the childrens party a couple of days earlier. Again, there were several women sitting there, and I joined them. They indicated that Mobo was inside. After I had been there 10 or 15 minutes, one of them seemed to think we should let Mobo know I was there, so she took me in thru the back door into the kitchn, where several of the Akinola children and some other younger people were. She asked for Mobo, and then after a couple of minutes Moba appeared, but seemed surprised to see my inside, and said I should just stay with the women where I was and that she'd be outside soon. She was obviously still getting things organized. When we got back outside, the same woman decided she should get me something to eat and drink, so she told someone to get me food, and asked if I wanted iyan or rice; I asked for rice. Just after the food was brought to me, Mobo appeared outside, and said it was now time to move to the other side of the house, and that I should bring my food with me. In fact, she picked up the table and plate, while I took the drink, and walked us to the front of the house. She then seated me and several other women on chairs placed on a patio near the front entrance of the house (just outside the sitting room). By this time, there were about six women, and all of us were seated together, in a row, with some at 90 degree angle to others. Across the entranceway, she seated some men who arrived a little later. I could also see that there were some men in the front sitting room, but couldnt see who was there.

Mobo was dressed quite casually in a blue wrapper and buba. A little later, her husband appeared, also dressed very casually in a shirt and slacks. Everyone else was very elaborately dressed, especially women in fancy iro and buba. One woman had a bright, multicolored aso oke outfit on; another young woman had a very elaborately tied headtie on.

The women seated near me were offered food; the options included iyan, jollof rice and fried rice (I hadnt known about the fried rice). Several women got fried rice, and also salad. They also got fried chicken, and one of them offered me her piece of chicken as she had another one, so I took it. The Akinola daughters were the ones doing the serving; they were also sitting around with some of their friends in chairs at the front of the house.

People were arriving very gradually; by around 10 PM there were a fair number of people there but still not that many. People began to sit at some of the tables that were set up in the driveway. Mobo and Akin moved around, greeting people; every once in a while she cam and sat down next to me, but only for a couple of minutes, and then she would move away

again, to talk to others or greet someone. There were two sets of musicians; one set were facing the tables, and had instruments. They seemed to only spend the time tuning up, and later were eating; I never really heard them play, tho I think they were finally getting ready to play around the time I left. The other set was actually a disk jockey set up -- someone playing records, mostly Nigerian music but at one time also Christmas music. At times the records and the musicians tuning up were playing at the same time. (in fact, much of the time).

A little after 10, Mobo came over to me and the other women seated there and told us to move to a table; she led the way to a table right in front of the band (which was eating at that point), and seatd us there; she also sat down with us. The woman who had offered me the chicken came a few minutes later, and said that I hadnt waited for her; other than that, no one really spoke to me, other than to greet me. The women did talk with one another, however, mainly in Yoruba. With the music playing I couldnt hear much of anything that was said. I sat opposite Mobo, who stayed seated for quite awhile, and then had somehing to eat. Others came and sat at the next table--again, only women were seated together. Three women arrived together, two in the same cloth, and sat at the table next to us, but then after a few minutes got up and moved to another table. Later, another group of three women arrived together.

From where I was seated I could see the entrance gate, but couldnt really see who the people were who were arriving. At a little before 11, Mobo suddenly jumped up to go greet someone (a man) who was near the front entrance, and a couple of minutes later, she was making her way back to where I was, with Olashore and another man. I got up, to greet Olashore; we chatted for a couple of minutes, mainly about the fact that he would see me on MOnday at his house. The other man with him recognized me as having been at the Solidarity Group meeting that afternoon, and Olashore asked what meeting, and then recalled that there was a luncheon but said he wasnt able to attend. He seemed to be leaving the party at that point, and moved back toward the entrance where I lost sight of him. When MObo came to sit down again, she said that Mr. Olashore hadnt known I was around and that was why she brought him to greet me. When I saw him on Monday, he asked how I had enjoyed the party; and I asked him if he had been leaving and how long he'd been there; he said he was leaving, and that he had been there for about an hour.

By 11 PM, the party was getting more lively, and more people were arriving; things seemed to be picking up. But I decided it was about time to leave, so I left at around 11:15. Mobo saw me to my car, and said that the party would go on til about 5 AM.

Other than the Akinolas and Olashore, I didnt see anyone I knew at the party, nor did anyone recognize me, or pay any attention to me. Most of the people I saw were about the Akinolas age, or somewhat younger -- in their forties and fifties. I saw one woman with a considerably younger woman, perhaps her daughter. The seating was segregated by sex the whole time I was there, altho just before I left a man came and sat with the women at the next table. And men would come over to talk with someone; for example, one man brought a glass of beer to a woman (I think his wife) and then came back to get it back later.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 -7

fnd947

Monday Dec. 26 -- Boxing Day -- visit to Olashore's house, Ijebu-jesa

When I saw Olashore Sat PM at Akinola's party he said to come "any time" to his house today. I left Ife at around 2:30 and got there around 3:30. There were several cars in the parking area, and I was taken in right away to the inside sitting room, where a number of people were sitting around, including Olashore. He introduced me first to "Mrs. Olashore, who I'm sure you've met"-- I said, no, we havent met before and we shook hands. That was pretty much the extent of my interaction with her, except to say good by when I left; she only talked about one time the whole time I was there. The group that was there when I arrived left soon after, and some new people arrived. I was introduced as the person who had hosted Olashore in Wisconsin. He immediately offered me food, but I waited and then got some when the new group also got food.

We were served drinks (wine was offered but I didnt have any) and taken into the dining room where the food was served buffet style. We brought our plates back into the sitting room to eat.

I ended up sitting next to a man who turned out to be on the faculty of the medical school, in Ife-- Prof. Femi Morakinyo, in the Dept of Mental Health. When I learned that (later on) I thought of talking with him about Helen, and we made an appointment to meet later in the week, but that fell thru. His wife was also there but I didnt talk with her.

The TV was one the whole time I was there, showing some sort of religious film -- I didnt really watch it, and the sound was turned low. Olashore's wife seemed to be watching it, but others didnt seem to be paying much attention to it.

Olashore seemed to pretty much dominate the conversation, but introducing topics and then going on at some lenght about them. For example, he said something to Murakinyo about the ASUU strike and then went on to criticize the university lecturers for striking. Murakinyo said a little but didnt outright disagree with Olashore on anything he said. Olashore also mentioned NADECO in a very critical way, seeming to blame them for the current situation. There also seemed to be an assumption (unstated, but the way he spoke) that NADECO is basically a Yoruba group, and he is critical of Yorubas for their way of dealing with the situation, saying that they're making it worse for themselves by doing things like criticizing General Diya, for example. There was also a brief discussion about the idea of splitting up the country, and Olashore scoffed at it, saying, which is going to be the country -- Ijesa, Egba, etc -- in other words, recognizing the propensity of Yoruba to split into smaller and smaller groups.

At one point, Murakinyo introduced a new subject, asking Olashore if it wasnt too sensitve, could he tell us why Babangida cancelled the election, adding that it was "baffling". Olashore's response was that no one knew, that they were there, but werent told anything.

He said the Council called a meeting to get Babangida to explain, that various things were said, but there really wasn't anything of substance. He went on to say that no one knew if Babangida was leaving at the end of August. He said that he (Olashore) just wanted to finish up there and get out, but that when he brought Babangida his papers saying he was leaving on Aug. 25, Babangida said that he couldnt leave before him. Olashore said that he was scared during that period and just wanted to get out of there then.

He also talked about Babangida, saying that he's a very intelligent man, that he would make changes in his speeches that were written by others, and in fact do a lot of his own speech-writing. He also talked about how Babangida askd him to participate in some meetings that really didnt concern him, because he wanted him there to give his opinion. That Shonekan on the other hand didnt contribute anything much and really didnt know what was going on. He also indicated a low opinion of the education minister. He also talked about telling Babangida that money couldnt be spent on various things they were planning to spend money on.

After a while the conversation moved off politics and there were various side conversations going on; that was when I spoke with Murakinyo a bit.

I left Olashore's house close to 6 PM to drive back to Ife. Murakinyo said he wasnt going back that night. Before I left, Olashore and I discussed plans for Jim's arrival; however, I learned the next mornin that Jim wasnt coming.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 - 7a

fnd947a

phone conversation with Olashore re Jim Stills.

I learned on Tuesday morning (Dec. 27) that Dick had called to say that Jim wasnt coming. I tried to call Olashore in the office Tuesday, but ended up leaving a message on the answering machine. So I called him at home Wednesday evening (he had not gotten the message) to let him know. We then set an alternative time for me to see the school: we agreed that we would meet on Friday Jan. 6 in Ijebu-jesa. He said that he plans to arrive there on Thursday. On Saturday he will be busy attending a chieftaincy installation in Ife, so it seemed best to meet Fri AM and for me to change my Ibadan plans.

fieldnotes Dec 94 - 8

fnd948

Wednesday Dec 28 -- visit to Lamikanra, Ilesa

Lamikanra and his wife were both in and seemed very pleased to see me. (We'd last seen each other just before I left in 1993). We talked a little about my departure then, and how they had called Ifaturoti to check on where I was and were told that I had left. We then talked a little about the political situation, and Lamikanra asked me about views in America about Nigeria. This led to talking about the visit of Jesse Jackson here last summer and the fact that it was not well received here.

He spoke about current views here of Abiola, NADECO, the constitutional conference, and Abacha, indicating that none of them really has support now. The general sense was the same as others have given, of depression about what has happened, and no sense of where things are going. He especially emphasized the economic situation now, referring especially to the cost of petrol and of spare parts. During this time, a mechanic came to see him about repairs on his car, and this led to the emphasis on how much parts cost. He told several stories about prices going up rapidly, such as about a man who went in to a store to buy some things, and when he went back to get something he had forgotten, the price had gone up in the time since he entered the store.

I checked with Lamikanra on the name of the man I had met in Ijebu jesa who's involved in the community bank -- Chief Fatodu. This led to a conversation about the community banks. He said that many have failed, that they're spending too much money. But he also gave examples of a couple of succesful ones -- there is one near Sabo (St Margarets School area) that is ok, they are spending N1 million of their own money to build, using direct labor. Imo Hills is probably ok also, since it is owned by "the moneyed class" (his term). The one in Ijebu-jesa is also doing all right, he thinks.

I asked about any other activities going on. I said I had seen the sign at the entrance to Ilesa announcing Ilesa Day 1994 and wondered if there had been one. He said yes, there was but it wasnt well organized. He added that anything involving the oba doesnt work very well, that the oba has no support, and that he (the oba) seemes to be "in the doldrums more than ever." In discussing the owa and his lack of support, and also that he doesnt do anything much for the town or to engender support, he gave as a counter-example the oba of Abeokuta. He said that the latter does a lot for the town. When I asked what he does, he said that he visits people from Abeokuta who are living in Lagos. He expects them to come see him in Abeokuta and when they dont he calls on them to ask why they havent come. He also helps people get land for houses. And this has led to more people coming home to build houses at home.

In Ilesa, there are different groups and people are more individualistic, he said. The oba isnt important to what is going on. The oba could play a role, but he doesnt. According to Lamikanra, the oba is just interested in making money, he doesnt go out, he doesnt see

people.

In general, Lamikanra said that nothing much is happening now around Ilesa.

We also discussed Iloko and Olashore's school. Lamikanra sad that it is more evidence of a class that has a lot of money, that can send its children there, or alternatively, overseas. He said that he was at the school recently and that some people came from Lagos who wanted to enroll 3 children. They were told there was a waiting list, but that there might be places if some of the current students leave the school to go overseas. He doesnt think the school has much to do with those in the surrounding area, that they cant afford to send their children there.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 - 9

fnd949

Wednesday Dec. 28 -- visit with Ifaturoti, Ilesa

I stopped to see Ifaturoti after visiitng with Lamikanra. I had mentioned that I might stop by today and they seemed to be expecting me; they included me and Bodunde in the lunch they were having for Mr. Apara.

Kunle said that the family hadnt been home for Christmas, because they will be home in January for Toun's wedding.

Very soon after I arrived, Kunle asked what I thought about the meeting -- ie the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting on Saturday. We talked about the problem of getting things done He said that he thinks the people at the helm are responsible. He said that Mr. Apara is head of the economic committee, and that Apara had expressed the view th the current situation isnt good for investment. Kunle's response is that people are investing all the time -- he gave the example of the market woman who buys goods to sell-- that that is an investment. Or of the farmer. He said that despite the political situation people must continue to invest and do things. Some of the ideas he has for economic development are to develop a rice mill, or to get land clearing equipment belonging to ISG that could be rented to people, or a palm plantation. These are ideas that have been discussed in the group.

As we were talking, Apara arrived, with a young woman who I presume is his wife. We continued talking about the issue of investment and economic development. At first it sounded like Kunle was talking about ISG actually making an investment, but then Apara mentioned that a lot of people are against having the organization develop the investment. Rather, these people prefer the idea that ISG do a feasibiltiy study on a project and then get individuals to invest. There seem to be a couple of ideas around on this: Apara indicated that he wouldnt mind having ISG put its money in as well, as an organization, and said that there must be some risktaking. But others dont agree with this view. Apparently the economic committee hasnt yet decided on this issue. And I'm not actually sure which view Ifaturoti himself takes. At first it sounded like he supported the idea of direct investment by the organization -- e.g, building a rice mill or buying land clearing equipment, but later it sounded like he preferred the idea of just coming up with the project and letting individuals invest in it, with ISG providingideas and infrastructure. One idea that was mentioned was a sort of industrial park type of project -- where ISG would get land for the use of small industries.

The conversation moved on to other topics both before and during lunch. Apara's wife mainly sat there and looked bored, and also very hot. She was wearing fabric that looked very warm -- a sort of modern aso oke with bright colors and lots of lurex. Apara got on to a quite lengthy discussion of religion. Another man stopped by who talked about one's children becoming "born again" and what that means, and how they tell their parents what they should do -- which children shouldnt be doing. Ifaturoti told a story about his daughter

trying at one point for him to be "born again" but later realizing that the person encouraging her was not a good person.

During lunch, Apara mentioned his farm, which he said is located on Imo Hill, a 30 minute walk from the place where a car can go. He said that he goes there and does the farming himself, tho he also said that he has laborers there. He said he's growing oranges and pineapples.

At another point, Tinu Ifaturoti asked me about Akinola's party the other night, and said it sounded as if it went on til 5 or 6 AM. I said that I left shortly after 11, when things were just getting going. Apara said that I didnt miss anything by leaving early (he sounded very dismissive of the party).

After lunch, Ifaturoti showed Apara a brochure put out by the Ilesa Chamber of Commerce, headed "Ilesa, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" and proposng a N100 million industrial deveopment project. Kunle had already indicated that he got this from Mr. Omole, that it was well presented but the contents were garbage. Apara looked thru it, pointing out the numerous spelling and grammatical errors. I looked at it also. It was very general, talking in general about the need for developmetn in Ilesa. There were a few specific projects mentioned, such as the mining of talc, but Ifaturoti said that the talc that is locally available is very poor quality and not worth investing in. He also commented that other groups are copying the Ijesa Solidarity Group; in addition to the Chamber of Commerce, the Council of Ijesa Societies is also talking about industrial development. They were clearly not impressed with the brochure put out by the Chamber of Commerce. There were two names on the brochure; I asked if these men were businessmen, and they said no, that one is in public relations or something like that. T he brochure looked like it had been done on a computer with different size type, etc., making it look sort of professional. But there were lots of typos and spelling erros, some things which you couldnt understand at all.

I asked Ifaturoti about the book I had heard had been written on the brewery, by Prof. Jeje. He said that he understands there is such a book but that he has never seen it. That Jeje didnt talk with him, or Omole or others involved. But only talked with Akinola.

He mentioned that the brewery has gone public, and has 22,000 shares now, but that the original owners still have the majority of shares.

We attempted to call Justice Eso, since I was trying to reach him in Ibadan; we got thru but he had gone to Lagos. I did reach him later from Ife.

Ifaturoti also mentioned in passing that he wants to start videotaping ISG meetings, so that they can produce a one hour tape to use to show what they're doing. They wouldnt tape the whole meeting, just the opening parts of it.

I stayed for lunch, and then talked a bit more after lunch, then headed back to Ife.

Kunle also gave me his daughter Fadeke's address in the US: Dr. R. Iluyomade, 6139

Wooded Run Drive, Columbia MD 21044. 301 596-4901.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 -10

fnd9410

Thursday Dec. 29 -- Ijebu-jesa

1. attempt to see Fatiregun

I went to Mrs. Fatiregun's house and met a young man there who told me that she had just gone out a few minutes earlier. I said that I would try to come back and suggested Monday, he said that Sunday afternoon (New Years Day) would be the best time to return. So I left at note saying I'd be back then.

2. visit with Chief Fatodu

Then I went to Chief Fatodu's house; he is the man who is involved in the Community Bank in Ijebu-jesa. We first talked a bit about when we last saw each other, which was in June 1993 at an event in Ijebu-jesa just before I left. He talked about the situation in the country since, and referred to the tension that continues to exist. He also mentioned the death of Prof. Aboyade which had just occurred and which everyone is finding very upsetting.

I mentioned the Community Bank. He said that it has a new manager, who has started a new program, based on daily collections. He said that they are still renting a building, that they havent yet built their own building. In contrast, in Iwoye, they are "more enterprising;" they have their own building. He said that the community bank in Iwoye is just getting underway. He also mentioned that Iwoye is building a new palace for the oba, and that they have just selected a new oba so it is likely that they will be trying to get the palace finished. As to the oba's palace in Ijebu-jesa, they are still working on it; he didnt give any indication of how much further it's gone.

He offered to take me to the Community Bank and also to see the person in Iwoye who's involved in it; we decided on Tuesday morning.

I asked him about the various local government projects that were commissioned in June 1993 at the ceremony he and I attended (honoring Olashore and others). He said that the "store" building is finished and they (ie. the local govt) are using it. But the library, nothing has been done there, it is getting bushy around it, and there arent any books in it.

We then talked somewhat generally about my research and the communities I've been studying. I mentioned that there seems to be more going on in Ijebu-jesa and communities in this area than in Osu. He pointed out the differences between Ijebu-jesa and Osu, noting that the people in Osu saw Ilesa as their hometown, so if they did anything it was in Ilesa. Whereas in Ijebu-jesa people have always seen themselves as separate from Ilesa. He said that the Osu situation is beginning to change. That with smaller local governments, people are beginning to feel more attachment to a place like Osu. They can get appointments there, they can be a big person there, whereas they aren't likely to get appointments in Ilesa. So they're starting to pay more attention and to do more things in Osu.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 - 11

fnd9411

Thursday Dec. 29 -- Iloko, visit to Olashore's uncle

From Ijebu-jesa we went to Iloko, to look for Olashore's uncle. On the way there, we went past Olashore's school and also saw the construction going on in Olashore's compound of his house (just from the road--coulnt see much). We stoppped to see the community hall which is under construction; it is located on the same road as the school but is closer to the town. I took a number of photographs. It is very large; the roof is on, but it's still under construction. We didnt attempt to go any closer. There didnt seem to be any construction going on now.

We asked at the house for Olashore's uncle and were told he was at the palace. When we got there, he came out and greeted us almost immdeiatley; we sat in the same area that we've sat in before when visitng him. I gave him one of the American calendars; he brought drinks for us. We talked a little bit. I asked him if there'd been an Iloko Day this year. He said that there hadnt been, they decided that they wouldnt have one until the community hall is finished, until it's painted etc. They community hall isnt finished because of the financial situation.

A young girl -- about 12 years old-- joined him. She is his daughter; her name is Morenike. She is in secondary school but the schools have been closed for several months because teachers are on strike in Osun state. She attends secondary school in Iloko. His pastor, whose name is Oladapo, also stopped in to visit with him.

I asked him about the Olashore school. He said that people from the area are working there, it is providing jobs for people.

I didnt stay very long, just long enough to visit for a while.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 - 12

fnd9412

Friday Dec. 30 -- visit with Justice Kayode Eso, Ibadan

When I arrived at Justice Eso's house at a little past 11 AM, I found his wife by the swimming pool. She indicated that he was around, and then I saw him talking on the phone nearby. He joined me almost immediately and invited me to come to his office. When we got to his office, he got on the phone briefly regarding plans he was making for travel to Gambia in a few days, and I looked around at books on his shelf (including the only copy of Soyinka's new book that I have seen in Nigeria) and some papers of his. A little later he gave me a copy of one of the papers, a presentation that he made recently at the Awolowo Foundation seminar.

He asked me what I wanted to know; I said that while I did have some questions, I also just wanted a chance to greet him. He said, oh since this is just a social visit, and I said well, both a social visit and one where I wanted to ask some questions. So we agreed that we would get the questions done, and then go back around the swimming pool to socialize.

I reminded him of his suggestion to me a couple of years ago that I talk with people invovled in the IUTTC, and also said that I was interested in how things are going with Ijesa Solidarity Group.

His response was first to talk generally of the historical situation of Ijesaland. He said that he thinks that in order to understand Ijesaland today, you have to know about its past, especially the 1941 riots. Also the wars, but that that is going rather far back. I asked him who I could talk to about these things. He said that on the wars, a person to talk to is Chief Apara (Kunle Apara), since his father was involved. I could also talk with Apara about the more recent past including the 1941 riots. Ifaturoti also might be able to tell me something about the 1941 riots. A lawyer in Ife named Fadugba would be a good person to talk with; he is the son of the chief who led the riot. Also the family that owns DiGanga HOtel, the OkuEsho family; the father went to prison during the riots.

Eso feels that the modern past is "a catalyst to what is going on now". There were camps that formed during the riots, and that the children continue to belong to those camps, with the exception of some like Eso himself who have broken out of that. He said that the cleavages that resulted at that time continue to be important today. The Reformed Ogboni Fraternity played a leading part in the riot; the cult was manipulated by the rioters against some of the elite and powerful chiefs. The riot was aimed at kingship; so descendants of Aromalarun the first and descendants of the then chief Lejoka are involved. When politics came, the cleavage from the riots affected the alignments of groups. Some joined the Action Group, and those who were opposed to them joined NCNC. Today, some people are tryng to weld people together but it is very difficult because of the feelings generated by past events. The sons have carried on the feelings from their fathers. There are personality clashes as well as differences of principle.

I said that I am more interested in economic actvities than political ones, but Eso suggested that the two are interconnected. With regard to the IUTTC he suggested that one person to talk with is Chief Fadahunsi, the engineer who is the nephew of the Fadahuni who was very involved in the IUTTC. Eso said that the IUTTC was the first effort to forge economic unity. But politics was one of the things that broke them up. Eso's father was the treasurer, and Fadahunsi was chairman. Fadahunsi was NCNC and Eso's father was Action Group; membership of different political parties meant enmity. I asked about speaking with Fadahunsi's sons, but Eso said that they "can't be objective," that because of politics there is still bitterness about what happened. He said that Fadahunsi's property was destroyed during that time. Eso said that he should still feel that way, because of his father but that he doesnt.

Eso told a story about why his father resigned as treasurer. He kept the money in his house. Some people began to think that he was using the money for his own purposes, so they came to ask him for a certain amount, expecting that he wouldnt be able to produce it. But the money was there, and he was able to give them the money they wanted. He resigned immediatley, saying that he couldnt perform that job if he wasnt trusted.

Another person who could be useful to talk with is Prof. M.I. Jegede, a lawyer who continues to be the legal adviser to IUTTC. His father was a powerful member of the organization.

I asked if it was common for sons to be involved in the same organization that their father had been, and he said yes, that father to son involvement is veyr common. He gave the example of the Ijesa Improvement Society, which developed Ijesa Grammar School. Many of the current members are sons of the founders. But he doesnt join the organization because they're not doing anything.

I asked about Ijesa Solidarity Group then. Eso said that he hopes it will do soemthing. He said that they are trying to weld a force to get rid of the prejudices of the past. Also the prejudices between the different parts of Ijesaland. He said that people in the subordinate towns and villages say that they are not Ijesa. ISG is a force to rise above these prejudices. He said that their goal is to bring together people who've been successful and who've risen beyond pettyness, to use their resources to weld these various associations. That the problem is tribalism; Nigeria's problems are tribalism and corruption he said.

He went on to talk about the fact that tribal associations started out to help develop education, and for economic purposes. But with the coming of politics, the associations began to support different chiefs. He is writing a book about tribalism he said. His view is that all the little associations (e.g. for each town) foster local tribal prejudices. That is why they have all these days (i.e. community days), but these little units break the place apart rather than unify it. He commented that he never attends these days, although he did attend Iloko Day because of Olashore, but that he hasnt attend any since. He feels that all these small units and associations break the Ijesa area apart in the same way that larger tribal associations break Nigeria apart rather than unify it.

The main purpose of ISG is to weld Ijesaland to gether. They need a solid front. At this point he seemed to be saying that they need a solid front to get into Nigerian politics, but later he contradicted this, saying that it shouldnt be the basis for politics. So I was a litttle unclear on this. He doesnt see ISG as the same thing as the tribal unions of old. The original aims of these unions were laudable but those aims are no longer there. ISG deas with the original aim of those earlier groups. Later, these were used as a springboard for politics. But that is not the ISG mission, it should not be a springboard for political contests. That is not the ISG mission; their mission is to get Ijesaland together, economically and educationally.

His point was that in the past these organizations have been used to gather support for particular politicians, and he doesnt want this to happen with ISG. He commented in this context of the honoring of people who have served in governemtn. He said that he didnt want to be at the discussion of this the other day (re. honoring Babatope) because Babatope is his cousin, and he knew that he would say something if theis was discussed. He said that the honoring of someone was ok in Olashore's case. But even there it was a mistake, he said, because it could be used as a precedent.

He hopes that ISG will rise above politics.

With regard to the economy, he noted that Ijesaland has only one factory, and that no one else is going to do anything to develop it economically, no one is going to do it but them. He feels that it is fine if the different units (i.e smaller towns and associations) do that sort of thing, but not if they are going to support one person. eg., supporting someone against someone else, for example,who is from the NOrth. He said that's why he's against honoring people. In the case of Olashore, it was ok because he did try to do something about extra-budgetary exenditures, telling Babangida and the governors that they couldnt spend money. But he doesnt think he (Olashore) was successful with this.

He mentioned that the present government asked him to head a commission to carry out court reform. He said that he spent 6 months at it, and nothing has happened with recommendations made. He did it because if he didnt later on it could be said that he hadnt helped with court reform. But he is now "bitter, discourage, disappointed".

This led to talking more generally about the situation in the ocunty. Eso commented about what has happened to the press, that there is no open opposition now to the government.

Before we finished our formal interview, I asked him about his fish ponds. He said that the fish had been stolen from the fish pond. And then commented more generally that the other big problem in the country is corruption.

We then left his office and went out to the area around the swimming pool. A younger man was out there, who was introduced as Apara, the Chief Judge of Osun State. He is the younger brother of Cheif Apara. We visited generally, talking about various things. Among other things, he told me that his father was a farmer with a farm in the Apara area which is on the Oshogbo Road (I've seen a sign there). The grandfather (I think) fought in the war

(Kiriji); the father moved to Oshogbo and he grew up there. He talked about his views on polygamy, saying that the competition is very bad, and that he decided he would not have more than one wife. His first wife, who was English, died, and now he is married to a Nigerian woman.

Apara and I talked about my reserach and he told me about his assistance to John Peel, who wanted to get a record book kept by his father and grandfather. He complained that he has never seen Peel's book.

I asked him if he is involved in any of the Ijesa organizations, and he said no, that he is an expatriate Ijesa, he didnt really know much about Ijesaland until he became Chief Judge and felt he should find out more.

He said that he is building a house on his father farm, and that family meetings are held their each year on Boxing Day. But he hasnt completed the farm, because he stopped working on it when he became judge since he didnt want to be accused of using government funds.

Apara and Eso began telling travel stories, such as about attempt to get to Sokoto. That led to Eso telling about when he went to Sokoto to see the Sultan about the creation of Osun state and about Ilesa becoming capital. He said that he and Ifaturoti were the delegation that went to see the Sultan. Apara commented how the Ooni was so sure that Ife would be the capital, that Babangida had told him so. Babangida also told them that it would be Ilesa. But the Sultan said this was what Babangida had said, that he (the Sultan) wasnt saying so.

This led to others stories about Babangida telling people what they wanted to hear, always saying yes to things.

Mrs. Eso was around most of this time and participated in the conversation occasionally. When I gave them one of the glass cup plates from Cape Cod I learned that they had been near Hyannis last summer, to visit a friend.

Before I left, at about 3:30 PM, Eso showed me and Apara around the house, pointing out the various pieces of art -- many are by Nigerian artists. Eso also invited me to come by any time I am in Ibadan, and to use the swimming pool. His grandchildren were around swimming part of the time I was there. They are visiting from Lagos.

fieldnotes Dec. 94 -13

fnd9413

Notes on general situation -- Dec 31, 1994

1. fuel situation

When I left Lagos on Tuesday Dec. 20, there had been long lines at petrol stations there, but we were able to get fuel at Shagamu on the express road. As we drove thru Ibadan, we could see that there too there was fuel, and just short lines. But when we got to Ife we were told that there was no fuel there and there hadnt been any for several days. The same was true in Ilesa. But Bodunde was able to get fuel in Oshogbo. So he got fuel there, for the car I'm using and for Folarin, buying it in jerry cans and bringing it to Ife. It cost N550 for a jerry can of 50 litres. (price is now N11 a litre).

There was no fuel in Ife until Christmas. But on Christmas day, someone told Folarin that there was fuel at the Total Station in town, he came to get me, and we both went there to fill up. Since then, fuel seems to have been available. We bought it once at the station on the Ilesa Road, and yesterday we filled up in Ibadan, and there wasnt any line.

It's clear that people are also more prepared now for these shortages, by buying and storing petrol in jerry cans.

Bodunde says that in the north there is never any petrol at filling stations; that is all sold along the roadside from jerry cans.

2. the economy

Everyone comments on how expensive things are now, but there is surprisingly little being said about it. I notice that people dont serve soft drinks as readily as they used to. Most comments about prices are about the price of fuel. Also some about inflation, noting how qucikly prices rise. The only places where I've seen fairly lavish entertaining are at Akinola's two parties, and at Olashore's on MOnday, where he was serving bottled water or soft drinks or wine, and fried turkey meat, as well as a lot of other food. But several others have offered wine-- Ifaturoti served a Nigerian wine (a sparkling wine made from kola nuts they said) at lunch on Wednesday, and yesterday Eso served red wine to his friend the Chief Judge of Osun State.

3. politics

General sense of depression, discouragement, not knowing what can be done. Have heard comments like "we're helpless" and several times have heard people discussing the impossibility of being able to plan anything. Many have also commented that they don't see how the country is going to get out of this situation. Havent heard anything positive about the government. There's a broad range of views within this however -- so that someone like Olashore expresses very critical views of NADECO and others, and fairly positive views of Babangida. Olashore also very critical of ASUU and of the position taken by YOrubas.

Lamikanra said there's not much support for Abiola any more becaus he was too closely identified with the military, with Babangida and Abacha, and played along with them. Also that theres not really support for NADECO, or for anyoneelse for that matter. He also talked about Jesse Jackson's visit, saying that Jackson isnt highly regarded in Nigeria. Eso talked about the judicial reform commission he headed and how nothing has happened. He said he feels bitter, discouaged, disappointed; he spent 6 months working on it. That now people arent saying anything much, just in private conversation, cant say much pub licly tho he did recently make a speech (that he gave me a copy of). Several people have referred to what's happened to the press, especially the Guardian, and say they dont buy newspapers now because they're too expensve (N20) and theres nothing to read in them -- that they would spend N20 on the Guardian but not on others.

The most public statement has been that of Apara at the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting, thatthe general situation in the country has affected peoples ability to be involved in things lik ISG. He also indicated that he wanted to discuss the situation further, but Kunle Ifaturoti said that wasnt part of this meeting. Others at that meeting made commetns about the governemtn in discussing whether to honor Babatope;one man said that it's an evil government.

4. idea for chapter title: The Opening and Closing of Political and Economic Space

In comparison with 1991-92, it's clear that the overall situation is making a big difference in the interest and ablity of people to engage in things like Ijesa Solidarity Group. One senses several aspects: the economic -- obviously people are feeling the effects of higher prices. But also the general sense that doing something -- some type of investment-- will lead to something. Poltically, activities like this were being encouraged. Plus obviously some saw these as routes to political offce (as Eso was discussing yesterday) -- that may still be true but now no one knows what the politics is going to be. But there's also a psychological aspect-- the general feeling of depression, the unpredictablity, the feeling that you cant plan.

So it looks like the 1991-92 period, and 93 before the election, were in fact particularly good for what I was studying. But now there's much less happening. I have to connect the local events with these wider issues. And also recognize that maybe 91-92 was an unusual period-- or perhaps it suggests what the possibilities are, when there is space for them.

fieldnotes december-january 95 -- 14

fnd9414

Sunday Jan 1 1995

visit to Mrs. Fatiregun, Ijebu-jesa

I drove to Ijebu-jesa from Ife Sunday afternoon, New Years Day. The roads were practically deserted, both when I went there at about 2 PM and even more so when I was driving back between 4:30 and 5:30. There were hardly any other cars, and very few public transport vehicles. When I got in to Ilesa, there were few cars or people around on the streets there either, although there were people walking around, very dressed up, looking like they were going out visiting.

I got to Fatiregun's house at about 3:00 PM and stayed til about 4:30. When I arrived, Mr. Fatiregun was sitting in the sitting room and greeted me, and said that Tina (his wife) was around. She came out a couple of minutes later, and took me in to eat; another woman was there who she introduced as her sister-in-law. I did not find out exact relationships but did learn later that she grew up in Ijebu-jesa. She lives in Kaduna and has lived there since 1978. She has a MBA in management and has a consulting firm; previously she taught at a polytechnic. Her name is Mrs. Dupe Olumorin; later she gave me her address: NNDC Building, 2nd floor, suite 2B, O.O. Olowokure Chambers, Kaduna; she can be reached thru St. Michaels Cathedral Church, Ibrahim Taiwo Rd, Kaduna. P.O. Bo 547. Phone of the cathedral is 213481. (She wrote something else down that I can't read; I think it's the name of her consulting firm -- Koreore Operations??). (She said that the cathedral always knows where she is because she does a lot of work for the church).

After we ate, we went in to the sitting room, and began talking. I asked Tina if there had been an Ijebu-jesa Day this year (1994). She said that there was, but that she wasnt around, and that it was smaller than before and not well organized. Her sister-in-law said that they didnt know about it in Kaduna; that they were waiting to hear about it. She said that she didnt attend the others; she hasnt been in Ijebu-jesa in a long time. Tina said that a prominent person had a marriage taking place the same weekend so many people were there rather than at Ijebu-jesa Day.

The sister-in-law began talking about the organizations of Ijebu-jesa and Osun State people in Kaduna. She drew a diagram for me to illustrate how the organizations intersect. There is an organization called Osun State Indigenes Association in Kaduna. She is the representative to that organation from the group of associations from OriAde local government. Within OriAde local government gr, there is the Ijebu-jesa Union and then different smaller groups within that. I tried to find out if she is from a specific Ijebu-jesa group but it sounded like she is not, that she isnt a member of a specific organization. The Osun State Indigenes Association is part of a still larger group, which is the Yoruba Association.

I asked about what they do. She said that they collect money, and mentioned that within the

Osun State Indigenes Association, the ORiAde local government group collected the largest amount, and within that Ijebu-jesa had the largest amount. They are using this money to build Osun House.

They also make representations to the governor of Osun State on issues affecting the state. One of the things they are trying to do is something to improve the transport between Kaduna and the South. She said that the Yorubas are not as well organized as the Igbos but that they are getting more so. They are planning a Yoruba Day and an Osun Day in Kaduna. She said that one concern is that the state liaison office is moving from Kaduna to Abuja, and that if that happens it will be harder to contact it. In her view, Kaduna is the center of the Yoruba community in the North, and htat people in other parts of the north take the lead from those organized in Kaduna, so it's betterto have the state liaison office there.

She said that the Osun State group meets the first Saturday of every month, and then she reports back to a meeting of the OriAde group at 5 PM that day. Other groups meet every two weeks.

Tina and I talked little about my plans to return in May and she suggested that I stay in Ijebu-jesa. I asked where, and she said either with them or with "uncle" -- i.e. Olashore. She also said she'd like to help me go around to villages. She said she thought that Olashore was to be in Ijebu-jesa today, that he had told her husband he was coming, but she didnt know if he had arrived. I told her briefly about Jim and how that had fallen thru and that therefore I thought Olashore wasnt coming. We had this discussion as I was leaving, and this led to a brief discussion about the school. She said that the principal is ok but cocky. But thjat the principal's wife is a troublemaker, that she (Tina) had to talk with her. I asked what about, and she said that the principal's wife insulted Olashore (and in saying this made the point that Olashore is "her husband's junior brother". She said that she had to tell her that "we respect our men here" and that she shouldnt talk to Olashore the way she had. She said that she thinks the principal's wife has cooled down now, but that she (Tina) doesnt go there any more to see her.

Tina gave me her address and asked me to send her information on journals in health education. Dr. (Mrs) Martina A. Olubayo-Fatiregun, P O Box 1060, Ilesa.

fieldnotes december-january 94-95

fnd9415

MOnday Jan. 2

visit with Wale Omole, Vice Chancellor, OAU, Ife, MOnday evening

Folarin and I went to see Wale Omole Monday evening, after stopping to see various other people on campus. After greetings and small talk, he ased me whether I'd seen Olashore and said that Olashore had told him that I was coming. He wanted to know whether I'd seen the school; I told him that I hadnt yet, as well as about Jim's planned visit. Folarin told him about Olashore's talk in Wisconsin. After talking about some other things, Omole came back to the subject of the school, and about how they're anxious to find some place for an exchange. I asked him about other possibilities they're exploring and he said that they hope to get one or two teachers by the summer (from overseas). I mentioned Judy Asuni in passing, thinking they she might be some help and he immediately wanted her phone number and said he was going to see Olashore the next day and would tell him to call her. Then I said that I was trying to confirm my appointment for Friday and he went to try to call Olashore but didnt reach him. But he said he's sure he'll be there, that he said he'd be coming for the weekend, since he wasn't home last weekend. He said he'd see him in Lagos the next day and would check. He again said he'd try to get him to call Judy before he sees me on Friday. (As it turned out Olashore waited til he saw me to find out more about Judy).

Omole is on the board of Olashore's school and clearly seemed interested in it. He also seemed more friendly and interested in seeing me than he has in the past, maybe because he now knows my connection with Olashore.

fieldnotes december-january 94-95 -16

fnd9416

Tuesday Jan. 3 1995, visit with Chief Fatodu, Ijebu- jesa, to Iwoye community bank and Ijebu-jesa community bank

I got to Chief Fatodu's house at about 10 AM. We had agreed that he would take me to meet the new manager of the Ijebu-jesa Community Bank. We went to the Bank, where we were told that the manager was in a meeting with external auditors and that we should come back at about 12:30 by which time he would be thru.

While we were waiting to find out whether we could see the manager, I had a chance to observe the interior of the bank, where the customers come it. There is an area set up for two or three cashiers; there were two women working there. Across the room are a couple of benches for people to sit on, and behind the cashiers area is more work space for bank employees. There is a counter that can be raised; and just beyond that is the door that leads to the managers office and other offices. We were there for about 10-15 minutes, and there were several customers there during the whole time. A young man was getting money out, and a woman was doing a transaction, when we first got there. They seemed to complete their transactions in the time we were there. There was also another woman, and an older man sitting on the bench. When we returned later on, there were again several customers, and even later in the afternoon, when the bank was closed, a customer came in who they were helping with something.

There is a sign outside giving the hours: M-F 8-3; Sat 8-2. In side was a sign giving interest rates: sav ings 12%; lending 21%; prime 20.50%. It also said "fixed deposit -- negotiable minimum.

Since we couldnt see the manager just then, Chief Fatodu suggested that we go instead to Iwoye to talk to someone there about their community bank.

We drove to Iwoye; when we got there, we saw the building for the community bank, with a sign on it, very near where the palace is. But there was a lock on the gate for the building, so Fatodu asked someone about the manager, and we were pointed to a house nearby. As we drove up to it, I realized it was the house of the man I had interviewed several years ago -- Mr/ Bayo Babatayo. He wasnt there when we first got there, and we saaw his wife, who I had also interviewed but she didnt seem to remember me. Babatayo showed up in a few minutes; he did remember me. Fatodu explained my interest in community banks, and participated actively in the conversation that followed, making comparative comments about what they had done in Ijebu-jesa.

Babatayo said that the reason the Iwoye Ijesha Community Bank is not yet open is that they are waiting for the final inspection. That they have everything ready, have submitted all their papers, and have been to Lagos to see those who do the inspection. But that the board overseeing the community banks has been dissolved, and the inspectors are waiting for there

to be a new board so they don't know when the inspection will actually take place. As soon as it does they are ready to start, they have their building and their staff (but are not yet paying them).

To open a community bank require N250,000 minimum. They have more than that. Thirty percent of the capital is to be contributed by the association that founds the bank; in this case, the Iwoye Ijesa Descendants Union; not less than 10% is to come from other associations, and they have 27 associations that have contributed; and not less than 50% of the capital is supposed to be from individuals; they have 250 individuals who have contributed. All projects in Iwoye are carried out by the Iwoye-Ijesha Descendants Union, according to Babatayo.

In addition to the capital which has been deposited, they also have money that was contributed to build the new b uilding -- he said the building is worth N1 million. They also have equipment, and there is also the cost of papers, etc. that they must have to start up. He said that people are still contributing working capital.

Fatodu discussed with him what they had done in Ijebu-jesa to get started; he said they had had a preliminary inspection and then filed their papers and gotten started. But Babatayo said that no one has been there yet to see it, so they can't start until they have done so.

Babatayo and Fatodu also discussed training that will be done for staff. Babatayo emphasized on the job training, whereas Fatodu said they had sent staff to their correspondent bank, IBWA, in Ilesa. Babatayo felt that community banks are different from commercial banks and therefore such training might not be necessary or useful. They are different he said, because they cater to the "grassroots", they need to know the people they are dealing with, such as the farner.

Babatayo is to be the manager of the new bank. He said that he was chosen to do it, becuase he is a native of the town who wants to stay in the town, whereas most of the others involved are outside the town. He said that they are "more than ready to start" and that they need the bank, that it will make the town grow. He pointed out that there are two banks in Ijecbu-jesa new. Fatodu agreed, saying that the bank will help develop individuals.

Babatayo said that deciding to put up the bank resulted in a set back for the palace, the other major project in the town. The palace should have been ready by now, but that the bank was more urgent, so they diverted resources to thist. They put up their own bulding but existing b uildings in the town would have required a lot of renovation and would have cost a lot. Fatodu commented that Ijebu-jesa wouldnt have been able to put up a building for their bank, because they were rushng, they wanted to do it very quickly.

Fatodu asked about the location of the bank. Babatayo said that it's good to have it near the place, but that there is a separate entrance to the palace and it doesnt block access. There is also another road leading to the palace land, in the back. A health center is being put there; the health center is a joint project b etween Iwoye, the local government, and UNICEF. Local government is providing the materials, the community is providing the labor, and

UNICEF will provide the equipment. The foundation of the health center is completed.

Babatayo said that the area around the palace is the center of development of the town; there will be the palace, the bank, the health center. There is more land there, and this will be used later for a town hall. Also the palace has more land for its own development.

Babatayo commented on his own role in these activities. He said that he wants to stay at home, and to contribute to the community's development. He said "we can't all be millionaires". He said that good health is important and that he wants to serve people, that will be enough for him; he wants to leave behind a good name, not an edifice.

They hope to complete the palace this year. A new oba has been selected, and they need to have the building ready for him. The new oba has been presented to the owa and to other chiefs, and he has not competitor. They're waiting for the owa to sign the document to be sent to the local government and state government. The oba lives in Lagos, and has business there. He is an insurance magnate. After his installation, the community wont force him to leave his work. They want him coming home weekly, for necessary duties, but he will not stay in Iwoye full time until he retires, and the community doesnt want him to retire yet.

Later, Fatodu made the comparision with the man who is oba in Iwara, saying that that would be an interesting place for me to visit. The man who became oba there wasnt born there, and his father had left there as a young man. He was living in Lagos when peopel found out about him, and he got interested in the community and in becoming oba. He built a big mansion there. Then they asked him to become oba, and now he's rebuilding the palace there. According to Fatodu, now others from there want to identify with being from Iwara, rather than from Ilesa, as they used to do in the past.

I told Babatayo that I would hope to return in May, and see how things are going with the bank and other projects.

Then Fatodu and I went back to the Ijebu-jesa bank, but they still werent finished with the auditors, so we went back to his house for lunch, and then returned to the bank at about 3 PM to see the manager.

Meanwhile, while at his house, Fatodu gave me his name and addrtess:
Chief O.O. Fatodu JP
'Comfort Haven'
Agboja Hills (off Ilesa Road)
PO Box 12, Ijebu-jesa

We also talked about Olashore's school a little. I asked how people view it, if it's seen postiviely by people in the area. He said that it is, that they view it postively. He mentioned that it's having an effect on employment -- in catering, gardening, building. Also it's a model to people from the community, to see the students in a school like that. And it means that other people are coming here. Also the children spend money locally. He said that most people from around here cant afford the school, but that they dont resent it. He said that

there are 2 or 3 from the area attending the school, but they are people who live elsewehre.

When we got back to Fatodu's house, his wife was there; she was supposed to have gone to Lagos, but instead contacted their son, who met her and got the things she was sending to Lagos; a daughter is getting married in a few weeks so they are getting ready for that. The son drove her back, with his two young children; they were around when we got to the house, but left to return to Lagos soon after.

While I was sitting there another man came to visit Fatodu, who was introduced as the education officer for the OriAde local government. We talked a bit about the current situation with education in the country. Then FAtodu and I and his wife had lunch (pounded yam), after which he and I went back to the Community Bank. By this time -- about 3 PM -- the manager was available.

The manager's name is Mr. M.O. Omotoso; he is a new manager, different from the one I previously met there. Fatodu explained my interest and my research, and I told him that I ws interested in learning about what the community bank is doing.

He began by talking about the philosophy behind the establishment of the community banking system in general. He said that the community banks were developed because of the failure of earlier programs, such as the rural banking system and the Peoples Bank. When I asked about rural banking, he pointed out that that involved the commercial banks, trying to get them interested in opening branches and serving people in the rural area.

The idea of the community bank is that it is set up and managed by people of the community. The Community Bank in Ijebu-jesa started in April 1993, and was set up to help rural development, for example to provide loans for cottage industry. It operates by first mobilizing funds from customers and then uses the money to give loans for productive activities. It is like a commercial bank in some of its functions, but cannot carry out all the functions of a commercial bank; for example, it cant get involved in foreign exchange dealings.

I asked about how they mobilize funds. He began talking about the daily contribution system as an example of mobilizing funds, and emphasized that they go out to the people, they dont just wait for people to come to them. It is not like commercial banks in this respect. He talked about how they have staff that go out to people, e.g., to the market, to encourage people to establish accounts. He compared their activities with those of First Bank, which is the commercial bank with a branch in Ijebu-jesa. He said they (the Community Bank) can make decisions faster. They can work with smaller customers, people that the commercial banks won't attend to , and remove the problems that such customers have in getting loans. The staff is approachable, and the bank is more liberal in its loan policy. Fatodu asked about the policy on collateral. The manager said that instead of collateral they look for two guarantors from the community. But they don't just rely on guarantors, that they also look at the real assets of the customer. He gave the example of an insurance certificate, and also mentioned that right now they have a fan in the office which belongs to one customer and is being used as collateral. This led to a discussion between the manager and Fatodu about the

policy on collateral. Fatodu said that the bank board policy, that is the policy at the government level re. collateral, is that no collateral is necessary, that all that is necessary is two guarantors. But the manager said that they have made some modifications in that, because they found from experience that the system of guarantors doesnt always work, because the guarantors will tell another story and it is hard to collect from them. So now, if the person is a salary-earner, they can get a loan if their salary is paid in to the bank. And they can get a loan without collateral if they are someone the bank knows and trusts. But, from experience, they have learned that with peop;le who arent well known to them, then they need to take something as security.

He also talked about a system called financing L.P.O.-- Last Pay Order. This refers to a system where a contractor has a contract awarded, but needs money to undertake the work. A loan is given to the contractor, and then the contract is paid directly to the bank.

Before a loan is given out to anyone, the person must have an account with the bank; after three months of having an account, they can get a loan. The bank will go out and encourage them, ask them if there is anything they need a loan for. They have canvassers, who go out to houses, shops, markets, to tell people about the community bank and what it can provide for them. The canvassers tell them about the daily contribution system, and encourage people to sign up to participate in it.

At the moment there are about 200 people who are doing the daily contribution. Altogether the bank has over 2000 customers. At the moment, there are loans worth N500,000 disbursed; that is, N500,000 is the amount remaining to be paid in loans that are outstanding (at least, I think this is what he meant -- rather than that they've made loans toltalling N500,000 altogether-- but I'm not sure.) At the moment, there are more than 40 loans outstanding.

The smallest loan that has been made was for N1200, which was given to a market trader. The maximum that has been given in a loan was N50,000. I asked about any problems with small loans, if there have been defaults. He said that there is no default in small loans, and explained the system used: that those with small loans are required to pay something in every day thru the daily contribution system. Also they are allowed to get a loan only to equal the amount they already have in the bank. If they have N2000 in the bank, they can get a loan for N2000. And then they must start paying back right away. Also, the staff study the customer, and their business, they have seen that there are sales everyday, before giving out a loan.

I asked how someone applies for a loan, and he showed me the form that is used, that the customer must fill out (which seemed somewhat complex). I aked if a customer can get help from bank staff in filling out the form, and he said that they dont get help. I asked to keep a copy of the form and was allowed to do so. (It is a 2 page form, in English).

Note: I wonder if I can get permission from Fatodu and others on the bank board to get access either to these forms, or in other ways to customers of the bank, as I way to talk with them to look at the impact of the bank. There are several projects going on on community

banks: the work Dele Olowu is involved in, and also Mrs. Soetan is part of a group from the Iowa UDLP planning to study impact of community banks, but they havent started yet. Should find out more about their methodology.

The interest rate for loans is 21%, which is the Central Bank rate, established by the government.

I asked about the area served by the Ijebu-jesa Community Bank. Fatodu and the manager responded that the bank is established by the community here, but that the customers can come from a wider area-- including customers from Iloko, Iwoye, Ere, Ijeda (all some towns near Ijebu-jesa). They even have a customer from Oshogbo, according to the manager. I asked if the establishment of a community bank in Iwoye will affect them, but the manager said it won't because there will be people from there who will prefer to bank here, in order to maintain secrecy, they wont want people to know about their account and Iwoye is a small town, and the employees will come from there. The manager also said that they have customers who have moved their account from First Bank to the community bank, because of the easier access and the fast service.

According to the manager, the Ijebu-jesa Community Bank is rated by the customers to be Number 1 in Ijesaland; people prefer this bank to others in the area. I asked what the difference is between this community bank and others. The manager said that they dont waste the customer's time, that whatever the request is, whatever amount someone wants to withdraw, they never tell someone to come back, they always have funds available for withdrawal. Some community banks pay out funds in installments, and dont have the funds availabe at any one time to meet withdrawals. The Ijebu-jesa bank doesnt do that.

I asked Fatodu a little about the set up and structure of the bank. There is a board, with Professor Yoloye as Chairman; he is based in Ibadan. They showed me a copy of the letterhead with the names of the board members. Fatodu is on the board, and lives in Ijebu-jesa. Of the others on the board, Ogundare lives in Lagos, Fayemi lives in Ibadan, Orioke and Aiku also live in Ibadan. They meet monthly, sometimes here and sometimes in Ibadan. I asked if I could have the sheet of letterhead so that I would have the name; the manager didnt want to give it to me, but then Fatodu suggested he could just scribble on it so it can't be used.

The association that started the bank is the Ijebu-jesa Group, which is based in Ibadan. The members of that association were the source of initial capital. Then other associations and individuals also contributed capital.

After we finished our discussion at the bank, I dropped Fatodu back at his house and went on my way back to Ife.

fieldnotes december-january 94-95 - 17

fnd9417

Tuesday Jan. 3, visit at Akinola's house Tuesday evening, Ilesa

I stopped briefly at Akinola's house on my way back from Ijebu-jesa in the late afternoon. When I went in to the sitting room to greet Mobo Akinola I saw that her brother Akin Fadahunsi was there; I hadnt seen him in a long time, bascally since I knew him in Zaria, although I had seen him briefly at Mrs. Abe's chieftaincy ceremony in 1993. We talked somewhat generally at first, and then I asked about getting information on IUTTC, since Mobo had previously suggested contacting their brother in Lagos (Olu). While we were discussing this, Akin Akinola came in to the room and joined the conversation. Akin Fadahunsi first suggested talking to his brother in Ilesa (I hadnt realized that they had a brother living in Ilesa). Mobo said that he has an office almost opposite Omole's house. They thought he might be knowledgeable about their father's activities in IUTTC and Akin mentioned something about his father's papers. I asked about the brother in Lagos, Olu, and Akin said that he has mainly been involved with regard to legal affairs and property. Another person he suggested was Prof. M.I. Jegede, who was also mentioned by Ifaturoti and by Eso.

The discussion led to some conversation among Akin Fadahunsi, Akin Akinola, Mobo Akinola about IUTTC, and the comment was made by Akinola that the IUTTC is "sitting on a gold mine" with their property in Lagos. The impression given by this and other conversations is that the main reason IUTTC still exists is the Lagos property, which I think is located in Apapa, but I'm not sure.

It still isnt clear from this conversation and others I've had exactly who would be knowledgeable about IUTTC, tho several people have mentioned M.I. Jegede.

On other topics, Akin Fadahunsi mentioned that his "first cousin" Seyi Lufadeju is at home right now. He is in Lagos now, but was in Ilesa earlier. Mobo said that he was around on that Saturday when I came in the evening for the Christmas party, but he didnt come to the party. She said thatthere was a big family wedding on Dec. 8 that he came home for.

This also led to Fadahunsi talking about my work since he first heard about it from Lufadeju; he said he did nt read it for a long time, but was very impressed with how much I'd done on market women. I promised to send him and Mobo copies of papers (or to bring them next time I come).

I asked about Mrs.Abe and Mobo said that she was home and may still be around.

Akin Fadahunsi left pretty soon after I got there, as he had to go back to Ibadan. He is living in Ibadan now and has left ABU; it's not clear what he's doing. I learned from others that his wife has died (a couple of different people mentioned this, one being Bisi Aina.)

Fadahunsi gave me his present address: Akin Fadahunsi, 16 Ladele Close, Old Ife Rd, PMB

2, Agodi P.o., Ibadan. Phone 02-711121.

fieldnotes December-January 94-95 -18

fnd9418

Tuesday January 3, visit to Ifaturoti, Tuesday evening, Ilesa

I stopped to see both Ifaturotis and Akinola's on my way back from Ijebu-jesa on Tuesday. I didnt stay long at Ifaturoti house, mainly just wanted to find out about the people Eso had suggested seeing re. IUTTC. Since Eso had suggested Chief Fadahunsi, the engineer, I asked about hm; Kunle's immediate response was no, not him, that he wouldnt know anythign more than he, Kunle would know. He suggested Prof. M.I. Jegede, who is now in private law practice. His address is 41 Commercial Avenue, Yaba, Lagos. Kunle said that Jegede's father was a member of IUTTC and that he thinks he'll be knowledgeable. I asked if he comes to Ilesa, thinking it would be easier to find him there, and he said that he has a house near theirs but that he doesnt come to their house. He said that he hasnt come to the house since the time when ISG was planning the event for Olashore, to complain that he hadnt invited Lamikanra and others. This led Kunle to the following comment: that there's a small group in Ilesa who think nothing good can happen here unless they do it. This group includes Lamikanra and Ilesanmi.

Kunle didnt have other suggestions re. people to see re. IUTTC.

He mentioned in passing that he's getting ready for the Ibokun meeting of ISG, that its a very important meeting.

fieldnotes December-January 1994-95 - 19

fnd9419

Friday, January 6, 1995 visit to Ijebu-jesa to see Olashore and his school

Olashore and I had agreed that I would come to his house in Ijebu-jesa at about 9 AM so that I could see the school and then continue on my way to Ibadan. But I had meanwhile decided not to go to Ibadan today. I called Olashore on Wednesday evening to confirm that he was coming, and he said that yes, he would be arriving there on Thursday. I got to the house at about 9:15 and was told that he would be out soon. I was asked to sit in the outer sitting room.

This gave me a chance to look around the room more than I had at other times. The window was open (large sliding window) and I could look out on to the patio and garden that lies between the house and the outer wall surrounding the house. Standing propped up against the walls in the sitting room are framed awards of various sorts as well as some framed large photographs; none of them are hung on the wall. Near the door was one that read "Congratulations on the Olashore International School" and went on to say more about the contribution of the school; it was from the Inner Circle Club, Iloko. On the back wall was one from the Council of Ijesa Societies, Ibadan, which was a Recognition of Achievement Award. Another was one from the Prestige Club Iloko Ijesa which had the motto "First out of Many" and indicated that Olashore is the Patron of the club.

There were several large photos along one wall. One of a woman who I think is his mother. Another of Olashore and his wife; one of him, his wife, his mother, and their six children--4 boys, 2 girls; another of him alone (when considerably younger).

There are also some portraits-- drawings of heads--that are stylized, not of anyone in particular.

The back part of this inner sitting room faces the courtyard which is in the center of the house. On one wall of the courtyard is a very large (lifesize or larger) painted portrait of Olashore, when younger; I think it's something in recognition of one of his bank positions.

After Olashore joined me and invited me to join him during breakfast, I was later seated in the inner sitting room while again waiting for him for a while. That room too has various awards as well as art work propped up against the walls. One is a Merit Award from the Ijebu-jesa Union Conference; another a Merit Award from the Council of Ijesa Societies Ilesa (I attended that ceremony); also a Merit Award from the Ilesha Local Government Area, with a statement that it was for efforts for the progress of Ijeshland as a while, given in October 1993. Another from the Ijesa Patriotic Klub-- also a Merit Award. Hanging on one wall is a clock with a wooden base, on which is carved Path Finders Award, 1993, given by the FIISU--the Federation of Iloko Ijesa Students Unions-- in addition to the clock it has a carved face of someone and a painted carved flower.

Also in the room is a portrait of Olashore, some abstract art and a couple of other paintings. There is also one wooden carving in one corner of the room.

There were 3 photo albums on a table (I had noticed these when I was there on Boxing Day, when one of the women there was looking thru them). I had time to look at them today. A lot of the photos were of events at his school -- one looked like a play given by the students, another a church service of some kind. Another set appeared to be from a naming ceremony, and others were of a party at his house, it looked like a New Years party from the decorations; the people were in the main part of the house (the sitting room) not in the hall where I've been for parties.

Also in the inner sitting room are two large pouffs, one with his name and one saying Ahmadu Bello University. The chairs in that room are oversized, also an oversized couch where he usually sits. There are also two wooden chairs with a somewhat unusual design, and with seats covered with a striped, vaguely animal-print fabric.

Olashore joined me at about 9:30, and we sat down in his dining room while he had breakfast. He told me that he had been up late looking at videos that have been made of various activities he's been involved in, that someone from his office wants to make a documentary and so he started getting together the videos. He said he hadnt realized there were so many. They included ones from when he was with IBWA and other events from the past, one when the new building at UI in finance was dedicated, which IBWA funded and which he had started when he was at IBWA but which was completed after he left. Apparently he stayed up late watching these videos of himself, tho he said that he didnt see all of them.

Olashore asked if I had seen "my friend"-- ie NIke Afolabi. I said I had seen her in Lagos. He said he wanted to tell me something about her but only if I promised not to say anything to her about it. I promised, and he proceeded to tell me that she's turning out not to be a good employee, and gave a specific instance of something that had happened with regard to the handling of mail. When I asked if he'd talked with her about it, he said that he didnt have to because he knew what she had done. He has discussed it with the managing director (who she now works for) and they are going to transfer her, but she doesnt know that yet. I didnt say much, but did say that I was sorry if I made a bad recommendation; he then said that he wasnt blaming me. I asked him why he was telling me this and he said that the was telling me this because he wanted me to know that "you have a bad friend." I just looked at him but didnt feel I could respond; tho in thinking about this later, I think in fact I should have responded something-- and plan to talk with him about this again.

After breakfast, we sat in the inner sitting room. Someone was waiting to see him in the outer sitting room-- someone from the Methodist Church (he belongs to the Anglican Church). Later, he showed me the letter they brought, asking for money to help send someone to a church meeting in Seoul Korea. He referred to it again later, in talking about all the requests he gets for money, and saying that he's not even a member of their church. And he said that it doesnt end with a letter, that then they will send a delegation.

Then two men from the school came, who turned out to be the Vice Principal and the Bursar, to discuss money matters since the Principal is away and they have to make purchases since school starts in a few days. They stayed for about half an hour. He said that he would sign things but that they shouldnt bother him with the details, because it is the principal and their responsibility, and he doesn want to have to absorb more information in his brain.

Another man was then waiting in his outer sitting room, and he went off to see him, and called him in to some place in the other part of the house. Later he explained that this was a tailor who had come all the way from Ilorin to see him, because he had asked him to come today. He spent 20-30 minutes with him, and then gave him some money before he left.

When he came back to the sitting room, we spoke there for a few minutes. I gave him the information on Chidi's conference, and we also talked briefly about Judy Asuni and her interest in exchanges (we talked about both these things later as well, when we were at the school). We also talked about the school a little. I had told him that Jim didnt get his Nigerian visa and that was why he didnt come; he didnt seem unduly upset or concerned about the fact that the Nigerian government hadnt given him his visa, but did say that if he had known he could have done something about it, that Jim should have faxed him about it.

We then left to go to the school; by this time it was about 11:30 or 11:45. When we left, he suggested that Bodunde follow in our car so that we could leave from there to go back to Ife. Since it seemed that we wouldnt have much more time to talk, I inidcated that I had a question I still wanted to ask him, if there was time.

On the way to the school, he talked about all the requests he gets for money. He had several letters with him that were asking for money; this is when he referred to the Methodist Church request and to the fact that he's not even a member of the church. He said that he gets irritated about all these requests. And that the more he does, the more requests he gets. And if you give once, they come back again for something more. He also refered in this context to Ifaturoti and his book -- he began by saying "your mentor" and when I didnt know who he was talking about explained. He said that he respects him, but that he doesnt see why someone should write a book about forty years of marriage, even if they wanted to write about those things they could but give it a different title. He said that they used an expensive place for thelaunching (NIIA) and then want people to be chief launcher -- I asked if they'd asked him to be chief launcher and apparently they had (tho it wasnt completely clear). That when it was first scheduled he was going to have to come up with some reason for not going, b ut then the date got changed b ecause of the situation in the country and as it turned out the date it was rescheduled for was when he had his board meeting. He also referred to requests for money for Tinu's school, which he said is a profit-making enterprise, not like his own which is non-profit.

When we got to the school, we first drove around the grounds. He suggested that then I could walk around later. I said I'd like to take photos so we agreed that I could go around on my own later and do that. As we drove around he pointed out the different buildings-- classroom building, lab (being constructed), girls dormitories, boys dormitories, cafeteria on each side. From the outside, the dormitores are very attractive with tiled roofs -- blue for the

boys, red tiles for the girls. We stopped so he could show me that cafeteria on the boys side, with adjoining kitchen. He told me that two more dormitories on each side (two for girls, two for boys) will be built, and will use the existing cafeteira. Eventually the school will accomodate 600 students. He said that when he started, each dormitory cost 2.4 million Naira, then it went up to 4 million, and now it costs N10 million to build one.

There is staff housing as well-- later, Bodunde and I looked in one house which is still being constructed. Each separate house is a two bedroom bungalow. Olashore also showed me the three houses being built for the principal and the two vice principals but then said he wonders if the one for the principal is big enough and if it has enough privacy (it is near the other two).

There were a lot of workmen around and as we went around he stopped to talk with people to find out what was going on, or to comment on something being done. He's clearly very involved in it all, and commented several times that he is very proud of what he's been able to do and that it gives him a lot of joy.

We went then to see the house, and later came back to the school and talked, and then he showed me still more of it. The house is across the street from the school. you go thru the gate to the chapel, then to the guest house which is now occupied by the principal. His house is being built to the left and slightly behind where the guest house is. It's huge. The outer construction seems to be basically done; when I asked if there is a scheduled completion date he said it should have b een done in December, but that there is no date fixed now. As soon as we got out of the car, several men appeared, apparently from the builders and architects. He asked them questions, talked with them, commented on various aspcts of the construction.

Behind the guest house area is a large construction that he said is the garage (room for 10 cars) and on the other side, staff quarters. One of the first things he said is that now he thinks the garage area is too dominant.

He took me thru the whole house, all the time also talking with various workers there. There's an entrance way, leading to a large stair way to the upstairs. Downstairs there's a large room for his library and office, a sitting room, a huge hall (which he said would be like the one in the other house at Ijebu-jesa, which isnt connected with the main building). Upstairs he showed me several bedrooms, including his own, which is very large. There are views of the school from several of the upstairs rooms, and he wanted me to take photos from there of the school. I askd him if the same architect designed the house and the school, when he hesitated in responding, I asked if he designed the house, and he said he had, with the architect coordinating the building.

We went back to the school after I took some photos of the outside of the house, and sat and talked for a few minutes. We discussed Judy Asuni some more and her interest in meeting him, as well as Wale Omole (the Vice Chancellor at Ife) interest when I mentioned that she might be helpful re. exchanges. Omole wanted him to call Judy right away but he decided to wait til he'd talked to me. Since he's leaving on Tusday for England, we decided that I

would tell her that he will contact her after his return. He said that he'd like her to visit the school. We also talked about Chidi's conference; he said that Chidi should write him about what he'd want him to do.

I asked him how things are going with the principal and whether he'd had any luck in Britain with regard to exchange possibilities. He said that he had vistied ATlantic College, and that they seemed very interested, but again there was nothing definite yet. As to the principal, he said that there's no doubt that he's very good, but that he doesnt know yet if he's staying on. He had asked for "international salary" and Olashore says he cant pay that. Instead, he's paying him 15,000 pounds offshore as well as his local salary and expenses. He plans to increase it, but doesnt know if that will satisfy the principal. In addition, he pays for the principal's and his wife's travels on holidays--once to the Falkland Islands, and now to Britain because his wife needed medical treatment, and Olashore decided that the principal should go with her (this is the reason he isnt around right now). He said that he's incurring a lot of unexpected expenses that involve foreign exchange.
I also brought up the subject of a place to stay when I come back in May, saying that I'd like to spend more time around Ijebu-jesa area. He said tht there are various possibilities but that he cant say now exactly what will be available -- but that at the worst, I could stay with his cousin (fatiregun). We'd see what develops between now and May. When I pressed him, he gave as an example that the bursar is now living in his guest chalet at Ijebu-jesa, so it depends what happens with staff housing. Later, he also mentioned that he might buy the house next door to his house in Ijebu-jesa, that he wants to buy it if they will sell it.

During this conversation, he also mentioned that he's not really interested in making money, but finds that the less interest he has in it, the more he makes.

We had this conversation in the administrative area; he showed me the teachers room and some of the office.

We then stoppped to see the Vice Principal and talked with him for a few minutes. He asked him to give me materials on the school, such as the Newsletter, which among other things contains an articles saying that Olashore is going to give scholarships to Iloko students to attend the school. He also talkd with the vice principal about geting the school choir invovled in the church services at the chapel, and they discussed that for a while. Then he checked with the Bursar that the money matters had been handled, and then began showing me more of the school grounds.

We walked around to the area where the principal's house is being built, and he showed me the place, pointing out a place where he had chnged the design after the construction was partially done. He complained about the problem of getting an architect with vision, and indicated that he's been very involved in the design of things himself. He also showed me the assembly hall which is under construction, and wanted to show me the upstairs area of it, but it was blocked off.

Then he left me, because he was supposed to be meeting with the architects who were to come from Lagos. Bodunde and I walked around and I took more pictures of the various

buildings. The classroom building has a set of classrooms around a central courtyard with grass in it. They are doing electrical rewiring-- apparently the original wiring wasnt sufficient for computers they have purchased.

Meanwhile, Olashore had suggested that if I wasnt in a rush I should come back to his house in Ijebu-jesa for lunch, that he would meet me there after I did my photos and after he met with the architects. So I went back there and waited for him for about 15 minutes before he arrived.

We ate lunch just about as soon as he got back. He was expecting the architects for lunch too, but they came quite a while later, after we had finished and were sitting and talking some more in the sitting room. We talked about a number of topics during lunch.

I asked him about the scholarships that were announced in the school newsletter. He said that there will be scholarships for students from Iloko to attend the school, that otherwise people from this area cant benefit from the schol. There will also be scholarships for Osun state indigenes who are indigent, to attend any university, and scholarships for the disabled from anywhere in Nigeria to attend university. These will be administered by the Board of Trustees of the school, so that they will continue whether or not he's alive. The amount of money available, and hence the number of scholarships will vary and the number of scholarships will be determined by the Board. Those for Iloko students will require an exam first, and then passage of the admissions test. I asked if he thought there'd be a prblem for local students in having a good enough educational background, and he said that's not his concern but that there are bright students everywhere.

The money from the scholarships will come from the interest on the money being spent on the school. He said that he figures he will have spent N200 million on the school, and that he sees half of that as an outright grant, and half as a loan. On the loan of N100 million there will be a low interest rate, of say 1% or 2% or 5% -- in any case lower than the bank rate. That interest will form the money for the scholarships as a sort of endowment. His intention is that the fees paid by students will be sufficient for operating costs.

I also asked about the phone conversation over the summer, in July, when he had seemed very abrupt and didnt want to talk. He didnt remember the conversation. But began to talk about how at times there is too much happening. For example, there will be people in the office, and then something else will happen. That when he says he's going to call back, he intends to do so, but then something else happens and he forgets about it. Then he asked again when this was and when I said July, he said "there was madness" then, and at times he didnt even want to talk about what was happening. (ie the situation in the country). He also talked about how he gets irritated with things, like the constant requests for money. He said that a lot of times he has too many things scheduled at once, including a number of important things. He gave the example of today: that there was my visit, which was veyr important; then he had made an appointment with the architects to come from Lagos, and an appointment with the tailor to come from Ilorin. Then the people had come from the school; he hadnt been expecting them, but they came to see him because there was this problem about getting money that had to be dealt with before the bank closed. He said that he's

supposed to go to a wedding in Iloko this afternoon (by then it was about 3 PM) and tomorrow there is a chieftaincy installation in Oshogbo that he has to attend. He commented tat he is finding that he forgets things he is supposed to do.

Also during lunch we discussed the impact of the school. He said that he is happy to be doing something for people. That the school is having an impact on the economy of the area -- that there is employment for people. I mentioned all the construction workers and he said not just constuction but also catering, cleaning etc. He said the market is better in Iloko than it used to be, and he thinks it is now meeting everyother day instead of every five days as before. There's more money and people are able to buy things. He wants to do something to develop other emloymnet possibilities as well. That reminded him that he is supposed to get some send to bring to England -- to be looked at by some people who manufacture tiles. He commented about the brewery and Ilesa, saying that IBL has had a big impact on Ilesa, not just directly on employemtn but also on trade, and also on social life. He said can you imagine what Ilesa would be like without the brewery?

I asked him about the man he had told me about who knows about local history. He said that his name is Alhaji Benjamin, and that he stays in the town. He is a member of the same royal family as Olashore. Olashore went on to say that he saw him last nite and that he upset him, because Alhaji Benjamin started telling him that this year he is going to be the oba. Alhaji Benjamin was th one who forced his father to take the position, at they pushed him for about 4 years. And that they've been pressuring him for sometime about it. He said that even if he does become the oba it wont be because Alhaji Benjamin says so. It's the kingmakers who will choose the person. He didnt really indicate further how he feels about the possibility of becoming oba.

After lunch we sat in the sitting room for a while longer. He began looking thru the pile of mail that had come, and talked some more about getting requests for money and how irritated he gets with them. Then he also talked about the request he had made, to companies in Britain, for support for the school and the negative responses he has received (including one from British Airways which he showed me). He sent out a lot of requests but feels that personal contact is much more likely to lead to something. He mentiond the connection he mde with Atlantic College, a school in Britain, which seems interested. We discussed it in terms of views of Nigeria, and I told him about the 60 minutes program.

As we were discussing that, the men from the architects came in, and sat briefly in the sitting room before going in to the dining room to eat lunch. I again made moves to leave, and just at about that point, Olashore said something about his farm. I responded in a surprised way because I didnt know he had a farm, altho I had once visited when he showed me a fish pond he was developing. He said yes, he has a farm, and now has a piggery as well as the fish pond -- altho,. he said, he's sunk a lot of money into the fishpond. He asked if I wanted to see it, and called his gardener to take me there. We went out to the back of the house together, where he has a separate round building, and then there is another house (his guest chalet?). First Olashore showed me the view of the farm from the round building (which is like a small place for entertaining). He pointed out the cassava field which goes up a hillsde in the distance, and said that that was his, as well as the piggery which is beyond the house.

The gardener appeared and took me thru a gate at the back, from where one could get a better view of the farm. The gardener's name is Sunday. He called to someone else, a man who was at the piggery, who began to show me around. The man later told me that his name is Mr. Peters (or Peter?) and that he is a trained agriculturalist. He is in charge of Olashore's farm; he said that he's he only regular employee now, that they hire casual labor when needed rather than employing people that they dont need all the time, such as now when it's dry season and there's not much to do on the farm. He first showed me the pigs. They have six pigs now, but room for many more. The piggery is a set of cement enclosures with one pig in each enclosure. He explained that these are a special breed of pig that are larger than the usual ones aroundhere. They get them from Imo Hills Farm, but the original source is a farm in Togo; he also mentioned a farm in Tanzania. He showed me one that is 6 months old, pointing out how big it is. Those they have now are breeders; then the babies will be raised for meat.

Beyond the piggery, the land slopes down, to an area which is quite wet; a stream flows near there. They have a vegetable garden there. He explained that they picked the vegetables for the carol singing on Dec. 18, so the ones there are newly planted and will take 6 weeks to grow. I think these are local vegetables but he said they plan to plant cabbage, lettuce etc. We walked past the vegetables to the cassava field, which is quite extensive and goes up the hillside. He said that that is the limit of the farm, but that there is 8 acres altogether -- some not planted I guess. In between the cassava pineapples are planted. Off to the right are plantains; we went there and they cut two bunches, which I think they intended to give me one, but I never got it. They also have oil palm trees planted, and they said they would have yams later on, that by the time I return in May there should be yams as well as other things. I asked if they would be planting other fruit and they said maybe citrus.

In the middle before the cassava field is the fishpond. Right now it doesnt have fish. He said that they harvested fish recently and now are repairing the dam, then will stock in again. Peters said that you can make a lot of money with fishponds, which contradicts what Olashore had said about sinking alot into it.

Peters explained that they use the manure from the pigs as fertilizer for the farm. Also that it is all done by manual labor, nothing is mechanized. I asked about clearing the land, and he said that was done by manual labor, then burned. He told me that he'd like to see Olashore (who he referred to all the time as the Prince or Prince) develop a poultry, and that I should tell him to do so, that he tells all the women who come here to tell him that he should build a poultry. I did not have my camera with me (it was with Bodunde in the car) so I said I'd like to take photos when I come back in May, they were very happy to hear I'd be coming back and told me there would be more there by then. They also asked me to bring something from America for them when I come.

When we got back to the vegetable area, they suggested I should photograph Olashore there, but I didnt want to take time to get my camera from the car. We met Olashore in back of the house, the plantains were left there, I went thru the house with him, and said I should be going. By then it was 5 PM or slightly after so it was time to get back to Ife.

Since Olashore is leaving for England on Tuesday we agreed that we wouldnt be seeing each other again this trip. We said we'd talk on the phone when he's in London. And he added that he could come to the US to visit, implying that if there were anything happening re. exchnge possibilities for his school, he would come. He plans to be in England for a month. He said good by and said he had to get ready to go to the wedding in Iloko.

fieldnotes Dec-Jan 94-95 20

fnd9420

Tuesday Jan. 10, 1995 visit to Olashore International School

I had planned to go to Ijebu-jesa and Ilesa early in the afternoon, but car problems meant that we didnt leave Ife til about 3, so it was about 4 when we got to the school in Iloko. We went to see the Vice Principal, who had been told that I would be coming either yesterday or today. He said that most of the studets were either in prep classes or doing sports. He took me around, encouraging me to take photos of anything I wanted to take. He showed me the classroom area, where we met one teacher -- a mathematics teacher. He also told me about the photos displayed on one wall outside the classrooms, they were taken during the Christmas caroling in December; he told me who various people were in the photos. Some students were in one classroom (presumably that was a prep class). We saw others walking around outside; they were either in school unforms of grey and white or in white for sports. We saw the science lab, which is still under construction; it's about the same size as the classroom block. He said that they have a computer room, but right now the computers are stored because they are rewiring for them.

He showed me the clinic area, and I met the woman who heads the clinic. We also went to the girls hostel, where we saw the rooms, the dining area (set up for afternoon tea) and the kitchen. The rooms looked quite airy and spacious. There was lots of modern equipment in the kitchen, but outside, in back of the kitchen, they have a set-up for cooking on firewood; the vice principal explained that because of the problem with getting gas supplly they do some of their cooking on firewood. He also pointed out the staff quarters and said that all but two of the staff live at the school; he lives in Ilesa and the bursar lives in Ijebu-jesa.

He showed me where the water treatment plant is and explained that they are getting their water from Esa Odo, the same place that supplies the brewery in Ilesa. The water will then be treated before being distributed. But right now that system isnt in place yet so their water is being delivered by tanker from the brewery; that is treated water which is enough for drinking water and then the other, still untreated water is used for other things.

As we were walking around, I asked about the land which is on the other side of the main drive, and whether it is to be used for something. He said that originally they had planned to have that area as an area for sports, but then they realized that the sun would be shining in people's eyes in the late afternoon if the goalpost was located at one end, and that there isnt room to change around the location of the field (ie move it so that the goalposts lie in the other direction). So they are acquiring some land nearby, on the other side of what is now surrounding the school, in the direction of Ijebu-jesa, that will be used for the sports field. And the land by the main drive will be used as agricultural land.

I spent about half an hour there. While we were walking around outside the vice principal introduced me to someone else on the staff as the person who is helping with publicity about the school in the US.

fnd9421

Tuesday. Jan 10, 1995 visit with Ifaturoti family, Ilesa

I stopped in Ilesa after going to Iloko to see the school. When I first got to Ifaturoti's house, Kunle was sitting in the sitting room and said he had hoped Iwould come yesterday (Monday) as his daughter Fadeke was around yesterday -- she lives in Maryland. Today she had gone to Ondo with her husband and daughter for her father-in-law's 70th birthday celebration. As it turned out she got back before I left.

Another daughter, Kike, and her baby were around and Kike greeted me. Kunle said that his son Gbola was around but I never saw him. After I had been there a while, Kunle's brother who is loja of a small town arrived, with his wife. And then Fadeke and her husband got back from Ondo around 4:45. I chatted with them briefly about Maryland and his work as an emergency physician.

In between the various visitors I was able to talk with Ifaturoti about several other things. I mentioned that I had been in Iwoye the other day and told him about Babatayo becoming the manager of the new community bank. We talked about the building of the palace and he said that he has promised to pay for the gate to the new palace and that he needs to tell them to let him know when they are ready to do it. He said that his cousin is still the president of the society in Iwoye, that he has had that position for years. He went on to comment on how this is very common insocieities, that they just keep the same person on for years, despite what the constitution of the organization says. He gave the example of his own society (I think this is the church society he belongs to tho he didnt actually say so); he is president now, and is finishing his second term and doesnt intend to continue but people are saying he should. The previous president was president for 46 years.

I asked about the situation with officers in ISG. He said that he was first Chairman Pro Tem, then he got elected to his first 2 year term as President and he's likely to have a second term, and then there will be others to take over leadership positions. He mentioned that the next set of leaders are likely to be much younger.

I asked him to clarify the investment scheme idea of ISG. He explained that the idea is that once they come up with a project or idea they would form a company. This would involve private individuals with shares, as well as the ISG. But in his view it should not just be profit-making, but also they should do something that will be relevant to the peasants, something that will help them. (tho it should also make a profit; he is not talking about non-profit ventures). For example, the idea of a rice mill: now, people mill rice on demand, the farmer brings it to the mill, gets it processed, and then takes it away to sell. The idea would be that the mill would buy the rice and then process it, and sell it. Again, with land clearing equipment, this would be owned by the company and would be rented out -- it would do something useful for people. Another idea they have is to take over a palm plantation that is owned by the government but apparently not really being cared for or used. It's 100

hectares of palm for palm oil production. They could produce palm oil and sell it at a more reasonable price than it is now selling for in the market. He said that not everyone agrees with these ideas, that they don't think these things (or anything) and be done in Ilesa that would be profitable, and therefore it would be charity.

Ifaturoti mentioned that he had gone to Ijebu-jesa the other day to see his cousin, because the mother of his paternal grandfather was from there, and thru that connection he has inherited 55 hectares. He went to find out more about it, he doesnt know exactly where it is, except that it is somewhere in the triangle between Ijebu-jesa, Ijeda and Iloko; when he mentioned the area, I said that's where all the important things are happening now, and he said, yes, that is now the center of the world (these comments were both made in a joking way).

I left Ifaturoti's about 5:15 PM to head back to Ilesa, and promised to let them know when I'll be returning to Nigeria.

fieldnotes December January 1994-95 22

fnd9422

Tuesday Jan. 10, visit with Iya Dunni, Osu

On the way back to Ife from Ilesa I stopped to see Iya Dunni, the akara seller. She was home, so we went in to see her. I gave her one of the calendars and she gave Bodunde and me soft drinks and akara to eat.

She talked with Bodunde a bit about several things, and then I asked some questions -- mainly about the Better Life Programs she had been involved with. She said that they have been changed to the Family Support Program (Maryam Abacha's new program replacing Better Life), and that they're doing the same things as before. But then she said that they are just getting started, so it doesnt sound like they're really doing anything. She showed me photo albums that included photos of her at the Osun State Trade Fair that took place in November. And she told us that students from Ife (the university) are going to be coming to study with her to learnn about making akara. She also talked about her daughter who is a student and said she wants to send her to the US to study. She then asked about the possibilities for selling akara in the US.

We just stayed a few minutes so that we could get back to Ife before it got too late.

fnd9423

Wednesday Jan. 11, lunch with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan

I got to Ibadan rather later than planned, but finally made it to her office at about 2:30. She was waiting for me, and LaRay was also there. We went to the Davis Hotel for lunch. Over lunch we talked about various things, including some of the work she is doing for the MacArthur Foundation.

I also asked a few questions about the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, since I had seen the book they put out when I was in Ife. She said that they are waiting to launch the book; that right now the book is at her house, and that she'll send a copy with people who are coming soon from MacArthur. She said that there is a lull in the activities of the foundation right now. Their main project was to be the museum, and they laid the foundation stone, and then IBB (Babangida) was supposed to launch it, but when he said he was coming he only gave five days notice and she didnt feel that was enough time to prepare for him so told him not to come. Others she said haven't forgiven her for making this decision, and feel that they should have let him come. In any case, there has still not been a launching. She also said that they are having some problems with the secretary of the Foundation, and that Ifaaturoti had been to see her the other day and had suggested in a nice way that they should replace the secretary, but she doesnt think that's possible now. (Kunle had told me that he had gone to see her last week, but had not said why. According to Bolanle, he also brought the books to her -- which means that when I asked him about them recently, he must have had them at his house or somewhere in Ilesa).

By about 3:45 Bolanle left to return to her office and I waited for Bodunde to come back from getting the car taken care of.

fnmay951

May 18 1995 -- visit with Ifaturoti

I went to Ilesa in the afternoon, left Ife about 1 PM and got to Ifaturoti's at about 2 PM. Kunle was at home; he said that Tinu had gone out to the graduation ceremony at the College of Education -- she had helped put someone thru school who was graduating today. Tinu came back about an hour later.

When I first got there, we just talked generally, catching up on news. I mentioned that they were about to have a wedding when I left last time, and kunle said, yes, that Toun got married, that she's doing very well, that she's very independent and does everything for herself, doesnt depend on any one else. When he found out how long I'm here for, he said that then I'll be here for a "society wedding" -- of two people who both live in New YOrk and are coming here to be married. He said that Mr. Apara's daughter is getting married June 29, and that she lives in NY and so does the man she is marrying. They are coming to Lagos just to get married. I made some comment about that and he said that what people usualy do is get married first wherever they are living and then come here later to intoduce the families and go thru the traditional ceremony.

Soon after this initial conversaton, the telephone rang. Kunle talked to whoever was on the line about a launching scheduled for July 20 and something about "organizer's manuals." When he got off the phone he said that it was Mr. Apara calling from Lagos. He added that he comes here every weekend. I then said (asked) if she still lives in Lagos and Kunle said that he doesnt think he'll ever move back to Ilesa, that he doesnt think he could live here, that in Lagos, he's in the middle of things. I said that it seems like he (Kunle) is also in the middle of things here. This led to talking about Ijesa Solidarity Group. He said that they'v e succeeded in raising people's consciousness but that they haven't succeeded in actualy doing anything yet, that they still haven't developed any industry or anything like that. He said that what is needed is something at the grassroots, that they need to find out what people want, what the problems are, and for that they need to pay someone. I asked why they need to pay, and he said because they need to have someone who will stay in the local government and who will be ab le to go around and find out what they needs are.

He mentioned that they had had their Annual General Meeting two weeks ago, in early May. I asked if that was the one planned for Ibokun, he said no, the meeting in Ibokun was in March and that he has a videotape of that which I could see if I want. (Later, before I left, we arranged for me to come on MOnday to see the video). He said that sometimes it seems like things are going along smoothly, and then all of a sudden some issue arises. HE gave the example that at the meeting two weeks ago something came up about the treatment of Ijesa civil servants in Osun STate. He said that when the state was formed, the civil servants had said that they didnt want any assistance, that things were ok. Now it turns out that the head of the civil service commission has appointed all non-Ijesas to the commission (or whatever it is called). Kunle said that he himself went to complain about that in January or February and was told that the appointments were only for four years and that they would soon be making new appointments. But now it turns out that actually the appointments were

made in 1992 and go to 1996. The civils servants are now asking why they (ISG) is tolerating the situation and not doing anything about it.
Kunle added that he wants people to not just be depending on the governemtn but also be thinking about how they can do things for themselves.

During this conversation Kunle got another phone call, during which he reported to the caller that he had spoken to the local organizing committee in Lagos and that they didn't think July 20 was a good date for a launching and that he had told them it was ok to change the date. He also said that he was expecting someone to come to the house at any moment, as it was nearly 3 PM and he was due at 3. He also told the caller to send over 50 copies of the organisers manual so that he could send them to Lagos this weekend.

When he got off the phone he told me that that was Dr.Omole, and then I said that it sounded as if he was in the midst of organizing something. He then said that Ijesa Solidarity Group is planning an Ijesa Historical Research Fund, that an Organiser's Manual has been printed up. They are in the midst of preparing a commemorative brochure, for which he has written the preface and Bolanle Awe has written a paper. Others have also (or are writing) something for it. I expressed interest in getting it and he said it should be available before the July 20 launch date for the fund. As he was telling me about this, a man arrived at the door, who turned out to be the printer so Kunle went to get the material to show him what is going to go into the brochure. As he was showing it to the printer, he said to me that maybe I'd like to write something. He said that someone (whose name I didnt get, is already writing something on markets but maybe I could do something else). I said I'd be willing to do something, and then asked more about length and the type of thing being done so he showed me his preface and the piece by Bolanle Awe. Hers is an overview of Ijesa history which touches on a number of topics, including the role of self-help groups in building grammar schools such as the one in Ijebu-jesa and Ilesa Grammar School. She also mentioned some stuff about politics at the end, that Kunle had marked, and I mentioned it to him as it was clearly out of date; he said yes, she had presented this at the meeting in Ibokun, but hadn't read that part and that he has to get her to revise it.

He talked a bit with the printer, who said that he thought he could do the job "with God's will". I asked how soon I would need to write my piece for it, and Kunle said that he wanted to have the whole thing ready by June 15 so people can see it before the launching. The printer said that he would need at least 2 weeks to do the work because it has to be typeset, so that means it should be done by the end of the month. Kunle hasn't received all the other papers yet.

He also gave me a copy of the Organiser's Manual, which is a small booklet that outlines what they are planning to do and why.

Kunle mentioned that he hasnt seen my friend Paulina (Makinwa) for sometime On the other hand, when I mentioned Bolnle Awe, and asked if she' involved in this effort, he indicated that she is, very much.

I asked Kunle if there are any events of interest coming up. He said that the only thing he

knows about is a lecture on June 10 on Ijesa unity which is being sponsored by an organization called Club 77 (He commented that there are all these different groups whose names are based on when they passed out of school, or other things like that, for a group who did that at the same time.) It will be held in Ijebu-jesa, in the hall there he thinks. Kunle said that he has been invited because of his involvement in ISG.

I mentioned Justice Eso, and he said that he would be arriving in Ilesa tonite, because his youngest sister is getting married on Saturday. I expressed surprise that he would have a sister that young, and Kunle pointed out that in a polygynous household the father can have a very young bride when he is old.

We arranged that I'll come Monday AM to see the video from the Ibokun meeting.

fnmay952

Phone conversation with Olashore Thurs. May18 1995

I called Olashore from the university conference center in Ife, and reached him in his office at about 5 PM. The connection was bad and I had a hard time hearing him. But he did tell me that he has been able to arrange acomondation for me, but didnt say where. I told him that I'll be comingto Lagos next week, and also that Judy Asuni wants to meet him, so we've arranged for the 3 of us to have lunch together on Thursday.

I asked if he'll becoming to Ilesa this weekend. He said that he has to come for something on Saturday, but then will have to return to Lagos the same day as he has something else happening in Lagos this weekend. He said he'd be attending someone's birthday party --70th birthday -- but I couldnt hear the name. Later I found out that someone named Chief Ayeni is having a birthday party so I'm sure that's the one Olashore was referring to. Since it was so hard to hear, I didn't try to find out if it was something I should attend.

I said I'd call him Wednesday afternoon to confirm plans for Thursday.

fnmay953

Phone conversation with Bolanle Awe -- Friday May 19 1995

I called Bolanle on Friday to see if she would be around on Saturday. She said that she had a wedding to attend at 10, and that she had just heard about Chief Ayeni's 70th Birthday party in Ilesa that she's supposed to attend, but that she will try to get out of that one. (I was able to hear her somewhat better than I could hear Olashore, so was ableto get the name of the person having the birthday.

We agreed that I would try to get to her house by 9 on Saturday to see her before she left for the wedding.

fnmay954

visit at Bolanle Awe's house Saturday May 20 1995

I had told her that I would try to get to her house by 9 AM but in fact it was about 9:40 by the time I got there. She was having breakfast and geting ready to leave for the wedding. But she didnt actually leave until about 10:15 so we had some time to talk briefly. Main thing was that I wanted to leave the information on the SSRC application.

She said that she was not going to go to Ilesa for the birthday party; that her junior brother (? or cousin?) went but he left first thing in the morning, at about 8:30 since there was to be a church service and then a party.

Re the birthday party of Chief Ayeni: later, I found an article about him in a newspaper I bought. He's active in severl Ijesa organizations including ISG so probably I have met him, and probably I should have tried to attend the party.

I told her that I had seen Ifaturoti on Thursday and that he had told me about their (ISG) activities on history. She said that she thinks they are very ambitious but that it is good that they are trying to do this.

She introduced me to a woman there, and explained to the woman that I am "ore mama"--a friend of Mrs. Takuro, Bolanle's aunt who I knew in Ilesa. It turns out that this woman is Mrs. Takuro's daughter. She lives in Kaduna. Then a man appeared and was introduced; first I thought he was Mrs. T's grandson but turnedout to be her son. Later, after Bolanle had left, I talked with him a bit. He lives in Abuja, he works for Radio Nigeria and covers Ofonogora, the current Minister of Information' and sometimes the Presidency too. I told him about my connection with his mother and that I had attended her funeral. i asked him if he still goes to Ilesa; he said that he does, aboutg once a year, when he has leave, and that he stays at his mother's house, near GB Ollivant. He said that one sister continues to live in Ilesa and has done so throughout.

We also talked a little about what Abuja is like.

fnmay955

Conversation with Richard Olaniyan about Ife vice chancellor

We talked a bit about Wale Omole, current v c and about the fact that there is currently search going on for new vc. He said that a lot of people dont like Omole because he has favored Ijesas. The example he gave was favoring them for contracts; he said that there is one woman who purchases everything needed for the campus. He said that there are other examples and that in general, everything is given to Ijesas, and that it shouldnt be that way at a university.

fnmay956

Monday May 22, 1995 -- visit at Ifaturoti house

I had arranged to come to Ilesa this morning to see the videoof the ISG meeting in March. Bodunde was somewhat late getting to Ife so we arrived in Ilesa at about 10 Am. Tinu Ifaturoti was out in the garden so we stopped to talk with her. She said that Kunle was in the house waiting for me, but that the electricity had gone out last night and was still not back. She then asked me if I had read their book, and that she would like me to help with getting it published in the US, she wndered if I thought there might be interest in it. I said that I would think about it. She said that she is also going to talk with Fadeke (her daughter) about it, as Fadeke will be back here for a wedding in June. I said that I will still be here in June, so then she told me about the wedding -- the Apara daughter wedding. She said it will be at Christ Church Marina on June 29 (this is the same wedding Kunle mentioned the other day). They seem tobe assuming that I will attend, and I think in fact I will. I also showed Tinu the two children's books that Dick had sent; she seemed pleased with them.

When we got inside the house, Kunle immediately commented that now i know I am in the third world, since the power has been off since 8 PM when it rained. So of course I couldnt look at the video, altho I stayed around til about noon in hopes that the power would come back.

Kunle asked me if I had looked at the brochure on the history project that he gave me the other day. I said I had and then said that I'd been thinking about what to write for their commemorative brochure and told him briefly my ideas. This then led to a conversation about the meaning of "development". I told him that there seem to be two themes in a lot of what I've heard -- unity and development, but that I'm not really sure what people mean when they say "development" and that I don't know what the Yorub a word is, or if there is one. He then used the word "ilosiwaju" but then changed to "itesiwaju" (dot under e) and said that was the better term. Itesiwaju means to bend forward, in other words, to inch forward. Ilosiwaju means to move forward but the other one is better because of its implication of inching, moving slowly. He said that development and progress are the same word in Yoruba, and that it means to progress in every facet of life, to move towards attaining one's goal. He gave the example of a farmer who produced 10 tons last year and this year produces 12 tons; that is progress.

He went on to say that at the last Annual General meeting of ISG (which took place a few weeks ago) there was criticism that ISG is not progresing, that the two major committees of the organization are not making progress. The goal of the organization is to bring progress all around for Ijesaland, for the farmers, for the common people, so SAP and the overall economic situation won't be so harsh on them. He said that one person spoke at the meeting, saying that they are not using the right vehicle for moving toward their goals -- that it is as if they are using a jaguar in mountainous terrain; a jaguar is a very good, powerful car but not good for that kind of terrain, a landrover would be better. So likewise ISG is not using the right vehicle. Kunle said that he agreed with this speaker. I asked what he meant, and he said the problem is that the committee chairman lives in Lagos, the members are scattered all

over, they never get to meet, and when the chairman meets with some people, they discuss some things and then he meets with others, and they come up with other things, and they never come to any agreement.

Then he said that he would show me some correspondence and went to get some files. He showed me a letter to Professor Olu Odeyemi at the Osun State College of Technology, Esa Oke. He said that Odeyemi is a vocal member of ISG, that he thinks that they should begin small, is interested in local, small scale technology. So Kunle has written to him asking him to prepare a paper with suggestions for the next meeting to take place in December in Ijebu-jesa.

Kunle said that they have also formed a committee on peace and harmony, to look into the things that cause conflict and prevent cooperation. With cooperation there is progress. He gave the example of the town of Ikeji Ile, he said that when there was cooperation there, they built a secondary school and a town hal. But there is conflict now, different groups in the town are opposing one another, and everything is falling apart; the different groups are represented on the school council and they can't come to any agreemnt. So getting cooperation is seen as part of the route toward progress.

I asked how ISG feels about building projects, like town halls, he said that ISG is not so interested in building palaces or town halls. They want happiness for the common man. I said that other groups seem to see things like town halls as part of development; his response was that other groups also want development, that the thing they want is so great that it has to be symbolized by something like a town hall or palace (he used the word symbolized).

He then mentioned that the issue of urban and rural renewal is also seen as part of the effort, and that this has also been referred to the college of technology. He said that it is all interconnectd to progress.

The person at the college of technology is:
Professor Olu Odeyemi, Rector, Osun STate College of Technoloby, Esa Oke. He is a microbiologist, formerly at Ife. He lives in Ilesa, in vicinity of Paulina's house. I asked if it would be useful for me to talk with him and Kunle said he would give me his phone number.

While looking at the letter to Odeyemi I noticed a typed statement that was a reaction written to a book on the Ooni, calling him the Eagle of the Yoruba. I asked Kunle about it and he said that he had written it. The book was written by some journalists, that the book was ok but the title was offensive. According to the first paragraph of what Kunle wrote, the title was taken from a quote from Olashore about the eagle and the chicken, in relation to leadership-- something he said in a speech, but not about YOruba obas. I skimmed what Kunle had written; which criticized the notion that the Ooni is an eagle amoung chickens, with the chickens being either the other obas or the Yoruba people.

While I was looking at that I also asked Kunle about the reasons for focusing on history, given what he had said about the need for development. He said, that for that I need to read

his preface to the commemorative brochure, and pulled out the typed copy. In the preface he says that they need to "rewrite our history with central focus on our people in the perspective in which we see ourselves." That colonial history emphasized the different tribes and clans, and that now they want to see the past in a different light.

WE didn't get to discuss this further because two men arrived and Kunle said that his phone was dead and he didnt have transport so he had no way to communicate, and then he said that I should stay around to see if the power came back on but that he was going to see his brother-in-law, Arigbede. He asked Tumbi to give us tea, which she did, and we waited a while, then went to see if Mrs. Akinola was home (seh wasnt) and then left, check Lamikanra but he wsnt home either, so we just went by Paulina's houe (her cousin had left the key with Ifaturoti) and then back to Ife.

fnmay957

visit at Justice Eso house, Ibadan -- Wednesday May 24 1995

I stopped in Ibadan en route to Lagos. Was supposed to see Bolanle Awe but she had gone to Lagos. So I decided to stop at Eso's house to see if they were around. I got there about 10:30 AM.

I was directed to Justice Eso's office, and found him there, working at the computer. He was dressed in a dark suit, the first time I've seen him dressed like that. He explained that he was getting ready to go to an arbitration hearing. We chatted for a few minutes tho not too long because he was clearly busy. He gave me a printed copy of a speech he made a few weeks ago on corruption in Nigeria, before an organization called the HOuse of Lords. I asked him what the organization is and he said it's one of these groups of top level people, 20 people from all over the country.

We talked a little about Ilesa. He said that there have been several family events there, including the marriage of his youngest sister there last week. On the other hand he said he's been so busy recently that he hasnt had time to be involved in Ijesa Solidarity Group activities. He mentioned the history research effort they are undertaking but said he doesnt know yet whether he'll be involved in that. I told him that I plan to spend some time in Ilesa during the next few weeks; he asked where I'll be and said he'd like to get together and talk with me and that he'll find out from Ifaturoti where I am whenever he gets there.

When I was getting ready to leave, a woman arrived who he introduced me to; she is a lawyer and was there in connection with the arbitration case he was working on. When he was seeing me off, I asked if his wife was around, so he took me to the main part of the house and called her; she invited me for coffee and I went up to the balcony where she was sitting, with a nice view of the trees and birds, and a nice breeze. It took about half an hour to get my coffee, which came with a snack too, so I ended up visitng with her for about an hour or even more. We discussed a variety of topics -- the birds, herbal medicines that she grows in her garden, and others. Didnt talk much about Ilesa except to mention the many family events they've had recently. The marriage of her husband's youngest sister took place at their house in Ilesa. Another marriage (?) was here at their house in Ibadan. And there's stilll another event coming up, but she said that they're not as involved in that one as they were in the other two.

During our general conversation, she mentioned that a long time ago they talked about retiring to Ilesa, and that she wondered if she could live there. But that she figured she would find something to do there. But instead they built their house in Ibadan, and she has her school in Ibadan -- she owns a primary school, said that there are 1000 students there; it's located in Bodija.

When I getting ready to leave, Mrs. Eso noticed NIke's name on my car and wanted to know about getting some cloth; I introduced her to Bodunde, and then some more time went by while we waited to see something she wanted to show as an example. We finally left the

Eso's house at almost 12:30.

fnmay958

meeting/lunch with Olashore in Lagos, Thurs. May 25 1995

We had arranged that Olashore and Judy Asuni and me would have lunch together. I got to his office about half an hour early, around 12:30. On driving up to the Lead Merchant Bank building, I noticed that they have put a new, fancier front on the building, with lots of glass (All over Victoria Island there are new bank buildings, some much fancier than this one). When I went in, I had to go past a receptionist, who did not know me. Then Olashore's driver appeared and greeted me and the receptionist asked him to take me upstairs. He took me into a woman's office and I again said I was there to see Mr. Olashore, the driver then said that the receptionist downstiars had told him to take me to see this woman. At any rate, we left her office and went in to Olashore's secretary's office; she checked with him, said he was busy with someone, and took me to wait in the Executive Waiting Room and asked if I wanted tea.

I waited in the Executive Waiting Room, which of course has tv with CNN on, and also has a piece of art by Onobrakpeya on the wall, for about five minutes, then Olashore came in to greet me and take me to his office. When I was here last time, they were renovating. NOw he is in a new, much larger office than before. He first asked me to sit down across from his desk; about two minutes later a man came in, greeting me (in Italian for some reason), and seeming to know me -- calling me Professor, for example. I didn't recognize him however. They chatted for a couple of minutes, Olashore invited him to join us for lunch, but he declined. After he left, I asked who he is; Olashore said that he's Sale Jambo and seemed surprised I didnt know him. The secretary brought in tea, so we moved to a corner of the room where he has a couple of couches as well as another tv with CNN. Around the room on the walls are some of the plaques and certificates given in his honor. On one table was a big stack of what appeared to be photo albums, and on top of that was a greeting for his 6oth birthday.

We began talking, and Olashore immediately began to talk about the school. He brought some correspondence out for me to read, between him and the principal, dating back to last October, regarding the principal's request for an increase in offshore payment and also about the medical treatment of his wife. The last couple of letters included one from the principal that seemed to imply that he might have to leave the job suddenly if his wife's medical condition required it. Olashore was upset by this, had written to the person who runs the consulting agency that had helped find the principal to begin with, and also to the principal, who then apologized and said he'd been misunderstood. Apparently in the meantime Olashore had proposed an increase in offshore payment, from 15,000 to 17,000 (pounds); the principal had requested 20,000. Olashore feels that he can no longer trust the principal and needs to begin looking for someone else.

While we were discussing this, Judy arrived, and we got ready to go to lunch. We went to the Brasserie. The conversation over lunch covered a number of topics, focusing mainly on his school and also on the private university idea (Judy was espcially interested in finding out about that). A lot of it was in a light vein, with a lot of joking and veiled sexual innuendos.

On the school, Olashore talked about what he wants it to become, how important it is to him, and how important it is to have expatriate involvement. He seemed to blame me for not having helped him enough (tho later he said I shouldnt take his joking seriously). Judy offered to give him info about a program that sends American teachers to Africa. On the university, he said that he's not goingto start it, unless he can start off with a linkage with a university elsewhere. He seems to feel that the best thing would be a college in his own field of study, ie business, perhaps also social sciences such as ecomonics in relation to business. But it doesnt really sound lik he's going to move into this area anytime soon. He talked more generally about the importance of education to him, pointing out that when he was Managing Director of IBWA (now Afribank) he decided to make a large contribution for the building of a program in banking at UI. He said that the bank board went along with his recommendation. And now there are lots of bank officers at all the banks who have received training there.

I asked if there are any events coming up, and if there is going to be another Iloko Day. This led Olashore to tell us about a meeting scheduled for June 3, and about the likelihood of his becoming oba of Iloko. He said that the pressure is increasing, and that he's been resistng for a long time, but it's getting more difficult. He's been getting delegations of chiefs from other towns urging him to accept it. And peopl in the twon are saying he's the only one they want. He said that people are writing letters asking why the kingmakers havent appointed anyone yet and implying it's because the man who is regent wants to stay on. He said that they have called a meeting on June 3 and that he thinks this will be an occasion to pressure him to accept. The agenda for the meeting has two items: finishing the community hall, and the future of the town (which presumably relates to the oba position).

Judy asked how long this has been going on. He said that his father died in 1989. Before his father took the position of oba, he too resisted coming back from Kano to take it; he resisted for four years. Although he said that he doesnt know if he wll go to the meeting on June 3, he also said that he probably will accept it. (Later, when he and I were talking in his office, he said that he will be accepting the position). Judy asked him if he really wants to leave Lagos and sit in Iloko. He said he wouldnt mind being there, but of course if he accepts he'll do it on his own terms -- and mentioned that he can always travel out of the country. He also told us that he won't expect people to prostrate for him when he's oba, that as much as possible he's stop people from doing that. That he himself doesnt prostrate for anyone, that it's possible to show respect in other ways, eg by bowing.

Olashore told us that his father was 107 years old when he died, and that he was oba for 37 years. i.e. his father was 70 when he became oba. Judy was curious as to how Olashore came to be the first son, since he's only 60 now. This led him to explain that his father attended school late, not starting til he was about 20. Then he married legally in an "English wedding" and they didnt have any children for 10 years. Eventually he divorced the first wife and married Olashore's mother, and he was the first son to live (there was another who died) and he has a sister.

In discussing upcoming events, Olashore told me that there's going to be an Ibokun Day; I think he said June 10 (a date when there seem to be several things happenng) but I have to

check on that. He also said that while he's not sure if he'll be home June 3 that he'll definitley be there June 10, because there's a birthday party for a 70 year old women in Ilesa (Mrs. Ola?). Also that will be the last time he's at home before he travels; he leaves June 17 for Europe and Asia. He plans to go to the Philippines and Indonesia; he said he was lonely the last time he was in London so wants to go to other places. He'll be traveling with Sale Jambo (the man I saw in his office earlier). Later he said that if he gets to the US it will be in SEptember.

AT one point we got on to the subject of the Oshogbo Rd and I asked whether it's ever been repaired. He then got talking about the state government and how it doesnt do anything. He said that a delegation came to him to invite him to the launching of the Osun State Industrial Development fund and that he gave N50,000 but that he knows they wont do anything with it, that they'll chop it. He wrote them a crossed check. He said that money went to the state for various projects while he was in governemtn, but nothing has been done with it -- eg for the purchase of sanitation vehicles. Then a little while later people came to invite him to the launching of the FAmily Support Program. He didnt want to go, but was told that this is the way they're measureing whether there is support for the government and that he has to go if he doesnt want it to be taken that he doesnt support government. So he made a donation of N100,000. But he left the ceremony early, saying he had somewhere else to go. He said it was supposed to start at 10 AM but didnt start til about 12:30,. that he left at 2:30 and everyone was still there -- like the oni and others. when we got back to his office he gave me a copy of the speech he made there.

After lunch Judy left and I went back to his office with him to talk for a while longer. We talked a little more about his becoming oba and he said he'll be accepting it. I also checked with him about others I might see; he said that the man who is regent also lives in Lagos. I asked about the man he told me about who does local history. He told me that he has tapes that were made of his father telling local history, and also that someone recently interviewed this other man; he showed me a transcript of that interview (the man is Alhaji Benjamin) but h said that it doesnt make sense and that he doesnt think this man really knows the history. His father's tapes have not been transcribed, they are in Yoruba, he has listend to them but he says there are lots of stories and tangents. He talked a little about the history of Iloko in relation to Ilesa, saying that the founder of Iloko was actually a senior brother to the founder of Ilesa (ie to the owa), that you cant tell anything by the size of the town, and it was just that the owa was the one who went to the sea to get water to cure their father's eyes, but still he wasn't the senior brother.

Olashore told me that he'd talked with the Fatireguns about my staying with them and that it's ok for me to do so.

He also brought up the subject of Nike, and said that they've talked about the incident and that he's forgiven her, that things are ok between them now.

I said that I planned to stop to see her before I left the office, and since I was then getting ready to leave, he called someone to take me there -- it's kind of a maze geting from one part of the office to another. Nike is now working in a different area, an area that's concerned

with trade (importing things) and also with stocks. She has a desk with others in a fairly large room. She introduced me to one young girl there, who is Mobo Akinola's daughter. I didnt stay long, we just made arrangements to get together on Saturday.

fnmay959

phone conversation with Bolanle Awe, Thurs May 25

I called Bolanle Awe from Lagos, since she hadnt been in the office on Wednesday when I stopped there. She said that she had had to go to Lagos. We discussed possible times to get together. She said that she may come to Ilesa on June 10 for a lecture at Ijebu-jesa (the same lecture Ifaturoti had told me about) so I said that I probably will attend the lecture. We agreed that we might get together after that.

fnmay9510

phone conversation in Lagos with Mrs. Abe, Saturday May 27

I called Mrs. Abe from Judy's houe and reminded her of who I am. Fairly soon into the conversation she told me of the death of her friend Mrs. Farinde, who died last year she said.

We discussed whether she is going to be in Ilesa any time soon. She said that she might go there the weekend of June 10. She said that she has been there the past two weekends for weddings and other events. Last time she went with Professor Fadahunsi she said, she didnt take her own car. Since she's been there the past two weeknds she isnt going for a couple of weeks, but probably will go June 10. She said that she usually arrives Friday and stays either til Sunday afternoon or MOnday morning. I told her that I plan to be around Ilesa that weekend and that Mrs. Akinola is likely to know where I am.

fnmay9511

Visit with Nike Afolabi Saturday May 27, Lagos

I went to Nike's house at about 10:30 AM and stayed til about 2, when we set out to return to Ife. Most of our conversation was about her job situation, but that involved a lot of information about Olashore, his relationships with people, how he acts toward those who work for him, etc. In the process I learned quite a lot of addional information about him, especially about relationships with women -- including two who are apparently long-lasting relationships. One works at the bank as "company secretary". The other works at UBA; he helped her get her job there.

We also talked about his birthday party, which Nike attended even tho it was in the middle of this business about her job performance. She said that there were lots of people there, that his wife participated more than at other events (she danced), and that everyone was there including all the girlfriends.

We also discussed whether and how Olashore has benefited by being in government. She pointed out that even if he doesnt do anything wrong, he benefits, eg., by being given land. She mentioned too how many cows and other gifts were given for his daughter's wedding which took place while he was minister. There wasnt a similar quanitity of stuff given for his son's wedding which took place later.

fnmay9512

conversation in Ife about rich people in Ilesa

On Saturday evening May 27 Mrs. Odebiyi gave a going away party for Helen Rosenberg. At one point, Folarin mentioned that he had been in Ilesa on Friday-Saturday for a chieftaincy installation at a church. Mrs. Odebiyi commented that the richest men in Nigeria are from Ilesa. This led to a brief conversation about how rich people from Ilesa are, and who they are. First a political scientist, Durotoye, said not really, that people from Ilesa arent that rich. Then Tanwa Odebiyi started mentioning names. The first name mentioned was Olashore. No one commented on that. Then she mentioned Akinola. To that, Durotoye said that Akinola is comfortable but not really rich. Then Omole was mentioned. And finally Akanni Aluko. I asked about him, because altho I know the name I didnt know that he is from Aluko. He is the publisher of the new newspaper called Third Eye. Several people said that he is very rich. They explained that he got a lot of money from Babangida to start Third Eye, which was first a part of the Daily Times and now is a separate newspaper. I asked whether he spends any time in Ilesa. The answer was that most of these people go there for occasions and probably he does too (but I dont think anyone really knew).

Further note on Akanni Aluko and Third Eye. When I bought it recently, it had a big article about Ayeni, man from Ilesa who was celebrating his birthday. Maybe that explains the connection there. Also LaRay told me that it started out pro-government but isnt any longer. Others seem to think it may still be Babangida influenced.

fnmay9513

Videotape of Olashore's birthday party

Olashore lent me a copy of the videotape made about his birthday party and Bodunde and I looked at it MOnday afternoon, May 29. It's about an hour long, most of it is about the church service held in his honor at the chapel in Iloko. There are also interviews with various people about him.

I mentioned something to Bodunde about the clothing, and he said that some of the outfits people are wearing cost about N60,000. For example the material that Olashore and his wife were wearing is very expensive; it's a kind of lace, white, quite shiny. Bodunde said that material like this can cost N5000-N6000 a yard. He pointed out some other outfits that are also expensive.

I'm going to keep this copy of the tape and get it converted to American format at home. Olashore didnt actually say whether I sthould return it or not, but he had a number of copies.

At the end of the tape, the narrator indicates that there is going to be another tape, focusing on Olashore's life. I'll have to ask him about that.

Olashore also gave me a tape of the Christmas caroling at the school; we just watched a little of that one.

fnmay9514

visit with Olashore's uncle, Iloko, Tuesday afternoon May 30

We went out to Iloko about 3:30 PM. Found Olashore's uncle in his own house instead of the palace; he asked if I wanted to go to the palace or if the house was ok. I suggested we just stay there, so he took me in to the entrance area/sitiing room. From theoutside the hoouse appears to be an ordinary cement bungalow. On entering however, there is a large entrance way that functions as sitting room and goes the length of the house. I could see thru a door at the back of this room that there is another building behind.

When we got there, several people were sitting on chairs in the room. These included a very old women, who greeted me, a middleaged man, and quite a few children. The old woman stayed throughout our conversation, sort of dosing off, then greeting me; the man went in and out, as did the children (altho one girl sat and stared at me; when I asked her name she said that she is Yinka Olashore; she's 11 years old).

I chatted a bit with Olashore's uncle, first about the fact that I've been there before and what's been happening. He said that they still dont have a ruler but that they hope to get one soon. I asked by when, and he said before the end of the year, or by the first of next year. Neither of us mentioned anything about the likelihood of Olashore getting it.

He asked me what kind of work I do. When I tried to explain, and mentioned my itnerest in things people are doing for improvement of the town and the fact that I had attended Iloko Day, he said that there hasnt been another Iloko Day. He said that they're waiting til they finish the community hall, and when that is finished they'll have Iloko Day. I asked how much is left to do; he said it needs to be painted and other finishing touches. Also the grounds around it need to be taken care of. He also said that they want to do something about their spring, which is the best water supplyfor the town, and that the Prince (ie. Olashore) is talking about damming it.

He commented that things are hard now and that everything costs more. He referred to the value of the naira and said that the problem is that things aren't produced here, so you have to buy them from elsewhere, ie to import them.

He said that the spring and the town hall are the projects they're working on now.

I said that I had heard that there's going to be a town meeting coming up soon. He said that there is a weekly meeting; the chiefs are involved and also the regent. I asked about the regent and he said that he mostly lives in Lagos, b ut comes here from time to time; he presides over the weekly meetings but if he isnt around someone does so for him. He comes here sometimes, he said. I got the impression that Olashore's uncle didnt know anything about any special meeting this weekend. He said he would check around, with the chiefs, so I agreed that I would come back onThursday afternoon to check with him. I asked about attending the meeting. He said that the best time to check is the afternoon, because many are out on the farm earlier.

When we left Olashore's uncle's there were quite a number of people (both men an women) sitting around outside a house acrsoos the street, so it shouldnt be too difficult to find people to talk to when we go back to Iloko.

fnmay9515

visit at Ifaturoti's house Tuesday afternoon May 30

We stopped by after leaving Iloko and after looking for Mrs. Fatiregun who wasnt home.

We talked briefly about several things. I mentioned that we had just been in Iloko. He asked if we had seen the school; I said that not this time, but had visited it in January. I asked if he's been there. He said yes, several times, most recently for the Easter presentaiton by the students. He also attended the Christmas carols but Tinu didnt. He said that the school is very good and mentioned that Tinu has a nephew going there.

We talked about Ife and the problems at the university with regard to water supply. This led to talking about the vice chancellor. Kunle said that his daughter said that the lecturers were very unhappy with the vice chancellor and some are refusing to mark papers as a result. I told him what I have heard, e.g., thecomment about him becoming a contractor and giving contracts only to people from Ilesa. Kunle sort of laughed and said that would be very un-Ijesa. Then he told me his involvement in getting Wale Omole appointed as vc. He said that very soon after Ijesa Solidarity Group formed and they had first meeting of pro tem council. AT that meetings, someone said that it was too bad they were such a young organization because otherwise they could try to influence the appointment of Omole. Kunle suggested that they go ahead and try. He and the two chairmen (committee chairmen?) Kayode Eso and Kunle Apara were instructed to try to do something. When they discussed how to do it, Eso said that he would be in Benin the following week and that Aikhomu would be there, so he decided to bring it up with him. When he did, Aikhomu said that Omole had very little chance, about the only thing going for him was that he was an alumnus. So based on that they began contacting alumni and getting them to petition the government about Omole's appointent. The petition they sent in reached Aikhomu just a few hours before the decision as announced.

Kunle said that up to then he hadnt actually met Omole. So he went to the unverstiy to get a feel for how people felt and everyone seemed to be very happy about his appointment. People were hoping he would be another Oluwasanmi.

I also checked with Ifaturoti's about dates for a couple of events. I asked about Ibokun Day and they brought out an invitation (addressed to Ijesa Solidarity Goup). The program is this Friday and Saturdya, June 2-3, with events on Friday involving children, muslim prayers etc. Saturday Am there is a chieftaincy installation at the palace, and then starting at 11:35 AM, the main event at the grammar school grounds -- including fund raising. Introduction of guests is scheduled for 12:45. Kunle said that he has to send his regrets, that he won't be attending.

He also showed me the invitation for the wedding of Apara's daughter. The engagement is on Sunday June 25 at the Apara house (14? Kernel St, off Bode Thomas, Surulere) and the wedding at Christ Church Marina (Anglican Church) on Thursday June 29 at 11 AM. There's a reception at La Mirage in Federal Palace Hotel.

Finally with regard to the lecture on June 10 in jebu-jesa: it is scheduled for 1 PM. That is also Tinu's birthday.

I said that I plan to be back in Ilesa by Thursday and will probably be staying at Paulina's and will let them know, also that I'm finishing the paper for him.

fnmay9516

visit with Ifaturoti,Thursday June 1

I stopped by to let Ifaturoti's know that I'n staying at Paulina's house for the weekend, and to give him the short paper I wrote for the Ijesa historical research fund brochure. Kunle wasnt home when we got there but got home about half an hour later, saying he had gone out to photocopy some things but had then gone looking for yesterdays newspaper to find out more about the riots in Kano. In that context, I asked him about newspapers, specificially ab out the new one, Third Eye. He said that the publisher is an illiterate, that he doesnt buy that one, hasnt read it. He mentioned that he's from Ilesha. Said he got a lot of money to advertise Babangida and is doing the same now with the present government.

He read what I had written. His only comment was that it's "quite good" then said that it's very good-- didnt say anything more about it. He told me about the other papers he's received so far -- his own preface, one by his brother on chieftaincy, which he titled Chieftaincy in Ilesa, but which Omole thinks is the wrong title since it's really about Ijesa chiefs, and shows that Ijesa are one. Also one by someone on history of markets, the ancient markets, but Kunle isnt happy with that one, feels it's not up to his standards. But he said he's not the editor, that he can't decide not to include something.

I also checked with him on roads to get to Ibokun, if we want to get there for Ibokun Day on Saturday. The best way to go is road to Ido-Oko, past George Burton (is also road to the concord hotel). Can also go thru Ijebu-jesa, or off the Oshogbo Rd, thru Idominasi.

Ifaturotis said they would come to see me tomorrow morning to see where Paulina's house is.

fnmay9517

Thursday June 1, trip to Iloko

The old man in Iloko who we spoke with the other day (Olashore's uncle) had told us to come back today about 2 PM. It was actually about 3 by the time we got there. When we went to park the car near his house, the people outside signaled that we should go to the palace, which we did. When we got there, we found the little girl who had been around the other day (Yinka) and she went to look for the old man. He came out a few minutes later (in between I quickly took a photo of the large photo of the Aloko, Olashore's father, which is in the sitting room of the palace). Then he told us that he had sent the girl to go check on one of the chiefs, to see if he wanted to come to the palace or if we should go to his house. The title was either loni or aloni; the name of the man was, I think, Batari. The girl came back and said that the chief had gone to Ijebu to pick up his children from school. The old man sent her off to look for a different chief, but she came back to say that he was still at work and would be back at 5 PM. Olashore's uncle told me that he had already told th first chief about me; I don't know if he also told the other one.

We agreed that I should come back at 5 tomorrow, that the chiefs would be around then. In the meantime, I asked about going around to talk with people. The old man said that I should talk with the chiefs first.

While we were sitting there, he told me that he'd just come in from the farm, that he walks there and its about 2 miles away. He grows yam, cassava and maize as well as some vegetables. He commented that it's more difficult to farm here than it is in the north, where he used to live. In the north the soil is sandy and there arent a lot of trees, so you can use a plow to work the soil, but hard to do that here.

When we got to Iloko there was a big truck unloading (or loading?) some road equipment and some military guys. The road leading out of town away from the palace was freshly tarred. I asked Olashore's uncle about this. He said that the road to Ijeda is being tarred. And also that the contracts have been given for the other roads -- to Ijebu and to Iwaraja -- and that the road that goes in front of the palace will also be tarred eventually, to be linked with the express going to Ilesa (the continuation of the dual carraigeway now being done from Ife to Ibadan; according to him the old express will become the road in one direction, while the roadin the other direction will be the one that goes in front of the palace. (At present that road doesnt go out of town, so far as I know)

fnmay9518

June 1 1995, visit with Mrs. Tina Fatiregun

After leaving Iloko at about 3:30 we went to Ijebu-jesa and this time I found Tina Fatiregun at home. She said she'd been expecting me, and that they were all set for me to have a place to stay there. She said that there's a room right off the sitting room, or else I can have a whole place to myself in the other house. I said I'd come next week to stay a few days.

She was working on a paper for a conference on Aids education. Another woman was there, who she introduced as her sister, who lives in Efon. We chatted a bit about various things.

She said that she thinks Prince (Olashore) will be coming this weekend since they didnt see him last weekend.) I told her that he had said he might be there this weekend and definitely June 10. I said that he had told me he's getting a lot of pressure to become oba, and what did she think. She said that she thinks it's a"nasty business'. I asked what she meant. And she said that chieftaincy around here involves a lot of fetish; at first I didint understand what she said, she so repeated that there's a lot of fetish stuff, and it's a problem for a Christian. But then, shesaid, maybe he can change that. In addition she also siad that there's a lot of politics. She said that he hasnt told them yet that he is planning to do it, but that there' a lot of pressure, from left and right.

Prof. Bolanle Awe's name was mentioned in connection with her interest in doing researhc on population issues. She said that she hasnt met her, but that she had proposed her name as one of the women to be honored in connection with the Ijesa Historcal Research Fund. She then showed me a typed version of the organizers manual (which I have in different form) and said that she's on a committee to do something to honor 5 women --one frm each local government (didnt say who the fifth would be). She had proposed Bolanle Awe, but doesnt know her village, has to find that out, get her cv. Others proposed include someone nmed Faseru from Ipetu-Ijesa who is a chief there. The committee includes about 6 people, including Mrs. Agini.

I said I'd stop back tomorrow after 5 PM (after I go to Iloko).

fnmay9519

visit from neighbors at Paulina's house, Thursday evenin June 1

When I arrived at the house, I met a young woman who lives in Paulina's flat who said she works at the college. Later in the evening she came back with a man and a woman. The man said that he's a lecturer at University of Benin, in chemistry. He owns the red brick house that is near Paulina's house. I asked his name, he gave the last name very quicly; I think it was Ademoroti, first name Chris. He said that he is here for the weekend and comes about once every two months. The last time he saw Paulina was over a year ago, at Christmas 1993.

He said that he was the first to build a house on this road , that he "made the road". He started his house in 1982 and dedicated it 9 years later in 1991, tho it was finished before that.

When I asked if he's from Ilesa he said "it's my town" and then said that having built a house here makes you want to come here more. The woman with him was presumably his wife but she didnt say anything; the young woman who is my neighbor also didnt speak.

fnmay9520

Friday June 2 1995 -- Saturday June 3

attempts to see various people

1. We went out Friday afternoon, hoping to see several people in Ilesa and then going on to Iloko. We went first to check on Mobo Akinola, but once again she wasnt home. I tried again on Saturday morning, but was then told that she had gone to Ibadan.

2. We also went to Lamikanra's house. His wife was at home and we visited with her for a while, but he wasn't home. His wife said that he had gone to Ijebu-jesa; she was expecting him back by 3 because he had an appointment then. But we left at 3:30 and he still want back. I said we would try to see him on Tuesday morning. Later when we saw Chief Fatodu in Ijebu-jesa he said that his friend Chief Lamikanra had been to visit him, and stayed telling stories, then left when the rain threatened.

Lamikanra's wife didnt talk much; just said a little about how bad things are in the country and how much things cost. And I really didnt ask her about much either.

fnmay9521

Friday June 2 1995 -- visit with Chief Fatodu in Ijebu-jesa

We went out to Chief Fatodu's house and found him working in his garden. We went in and chatted for a while. He began to talk right away about the tension in the country and the fact that I had timed my visit to coincide with a tense time, and the fact that various people like Ajasin have been arrested. We didnt talk about this much however.

I asked him how things are going with the community bank, and he said that he thinks they're going well, that it's one of the best community banks around. And that people can always get their money out, unlike at First Bank, where you go to get your money and they tell you to come back the next day. He said that at the community bank they keep an eye on things and go to their correspondent bank in Ilesa to get more money whenever they need to. I asked whether it is working in the sense that people who wouldnt have had access to banking before now do so, and he said yes and talked a little about loans and the fact that some people are having difficulty paying back on time. But he mentioned the system that the manager had told me about before, where someone from the bank goes out regularly to check and collect money from those who owe, on a daily basis. He then went on to say that the idea of the community bank is that people who dont have collateral and cant use the regular banks will be able to go to this bank. He mentioned that Peoples Bank was supposed to do the same thing, but that it didnt seem to work. And went on to say that he understood that Peoples Bank was supposed to be modeled on something from Asia. I then told him about Grameen Bank, and how that was established and the way it worked. I mentioned some of the differences in that set-up from that of Peoples Bank (e.g not government to start, starting small scale) and then told them about the idea of group guarantees. I described this and asked Bodunde what he would think of such an idea here. Both he and Fatodu said that they didnt think that would work here, they agreed that people are too individualistic here and wouldnt want to be responsible for someone else's loan.

I then asked Fatodu how community banks and Peoples Bank related to the earlier rural banking system. He said that the rural banking idea was one developed by Olashore when he was at the Central Bank. That up til then the regular banks only had branches in urban areas, they weren't in rural areas. The idea was to get the banks to put branches in rural areas. But these were still regular banks, and still limited in terms of who could use them becuase they still had the regular requirements --collateral, etc. That was when they got the branch of First Bank here.

I asked Fatodu if it would be possible to get information on who is using the community bank, for what purpose they're getting loans, and information such as that. I said I realized that confidentiality was an issue, but that maybe it would be possible to get one or two case studies of individuals, if they would be willing to talk with me. He said that he would speak with the bank manager about preparing some data for me, and also about the possibility of finding some one to talk with me. We agreed that I would come back next Thursday to check with him about this.

fnmay9522

Friday June 2 1995 -- brief visit with Olashore's uncle

I went back to Iloko to check with him about seeing the chiefs, and about attending the meeting. He was at the palace and came out to the sitting room almost immediately. He said that the meeting will take place at 3 PM on Saturday and that it's ok for me to attend. He had spoken with the Chief Aloni and also with the other man he mentioned yesterday and said that they said it was ok. Apparently there was no need to see them in person. I said that I would come at about 2:30 and find him at the palace. He said that the meeting would take place either in the meeting room attached to the palace or in the new community hall, but that there might be a problem with seats at the community hall.

fnmay9523

Friday June 2 1995 -- visit with Tina Fatiregun

I had told Tina on Thursday that I would stop by again Friday after going to Iloko. I did so, and found her at home. We chatted for a while, mostly about upcoming events, and I told her that I would come to stay on Thursday instead of Tuesday since I want to go to Akure on Wednsday and want to to do that from Ife

She mentioned that she thinks her "brother-in-law" (her term) is around -- ie Olashore. She saw his car somewhere but hadnt seen him yet. She said they'll go see him in the evening, or else he will come to see them.

Tomorrow she is going to Ekiti with a friend, to attend a wedding there. On Sunday there will be an engagement at her house; the daughter of her late brother-in-law is getting engaged, she will bring the man and his family to intoduce them.

I mentioned Ibokun Day, and she said that if she had known I was around she would have sugested going with me. I said that I heard about it from Olashore and she said maybe he is going. I told her that I probably wont go because I want to be in Iloko for something and that I've heard the road is bad. We discussed the various roads to Ibokun; she said that the one from Ijebu-jesa has been graded and is quite good but would be slippery if it rained (as it turned out, it rained nearly all day Saturday).

I said that I should go to the school sometime to see the principal and his wife, and asked if she goes there. She said that she doesnt go and discussed the relationship between the principal's wife and Olashore. She said that Leslie is rude, that she's rude to people and was rude to Olashore. I asked what happened. She said that Olashore was discussing something concerning the school with the principal and that the wife interfered. That Olashore came to their (Fatiregun) house, that he was upset and hurt. Tina spoke with Leslie, telling her that our men here are proud and that she can't talk with somene like Olashore like that. She thinks that Leslie didnt appreciate her comments and since then she doesnt go to the school unless there is something happening there, some reason to go. That others around town also dont go, she mentioned someone named Mrs. Oni who is very friendly with eveyrone but that she doesnt go to the school any more. And that even when they heard that the wife was sick, they didnt go there. She thinks that Leslie doesnt mind, because she's used to being alone; we agreed that neither of us would like just sitting there by ourselves.

When we were talking about Iloko I also mentioned Iwoye and how people there didnt want me to attend a meeting. Tina said that she went to Iwoye to interview for a study she was doing on men's attitudes toward family planning, and that they were very suspicious, they didnt want to talk with her, until finally her husband went and spoke with people. She also feels that they're more polygynous there than where she is from in Edo state, and that they dont care much about their children, just see them thru primary school and then dont worry about them -- except of course for the educated ones.

fnmay9524

Meeting in Iloko Saturday June 3 1995

Bodunde and I got to Iloko at about 2:35 or 2:40, and went to the palace, we parked the car in the parking area immediately in front of the palace and went in to look for "baba" (Olashore's uncle). We didnt see anyone, so came outside again, and a man who was across the street came and greeted us. He said we should check the house for baba. Meanwhile, we could see that people were gathering in the meeting room adjacent to the palace, and there was a man out in front ringing a gong, presumably to announce the meeting. After a couple of minutes, Olashore's uncle appeared, from inside the meeting room, and we went to greet him. He took us inside, apparently he had been looking for us, said he was expectng us at 2:30. There were already quite a few people sitting in the room, almost all of them old, with men on the left facing front and women on the right. All were seated on metal chairs lined up in rows. At that time about four rows of chairs on each side were already full. We were taken to the front row on the right, in front of the women, and asked to sit there. A man in white with chiefs beads was sitting on a chair on the right in front, on a sort of stage which is raised above the level of the rest of the floor. We greeted him, and also greeted the women as we sat down. I felt pretty conspicuous but for the most part people didnt pay much attention to us. They were all chatting among themselves and just sitting and waiting.

Several upholstered chairs were set up in front of the room. After a while several men came in and went toward the front of the room; one, in a pale yellow outfit, was greeted as "kabiyesi" by several people and was wearing chiefs beads so I came to the conclusion that he was the man referred to as the Regent. He greeted me when he came by me, then went with a couple of other men to sit in the front of the room, on the upholstered chairs. A few minutes after that, a man dressed in blue arrived, and again came toward the front of the room, again he greeted me, tho he looked more surprised and questioning about my presence but didn't say anything at that time. Later, I realized that this man was the chairman of the Development Committee, and at the end I got his name--Omoniyi (I actually knew the name from Iloko Day information from the past but had never actually seen him before.)

Almost as soon as Omoniyi arrived and took a seat in front the meeting began. The man in white sitting by himself to the right said a prayer; some people stood up (mainly men), others remained sitted. The meeting began at about 2 minutes after 3 PM. Omoniyi got up and began speaking in Yoruba; the whole meeting was conducted in Yoruba/Ijesa. I was able to understand a fair amount of what Omoniyi said, but understood little of what others said. I took some notes during the meeting, and afterwards went over the whole thing with Bodunde; Bodunde also translated some things during the meeting altho that was a bit difficult since we were sittin right up front.

Omoniyi began by apologizing for being late. According to him the meeting was supposed to start at 2 PM (which may explain why so many people were already seated when I got there at 2:40m -- tho I had been told that the meeting was scheduled for 3). At any rate, he apologized, explaining that he had been in Abuja this morning, and that he phoned his driver to meet him at the airport and he came here straight from the airport. He was in Ife at 2 PM

but there was heavy rain along the way so they couldnt drive fast. He said that the secretary wasnt able to attend because he is writing an exam, so he called on another man to come up to the front to be the protem secretary. That man took one of the other upholstered chairs at the front. (see diagram). At about this time, or maybe a little earlier, some people moved around to open the windows in the room; the room is a sort a sort of hexagonal shape with lots of windows with louvres and light and air -- even when it got more full later on it remained comfortable (tho it was also a fairly cool afternoon). There is also an overhead fan, as there is in the sitting room of the palace, but I've never seen any evidence of functioning electricity there so I'm not sure if there's electricity -- something to check on.

After asking the protem secretary to come up, Omoniyi went on to talk about the fact that they had invited lots of people from Lagos, Ibadan, Oshogbo to attend but that they didnt show up. He said that people used to complain about short notice of meetings, but this time they gave them advance notice but they still didnt come.

He said that there were three things they were going to discuss, three reasons for calling the meeting. He never actually went on to enumerate these, but simply started talking about the first.

He said that the first thing is the community hall. Mainly he talked about the money for the hall. He said that the money that had been raisd at Iloko Day has been spent to build the hall to its current state. They didn't do an Iloko Day last year, because they said that they can't be inviting people from outside to give money every year. He said that they should finish the community hall and then invite people from outside (ie, non-Iloko people) so that they can see what they used the money they donated for.

He talked about the money they raised. He said that with regard to the money they asked the town to donate, the people living in the village had donated, but that those outside (that is Iloko people outside) hadn't all donated -- some had given more than they were asked for, some gave half of what was asked, and some havent given anything. He said something here that people found humorous, that they laughed at: according to Bodunde, he said that the money they asked for from the village was more than that from the city (even tho the amount is actually lower) --by saying this he was showing respect for those in the village. He said that old people should talk to their children, to tell them to donate money and make sure they contribute to the development of the town. He went on to say that parents cant talk to their children any more, things are changing because fathers aren't fulfilling their roles so they no longer have control over heir children, that even primary school children no longer listen to their parents.

He said that with regard to finishng the hall, they want to raise money from Iloko indigenes, not from people from outside. The basic message of all this was that they want to finish the hall. He finished speaking with a prayer.

While Omoniyi was talking, another man -- sort of fat with egg-shaped head and dressed in white top and pants (but not agbada) arrived and was given a seat in the front on the last of the upholstered chairs. Toward the end it became evident that he is from Oshogbo -- possibly

a businessman based there (that is he lives in Oshogbo).

At about this time I counted the number of people present; it was now about 3:30. I estimate there were about 35 men and a bout the same number of women (probably less womn than men). The majority were old -- especially the women, I didnt see any younger women there; I'd say all were at least in their 60's. Most of the men also looked pretty old, but there were a few middleaged men in the group. The Regent and Omoniyi are probably both in their fifties.

A man in back got up to speak. While he was speaking, the Regent signaled to Bodunde to come up to the front to speak with him. Later, Bodunde told me that he asked if it was Olashore who asked us to come. Bodunde explained that we had talked with baba and that he had checked with the chiefs on our atending -- it seems that the REgent didnt know about it until he saw us however.

Manwhile, the man in back spoke about the fact that people don't have money because when someone dies the money people spend is too much. They spend money on all kinds of things, including special food which is cooked for the chiefs. He suggested that they're forced to do that. He said that all that is making people poor, that they spend all their money. He said that instead of spending money that way, why not use it to send their children to school or for the development of the town.

Omoniyi responded saying that they too (members of the developmnt committee?) have had that in mind but that they haven't known how to put it to the elders, that they will set up a committee to look into this.

Then the Regent spoke, saying that people are not forced to spend money when someone dies. He sad that if someone has the money, that is fine, then spend it on the burial and the chiefs and other people will eat the food. But if they don't have money, they should just bury the body and not spend a lot of money, and they will still be respected in the town. He said that people aren't spending money on their children to send them to school. He said that when children from Iloko took the exam for Olashore International School, they did poorly in comparison with those from Lagos who took the exam. Out of 25 students from Iloko taking the exam, the last 20 on the list were from Iloko -- they got scores like 5 and 10%. He said that people don't want to spend money on school. Then he said that instead of spending on a burial ceremony why not spend the money on the community hall. For example instead of buying a cow for N18,000 for a burial, why not give that amount for the town hall, and then one's father's name will live in the town forever.

Omoniyi spoke again, and said that they would leave the issue of the burial ceremony for now. That they will have a committee look into it. Then he talked more about schools. He said that parents dont send their children to school any more, that they don't want to spend money. Children will go to school three days a week and then go to the farm or go out to work to get money for books instead of going to school the other days. He said that the town had spent N32,750 over about two and a half years for the teachers at the school (secondary school?) (he didnt say). He said that there is a library in the town for the children

to study at, but that whenever he goes there he never meets anyne there. He said that it is the duty of the parents to make sure that their children go to school and study. That they can go to the farm to help after school hours.

He said that when he was young they used to count how many Iloko students went to university, to polytechnic, etc. each year, but that now students from Iloko dont have good enough grades t go any more. He said that Prof. Odeyemi had helped Iloko students gain entrance; that students from Iloko wouldnt be at any higher institution with the kind of grades they have, except that Prof Odeyemi has helped them to gain admission (I think this is the person who is rector at College of Technology in Esa Oke).

One of the chiefs then got up to speak. He talked about how people are spending their money in the wrong way, like for burial ceremony and clothing instead of sending children to school or buying books for their children. He commented on whether one is forced to do things like getting special food for the chiefs. He referred to example when the oba was still alive and he was supposed to get things like chicken, duck for some type of sacrifice. When the cost became too much he went to the oba and told him that he couldnt do it. (so he was supporting the regent's point that one isnt forced to do these things).

Omoniyi then went back to the subject of the community hall. He said that the community hall is one of the best around, that it has a kitchen, and a place for people to play games, and to drink with their friends.

Then he talked about Iloko Day. He said that people in Iloko had said that the fifth month (ie May) isnt good because they dont have enough food for visitors because their farm produce isnt in yet. By the 10th month, (October) they will have food for visitors. So they've decided to change the date from May to October 21. For the next IlokoDay they won't invite people from outside (i.e, non-Iloko people) but instead they want to bring their sons and daughters back home to meet and talk, and to celebrate the progress of the town. The next Iloko Day will tak place in the new hall so everyone must pa so that they can complete it by then. He said that at the last Iloko Day "Prince" "Omooba" (ie. Olashore) had brought his friends from Lagos to donate money. For the next one they dont want him to do that. People can bring their personal friends from outside but not people like governors, ministers to donate money.

Then the Regent spoke. He introduced a couple of people: Professor Odeyemi, who was sitting in the back of the room and said how he had helped the children get admission into school. Then he introduced the chairman of the local government, and asked him to come up to the front of the room. He did so, and sat in a metal chair, until a bit later when the man in white (the one from Oshogbo) switched chairs with him. The Regent mentioned the role of the Chairman of the local government with regard to the Iloko-Ijeda road, which is being tarred and said a prayer for him. He also indicated that the chairman is from Iloko, but didnt say that directly, rather said that he didnt want to treat him as a son of Iloko but simply as chair of local government-- ie that he's doing things from them in that role and not cause he's from their town.

Someone got up and spoke from the back of the room. He talked about the fact that they need drainage along the road to the community hall, that the've been trying to do something ab out it themselves, but he was asking thelocal govt chair to help. He said that houses along there are being effected by erosion.

The man in front, by himself to our right, got up and spoke, a lot of it seemed to be prayers -- but he also talked about the fact that the area around the maternity (health center) is bushy and that they need to clear it. Again, this seemed to be directed at chair of local govt.

By this time, around 4:30 PM, there were probably about 100 people in the room; it was quite full.

Omoniyi spoke again, and talked about the maternity and about water. He said that the local government had given them two wells (kanga) but that they aren't working and that Prince, Omooba, had given them two boreholes but there are problems with those too. They get water in the rainy season but not in the dry season.

The man who was actin as secretary spoke about the clearing of the bush at the health cente, that the local government vehicle wasn't working.

Then the chair of the local government spoke. About the maternity, he said that the machine would be there on MOnday to clear the bush. Also that they have opened a family planning center there. With regard to water, he said th the pipe was broken, and that the water works told the local government that they had to pay N27000 to fix it since they broke it while working on the road. They have paid. Then the Waterworks in Ede said that they needed transportation of the chemicals and that the local govt sent a vehicle to get the chemicals. But that there still wasnt water so that they will go back there again on MOnday to see what is happening.

With regard to the Iloko-Ijeda Road, the local government had to pay N43000 to the contractor. Then the contractor didnt have the machines so he had to hire them from the army base in Ede, and it costs N20000 a day to hire the machines. Then the contractor couldnt get enough asphalt so they have sent the machines back until the contractor gets the asphalt. So the road is delayed because the contractor couldnt get the asphalt and they cant finish it til they get more asphalt.

Then Omoniyi spoke again. He began by saying that the Methodist church and other churches have their own burial grounds, but that they need to have a burial ground for the town. That when someone old dies, it's ok to bury the body at the housed, but not if a young person dies. So the development committee is trying to get a burial ground for the town. They want the chiefs to decide who should donate the land. They will divide it between Muslims and Christians. The Development Committee will raise money to fence it. He said that they had written the chiefs about this. The REgent spoke and said that the chiefs got the lettr last year, that they had a meeting and decided on the land that would be given.

Things seemed to be winding down at this point, and there was some whispered conversation

among those in front. Then Omoniyi came over to speak to me, to ask if I wanted to say something (earlier, another man had also asked me this,who said that baba wanted to know if I wanted to say something and we said later). Now, Omoniyi asked me about my research, and if it specifically concerned women or everyone. I briefly explained that I'm interested in things people are doing for the improvement of their towns. Then they asked me to speak, so I tried briefly in Yoruba, then in English, then Bodunde translated, then Omoniyi repeated some of what Bodunde said.

Some people seemed to be leaving and they were called back.

Then the Regent spoke, and what he said elicited a lot of respnse from people, especially from the womn sitting behind me. (a lot of "amin" and other responses as if to prayers). He said that some people are trying to get black power from outside to disturb the progress of the town or to hurt some people in the town. Anyone trying to do this should desist. On MOnday, Christians should go to church, and Muslims should also pray, and eveyrone should fast. Anyone doing anything bad should be punished. Then they'll bring out the oracle at oritameta (the junction) and will swear that anyone trying to betray the town will walk away from the town. He said that in a court, you can swear on the Bible or Koran and still lie, but that with the oracle, you cant do that because the judgement is immediate. When the Regent finished, the man sitting in front to our right got up, cursing, saying that anyone trying to betray the town will walk away; again people responded saying "amin" to all he said.

Omoniyi spoke again, saying that he will put forward the things they discussed at this meeting at the other meting, and will let the chiefs know about it as soon as possible (it became clear at this point that there was to be another meeting immediately after this meeting, attended by a smaller group of people). He also siad that there should be meetings in Lagos, Ibadan, Oshogbo of people living in these places. He asked whether people are holding any meeting in the towns where they stay; he then referred to the man in white from Oshogbo and said that he is supposed to hold the meeting in his house -- basically he seemed to be saying that he wondered if people were holding these meetings. He also said that they should be having meetings like the Igbos do, and then it would be easier to collect money and things would be better in the town.

The meeting ended with the man sitting in front to our right getting up to again lead a prayer, in which he prayed for the development of the town. Everyone stood during this prayer.

The meeting broke up, and a number of men gathered in front to greet one another and those who had led the meeting. I also went up to the front, to speak with the Regent and Omoniyi. I asked both if I could speak with them further. The Regent said that he lives in Lagos but that he would be in Iloko til Wednesday morning so that I could see him anytime before then. We decided on Tuesday evening, at 4. Omoniyi also lives in Lagos and didnt know when he would be back in Iloko. Finally he gave me his card, with his Ikeja address, and I gave him mine as well as Judy's address in Ikeja. Just as we were doing that, I looked up and saw that Olashore had arrived, and was greeting those standing in front of the room. Omoniyi called to him "Kabiyesi". Olashore greeted Omoniyi, and they said something about being late; Omoniyi told him that he'd come from Abuja that morning. Olashore did not greet me, and I

finished talking with Omoniyi, then began to leave and stood there for a few seconds before Olashore turned in my direction and we greeted each other. I said that he didnt expect to see me; he said not here, but that he expected to see me at Ibokun Day. He said he was just coming from there; I said that I heard the road was bad. then he indicated that he wanted to talk with the others, and I left. I found baba back in the palace and thanked him and said goodby.

I was interested in Olashore's timing -- that he managed to arrive just as the first meeting was ending and in time for the second meeting (which was no doubt the more important one). I couldnt really tell who was stayng for that meeting, except clearly Omoniyi was, and there were a number of men who had been at the first meeting who were still there when we left.

Omoniyi address: J.I. Omoniyi, Chief Executive, Print Konsult Limited, 89 Palm Avenue, Mushin Lagos, PO Box 6120 Ikeja. Phone 524734. home: 68 Opebu Rd., Ikeja Phone: 966404, 967355 (but he indicated phone isnt working).

Omoniyi' house in Iloko is opposite the secondary school.

Regent's house is on the road past the palace.

Comment: It seems as if the local government, chiefs and development committee are working together in this case. I wonder if that's really the case or just the impression from this meeting.

fnmay9525

Monday June 5 -- conversation with Fr. Ilesanmi re my research

Fr. Ilesanmi came over to give me a copy of a manuscript of his, and said he noticed that I'd been away. I said I was in Ilesa for a few days so he asked about my research. This led to a lengthy discussion on the topic that was really informative-- I wish I had a tape recorder going!

I breifly described my research and mentioned some of what I've been doing, such as attending a meeting in Iloko on Saturday, and also mentioned that there are differences within Ijesaland. This led him to comment on the differences between the northern towns and the southern Ijesa towns, saying that those in the north want to establish their independent identity whereas those in the south are more closely tied to Ilesa -- in the latter, the chiefs have to come from the Ilesa royal family, whereas in the north they have their own obas, and want to establish that they are independent of Ilesa. So whereas the owa may say he is over the whole of Ijesaland, in reality he has little influence in the northern towns. So those in the north want to do things for their own development.

And, he went on, they have been fortunate in having some people from those towns who have been successful in the federal governemtn and elsewhere. And they have been helping their communities develop. When someone "gets up" he helps those in his home, where his roots are. And the people from the town are happy that someone from there has been successful and can help them; there is also the implication that others may succeed likewise. And people really dont bother themselves with where the wealth has come from.

I asked the question that's been asked of me, of why it's so important for people who are successful to still do things at home. He said there's the "African factor" or "Nigerian factor" and went on to talk more about the importance of being recognized at home, and of being seen as being generous. He said that an American who is rich and successful will be satisfied with having a comfortable place, etc. But a Yoruba won't be satisfied unless he has recognition from others of his success, that he is put in prominent places, that he has people around him, people calling him to participate in ceremonies, and so on. He wants to have in-laws in important places, so he has many marriages. He needs to have this recognition at hom, to have a home place, home base.

(Comment: when he was saying this I was thinking of the videotape of Olashore's birthday party, and all the nice things people were saying about him).

I asked the other question that is asked of me, what about limits to giving --even a rich person must have some ways of not giving on some occasions. Ilesanmi didnt answer directly. But he talked about the importance of being seen as generous, as distributing wealth to others. He gave the example that Mr. Omole wanted to do something in Ilesa and called others together to develop the brewery. We agreed that that was mostly done by private investment rather than government. Those involved, he said, would then make money in various ways; they would profit from their shares and as directors of the company; they

would be involved with contractors who would get the rights of distribution; they would help others to get employment there. Altogether, somone who put in 1000 would get 1 million back, and would then distribute that to others, spend it -- he said the important thing is to be seen as being generous and helping the community.

I asked if he sees any change occuring in these things. He said that only in some aspects. He gave the example that some people who get very involved in a certain religion may pull back from participating in some of these community activities. But on the other hand, they'll give a lot to the church and get their recognition there, so Ilesanmi sees it as basically the same thing-- they're still getting recognition from other people for their generosity.

Ilesanmi also commented on what an Ijesa identifies with -- first, he identifies in terms of his hometown, then as an Ijesa, and finally in terms of Osun State. I suggested that that's quite new, and he said yes but people from Osun State were driven out of Ibadan when the new state was formed, they didnt get paid there, had to get jobs in the new state -- and that it was overcrowded because most of the qualifid people came from the state (ie. within Oyo state).

Ilesanmi commented that he could see why I would find this interesting, unusual but for people here, it's common knowledge. I said that it's also important in terms of what units work -- e.g, the community rather than local government, and for example, with regard to taxation -- people dont pay taxes yet they're willing to make contributions at this level, and it's like taxes. At this point, he said he wanted to give me an example from his ownfamily. He said that his father had four wives, and three of the wives had one child each, but his mother had six children. When his father died his property was divided into four equal parts for each of the wives, regardless of how many children there were. The six children of his mother decided that they would help to train each other. In his own case, he was sponsored to the university by Lawrence Omole (I asked if he was related to him; he said no, that Omole sponsored him because he's Ijesa). He said that Omole sponsored him even tho he was already a priest, that he asked Omole to do so. He continued on with his educaiton and got his PhD in Yoruba, Then he had to help others in the family -- younger brothers and sisters and their children. His older brother is an illiterate, and the sister who comes after him is also illiterate, but their children are educated. He has another brother who is quite high up in Chevron Petrol company, who studied geophysics. So the two of them have helped train others in the family. Now two daughters of his sister are getting married, and members of the family have been levied (his term) to make contributions for the weddings -- he is supposed to contribute N7000, as is his brother, and others are making smaller contributions. I asked who levied the amount, and he said that the family members had a meeting, and decided that all together they would contribute N30,000 for the two weddings ---15,000 for each. Then they decided the amount that each would contribute. This, he said, was what he meant by levied. So yesterday he took N15000 to his sister for the first marriage, and so she wont have to spend much of her own, and there will also be contributions from the husbands family.

I then asked him about the criticisms that were being made at the meeting in Iloko on Saturday about the amount of money people spend on burials. He compared the Yoruba with the Hausa -- that the Hausa bury the person right away and then have prayers 8 days later,

they dont spend much. But Yorubas spend a lot, and people are now beginning to change their thinking, to think that they could build a house with the money, or do something else with it and that people shouldnt go into debt to bury their parents.

I asked him about the very large houses that are being built around Ilesa, and if there's any criticism or resentment of that. He said that when one gets up, one wants to have a place in the hometown, a place that can't be taken away. One wants comforts, luxuries if you're rich, and then others see what someone has built, and want to be able to have something similar for themselves. So the implication was that rather than resentment, the focus is on achieving the same thing for oneself. But, he went on to say that some are satisfied with what they have. For example, people like Omole and Akinola are not building houses for themselves any more, tho they are investing in property -- for exmaple Omole has an estate in Ife, and property in Ibadan, Lagos. But he's satisfied with what he has for himself. Rather, Omole wants to be known for what he's done for Ijesas, and he's recognized for what he's done, especially with regard to the brewery.

Ilesanmi compared Omole and Ajanaku. He said that when Ajanaku buried his mother, he killed cows and no one came. People dug up her grave and stipped her naked, and he had to have another grave dug at the house. This was in protest of the fact that he didnt do anything for his hometown. Ilesanmi contrasted Omole with this. For example, for a long time Omole supported the university, and then with the College of Education, he now gives a lot of support to that.

He also mentioned in this context what Olashore has done, with his school; tho in the next breath, he implied that the money for that was taken from the federal government while he was minister; he said how does someone with just a governemnt job do something like the school. But then also indicated that people dont really care how one comes by the wealth one has.

He compared Ijesas with others, such as those from Oshogbo and Ife, saying that the Ijesas are much more industrious and commercially oriented and that they've done much more to develop their towns. He said that if you take away the university from Ife, there really isnt anything much here. Likewise, if you take the rolling steel mill from Oshogbo, there's not much left. Oshogbo and Akure look like more is happening now because they're state capitals, but the Ijesa people do things themselves not because they got something from governement. Institutions in Ilesa would still be there even if you took away governemtn institutions. Even the College of Education would still be there, because much of the support for it is from Ijesas. They built the library and the health center, and they even wanted it to be a university and would have supported that.

Comment: except for the story about Ajanaku, all this was in a very positive light -- so the question is what negative sanctions are there for people who dont make these contributions?

fnmay9526

conversation in Iloko Tuesday June 6 1995

We had an appointment to see the Regent at 4 PM, but got to Iloko at about 3 PM. We first greeted baba, Olashore's uncle. Then we told him that we were going to talk with other people around the town. We went across the street, on the lefthand side of the road that leads to Ijebu-jesa from the crossroads. Two old men were playing ayo in front of some shops there; the shops weren't open but there were signs for tailor and hardware, but I dont know if there's anything there now. They were sitting on a bench on the cement veranda of the building. We told them that we wanted to talk with them about things going on in the town, about development of the town. One of the men began to talk, the other kept silent the whole time. Later, we were joined by a younger man, who joined the conversation on his own. The conversation was both in YOruba and English. The old man spoke some English, and seemed to like speaking directly with me in English, but some of the time he spoke with Bodunde in Yoruba. The young man spoke English.

The old man began right away to tell us about development activities in the town in the past. The first thing he told us about was that in 1978 the town collected N27000 to bring electricity to the town. They bought a transformer and had the electricity stepped down from Ilesa. The people who contributed included those outside the town as well as those inside; he mentioned the "enlightened" people from outside.

Then he said that the palace was built by Olashore, the son of the late oba, but the town contributed some money for it.

Before these activities, the town also used to sponsor students for scholarships, to go to secondary school and also some to university. He didn't specify when this was or how many people were sponsored.

It was around this time that the young man joined us, at first not saying much, but fairly soon joining in.

I asked how the town decides on projects and on amounts to contribute. The old man said that there is a committee which decides the amount people should contribute. The committee consists of the oba and chiefs together with some of the enlightened people in the town.

We asked about the town hall. They said that the town is planning to finish that for themselves, not to get any more outside donations. The old man told a story to Bodunde: if I tell you that my daughter is getting married and I invite you to the wedding, and you come, and there's no one there, no daughter, no wedding. And then the next year I tell you that my daughter is getting married and invite you to the wedding. And you come and again there's no daughter and no wedding. Then what will you think the third time I invite you? (This was presumably in reference to thetwo Iloko Days and the fact that they have gathered money from people from outside and the town hall still isnt finished, so cant ask people from outside to contribute again).

We asked if everyone agrees about the town hall or if there are some who would rather not pay. They responded that everyone agrees, that there is no argument.

I asked the basis of payment by people in the town. They said that people pay as individuals, that all in a family who work are expected to pay -- not the kids or students in school, but everyone working pays as individuals, both men and women. They said that the amount is based on one's economic power; the committee decides the amount each person is to pay.

The young man went on to explain that he pays N500 every year, because he is a graduate and a teacher. If he wants to pay more than that, it is ok, but that is the mimimum he is expected to pay. (He explained that he is a teacher in the public school here).

The committe sends him a letter telling him how much he is expected to pay, and when he has the money he sends it to the committee. He gets a receipt from them for what he pays. Also according to the young man, every year the amounts collected and spent are recorded. Also according to him, indigenes regardless of wherever they are living are expected to pay.

I asked who is on the committee. They said that they are indigenes living in different towns, for example Iloko people who live in Ibadan, Lagos, Kano, Ilorin. They have representatives on the committee. I asked if the chiefs are on the committee, they said, no, that the chiefs choose the committee, and that the committee gives the chiefs feedback. The committee consists of people who are "qualified, the right caliber," according to the young man.

I asked if people like this system. They both said, yes, they like it because "we have been achieving" with it, it's working. If not, then it probably would have been abandoned.

I asked how long such as system has been in existence; the young man said since before he was born, while the old man said that it started long ago -- 100 years ago he said.

The young man went on to explain why people like this system. He said "As long as one is an indigene of this town, one has a link" (his term). Wherever you live, people there meet regularly to discuss developments at home and the contributions people can make. The old man said that the system started long ago, and that everyone must pay. He said that no one complains, that all try to get the money to pay the amount they are asked to pay.

I asked whether people outside ever stop paying. The young man said that before, he was teaching at Ibadan. Before the creation of Osun STate he was in Ibadan, but that after the state was created he lost his job there and had to come home; the creation of Osun STate brought him home, he said. When he was at Ibadan, he met with others from Iloko there, they met and contributed to development at home. They were always informed of what was happening at home; you "can't live in isolation" he said.

At this point, I asked them their names. The young man is Johnson Awopetu; he is a teacher at the public school (secondary school I think) in Iloko. The old man is Prince H.O. Ogungbangbe. I asked if he's always lived in Iloko. He said no, that he came from Oshogbo on Jan. 21 1991. He is now 76 years old. He was a trader in Oshogbo, and he

came home. Here, he goes to the farm; his plan is to farm, read, and sleep -- "full stop".

The conversation continued a bit more on the subject of how things work in Iloko. They said that everyone cooperates here, that they have good leaders, and when they set a target they do what they say they're going to do. Everything here involves self-help, such as the light, water etc. I then asked about the problem with water; they said that the problem is with the dam from Esa Odo. That this is a problem caused by the government and that it's causing a lot of hardship for people, especially poor people. I asked about the boreholes and the old man said that there's no water in them. He also said that UNICEF had dug wells in the town but that they dont work. The old man said that he is used to taking two baths a day, so the problem with water affects him. Also he said that they now go to one of several streams near the town, but that the water isnt good, and referred to people getting sick.

The old man pointed out his house, across the street, and invited us to have soft drinks. We said we'd do that next time. I took photos of the two of them, along with the other old man, and some kids who joined us for the photo.

fnmay9527

interview with Regent of Iloko, Tuesday June 6, 1995

We had made an appointment for 4 PM. We finished talking to the two men near the crossroads and then walked down the street past the palace, toward the Methodist primary school as the Regent had told us that the house was in that direction. We asked directions, for the house of the "Regent" -- we did not know his Yoruba title or his other chief's title. The first person we asked, a woman, pointed down a sidestreet to a two-story house but when we got there, the woman there didnt know who we were looking for. Then some kids -- teenage boys -- directed us back to the main street, and a bit further down, to a two story house on that street, almost at the end of the built up area of the road. The house is painted (unlike most of the others around) and has a parking area in front, where there was a Peugeot 505 and a pickup truck. A couple of men were standing by the pickup truck and one of them took us inside, up a narrow staircase to the main level of the house. He took us into a sitting room; there seemed to be two adjoining sitting rooms; in the other room, which faces the street there was the model of the community hall sitting on a round table in the middle of the room. We sat in the back sitting room, which faces out to the bush; one could see palm trees and other trees from the windows; no other houses are visible in back. Among the items on display in this sitting room was a small banner from a Rotary club in Lagos.

The man who took us upstairs went to get the Regent from a room off the sitting room. He appeared almost immediately, and almost immediately after greeting us and sitting down he told us that he'd just come back from his farm, that he went to look after it since it's now rainy season. He then quickly told us that he wanted to take us to see his pigs, and led the way down another staircase to the back of the house, where there are several cement sheds, and he took us thru all of them to see his pigs. He said that he has about 50 pigs. They were making a lot of noise apparently because it was close to feeding time. He reached down and petted one of the large pigs, and did so again as were leaving the area. The pigs were all sizes -- some very large, some young; he showed us one that is pregnant. He said that he breeds them and fattens them, then sells them. He also has some hens, which seemed to be a special variety (black and white). I asked who takes care of all this when he was in Lagos. He pointed out a young man who does the work, but said that his brother is here in Iloko; his brother is a graduate, he said, but has decided to farm so he looks after the pigs and the farm for him.

Comment: I was struck by the fact that he really wanted me to see the pigs, and also that he seemed pretty familiar with them even tho most of the time he's in Lagos.

We then went back upstairs and began the interview. The Regent began talking without any prompting from me. He started talking about activities undertaken in the town in the past. He said that the roads were built by manual labor. And that the first school was the United Methodist school (primary school) and that that was also built by manual labor. He said that the second primary school was built by the government of the western region. The secondary school was built by an indigene of the town as a proprietary school; the person who built it was Alhaji Ogunbajo. Later the government took it over (when the took over all private

schools).

The secondary school is therefore now a government school. But he said that the community assists it; when there aren't enough teachers then the community supplements them with part-time teachers; these are teachers which the community development committee pays for.

He said that there is a day care which is located in a private house, where 45 children under the age of four are taken care of. It was started by the community, then it was taken over by UNICEF thru the local government. It was started about four years ago.

I asked who makes the decisions about the activities to undertake. The Regent said that there are two bodies: the first is the traditional committee, which he heads. This is the committee of chiefs. The second is the development committee which is headed by "an eminent personality". But he went on to say that he himself was a founding member of the Development Committee, even before he became Regent, so that really he is still part of that group even tho he is now a chief.

He said that the Development Committee takes care of all development projects, while the traditional committee takes care of traditional duties. The traditional committee is above the Development committee, so the development committee comes to them with their plans, and it is the chiefs who implement them. "We control the people" he said.

He then said that one advantage of having the development committee is that most of its members are "enlightened", they have the professional and educational backgrounds needed. They are "superior" than the traditional members; he said that "only a few of us" (chiefs) are enlightened and well-read, and that those who are are also members of the Development Committee.

He described the structure of the Development Committee: He said that there are five officers. Then there are representatives, members representing the various clubs and associations, with one or two people representing each club or association. These are people from urban areas such as Lagos, Ibadan, and so forth. When the committee makes a decision, they go back to report to their members. If they decide on a project, then they levy people for it (levy is his term). The levies are in categories, with those resident at home divided into two categories. The first category is those with low incomes, such as farmers; they pay minimal amounts, with the men paying a certain amount and the women paying an amount, such as N50 or N100. The women pay but they pay less than the men. The other category of people at home is that of professionals and people in various businesses -- crafts, handworks was the term he used (I asked if mechanics would be an example of this group and he said yes). They pay higher amounts than the first category.

Then there are the people outside the town. He said that they have a list of all the sons and daughters who live outside, and of their addresses. They "know how they are" and they assess them one by one. e.g., if they are salaried, then they know their grade (and hence their salaries); if they're in private business they can assess your business by such things as whether have a car, a house, etc. Such people will be assessed a certain amount, such as

N5000 or N10,000. If a person can't make that amount, he'll pay less. Some who are underassessed will complain, they'll be embarassed that they havent been asked to pay more, and so they will pay more than their assessment requires. The whole list is put out, so everyone knows what others are being assessed. So there's an element of competition, he said, where if one person is assessed more than another, the second person will be embarassed and will pay more.

Then the Regent added that there are some people that they dont levy at all. He mentioned people such as Olashore, he himself (the Regent), Omoniyi, the head of the development committee, the business man from Oshogbo. He said that they just pay an amount, and that they're the ones "carrying the load" -- he said they "know what to do" -- ie they know the amount to pay and cant be assessed.

As we were talking, a man came in to see the Regent; he was introduced to me -- name is Olorunkoya, and the Regent explained that he is head of the health committee, which oversees the health center (maternity); the man then added that he is also head of the market. I asked where the market is, and was told that it's just across from the palace, but that they are hoping to buid a new modern market. The man didnt stay, said he would come back later to see the Regent.

He said that the maternity center was the first project of the development committee, in 1972. I asked how long the development committee has existed and he said that the Develop;ment Committee as it presently is started in 1972. Before that there were the Iloko literate elements and the Iloko Traders Association -- the osomaalo (he used the term). The Development Committee was established to handle development projects; the idea of setting up this committee came from the members of the associations. He himself was a founding member of the development committee. People were coopted into this; the idea was sold to the whole community and the committee became what it is today.

For their first project, the maternity center, they collected money and used manual labor (presumably meaning of people from the town). After it was built, it was handed over to the local government, which provides the nurses. That is still the set-up; it is now a health center.

There was a need for electricity in the town. In conjunction with the neighboring town of Ijeda, they had the line from Ilesa stepped down here to provide electricity. This was privately sponsored, and led to having electricity extended to all parts of the community, as well as street lights. The Development Committee had a launching as well as the levy of townspeople; they called people from the town and friends of people of the town to the launching. They collected N20,000 at the launching; this was in 1975-76 so N20000 was worth lot. That was enough money to complete the project. People from here as well as people from other places contributed money for the project.

After the electricity project, they took a rest. Then in 1981 there was the idea of building the palace. This was the sole decision of Prince Olashore. He initiated the project and went to the community afterwards. The community contributed, but only up to about 10% of the

project was contributed by the community. Olashore did the rest, toether with donations from his friends. But he went to the community to let them know about it; according to the Regent, he sad that he wanted to get the community with him. The way the Regent described this, it sounds as if Olashore first decided on the project and then went to the rest of the community to make sure they were behind him --but their opinion wasnt asked. The Regent also said that Olashore got donations from others (his friends) and that there is a plaque on the front of the palace giving the names of those who contriubted. He went on to say that the palace was done in under one year. It was opened in 1983, and the Regent said, was "the best of the best at that time".

After the palace, there wasn't really anything, until the development committee decided in 1990 that they should build a community center. They began in 1990, looking for a site, surveying and clearing it, getting the plans drawn. In 1992 at the First Iloko Day the foundation was laid for the community center. According to the Regent, Iloko Day was motivated because of the community center project, because they saw it as a way to get funds other than thru their own levy. (He seemed a bit confused ab out the dates of the two Iloko Days; also I had been under the impression that the first Iloko Day focused on the boreholes, and that it was only at the second Iloko Day that there was talk of the community center -- but it's quite possible that they actuallys started before that, since they already had the model displayed at that occasion.)

He said that they raised money for the community center at the two Iloko Days. I askd how much had been raised. He said that above 3 million Naira have been spent for the community hall -- between 3 and 4 million (he did not specifically say that all this was raised at Iloko Days). In addition to raising money at the Iloko Days, they also had levies of townspeople as a source of funds.

He said that there was no Iloko Day last year, because the economic situation was too bad, and people were disillusioned, with the June 12 palaver, they felt that people wouldnt have come for it. People didnt have money, and they wouldnt have the push, or urge to come. Even the sons of the soil, would have to spend a lot to come home -- ie. just for petrol, travel costs. But now, they think they need to have an Iloko Day again, to use it for bringing people together.

They still have to finish the community center; there is still "infrastructure" to do -- the terrazo for the floors, electricty, get the water connected, put in the windows. Then they need to do the fencing, and work on the environment (ie landscaping); they can't leave it uncompleted. He said that is why they called the meeting that took place on Saturday. They want to raise the money internally, they want to celebrate the next Iloko Day with just close friends and indigenes. So they will levy the townspeople again, altho some didnt pay the last levy.

After the general meeting which I attended on Saturday, they had a committee meeting to discss the collection and to consider why they didnt get more in the last levy. They discussed ways to ensure that people will pay what they are assessed. The regent said that there are ways to get people to pay, which they have used in the past but did not do this last time. He

said that if people dont pay they don't get some facilities. I pressed for examples. He said that for example someone might want land from him for something (in his capacity as chief overseeing community land); he'll tell them to pay before they get the land. Or, if someone comes home for a social function, they'll seize the opportunity to get the person to pay -- for example, by seizing someone's car and holding it until they pay. He said that they used to do this before, when the man who is a businessman in Oshogbo was head of the development committee and when the Regent was the vice-chair (before he became regent). He said that they will do things to "infringe on people's rights" -- for example, when a man was having a funeral for his mother, they cut the electricity to his house, thus forcing him to agree to pay. In general, people wantng to have ceremony, they will have to pay first. The Regent said that this type of sanction has not been applied in the last two years. Now they will apply such sanctions to the new levy, which they plan to collect before the Iloko Day scheduled for October.

The Development Committee will make its list of the amounts to be levied by next week. They will reassess people, since the financial situation of some may have improved and that of others may have worsened. People who wer students before may now be working.

I asked about how many people are on the list of those to be levied. He said that there are more than 1000 outside the town, whose names are on their list; together with those in the town this makes about 1500 people, including both men and women.

I asked if there are any women on the Development Committee. He didnt answer directly but instead said that those resident in the town are also on the committee -- that all the "enlightened" members of the community are part of it, they want to get them involved. For example, the man who stopped by earlier (the head of the market). He said that some members are not literate, but that they have to be people who are "recognized," people who have some money, or else the representative of a zone, such as Ondo State. He said that there are a lot of traders in Ondo State from Iloko. The zonal representati ves are responsible for collecting the money from thier zone.

Last time, they didnt do a good job of collecting money in these zones via the zonal representatives. This time, they will send a delegation out-- he will head the delegration as the head of the community, he'll make a tour of the zones as part of a delegation to get people to contribute. He said that they will have to give money then.

I asked if there are ideas of other projects that they want to do in the future. He said that they are talking about a library, that they have a mini-library but not a real one, it is in someone's apartment and there are some books there. It's been organized by the university students' union. They are talking about building a library near the community center. The other thing they are thinking about is a cemetary; he referred to the discussion of this at the meeting, about the sending of a letter to the chiefs and said that the chiefs have already allocated land for it. Also, the traditional committee (chiefs) wants them to consider building a modern market and they are looking for land for it.

I asked about water, said I'd heard it was a problem. He said that the two boreholes dug by

Olashore are not functioning well, that maybe they have to make them deeper. He also said that there are springs near the town, one of which is near Olashore International School, and they are thinking of ways to use that water, which is good water, accroding to him. The problem is that the springs are outside the twon, and it would be expensive to develop them as a water supply. He then got on the subject of geting outside aid for something like water, saying it would be too expensive for the community to do itself. He mentioned that that the school (primary school) is now a UNICEF pilot school-- but I dont know what this means. He seemed to be suggesting that I might have contacts that could lead to other types of assistance for them, and that for something like improved water supply they need outside help, cant just do it with their own resources.

At this point, I asked the Regent a bit more about himself. He told me that he is a land surveyor, with an office at Allen Avenue (Ikeja), in private practice. I said that being Regent must be time-consumng. He said that it consumes a lot of money, going back and forth -- a lot of time, money, and sacrifice. That he goes back and forth every fortnight. And that this week he's been here since the weekend and still hasnt gone back, altho he said that this time it's because of his farm, that he wants to see to some things there, and therefore probably still won't go back tomorrow (as he had previously told me he would). He added that there is no salary for doing this (being Regent).

I asked the Yoruba title for Regent: it is Adele oba, which means acting as oba. His own traditional title is Risa, which is the head of the chiefs (he said "like prime minister"). He has been Risa for 10 years, and Regent for 5 years.

This led to a discussion about the selection of the oba. He said that he originally wanted to be in the position of Regent for no more than a year, and that he is anxious to give it up and just go back to being Risa. He said that they've had a problem in selecting the new oba, that they can't put someone in the position who can't cope with the responsibility. That at this stage of the development of the town, they need someone who can handle the position in terms of "education, finance and personal ego". They need someone "influential, a motivator," someone who is "well recognized". They need someone with these characteristics out of the princes, and there are very few with that ego among the princes, and the very few aren't willing to do it. They are trying to get them interested, and soon they will succeed he thinks. I asked by when they hope to have a new oba, and he said that he thinks that it will be settled before the end of the year.

Comment: in this discussion Olashore's name was not mentioned, but it seemed pretty obvious to me, that Olashore is the one he is referring to.

At this point, I asked him about the issue that came up at the end of the meeting, where he referred to people who want to do bad things in the town. He proceeded to give me considerably more information a bout this, and in fact was quite forthcoming -- he didnt seem to mind my question about it at all. He started by saying that "everyone loves the town, but everyone doesn't love each other," that there must be some wicked people in every community. There are some who can be wicked, and there are some "who want to acquire power"; they want to "become an untouchable person"; feel they can "intimidate others and

become feared by others." He said that there are "some spirits that work like that". As traditional head, he hears a lot, people will predict things, through the babalawo, they will come and tell him what they see. He must sift what they tell him and decide what is going on and what to do about it. He said that three people had come to him telling him that they had had dreams or visions indicating that there was someone wanting to get power, to do something wicked, to do something to throw the whole town into confusion.

He said that there is a deity for the town, called obalogun, which is like the forefather of the town. The tradition is that if anyone plans evil against another in the community, such and such will happen; whenever there is a premonition of something evil being planned, then they must always do what is necessary, and perform the necessary ceremony. Then the person planning the evil thing will come out saying what he was planning, without even realizing he is doing that. This has happened like this in the past.

The ceremony involves taking what from the three boundaries of the town to the roundabout (the junction) and say what you want to say to it, for example that something will happen to the person planning something evil. They don't know who it is who is planning something, just that there is someone doing this.

He then told me of a situation recently where this is what had happened. He said that with regard to the land that the town hall is on, that the family who had been farming the land was unhappy about having the land taken away from them. But that he told them that the land doesnt belong to them, it belongs to the community and that the communtiy had decided to use it for the town hall. Things happened, for example the tractor they were using there broke down. Then he said that it was one member of that family who was unhappy and was trying to do something. So they took action, and the man got sick; he was sick for six weeks and then he died. And he wasnt mourned in the town. He told me this as an example of the fact that the traditional ceremony works when used against someone planning evil.

I asked if there is much jealousy, for exmaple of those who have done well. He responded that jealousy still exists, but that it is less than in the past, with education, people are less likely to be jealous. But still if someone is coming home and helps some family members and then there is someone else who isnt helped, the person may try to do something against the one who didnt help him. They don't want people to acquire such power.

We got off this topic at this point, but then came back to it a few minutes later. It was at this point that I got his name from him: Chief Olusola Ogunsanya. He followed that by telling me that he is a surveyor, and a non-executive director of First Bank.

I then asked him if there is more taking place in Iloko than in other towns. He said that in Iloko they are like family, they band together. And that people here aren't afraid to come home and show their money. They deal with any threat of anything wicked before it happens, so therefore people arent afraid to come home. He said that in other places, if something happens to someone, then people won't come home or they won't let anyone know that they've come home (or as Bodunde added, they come home at nite). Elsewhere people are afraid. Even if something happens that's natural, for example someone coming

home and being in an accident, people will think that it was caused by someone, and it will affect what people do for the next five years. Here, they take measures to prevent anything happening, so no one is afraid. He said that more and more people are coming home, and that the town is expanding, that it has doubled in size in the last few years.

Following this, he took me on a tour of Iloko. We went in his Peugeot 505. From his house we turned to the left on the dirt road. I had seen as we walked to his house that there is a very big house on the hill beyond where the rest of the town ends. We drove past that house, which belongs to the man who is a businessman in Oshogbo (Bodunde says that he sells cars). Couldnt really see the house because it has a wall around it and a big gate --the gate has Jesus on the cross on it. Then we drove past that house and turned left on another dirt road (the regent said that the main dirt road goes in to Ilesa, to the brewery; it's in good condition). There he showed us an enormous house which is under construction; in fact he took us thru the whole house, telling us the floor plan, what each room is. It includes a swimming pool. The house is owned by someone who he said is a young man, who works in Lagos, he works for African Petroleum. In addition to the main house there are two guest houses. The regent also commented that the man had extended electricity to the house himslf (ie had paid for it to be extended there).

As we drove back up the road towards his house, the regent noted that the work on drainage going on along the road is being paid for by the people who live in that area.

Then he took us to the other side of the roundabout to show us the health center, which was closed (it was after 5 PM), and then around to show us the police station which is under construction and the new police barracks. He said that the government had put the police post there. And noted that Iloko is becoming a focus for the area, for example by having the police station.

He asked me if I'd seen Olashore's house, and I told him that I had in January. He then commented that he thinks it will be the palace (or the extension of the palace).

Then we went to the community hall, and looked in the windows. He pointed out the various rooms in addition to the main hall -- a kitchen and game room and said there's also a bar. He then pointed out where they might put the library, on land next to the community hall, and also said that they are thinking of putting a new market place on the land across the street from the community hall. But he said that if they do that, they're going to have problems again with regard to the land, because the person who now has the land doesnt want to give it up. But that that person has had it for a long time and hasnt built on it (it apparently isnt farmed, but is for building a house; he said that in 15 years the person hasnt done anything with it. So he seemed to be saying that he was somewhat reluctant to tangle with someone on this, having done so over the land the community hall is on and that if they tried to build the market there there were going to be problems again. There was no indication if the people with the land are the same as those with the community hall land.

We then went back to the center of town, where our car was parked, and he left us off there.

fnmay9528

conversation in Iloko, Thursday June 8 -- with market traders

We went back to Iloko around 4 PM on Thursday and again parked near the palace. Bodunde noticed that there were several women near the market place, so we went there to talk with them. We ended up talking to three women, one of whom (the most talkative) joined the group after we got there; the others called to her to come over. There was another woman sitting there who did not participate, who moved away from the group; Bodunde said that she made a comment that maybe we had come to preach.

The three women we talked to included two women who have pepper grinding machines near the market and one who was selling provisions in the market; she had just a table with things spread out on it. To get started, I asked a few questions about the market. They said that there has been a market there since before they were born (all three women were over middle age, probably in their fifties or sixties). There used to be a tree there and the market was held under the tree; then the structure (cement sheds that are covered) was built to protect them from the rain.

They told us that it is a five day market, and that the next market day is tomorrow. So we said we would try to come. They said that it starts around 7 Am and at this time of year goes til about 11. They said that since the yams arent harvested yet, and there isnt corn yet, there isnt as many people there now and it isnt as big as at other times of year.

We then explained that we had been there for Iloko Day, and asked about their involvement. They said that they are members of groups, that eveyone contributes money to join groups, and then the group uses the money when something is happening in the town, for the development of the town. Each individual will contribute an amount and they'll write their names down. At this point they said that it's not the group that contributes for the development of the town, but each individual. Then I asked about the money they contribute to their groups, and they said that that money is used for celebrations of the members, but also for things in the town if the group is asked to contribute.

I asked for the names of the groups they belong to. One pepper grinder said that she belongs to Ajinrire; the other said she belongs to Omolehin Kristi, and the provisions seller belongs to Egbe Asiribu. All of these are groups in the church. (dont know which church).

I asked if they had attended Iloko Day and they said that they had, and had contributed as individuals.

We asked what had been done. And they said that they built the hall. We then asked if there are other things planned or that they would like to see done. They responded that when the Development Committee sits with the chiefs and decides the next thing to do, then they will contribute the money. We asked about their involvement, and if they let people know what they'd like to see in the town. They answered that they rely on the indigenes that live outside the town, that they are the ones who see things outside and know what to do. Once

they tell them what is to be done, then they will contibute.

Then we asked, what about people in the town? are there things that they do? They responded that they do what they normally do, for exaple if the town is dirty then the town crier rings the bell and calls everyone to help clean it, or if the grass needs to be cut, everyone will come and help do it.

We asked how decisions are made, and whether people living in the town are involved in them. They said that people outside come home and sit with some of those at home, and they decide. When they come and sit like that, they invite the whole town and tell them what they are planning. I asked if the meeting on Saturday was an example of this and they said yes, and that they were at the meeting on Saturday.

I asked if there are women chiefs in the town. They said that there are, and that they meet with the other chiefs. The Committee (Development committee) and the chiefs sit together and discuss, and then they invite the whole town and give them their view.

I asked if they like this way of doing things. They said that all support it because everyone in the town is represented at the meeting, both men and women.

Comment: there didnt seem to be any disagreement about how things are done in the town, or whether they should be done any differently, or whether the things planned by the develo9pment committee and the chiefs ar the best things.

I decided at this point to ask more specifically about problem areas, especialy water since that has come up several times. When I asked about water, the pepper grinder who did most of the talking gave a very specific response: she said that the man in charge says that they paid, but there still isnt any water, so he said he'd go back to find out what has happened, and now they are waiting to hear from him. (This seems to refer to what the local government chairman said at the meeting on saturday). We asked how long water has been a problem and they said for about two years. We asked what they do to get water. They said that in the dry season they have to get up at about 3 AM to get water, bring it home and boil it; again, the talkative pepper grinder said this. When she mentioned boiling it, a boy who was part of the crowd that had gathered said people don't boil their water. The woman repeated that she does, an that she has cloth that she uses to filter it.

During the course of this conversation, a large crowd had gathered, mostly of little kids. After we finished talking I took several pictures, of the market traders as well as all the kids who had gathered around.

At the end, I asked them a little more about themselves, if they are from Iloko and if they've always lived here. All three said that they are from Iloko. The pepper grinder who did most of the talking said that she lived here until she got married, andthen she went with her husband to Ilorin. She has been back here for the past 15 years. The other pepper grinder said that she lived in Ibadan and came back here about 11 years ago. The third woman, the provisions seller, said that she lived in Oshogbo and came back about 20 years ago.

We again asked them about projects in the town. They said that the Town Hall isnt finished yet; that they will wait until that is finished before they start anything else. At this point a teenage boy in the crowd mentioned the police station as another project currently going on.

fnmay9529

Thursday June 8 -- conversations and observations in Iloko

1. on the way to Iloko from Ijebu-jesa, there were some kids outside Chief Fatodu's house (where we had first stopped). The little girl approaced Bodunde and asked for a ride so we gave a ride to her and the little boy, who turned out to be her brohter. The girl was Yinka, the little girl I had seen and spoken with briefly the other day at Olashore's uncle's house. They said that they attend Kups School (the school run by Chief Fatodu's wife). They told us their names -- Yinka Olashore and Lele Olashore. When I asked the little boy to repeat his name, he really emphasized the Olashore name, as if he's very proud of it.

2. After talking with the market traders (see other notes), we walked out the same road we had been on with the Regent, past his house and up the road to the house belonging to the businessman in Oshogbo. When we got outside the house I stopped to take photos, and a woman and young man walking along the road greeted us and then asked if we wanted to go in. The man went to check and appeared with the gateman, who took us in and offered to show us around. He showed us around the entire compound. There is a well-landscaped garden and a large main house. Beyond the main house are a number of bungalows. When I asked about them, the gateman said that seven of them are for the seven wives, while the others (2 or 3) are guest houses. There are also boys quarters.

3. We then went back to the center of town and stopped at the Postal Agency, which is across the street from the house where Olashore's uncle lives. There was a young man and a young woman (in their twenties) sitting outside. The young man is a teacher at the Olashore International School. He is not from Iloko. His name is Tokunbo Oladele. He teaches English. Is well-spoken, speaks good English. Seemed happy to talk but said he didnt know much about the town. He did say that he has some questions, such as why the community hall hasnt been completed. I asked if Iloko is quiet, and he said that he prefers a place like Iloko to some place like Lagos. He also said that during the coming week, when the school is on midterm holiday, they will be taking the students wh stay at school to Iloko "to see the nightlife" but that first he has to find out if there is any nightlife. He also said that they are very busy at the school, that there is lots to do there. Generally he seemed to have a very positive view of it and of the town, to the extent he is familiar with the town. He seemed to know a number of people around, greeting several who went by.

The young woman sitting with him was quite different. He told us that she is an indigene of the town, which she confirmed, but she didnt seem to want to say anything. She said that she works for the local government, but is now on some kind of course so is just home for a visit for the weekend. But ordinarily she lives here -- or at least that seemed to be what she was saying. She didnt tell us what she does for the local government. When we asked about things going on in the town she said that she doesnt know much. My impression was that she didnt want to participate; Bodunde's impression was that her Englsh may not be very good but that she didnt want to let on to that.

4. We stopped to greet the akara seller who had greeted us the other day. We bought some

akara from her and told her we'd like to come back to talk with her. She told us that she is Marianna (not sure about first name) Olashore; again, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the Olashore name, and she said something about the oba, but we werent clear on the relationship. She said that she lives in the palace. We said that we would be back Friday morning to see her.

fnmay9530

Thursday June 8 conversation at Fatiregun's Thursday night.

I went to stay at Fatiregun's, arriving Thursday afternoon and stayng til Sunday. On Thursday nite Tina and I chatted about last weekend. She said that Olashore had come to their house shortly after I left last Friday, that first he sent his driver to let them know he was around. Then he came himself at about 8 PM and stayed til about 11. Later on, I heard Mr. Fatiregun tell the same thing to Mrs. Faseru, that Olashore had spent about three hours with them last Saturday evening (he said Saturday; Tina said Friday). He and Mrs. Faseru mentioned Olashore's name in relation to other things but dont know what.

Mrs. Faseru visited Thursday night; she mainly sat outside talking with Mr. Fatiregun. A lot of the conversation seemed to be about church matters.

fnmay9531

Brief visit with Chief Fatodu, Ijebu-jesa, Thursday evening June 8

I stopped to see him in the afternoon but he had gone to Oshogbo so I came back about 6. He said that he had spoken to the manager of the Community Bank and that the manager had been expecting me today (but of course I didnt know about it); I said I'd go tomorrow AM.

Then I confirmed other upcoming events:
The birthday party for Mrs. Ola. He showed me the invitation from Chief and Mrs. M.A Ola, for 70th birthday and Thanksgivng Service, 10 June, St Matthews Church, 11 AM prompt. reception at Chief and Mrs. M.A. Ola's residence, 1st Baptist Church Road.

The lecture, also scheduled for Saturday. He showed me the invitaiton letter which was from Ijesa Club 77, Ibadan, on "Ijesa Unity" talk to be given by Prof. Olu Odeyemi, National Merit Award Winner and Rector Osun State College of Education. The letter also explained that Ijesa Club 77 is a "social, non-political organization made up of Ijesa sons from different towns and villages in Ijesaland." The talk was scheduled for 1 PM at Ijebu-jesa town hall.

fnmay9532

Friday June 9 -- conversation in Iloko

We went back to Iloko from Ijebu-jesa Friday morning June 9. We first went to the market, but it seemed to be winding down already; it was about 9:30 or 9:45. We spoke with the pepper grinder we had interviewed, who said that there were a lot of people here earlier but that now they've all left. We determined when the next market days will be (Tuesday and Saturday next week) and said we'd try to come back on one of those days.

We then went to speak with the akara seller who sells akara outside the house where Olashore's uncle lives. We got there about 10 AM. She was there, cooking akara, and another woman was sitting on bench just outside her shed, talking with her; the other woman sells bread. We sat down outside the shed. As we were talking, customers came to buy akara. After a while a couple of young men joined the conversation.

The akara seller told us that her name is Olashore, that she is the wife of the late oba -- i.e. Olashore's father. At least this seems to be the relation. She is probably in her sixties. She said that she lives in the palace. When we began by saying that we wanted to talk about development in the town, she said that she didn't have much to say about development, that we should go talk to the chiefs, that hers is just to pay her money.

So I asked her if she can tell us about changes that have taken place here since she was young. She said that now there is water, roads, light, the school, the church - there are different churches, the palace has been built, there is a market, there are lot of people in the market (she gave us all this in one long string, just briefly mentioning different things). A young man buying akara joined us at this point.

I asked about the water, saying I'd heard there were problems. She said that the water was ok until December.

Then I asked how they got these things. She said that Olashore had built the palace. That they had contributed money to get light and water. And that all had contributed money for the Town Hall, both young and old. And they did this with the help of peop;le from other places, they wrote letters to those people.

A second young man joined us by this time, and the two young men repeatd that all had contributed, all who are working contributed -- the men contributed N50 each and the women N30 each. They aren't just paying once they said, but as they are building the hall they are giving money. they said that they have contributed 4 or 5 times. Men contribute more than women. One of the men went on to say that the people living outside the town, their money is different from those inside, that is, they contribute more, and that the amount they contribute depends on the work they do.

According to this man, those outside meet in different places, such as Oshogbo, Ibadan, and decide howmuch each person will pay, depending on their business. For those inside the

town, the elders in town have a meeting and decide how much people will pay, then the town crier will announce the amount.

I asked if there are any problems paying. The men said that students and young people don't pay. Only those who work pay. And if a son is working and his parents are old, then the son will pay for his mother and father.

I asked the two young men who had been talking more about themselves. The young man in a yellow shirt said that he is from Iloko. I asked if he's lived outside, and he said that he's been in Lagos and came back recently. I asked what kind of work he does and he said that he's a carpenter. I asked if he'sgoing to stay here, and he said that he is still deciding whether to stay. I asked whether he made contributions while he was in Lagos; he said that he was a student so he did not contribute then.

The other young man, dressed in blue (probably twenty years old or younger) said that he is not from Iloko, but from Ondo. That he has been here 15 years, that he started his primary school here. He is expected to pay contributions he said, even though he's not originally from here. He has just finished school, and plans to stay in Iloko.

The woman selling akara really didnt say much during this conversation. At the end I asked to take her photo, she said no, that she has a photo that was taken of her and that Olashore says she shouldnt have her photo taken that way (presumably showing her selling akara, and not dressed up). So I said I'd come back and take her photo when she's not working and she said to come on Sunday. Then another young man who had joined the group by this time said that she should let me take her photo, after all, this is her work. So then she went inside (to the palace) to change and came back and I took her picture. I also took photos of the men. I said I would still come onSunday morning to take another picture. She said I should find her at the palace.

fnmay9533

Friday June 9 Interview with Ijebu-jesa Community Bank manager

We went to the office of the manager of the Community Bank at about 10:30 or 11 AM; he was immediately available and told me that he had been expecting me yesterday. I explained that I hadnt seen Chief Fatodu until last night and so hadnt known he was expecting me. He asked what more I want to know, seeing as we had already talked the last time I was here. I explained that I'd like more specific information about loans -- types of activities they've gone for etc. He called to someone to bring him the book on loans, but then just talked about them without checking the book, tho later he did check on other infomration.

He began by explaining that they are restricted in the size of loans that they give by the amount of their paid up capital -- loans cannot be larger than 10% of the paid up capital. Paid up capital is now N500,000, so N50,000 is the maximum amount of a loan. He said that there are three types of loans -- loans, advances and overdrafts. Loans are given for terms of 6 months to a year and N50,000 is the maximum that can be gven. Every month the borrower must pay part of the prncipal plus interest. Loans are used for things such as purchase of equipment for a business. Advances are for people like produce buyers, at the beginning of the season. They can't collect the principle monthly from these people; instead they pay interest monthly and pay the principle at the end of the term. Overdrafts are for salaried people or those running small businesses-- the latter can run an account every day, and at the end of the month they pay interest.

With regard to loans, he said that there are several areas targetted. The first area targetted by the bank were transporters. They felt that the villages around didnt have good transport and that by assisting people to become transporters it would help those int he communities as well. They assisted six people with loans. Four got buses -- minibuses for transport around to villages and one, a 16 passenger vehicle for transport from Ijebu-jesa to Ibadan. Two got taxis. The people getting the loan had money of their own to add to the N50000 limit they could borrow. The first of this type of loan was made in April 1994, and the last on in October. All but two have paid the loans back; they were short term loans because of the bank's liquidity problem. The loans assisted the customers; helped with transport; and also helped the bank. But the price of fuel affected people in this sector so they have stopped making loansin this area; they're no longer making loans in this sector.

A second area was loan for a bakery. There was no bakery in this area; some had existed before, but they had gone out of business. The bank talked with one of the former producers and he said that if he could get money he could resuscitate the bakery. The loan was given in April 1994, which enabled him to get a new engine. The engine was purchased by the bank for the customer, as well as some other equipment. The business has now been supplying bread in this area; it supplies the international school with about 2000 loaves of bread, and it also supplies others who sell bread in the town. These people can get bread on credit from the bakery, whereas when they had to go to Ilesha or elsewhere for bread they couldnt get credit. The engine that was purchased cost N18,000 and the other equipment wasnt very much.

A third area is that of produce buyers-- people buying palm kernelsand cocoa beans. There are about 10-15 people doing this. The bank gives them money, they go to the villages to collect the produce, then they sell the produce for export. If there were no credit available to the buyers, it might be difficult for the farmers to produce the products, he said. He mentioned thatone of the companies that does this is VicFas Nigeria Ltd, and that Fatiregun is one of the directors (I had told him that I was staying at Fatireguns); I think VicFas is Faseru name.

Another area is the farmers. They need money for clearing, planting and harvesting. Loans have helped increase the amount they produce. They get loans for N10,000-N15,000 for things such as inputs, laborers, harvesting; when they sell the crop, they pay back the loan. There are 10 plus loans that have been made to farmers. MOst are chiefs in the town; they have an association and they go thru the association, which serves as security and guarantors to the borrowers.

Three loans have been given to people in livestock busness -- one in Ilesa, one in Ijebu-jesa and one in Ijeda. They breed pigs and birds (hens); the loans assist them with the costs, such as the purchase of food. They get overdrafts and when they sell eggs or birds they repay the loan. As a result they can produce in large quantity and people come from elsewhere to buy. This helps to provide cheaper eggs locally; the costs are less here than if they have to go to Ibadan or elsewhere to get eggs.

Then he explained that there are the "small-small customers" -- people like market women, who participate in a daily contribution system, an esusu system (he used term). They have a staff person who goes out to the customers and mobilizes funds. The purpose is to instill the banking habit. The minimum contribution is N20 a day. But they dont actually have to pay every day; if they dont have money one day they pay the next. I asked about loans to these people. He said that they observe them for three months, and in that way they know their goods, they know their customers, and how good there business is. Then after three months, they can double the amount they have; that is, if they have saved N100, can borrow N200. They start repaying the next day. They started this last June, and now have 250-300 such customers. He then got the book with their names, and counted 260 customers. Each one has a passbook. The loans are revolving; as soon as they pay back they will ask for more. He said that there is one woman borrowing N20,000 under this scheme; she owns Jumo Variety Store, she borrows and will repay whole amount within three months. I asked how many people have gotten loans under this sytem; he referred to the book to count, and found that there are sixty -- and he added that there are no defaulters.

He said that one problem the bank has is that since they dont have a vehicle, they cant go out beyond the town to expand this system to others outside. This limitation is a problem and affects the ability of the bank to get a profit.

The manager offered to take me tomeet the person running the bakery, and I expressed interest in also meeting some of those participating in the daily contri bution system. We agreed that I would come next Friday, June 16 after 12, to go out with him to visit some customers.

The manager also commented that most of the community banks that have been set up have failed. That there is a problem with the ownership structure, because those who set them up want a quick profit. They get deposits, then they use the money and when customers want their money they cant get it. In his view, theirs is one of the few that is actually working. I asked about the one that was being established in Iwoye. He said that that one hasnt gotten its license, and it might be because it is so close by -- tho he then added that it's not a threat to them, and also that that wouldnt necessarily be a reason to not give a license.

He also told me that the bank is setting up a subsidiary company, which will be for trading in commodities -- such as rice, palm kernel, powdered milk -- that this is to bring money to the bank.

(Note: Nike showed me some stuff like milk which Olashore's bank is involved in trading in -- this seems to be the way for making more money but I dont actually understand it).

fnmay9534

Friday June 9 -- conversation with Ifaturoti

I stopped by to check on information on the lecture scheduled for Saturday. It was supposed to take place at the town hall in Ijebu-jesa, but while I was there he received a phone call telling him that the place has been changed to the grammar school because a soldier has rented the town hall for a wedding. Kunle complained that although he is chairman of the event, he hasnt seen a program or a title of the lecture. He also said that he doesnt know the group that has organized the lecture, but he knows the president who came to him with the invitation. He also mentioned that there always seems to be something happening in Ijebu-jesa, and that they seem to always have something scheduled when ISG has an activity taking place. For example, when ISG had a meeting, there was a meeting of the board of the community bank. Also if there's something else going on ther, it means that the other function will start late -- in refernce to the fact that there's a birthday party scheduled for 11 AM.

I asked Kunle about limits to contributions that people make -- how people go about deciding what to contribute to and what not to contribute to. He didnt really answer directly but did talk about contributions and problems with making contributions and not seeing results. He talked first about examples of giving money for government projects. He siad that Omole made donations to Oyo State; for the college of education, the brewery gave N7 million for the library, and Omole also gave the health center. But in general, he seemed to be saying that often the government doesnt do anything with the money given; now Osun State is having fund-raising for various activities. And, he said, the Community Days are the same thing; they collect money and then you dont see anything. He gave a couple of examples. He said that Apara was chairman of one such event, in Itakogun, and that after they collected their money, he was ignored by those who had invited him, they were so busy counting their money. Another example was when he was invited to something, and got there at 12:00; people were just clearing the area at that time and setting up the canopies; the event didnt begin til 2:30, and he just sat in his car waiting.

He also mentioned that now when Omole is called on for something from the state, he says that he has already given and that he is retired, that they should call on others who are younger and more active than he is.

He said that Iloko is somewhat different from other places (hebrought up Iloko, I didnt ask). But that is due to an individual. He said that Olashore is the one responsible for the school and the boreholes, and he doesnt know what has happened with the money from the community days. I told him about the town hall (apparently he didnt know about it); Kunle's response was "that's not my priority".

He commented that he tries to go to things he's invited to since he's president of Ijesa Solidarity Group.

I asked about the Historical Research Fund that is planned by ISG, and whether people will give money to that. He said that people will give, for sentimental reasons, and that they will publish the material as planned. He said that one person has already given N100,000 but that he has had to stop others from giving because the separate bank accounts that were supposed to be set up have not been established.

We talked about the video taken at the ISG meeting at Ibokun. I asked the reason for having the meeting there. Kunle said that it was not just to let them know about the organization, but also to show that it's not just an Ilesa organization. They will go around to other towns, with the December meeting scheduled for Ijebu-jesa. I asked if they will go to the local government headquarters; he said not just there but to all the larger towns--Osu,Ipetu, Ikeji. I asked about the part of the video on Ibokun history. He said that he had asked the oba to show some of the relics etc. But the history he told is wrong; he gave wronginfomration about the role of Ajibogun. He said that the history is also wrong in the brochure from Ibokun Day; he said that he hasnt actually seen the brochure but was told about it.

fnmay9535

Friday June 9 -- conversation in Iloko

We went back to Iloko in the afternoon at about 4:00. First walked around part of the town, starting at the health center, where the young woman working there (as a nurse?) greeted us and showed us around, then asked us to sign the "visitors book" -- the only signature in a notebook. Then we walked to the police station and on to the police barracks. There werent very many people around.

At a house opposite the police barracks (which faces on a dirt road), there was a man outside on the verandah of a fairly new-looking cement bungalow. We asked if we could speak with him and he agreed readily. Once he learned what we are interested in he explained that he is not from Iloko, that he works as security guard at Olashore School and that he is from Iragbeji. I decided it would be useful to talk with him anyway.

He said that he has been living in this house since October, that he rents it with two others wh also work at the school. The man who owns the house lives in Lagos; he mentioned that the owner came last weekend for the meeting. Part of the house is for the owner and part is rented.

We asked him if he is familiar with things going on in the town. He said that he participates in all that people in the town are doing, but that they havent asked him for money to contribute to any of their projects. We asked what kinds of things he participates in. He said like if they announce that people should come to help repair the road, he will join them. If there is a hunters meeting, he attends the meeting. If there is any meeting for the unity of the town, he will join them. If someone dies, because of the love people have for the town, they will all help dig the grave and bury the person.

Since he is not from Iloko and has only recently come here, I asked if this is different from other towns. He said first that it's not much different from others towns. But then he went on the say that the "people here so much love themselves" that anything that anyone is doing, they will help each other. If someone is doing something, the others dont just leave them alone, but they help them. In other towns, he said, people dont have time for one another this way. He added that may be it is because the town is small that people do this here.

I asked about how strangers are treated here. He said that in this town, if you're a visitor, so long as you don't do anything to offen the town, the people will love you like their own people. But if you do something, like go out with someone's wife, people won't like that. But otherwise, they will treat you like they treat someone who is from here.

We asked whether non-indigenes are invited to meetings of people in the town. He said that for some meetings they don't invite non-indigenes. But most meetings they do; if the meeting is about the development of the town, or about protecting the town, they are invited. He went on to say that it depends on the behavior of the non-indigene, that if you're a person of good behavior, then they will take you closer to themselves.

He went on to talk about the hunters association, of which he is a member. He said that they will be looking at you for about 6 months, to see whether you;re a theif or whether you're doing anything bad, before they will let you go out with them to hunt.

We asked more about this, and he explained, that the hunters go out to kill animals if there's a party or something going on; they go as a group (or so it sounded.) He said that almost everyone in town are hunters and that he is a member of the hunters. He went on to say that there is a hunters association for the state and local governemnt, and that members have certificates showing that they are members.

We asked hm about Iloko Day. He said that he wasnt here then, but on the next one he will be there, that is, "if he has the chance on that day" pointing out that he works shifts so sometimes he works nights and sometimes days. Right now he is working night shift.

His name is Abdulraman Abidoye Adeniyi, from Iragbeji.

Comment: He seemed very positive about the town, realy seemed to feel that thosefrom outside like himself are treated well and are incorporated into the town. He was also extremely willing to talk with us; no hesitation about any of the questions.

While we were talking, several people went by who he greeted.

fnmay9536

Friday June 9, Iloko, conversation with Olashore's uncle

Before leaving Iloko we stopped to see he old man at the palace, who I have been calling Olashore's uncle. It turns out that that isnt actually the relationship. We didnt ask him, but he volunteered the information of his relationship to the late Aloko (Olashore's father).

He said that the father and mother of his father were also the father and mother of the Aloko; in other words, the Aloko and his father were full brothers. In other words, the Aloko was his uncle, and since the Aloko was Olashore's father, baba and Olashore are first cousins. He said that it was the Aloko who took him to the north when he was about 10 years old. The Aloko lived in the north until they came and got him, to make him oba; he said that they forced him to come back to be the oba.

(I think I should check these connections, and check ages as well).

He also talked about the connection that they have with Ijebu-jesa. (I mentioned that I was staying in Ijebu-jesa and he said that really they are all part of the same place, that their connections with Ijebu were actually the ones that were important when they were growing up, only came to Iloko later). He said that his mother was from Ijebu-jesa, and so was the mother of the Aloko (ie his grandmother) from Ijebu. The Aloko and he both grew up in Ijebu-jesa.

(note: I know from other information that Olashore's mother is from Ijebu and still lives there, and according to Tina Fatiregun, his wife is from Ijebu-jesa as well.)

Then baba went on tosay that their great great grandfather came to Iloko, referring to the period of tribal wars and slave trade, saying he cam there from somewhere else, but he didnt say where -- but that was the beginning of the connection with Iloko according to him.

fnmay9537

Friday June 9, evening visit at Olashore's house

Tina Fatiregun were about to go out to visit Mrs. Faseru, with the intention of going there first and then on to Olashore's; Tina knew that he had arrived in town. Just as we were about to leave, Olashore's driver arrived, to let Mr. Fatiregun know that he was in town. Mr. Fatiregun then said to us that we should go straight to Olashore's -- he wasnt going because he hadnt been feeling well.

On the way there, Tina told me the relationship between Olashore and her husband; she said that they are very close. Olashore's mother's name is Fatiregun; his mother and Fatiregun's father had the same mother and father -- ie they were full brother and sister. So Olashore and Fatiregun are first cousins.

When we arrived at Olashore's, we went in to his sitting room, where we found him with just one other man, who was never introduced (later Olashore called him Biodun, and later still I heard Fatiregun say something about who he is -- a relative of some sort , but I dont think Tina knew him). Tina greeted Olashore by kneeling, as I went began to go over to shake hands, he asked me to do the same; after some protest and discussion, I eventually did, but I asked why, and he said because you're a woman and I'm oba (jokingly).

I told him that I've been talking with people in Iloko, since I thought he might hear from others about this.

I asked him about Ibokun Day. I asked what happened there. He said that he didnt stay long. It didnt start on time because of the rain. There were two chieftaincy installations, then there were introductions of various people, and the introduction of the Ibokun national anthem. Then he wrote his check and left. I said I hadnt gone because I heard the road was bad; he agreed that it was. I asked why he went. He said that he tries to go to things around here, to honor invitations that he gets. He also said that it depends on who invites him; in this case, he said that the oba of Ibokun came to Lagos to find him and invite him.

The rest of the conversation was fairly general. Tina said very little. She went out of the room for a while, and later I asked her where she had gone. She had gone to see the person who handles his farm because she wants more hens. When she came back, she said that she was concerned about her husband, and would ask Olshore's driver to take her back so I could stay a while longer. After she left, Olashore spoke to the man who had been sitting there ever since we arrived. He called him Biodun and told him that "that's the situation" -- as if they were continuing an earlier conversation. He also told him that he comes home almost every weekend, that he was here last weekend as well.

He asked me plans for tomorrow, and I said I'd be attending various events in Ijebu-jesa. He indicated he would be doing likewise, and also said that he's expecting visit from the oba of Oshogbo tomorrow.

fnmay9538

Saturday June 10

Birthday celebration for Mrs. Ola, Ijebu-jesa

I went with Mr. and Mrs. Fatiregun. The service at the church was scheduled for 11 AM, we got there at about 10 minutes past 11 and it had already started. We were asked to wait outside until tht section of the service ended -- 5-10 minutes. Quite a few others were also asked to wait outside.

When we got there I noticed that Olashore's car and driver were pulled up close to the church, so he was apparently already there. (Early in the moring, while I was having breakfast he had arrived to greet Fatiregun but did not stay and didnt greet either me or Tina).

I saw a number of people I recognized during the course of the service : Olashore (sitting close to the front), the chair of the local government (waiting outside when we were); Chief Fatodu and his wife, sitting near us toward rear of church; Chief Lamikanra and wife who arrived later. A lot of people arrived at about 12. A group of women in purple aso ebi arrived at 11:45 and sat in the front; I think they were from a church in Abeokuta (Mrs. Ola lived in Abeokuta before).

A program was handed out, announcing 70th birthday anniversary of Mrs. Caroline Badejoko Ola, and giving the church program as well as a biography of Mrs. Ola. The church service was very long; it didnt end til after 1 PM, almost 1:30. The sermon, which was in Yoruba seemed mainly to be about the church.

At the end, thanks to various people were announced, for their attendance: to the Oba of Ijebu-jesa, to Bola Ige (former governor), and to Olashore, who was thanked "for coming all the way from Lagos, tho he has his roots here". The announcer also said something about blessing his house (Olashore's). People from other churches were also thanked for their attendance.

At the end, at about 1:30, we stood outside for a while, deciding what to do. I had planned to go to the lecture which was supposed to take place at the grammar school and which was to start at 1:00. It turned out that Mr. Fatiregun also planned to go there, but Tina wanted to go to the Ola house for the party there. Since Bodunde had arrived, I went with him, to go to the school for the lecture , which turned out to have been cancelled (see other notes).

We then stopped back at Fatiregun house and then went from there to Ola house, where I found the Fatireguns seated at a table, along with Chief Fatodu, so I joined them. Later on, Olashore and Mrs. Faseru arrived; they joined the group at the same table. But Olashore didnt sit there very long. After a while he got up and greeted Mrs. Ola (hugged her), then talked with Bola Ige, who had been the chairman of the event, and then he walked out with Ige; I didnt see him again so he must have left/

Tables were set up, and food and drink was being served. In the front was a table with big chairs where Mrs. Ola and her husband were seated, with a banner over the table saying Happy Birthday. Bola Ige functioned as chairman, several speeches and toasts were made, and Mrs. Ola herself spoke.

In addition to those at our table who I knew I also saw Onibonoje there and a woman named Mrs. Oni who I've met in the past. Just before I left I saw Mobo Akinola, and later paid a brief visit to her house.

After the speeches, there was some dancing, by Mrs. Ola and others -- and spraying of her by other older women. Unfortunately, I didnt bring my camera; it would have been a very good opportunity to get photos of current fashion. Several young women who were helping to serve were really decked out, one with an enourmous gele.

I stayed there til about 4 PM, then left to go to Ilesa. Tina Fatiregun had already left, to go to Onibonoje's farm with Mrs. Oni to get something. And her husband said that he would be going to Ilesa.

fnmay9539

Saturday June 10 -- lecture in Ijebu-jesa

The lecture that was scheduled on Ijesa unity was cancelled. It was supposed to start at 1 PM. When I got to the grammar school at about 1:40 there were police outside and the gate was closed. Several men were also standing around. We asked someone in another car what was happening and they said that the lecture had been cancelled. Then one of the men came over, and said he was the secretary of the group holding the lecture. He said that they hd applied to the police and hadnt heard anything, but that when they got there this morning, the polcie were there with a paper telling them that they should reapply after June 12. So they had not been able to notify anyone in advance; they were very apologetic.

fnmay9540

Saturday June 10, brief visits to Ifaturoti and Akinola

I went from Ijebu-jesa to Ilesa at about 4 PM and stopped at Ifaturoti's. It was Tinu's birthday so I wanted to greet her. Two of their daughters were around -- Kike, with her husband and baby, and Simi. I had some wine and cake. Kunle mentioned the lecture in Ijebu-jesa; I told him I got there late. He said he got there at 1 and met the police and the organizers, that he told the organizers they should just leave the place quickly. He left and came back home.

I then stopped at Akinola's, having seen Mobo at the Ola birthday party in Ijebu-jesa. Another woman was visiting, who said she had seen me at the party. She was introduced as Mrs. Ayeni, principal of Babalola School. I didnt stay long, as it was getting late, and also they were about to pray for the safe delivery of a baby (child of MObo's brother's daughter) and arrival home from school of MObo's daughter. I said I would see her next Friday.

fnmay9541

Saturday June 10, visits in Ijebu-jesa

In the late afternoon when I got back to Fatiregun's house Tina said that she wanted to go see Mrs. Faseru. So we went to her house at about 6 PM and stayed about an hour. We were served some fruit and had a pretty general conversation. I asked her where she was going whn I saw her when I was on my way to the birtday party that afternoon (we'd passd on the road). She said that she had to go to serve food to the bishops at another house; that Mrs. Ola had asked her to do this. Also she had to change out of her church robes -- she is a lay preacher and had participated in the service.

After getting back to Fatiregun's, I said that I wanted to visit Olashore, to drop off some things there. Tina suggested I go then, and then come back to eat. I did so, got to Olashore's at about 7:15 and came back to Fatireguns at about 9:30. When I walked in to the sitting room there were several men and one woman there: one man immediately said he had seen me that afternoon at the party. It turned out that he is a chemistry professor at Ife, and had come with Femi Murakinyo who was also there. He and I didnt recognize each other at first; I had seem him at the party, where he had said a prayer, but hadnt recognized him. Also there was Dr. Adigun, who remembered me from a couple of years ago. And another, somewhat younger man, whose name I didnt learn. The young woman was sitting next to Olashore on the couch; I said I hadnt met her, and she was introduced as Sade -- then Olashore said "should I say my new wife?" to which she responded "old wife," and said something about 10 years -- which seems unlikely since she looked about 25 years old.

Murakinyo said that he's written something on the concept of "ori" (head) andthen said he wanted to talk in private with Olashore. Thy went to the other room for about half an hour, until the other man from Ife asked Sade to tell them that he wanted to leave. But altho they joined the rest of us at that point, they didnt leave. While they were out of the room the rest of us (except Sade who didnt say anything) talked about the country, and the future -- fairly general conversation on various topics, including the census, which Adigun talked about (apparently his background is in statistics). I was also askd a bit about what I do and the difference between anthropology and sociology. When Murakinyo and Olashore rejoined the conversation, Murakinyo dominated it, discussing ifa and traditional medicine -- it seemed that what Murakinyo had been talking with Olashore about was along these lines, but they really didnt say. Except Olashore indicated he was getting a little tired of how long it took Murakinyo to say what he had to say -- and in fact he pretty much lectured the rest of us, but all of them seemed to tolerate it, including the guy who said he wantd to leave.

Eventually one of them commented that Olashore should make Murakinyo his cultural advisor when he becomes oba.

Olashore also asked Murakinyo if he's still a Christian, and Murakinyo said he is, that he is medical advisor for the diocese while Olashore is financial advisor.

The conversation shifted somewhat later on, when Olashore asked the others about Odeyemi,

from the College of Technology in Esa Oke, asking about this National Merit Award that the stuff written about him says he has -- Olashore seemed to be wondering if he really had the National Merit Award. Odeyemi was the scheduled speaker at the program today that was cancelled, and in the publicity announcing that speech, he is desribed as National Merit Award winner. Olashore said that he was at one time on the board that selects the winners, and that it was very competiive, that they really looked for people who were tops in their fields and had made major contribtuions, so he's wondering if it has changed. He turned to me and asked if I know about it, which I didnt. Then I asked if he knows Odeyemi, and he said, of course he knows him -- he (Odeyemi) is from Iloko.

Eventually I decided it was time to leave, and while I was getting ready to depart, Murakinyo and the other man from Ife finally came out to get in their cars also.

fnmay9542

conversations with Tina Fatiregun, Sat-Sun June 10-11

Tina and I tallked several times durng the weekend about Olashore and aspects of his behavior. On Saturday night when I came back from his house, I told her about the young woman there and asked if she knew Sade. She said she doesnt know this woman, and when I told her that Olashore had introduced her as his wife, Tina said that he wouldnt do that if she had been there. I asked about his actual wife, and she said that she is an elegant woman, that she is from Ijebu-jesa. She also commented that this is how people like Olashore get himself into trouble, becoming an oba, taking young wives. She doesnt think it's likely he will actually marry another wife, and says that he has no other wife right now.

Sunday morning we talked some more, and sh explained why she had been uncomfortable when wewent together to Olashore's house Fri. PM. She said that she had asked him for some help, to sponsor her to attend a conference in Botswana, and also that she needs a good car. She said his response was just "is that what you need, huh" and that he had said he would think about it -- but that he has never said anything about it again, and that was in February or March. She went on to say that "she never thought a rich person could be stingy"-- that her father was rich, and also became an oba, but that he was very generous. In her view, Olashore is stingy, just giving to those he wants to give to (she mentiond women in this category) but of course pointed out that she's married to his relative so her situation is different from that of other women he might give money to. I asked about the perception that he is generous. She said that he gives out N100 here and there, to lots of people. Also that he'll bring clothes for people from his travels abraod-- and she did note that he brought dresses for her from overseas. But her feeling is that he justs gives to those he wants to give. She said that she felt humiliated by his response (or non-response) to her request.

fnmay9543

Sun. June 11 -- trip to Iloko to see akara seller

I went out to Iloko to see the akara seller, as I had said I would come to take a picture of her. When I got there and asked around for her, I was told that she had gone to Ilesa. and also that baba (the old man --Olashore's cousin) had gone to Lagos

I gave a ride to two men from Ijebu-jesa to Iloko. One was an old man, the second was young man dressed in a suit. He said that he works in construciton business, selling construction materials (he gave me his card after we arrived in Iloko).

As we drove over the hill where Olashore's new house comes into view, the old man exclaimed something about "broda's house"; I said something about the house being very big, and the young man (who spoke some English) agreed. When we got near the school (Olashore school) the young man commented on that, saying that the school is very big. Both said that they were from Ijebu-jesa and going to Iloko to do something. They disappeared quickly after we got to Iloko and I didint stay around since the akara seller wasnt there.

fnmay9544

June 95 -- viewing of video of Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting in Ibokun, on Saturday March 4 1995

I borrowed the video from Ifaturoti and watched it with Bodunde over several days; it's quite long (about 2 1/2 hours). I took a few notes, but not detailed notes. Most of the sound on it is very poor and one cant hear what is being said. It begins with a written announcement that this was the first Ijesa Solidarity Group Business meeting held outside Ilesa, at Ajayi Memorial Hall in Ibokun; that announcement repeats a number of times during the course of the video.

The video begins with a meeting of ISG members with the oba of Ibokun; the only ISG person I recognized was Kunle Ifaturoti. Kunle spoke, saying that when ISG started, they got prayers from all the obas. Since their name is Ijesa Solidarity Group they decided to be taking the meeting around to all the town. The oba responded, praying for the unity of the Ijesa people. This went on for some time; it is all in Yoruba.

Then some women present schnappes and liquor.

They ask the king for permission to take pictures around the town to have everything on record, and note that Ibokun is one of the oldest towns.

The Oba says that the Oyos are not as powerful as the Ijesas but they unite as one, and that's why they get things they get. The Ijesas should unite. He mentioned towns such as Iree. Igbajo, Otan-Aiyegbaju as belonging to the Ijesas but the Oyos have taken them away.

The oba introduced Ibokun chiefs, three men and three women.

Then Kunle introduced Dr. Festus Adenifuja and Mr. Apara, the Chair of the Economic Committe of ISG, and mentioned others that are not there -- Ajimkun (?) who is the other chair, and Kayode Eso, chair of Ways and Means committee, who he said was abroad. Kunle also explained that he is the president and that there are four vice presidents, one from each local government -- Obokun, Ori Ade, Atakumosa, Ilesa. The person from Ilesa is I.O. Adedeji; from Atakumosa, S.O. Akinjolabi; from Obokun, S.A. Adeyemi (he explined that Fatodu was attending a marriage ceremony). Each of the others was introduced; also introduced was Dr. M.M. Omoniyi, the general secretary. He introduced a number of other people as well. Each person greeted the oba, either by kneeling or prostrating, and then shaking the oba's hand.

All of this took place at the oba's palace. Then the group moved to the hall where the meeting took place.

/the first part of the meeting involved calling people to the high table. These included Ifaturoti and the chief host for the day, Dr. Festus Ajayi. Also three chiefs -- from Ibokun, Idominasi and somewhere else. A man was introduced as being from the organization co-

hosting the meeting -- the Ibokun --- Union (hard to hear).

Kunle Ifaturoti spoke in Yoruba, announcing the plans to do historical research. He said it will cost N2 million. He said that he'll call on the chairman of this project and then divide into three groups to discuss what is said.

Then there was an opening prayer.

MOre on the high table -- includes chairt of the caretaker comittee of the local governemtn. Ifaturoti was there. Apologies were announced; that members from Ibadan will be late, inclding Chief Mrs. Bolanle Awe. Other apologies were from Dr. Lawrence Omole, Kayode Eso (in Europe), someone else in Europe, somene at a funeral ceremony.

A man from Ibokun spoke, discussing the history of Ibokun and talking about the unity of the Ijesas. He mentioned that the Ijesas introduced hire purchase to Yorubaland. He mentioned the problem of bad roads. He acknowledged the moral and financial supportof Dr. F.A. Ajayi.

Then Dr. F.A. Ajayi spoke (in Yoruba); then the secretary introduced the chiefs (in Yoruba) and Kunle Ifaturoti spoke in Yoruba. Someone else, named Makinde, spoke, again in Yoruba. Then Ifaturoti still speaking Yoruba introduced the oba of Ibokun, who spoke in Yoruba about how the Ijesas had lived nhe olden days. Following that, everyne stood and applauded.

Ifaturoti spoke again in Yoruba, about the Ijesas. He mentioned that formerly most of the engineers in Nigeria are Ijesa. Talked about how Dr. Lawrence Omole suggested the formation of ISG, that doctors, lawyers, engineers are Ijesa. He also talked about t committees of ISG, and invited people to join the organization, saying that there were forms available to fill out.

While Kunle was speaking another chief arrived, who was introduced after Kunle finihed. Shortly after that, the chiefs left.

The scene then shifted abruptly, to a traditional building, then to some drums. There was something about Ajibogun, a historic Ijesa figure, and what they said was a picture of Ajibogun, also something about the graveside of Ajibogun. Then they are inside a house, where they are shown an old machete, which is said to be the "sword" of Ajibogun. Then Obokun's house at Ibokun was shown, and a wall called the Skull Wall, also some drum. (when I saw Ifaturoti later, he told me that they had wanted to show the key sites in Ibokun, but that the history they told is wrong).

Then the video returns to the meeting site, where people are shown eating. A woman began to speak, who turned out to be Prof. Bolanle Awe. She spoke in English, first saying something about the fact that she was late. Then she spoke about the historical research fund, talking about how the past informs the present, and the present informs the future. She read from a written speech, altho she seemed to elaborate at times on some of the things she

said. Again, the sound was very poor and I couldnt understand most of it. (I'm quite sure that what she read was the same thing that Kunle showed me that will appear in the brochure for the research fund. Among the things she talked about was the Ekitiparapo War, where she mentioned that different groups came together. She also quoted from a description of Ilesa fom he 19th century, about the active commercial life there, and comparing Ilesa with other places -- saying basically that there is nothing like it elsewhere in Africa. She said that they should emulate the 19th century activities, with everyone working together. She also mentioned the involvement of women.

After Bolanle Awe's talk, Kunle Ifaturoti spoke again, this time in English; the sound also improved at this point. He talked about the Ijesa Historical Research Fund, and introduced the man who is the chairman of the Fund. The chairman said that they should come together as Ijesas, also talked about maintaining their identity, and about having a book on their history.

Kunle spoke again, about the fund, saying that no less than N2 million would be necessary "to properly do the history". He talked about the need to have "our own history properly researched." He said that those who contributed before could either add to previous contribution or pass, and that others can either pledge or give checks.

Then he called on Dr. Agbaje-Williams, the man who wrote the book on Ijesa Cultural Resources. He talked about the book, showed a copy of it, mentioned the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, and the goal of documenting the cultural resources in Ijesalnd. He said that people should pay a minimum of N100 for the book. But right after that, Kunle spoke and seemed to be saying that everyone would get a copy of the book regardless of what they paid.

The tape ends abruptly at this point.

fnmay9545

Wednsday June 14 -- phone calls to Bolanle Awe and Justice Eso

I called both Bolanle Awe and Justice Eso from Ife on Wednesday morning.

1. B. Awe: She said that she had planned to attend the meeting in Ijebu-jesa on Saturday June 10 but had decided not to travel anywhere that weekend because it was too close to June 12. That she had forgotten about that when she had first said she would be going, but that with all the security preparations that were being made, she thought it best not to go anywhere. She didnt know that the meeting (lecture) had been cancelled until I told her, and she seemed relieved to hear that the lecture didnt take place; she said she thought that might happen.

She and I made an appointment to have lunch on June 26.

2. Kayode Eso: I said that I had heard he was in Ilesa last week. He said yes, that he was in and out of Ilesa, that he didnt stay long. He said that he heard that I was in Ijebu-jesa. He had planned to stay in Ilesa to attend the lecture on Saturday, but didnt. I told him that the lecture didnt take place (he didnt know that) and he said that he was glad that he didnt stay.

We discussed when we might get together. He said that he wont be in Ibadan June 26-27 because he has to be in Lagos for an arbitration. I asked about June 25 and he said that he would be in Ilesa that day for something happening at the church. He said that he could come on the evening of June 24, so we agreed that we would meet at his house at 5 PM that day.

fnmay9546

Wednesday June 13, conversation with Fr. T. M. Ilesanmi re. my paper

I had given Fr. Ilesanmi a copy of my ASA paper. He came by this evening, to discuss it. He had made written notes, basically said he found it very interesting, but suggested there are a number of additional reasons why people come home.

First, he said that burial is very important. That if one's parents die, they will be buried at home. The children will want to come home to do the burial. Children wont be regarded as responsible or grateful child if he doesnt come home to bury his parents.

Secondly, the alma mater is very important. Both the primary and secondary schools one attended -- and usually these are in the hometown.

Thirdly, there are marital ties. If you marry in the hometown, you have ties there with spouse's family. Even if marry elsewhere, you have ties thru your parents marital relations and will want to perform one's duties to other families with whom one has connections.

Fourth, is the extended family. Whatever happens within the extended family, you are called back home.

Then there is the land that is owned by the extended famly, land which can only be used or shared by members of the extended family. If one has made it somewhere else, you can help prevent intrusion onto the family land by others (ie a person who has made it has stronger connections that can be used to maintian family land).

Then he mentioned the importance of local history. He gave me a proverb, which is specific to Ijesa:
Oni mo bi an bi baba re
Ibanuje ti ba l'Uleesa
Oni mo bi an bi yeye re
Ori-buruku ti ba.
(he wrote it out for me with tone marks, I've put it in my file)
The meaning is: One who doesnt know where his own father is born,
he's plagued with sorrow at Ilesa.
One who doesnt know where his own mother is born,
is plagued with bad fortune.

He talked about this in relation to the impact of local history. He stressed the importance of knowing what one's father did (and by extension forefathers further back), and the implications of these past activities and relations for the present. He said that people are often told to remember whose son or daughter they are -- that they should not forget their own background. Further, that people prefer to help those from their own background. And that people show gratitude to god and to the people who brought them up by helping others to get amenities.

Then he talked about why the oba's palace is so important: He said that this is an important project. That the oba is the personification of the entire community; his house, his palace is the personification of the houses in the community. If visitors come to the town, they are taken to the most imprtant person -- ie to the oba. If that person is found in a wretched condition, then the assessment of the oba is the assessment of the entire community-- ie if the oba lives in a bad place, suggests that the whole community is wretched. He said that it isnt the individual who ascends the throne, but the office itself that is important.

I asked about town halls. He said that the Town Hall is equally important. For example, Ife didnt have a town hall, but they are now building one. But Modakeke had a palace,a town hall, post office, police station; these things are to show that they are a community apart from Ife. The Town Hall is a place where a large crowd can gather to discuss communal events. There is no single house or school hall that can be used for such a gathering and no church leader will let their church be used for political events.

He then mentioned retirement. No matter how much you do for the government or how successful you are in other towns, eventually you'll be told that your services are no longer needed. A community which is not your own may treat you shabbily; you need a place where you will retire to and can call home.

He gave me another proverb: Ile ni abo simi oko
The house is where you return to rest after working on the farm (and any job is like the farm, you return from there to home to rest).

He then talked about the fact that Ijesas are said to be individualistic. He gave another proverb (but didnt dictate it in Yoruba): the meaning is, As long as that person doesnt feed me, I'm a person with my own rights and authority to speak. He said that the Ijesas are really proud and that so long as one isnt dependent on someone else, one has own rights. Also he said that when they were osomaalos they went as individuals, that it is now difficult for them to trust another Ijesa.

He went on to say that when you talk about "the Ijesas" you are really talking about separate communities which are actually incompatible with each other. He gave the example of Ifewara, which was originally an Ife community but was given land by Ilesa. Each town has its own different history. All of the towns in northern Ijesa area had their own independnce. Also there are histories of different groups; they came from different places. For example, all the major chiefs in Ilesa came there from elsewere -- he gave examples such as the Risawe. His point is that each title has an origin showing that the chief origianly came from somewhere else. And that each town in Ijesaland also has separate history and origins.

He compared the Ijesas with the Egbas and Ijebus saying that the other groups got more ahead than the Ijesas altho they are similar in terms of being business minded. He said that the Egba and Ijebu are near Lagos, near the "gateway", where they had easier access to power and to education, and it was less expensive for them to get to Lagos; the capital was in their area. The Ijesas are business minded, perhaps even more so than these other groups, but it was harder for them to acheive.

I then asked about limits to people's generosity, if there comes a point where dont give any more, and how decide. He gave the example of Omole. He sad that at some point he may not give, but can still be seen as geneous. A person cant give what he doesnt have. He may decide to give to the community and not to individuals (I mentioned Iloko but he didnt pick up on this). Basically he said that someone like Omole will always be seen as being generous, tho he may not give to everyone and everything, but he'll give to people and things and get recognized for it.

I also asked about negative aspects of home connections, and the idea that people might stay away because of concern about witchcraft. Ilesanmi seemedto think that one wouldnt find that in Ilesa or Ijesa communities. That Ilesa is a "liberated" place, that is that people are more "civilized" there and that that affects not only Ilesa but other towns in the area. People from there have been outside the town. He compared Ekiti, where he said in some areas people have a very narrow view, and someone there might try to use evil power against someone else. But in the Ijesa area, he thinks, if someone tried to do anything like that they would be told by at least ten others not to do so, rather that they should find ways for their own children to benefit from the person who has money and resources -- rather than using witchcraft against that person.

fnmay9547

Friday June 16, visit with Chief Lamikanra

I saw Lamikanra for the first time since I arrived; other times when I've stoppd to see him he's been out. Most of the conversation was fairly general, about the overall situation in the country. But he did start out by asking me whether history is important. (It was clear he was referring to ISG efforts re history) but didnt actually say so. I tried to turn the question back on him, and finally said that it sounds like he is skeptical. He said that he is one of the very few skeptics, but then people know that he is diffrent. However, later when I asked if he is expressing his views to others he said he isnt. He said that he's more interested in roads and industry than in history, and he wonders why history is viewed as being so important. Also that he doesnt think there is a single "truth" to history.

When he mentioned roads, industry I asked what is happeningwith local development efforts. He said that the current situation in the country makes it very difficult to do any local development. The economic situation prevents people from having money to do anything. He gave a number of examples of the current costs of various things, such as the cost of a bag of cement, compared to the past. Also the current exchange rate versus that of past. No one has money. He gave the example of his own neighborhood, that they used to collect money to carry out small projects in the neighborhood. Now, they would like to hire nightguards, but one needs to hire two, at N1500 each. That means N3000 a month. They want to collect N50 a month from everyone to pay this, but most people cant afford to contribute N50 a month. He mentioned that he used to pay to bring the road grader in to fix the road, but that it now costs N300 an hour to get the grader, and then most of the time it isnt working and there are no spare parts. He asked (rhetorically) how can you do any local developmnt in this situation?

When I arrived at Lamikanra's he was on his way out. After we talked a bit, I remembered that I needed to make a phone call to Lagos. While I was doing that, he left, to go to the church -- Anglican Church at Iloro, and asked me to stop by there so he could show me the church. When I got to the church, he introduced me to the vicar, who offered me something to drink and we visited for a few minutes. The vicar asked about my research, and then told me that people here are lerning from models in the US, that for example they are trying to do something about an old people's home for people who dont have anyone to care for them. He said that a lawyer in Lagos had given them a building at Ibodi, and that he and Justice Ilori have volunteered to help set this up. Lamikanra seemed to also be hearing about this for the first time, tho the vicar said he was planning to discuss it with him. Lamikanra said he had to be at the church this morning because he is overseeing a project they are doing (my imporession is that it's some kind of building project but I'm not sure).

I didnt stay too long as I was late for an appointment in Ijebu-jesa.

fnmay9548

Friday June 16, visit with Ijebu-jesa community bank manager to customers

We got to the manager's office at about 1 PM and went out almost immediately. We drove to the market place and parked the car; it was market day. Most of those we visited are people participating in the daily contribution scheme.

We went first to a shop that faces the market place, where there is a woman selling general merchandise -- things such as drugs, rubber soles for shoes, nails, buttons. She seemed to have a little bit of a variety of things. As soon as I began asking about the bank, she brought out her passbook -- in fact she has two, one of which is already filled. It is a very simple system, showing the date, amount of contribution, and overall balance, so that there is a running total. Loans are also shown on the same passbook. She began with the bank on Sept 15 1994 and has made 182 deposits. I looked quickly at the book and the deposits seemed to be N20, N50 or sometimes N100. There seemed to be a balance of about N5000. She said that she has had two loans, the first in Nov. 1994 and the second in June 1995, the second was for N5000. The manager said that the second loan can be bigger than the first, once they see that the person can pay back. She used it to buy more merchandise.

The second person we went to is selling soup ingredients -- peppers and tomatoes-- in the market. She too said that she has had two loans, and uses them to buy more produce. She sells in the market and also fromher house on other days.

The third place we stopped was a provisions shop in the markeet, with considerably larger stock. The woman who runs it wasnt around; later we saw her husband who runs their other shop outside the market. The manager told me that this is the customer who he told me about the other day, who is now getting loans of N20,000 or N30,000.

Then we went to another shop which seemed to have just a little stock -- drinks, packaged soups and macaroni. She began with the bank in July 94; again she got out her passbook. Most of her deposits are N20, sometimes she deposits N100. She has had two loans and has used them to buy goods. I asked how the bank has made a difference. She said that before she got her capital from her children or other relatives, she wasnt banking with any bank. There's a big difference betcause now whenever she goes to the bank and says she needs money she can get it, whereas it is hard to go to someone to borrow, say, N50. She said that the bank has helped a lot. But she added that the problem is that the amount of money they're getting is very small, compared to the rate of inflation. The bank manager commented that they cant give too much more than they are contri butiing, becausethey may not be able to pay it back. I asked her if there's been any problem in repaying, and she said there hasnt been, that it's been easy to repay.

Then we went to a tailor's shop which is upstairs in a building across the street from the market, on the road that goes to the right atthe main intersection in town. A young man is the tailor there. He has a couple of small rooms with sewing machines; there were several other young men around. He said that he has five sewing machines and has been in this

business for 12 years. He has 16 apprentices. The manager told me that this man has a regular account as well as participating in the daily contribution system; he showed me his pass book and there were fewer entries in it than those of the others we visited. The manager indicated that this is a convenience for him to sometimes deposit money this way rather than in his regular account, so he can save small amounts when he has them. He started participating in the daily contribution system in March, so he has not yet taken a loan thru it. When I asked what he would use a loan for, he said that he would use it to buy modern machines (the ones he has are old).

Then we went to the other side of the main road, across from the market on the main road thru Ijebu-jesa. There is a large blue containr there labelled kerosene, and the manager wanted to introduce me to the woman who has that business. She is a young woman, Mrs. Esan, who is a school teacher at the Muslim primary school in Ijebu-jesa. She began this business, of selling kerosene, with a loan; she hadnt been doing this before. She gets an overdraft, of N20,000-N30,000 to enable her to buy kerosene, then she pays back within three months.

Then we went a little further down the street to Jomo Variety Stores and talked with the man there. He is the husband of the woman we tried to see with the large provsions shop in the market (she was out). This is a much larger shop than any of the others with a much wider variety of goods. He said that they have had two loans and that the loans have helped them enlarge the goods they are able to buy and hence also enlarge their sales. He said that if they hadnt had help last time they would have had problems, since they had spent the money they had on some goods, which hadnt yet been sold, and they needed money to buy other goods -- so the loan enabled them to buy the other goods. He has had the shop since 1987; his wife has the shop in the market. They sell both wholesale and retail. They sell provisions and a variety of other things-- luggage, drinks, watches, calculators, small kerosene stoves. They have a quite large display outside as well as things inside the single room of the shop; they have some fairly nice display tables for displaying drinks that they are selling. Quite a few of the things, such as luggage and calculators, are imported; for example a display case had Sharp calculators. The man and his wife own the two shops together. They have apprentices as salesgirls, but he indicated that before they have had paid employees. He buys the goods they sell in Lagos and ibadan. He said that he doesnt like to have anyone come here to supply them because he doesnt want to be gypped (his term). He likes to go there, see the goods, pay for them and bring them back. His name is Godwin Iwajomo. This is the business that the manager says is getting N20,000 for purchasing of goods, according to what he told me the other day altho today he told me N30,000.

We then went to see a woman in a house just a bit further down the street from Jomo variety stores. There wasnt anything displayed outside, except some bread that somoen was selling. The woman came out from inside the house, and the manager explained that she is buying farm produce and reselling; she buys kola nuts (obi) and palm oil from the farms, and then resells. She said that she sells the kola in the north. She gets loans for purchasing produce and then repays after she sells. She pointed out that she also has a grinding machine, located in front of the house, which she uses to make money during slow periods. She was very friendly, and after we walked away (to try to see someone else in a small provisions store,

who wasnt in) and then went past again, she brought me some kola nuts.

Finally, we went to the bakery, where we met the man who owns it. The man said that he is a farmer, and that he had a business before in Ibadan. That he started a bakery here in 1979, but then closed it down in 1982. He was approached by one of the directors of the bank about starting it up again, and did so in 1994. The bank paid N18,000 for the engine that runs the kneading machine and N25000 for the metal for the loaf boxes. He is now baking bread four times a week and makes about 1000 loaves of bread each time, from four bags of flour. He said that he makes N150 on each bag of flour, after all his expenses. He was basically indicating (and wanted to let the bank manager know) that he is short of capital -- that altho the bank gave capital for the equipment he doesnt have operating capital. He sells the bread here in Ijebu-jesa and also in neighboring villages; he charters a taxi to take bread there. He sells on credit and people repay in 48 hours.

Another, older man appeared while we were talking; the two men (the older one and the bakery owner) are both chiefs in town, and are friends. The older man spoke more English and seemed to want to let me know the bakery owner's financial problems. He said that if he had more capital he could make the place neater, and also have more money for transport of the bread to sell it. The old man said that the building was already here, and that he got loans for the engine and equipment -- including apparently a well for the water supply -- but that he had no liquid cash when he started the bakery up again. The bank manager at this point said that the bank has about a 90% investment in the bakery. But owner and his friend say that he doesnt have enough money to purchase ingredients.

I took photos of the owner with some of the bakery equipment. I also took photos of most of the other people we visited.

We went back to the bank and talked a bit more with the manager. On the subject of the bakery, he said that they would like to have more money from the bank, but that the bank purchased their equipment and cant give any more loan now.

I talked with manager about his own background and about the approach taken by the bank. He has an HND in banking and finance from the Ibadan Polytechnic, and also a certificate from the Institute of Chartered Bankers. He previously worked breifly at the Okefia Community Bank in Oshogbo,but noted that that is one of those that is failing. He explained why: he said that the owner had another community bank,Gbagi, and that he used the money from the first to build the second, and then used the money from the second for furnishing, etc. the bank -- so that there wasnt money available for depositors when they came to get their money. The man had come from abroad, and is not from Oshogbo, so when he ran into problems, he just left. I asked why there is a difference here at this bank. He said that the board is made up of people with reputations in the town, they are known here. For example, Chief Fatodu cant go anywhere else. The chairman of the bank is a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN), one of the other members is a professor at University of ibadan. So it's important to them to run the bank well, and to make sure there is money available when depositors want it.

Then I asked about his own orientation, suggesting that even if the board wants it to be well run, a manager still has a lot of say about what happens. He said that after his experience at the other bank, he didnt want anything like that to happen here. Also, he values his certiicate from the Institute of Bankers, and he wouldnt want to do anything to jeopardize that -- he worked too hard to get it.

While we were talking, a young woman came in; he introduced her as the person who takes care of the daily contribution system. I asked whose idea that had been. He said that they had had that at the other community bank where he worked (OKefia) and that he had introduced the idea to the board. Earlier I had asked whether people participating in that system get interest on their accounts. He expalined that they dont because they have to pay a staff person just to take care of those accounts -- so they get that service instead of interest. But he explained how it differs from the traditional ajo system, in that in that system the first deposit of the month goes to the person running the system. Here, people dont pay anything to participate, but they dont get interest either.

Overall, during the couple of hours we spent going around with the manager, I was impressed with his apparent familiarity with the people participating in the daily contribution scheme. I commented on this, and he said that whn the bank was getting underway, he spent a lot of time going around, to try to attract interest in it, so he knows a lot of the people participating. In our discussions, he was the one who asked my questions to people and translated for them; sometimes he answerd for them rather than letting them answer for themselves, but this wasnt too much of a probem.

fnmay9549

Friday June 16, brief visit at Fatiregun's

I stopped at Fatiregun house briefly at about 3:30 PM, after our visit with the community bank manager. Tina's daughter went to call her, and Bodunde and I stood outside for a couple of minutes. While we were there, two cars drove in -- one a range rover type of vehicle and the other a smaller car, probably a 404. A young man got out of the range rover (he was driving) and immediately came over to me to greet me, said he is "Bimbo from Lead Merchant Bank". I realized that it was Olashore's son. He dropped something off for Fatiregun and we chatted briefly. He said that he had just come from Lagos and that he was going to stop at the school and then head back to Lagos still today. I asked if his father had traveled yet, and he said he's going tonite or tomorrow.

I didnt stay long at Fatiregun's, just a few minutes to greet Tina. She said she'd been reading my papers and found them very interesting but didnt make any specific comment.

fnmay9550

Monday June 19, brief visit with Ifaturoti

I stopped at Ifaturoti's house in the afternoon on the way to Iloko. He told me about his trip to Ife one day last week, but said he had not been able to stop to see me, because it was already late when he was ready to start back. I asked about the meeting he was planning to have there; he said that it was an "unpleasant" meeting. So I asked why. He said that they were discussing the plans for a birthday celebration for Lawrence Omole. The idea they had was that they would have a one day symposium on a subject related to Omole's activities. Omole has endowed prizes at the university in economics and medicine, so they thought that something on entrepreneurship would be appropriate. Also Lawrence Omole has an honorary degree from Obafemi Awolowo University. Ifaturoti talked with the Vice Chancellor (Wale Omole) about it. Omole told him that they should get a sponsor for the event. At the meeting they were presented with an estimate for nearly a million Naira for holding the event at the conference center. Ifaturoti showd me the estimate -- for N996,000. It included costs for printing and distributing invitations, and a lot of other stuff that seemed pretty unnecessary; Kunle said they only plan to invite about 100 people anyway. He said that he was about to have a meeting today, that some people were due to come from Ife for the meeting at just about the time we were talking (2:30 PM). He also said that he had discussed it with Lawrence Omole himself, who said they should just forget about having it at Ife. He said that they are hoping to have IBL (the brewery) as the sponsor, but the brewery doesnt want to do it.

As we were having this conversation, Kunle called the brewery to say that if the people arrived from Ife, they should be sent on to his house. He said that they were supposed to meet in the brewery with the Chairman (ie Justice Eso) but that the chairman had called to say they should meet at his house (Eso's house) instead. About 5-10 minutes later, two men arrived at Ifaturoti's house; he greeted both of them as "Prof". I think one was Jeje from geography dept but I was not introduced to them. Right after they got there, Justice Eso showed up too, so they decided to have their meeting there. Meanwhile Eso told me that he had to change our appointment for Saturday evening, so we talked briefly and rescheduled for Sunday July 2. Then I left so that they could have their meeting.

fnmay9551

Monday June 19, Iloko conversation, late afternoon

We got to Ilesa in the late afternoon, and stopped first to see the old man, Olashore's uncle (cousin). I gave him a gift of one of the wall clocks, and some t-shirts that Helen had left for the kids that are around his house (we met him at the house rather than the palace so the kids were around). I asked him about talking with some of the chiefs, and he said that the Regent is around, so that I should go to see him, and he would take me to the chiefs.

So we went to the Regent's house, where we were told that he was at the house that is under construction (the one he showed me the other day). We found him there, with several other people, including a couple of women; there were lots of construction workers around as well. After greeting him and telling him what I wanted, he said that I could go on my own to the chief, since he was still busy there at the construction site. He gave us directions to one of the chief's houses, and said that then that chief would be able to tell me about others.

The chief I went to see is Chief Ejemu. At the end of the interview he gave his full title and name: Chief Ejemu Ilu Iloko, name is Theophilus Ojo. Bodunde identified him as the one who prayed at the meeting we attended, who was sitting to our right in the front of the room. The house where he lives is on the road that turns near the Methodist Primary School (road parallel to the main road thru town). It is an old mud house, and there was very little furniture in the room where we spoke -- he was sitting on a bed and he invited us to sit there with him, on the edge of the bed. The only other furniture visible was a small wooden chair made of wood slats but when Bodunde indicated that he would sit there he was told to also sit on the bed, so we sat lined up along the edge of the bed. The window (old style with shutter) was open behind the Chief, and the result was that I could hardly see his face while we were talking. The house has a bamboo ceiling, creating a sort of attic above the room we were in. There was a calendar on the wall.

He told us that he is a farmer, and that he has always lived here in Iloko. He said that he is now old. We told him what we are interested in, and he began to tell us about the things being done to "develop" the town. The entire conversation was in Yoruba -- I don't think he knows English -- but the word he used was the English word "develop" in the middle of his Yoruba sentence. He mentioned the maternity and the town hall. He said that they want good nurses for the maternity. He referred to his daughter (grandaughter??) saying that he wants her to gain admission so that she has education and can help him, that he's old now and doesnt have as much energy as before.

We asked who decides about the things to b e done. He said that the people here decide and they tell the others. He said that the people here (i.e. those at home) are the ones doing most of the things. Those outside may not come home for two years.

I asked ab out the Town Hall specifically. He said that the Development Committee decided about that, that that consists of the educated people. Apart from that, he said that the maternity is what they really need, so that when their wives deliver they will have good care.

And they need good nurses there so that when people are sick they are taken care of there. He also said that they still don't have water. And he said that they need good roads.

He said that theTown Hall is important to them, because if there is a wedding or burial ceremoney, they need a place to do it. But then he went on to talk about the importance of good roads, and it seemed like he put more emphasis on this. He said that when they harvest their crops, people from outside will come to buy from them if the road is good. He said that he's been a farmer all his life, and that the roads are important, so tthat they can get money from their crops, so he can send his daughter to school.

Then he went on to say that they haven't had water in about a year, and that they are paying money for it, yet they're not getting water. I asked what the problem is. He said that they get their water from Esa Odo (the waterworks there) and before they got it from Efon Alaye. He said that they're trying all their best, trying to get the water, but he doesnt know why water doesnt come.

I asked about the Development Committee and the chiefs. He said that those people on the Development Committee are their own children. They decide on activities, and bring the ideas to them, their parents -- ie the chiefs. They bring the things (ideas) to them and then the chiefs decide on them. Then the chiefs give the go-ahead to do it.

I asked if the chiefs ever make suggestions about what to do. He said that the chiefs had suggested that erosion was spoiling the road, and that they want drainage. The development committee said they would do it, that they would get culverts where they are needed. He said that people in the town will contribute money for this, and when the money isn't enough then the development committee will raise funds to do it.

Later, Bodunde said that what the chief was saying in his responses to my questions is that nt all of the sons outside contribute but that everyone in the town does contribute, even if the amount is small.

At the end of the conversation we asked about other chiefs to talk to. He suggested Chief Owaseye and gave us directions to his house: to go on the road toward Ijeda, then take road to right at the CAC church, near the UNICEF day care and that the chief's house is the third house. We drove to the area and located the day care and the road, but didnt go to the house because it was already late, and raining.

fnmay9552

Monday June 19, visit with Burgesses at Olashore International School

I stopped at Olashore International School, before going to Iloko. I spoke with both David Burgess and his wife Lesley. Much of our conversation was quite general, but there were a couple of interesting things. They told me that in March, Olashore sacked the contractors, because he found that they were stealing from him, and that the architect and contractors were part of this -- that the architect was apparently getting kickbacks from contractors. One contractor told him about this and he sacked everyone. Also, they were overcharging a lot. So now the school has to pay for finishing the buildings, rather than Olashore. For example, they've been told to pay N1.2 million to finish each bungalow, whereas they think they can do i for about NB200000. I asked who the architect was, but they couldnt remember the name; I asked about Eso, and they said he had been sacked a long time ago.

The same thing has happened at Olashore'shouse, so since March not much has happened with construction there.

We also talked a bit about Olashore's relationship with the school. David said that he doesnt interfere much in the running of the school. Every once in a while he gives a lecture about something like cults, but that's about it. This led us to talk about religion at the school. David said that it's a secular school, with some muslim students as well as Christians, and that what they have to be careful about is the "fanatics". Some of the teachers were having prayer meetings at their houses, and they have put a stop to that. They think Olashore would be happier with a Christian school but that he made it secular by having students from other religions. David said that he actually thought it was going to be a Christian school when he took the job.

They also talked a bit about Wale Omole, the Ife Vice Chancellor who is on their board (later I was told that he is chairman of the board, but Burgesses did not say this). They said that he's really too busy to do much. They also wanted to know what is happening with the VC appointment process.

fnmay9553

Tuesday June 20, interview with Mr. Babatayo, Iwoye

I went to see Mr Babatayo Tuesday afternoon. This was the first time I had tried to see him since my visit to him with Chief Fatodu in December. He was at home. I explained that I wanted to follow up on some of the things we had talked about in December -- the various activities in which the town is engaged.

He started by telling me that the community bank will open on July 1. They now have their approval to open (which they were waiting for when I saw him in December) and he will be the manager. Then he said that they are planning to have a launching for the oba's palace on Sept. 23, that they want to finish the palace before the installation of the oba; they now have an oba-elect.

Further, he said that the health center is a joint project between the town, the local government council, and UNICEF. The local government is supposed to provide the supplies for building the center-- the cement etc. The town is to pay for the labor. And UNICEF is to equip the center. Local government will provide the staff. They have started the foundation, and it was about to be completed, but they stopped working on it in late December. He said that the local government is delaying the project, that they said they have to wait until another budget is out, but that they have made promises not to abandon the project.

We then talked some more about the bank. He said that the purpose of the bank is to see that economic activities of the town and the area around it are improved. He said there's poverty is the area, and people dont have enough capital or assets to go to a commercial bank. "If we want local people to grow, there should be a source for them to get capital". This will be for people like farmers and traders. They want to help reduce the poverty and disease among people in the town, and to help people plan for bigger businesses.

I asked him to tell me more about how the bank is set up, who is involved. He explained that the policy which governs community banks is that they should be owned by a community. It is the community as a whole that donates money, that buys shares in the bank. Almost every individual from the town, sons and daughtes of the town, both men and women, bought shares in the bank. The minimum was 500 shares to be a shareholder, and an individual cant have more than 5% of the total shares. He said that many were involved, including both those at home and abroad. But he said that the bulk of the capital comes from those who are in big towns. He said that not less than 60% of the shares are owned by people outside the town, and about 40% by those who are at home.

According to him, there are three units involved: first, the CDA, or community development association, the association that spearheaded the bank. This is the IDU, the Iwoye-Ijesa Descendants Union. The association has its own shares. Then there are other groups and societies that bought shares, for example, the progressive union, the social elites, Club 79 (ie, he mentioned these three organizaitons as examples of those groups which bought shares).

Finally there are individual shareholders.

I asked about the management structure. There is a Board of Directors. This is appointd by the community. It has 7 people on it. Then there are advisory committees. A loan advisory committee has been set up so it will be difficult for the manager alone to say he approves a loan for an individual or societies. In other words, the point he was making was that the manager (himself) will not be able to be pressured by someone to make a loan that shouldnt be made. Otherwise, he said, there may be overborrowing. The manager will make recommendations, and the committee will oversee what is decided. He pointed out that as people living in the town, they will know those getting the loan. He said that the loan advisory committee will be people from the town who are living here. He said that there will also be another committee of people outside the town, to deal with those outside who want loans. That committee will look into their activities and will make recommendations. He added that small loans will be able to be made by the staff, but that others will have to be approved by the committee. And still larger loans will have to be approved by the board (he didnt specify the size of these various types of loans).

I asked him about the launching of the bank that he said will take place Sept 23. He said that it will be launched at Iwoye-Ijesa Day, which will be held on that day this year. Previous Iwoye-Ijesa days have been held the first Saturday of September so they are changing the date somewhat. In addition, they will also collect money for the oba's palace then, and will also do something for the health center. In addition, there will be some money for the Iwoye-Ijesa Grammar School; he said that they always do that, they donate some funds to the school. The government cant fund th school alone, there arent enough teachers. so they give money for part-time teachers, for modern books for the library, and for other projects in the school.

There have been four previous Iwoye-Ijesa Days so far. Last year they didnt have one, becau of the "ups and downs in the country". The first one was held in 1990, and there was one each year after that (1991, 1992, 1993) so this year will be the fifth (he had to stop to think whether the first was 1989 or 1990). They have raised money for different projects thru these events. He said that that is how they got the oba's palace to the current stage, and that they raise money for the grammar school every year. They have also raised money this way for a maternity center; the maternity center will be replaced by the health center.

Iwoye-Ijesa Day is organized by a committee; the chair of the committee is inLagos, and other members are both at home and elsewhere. They are the ones who plan the activities.

I asked how people at home view those outside who are involved in organizing activities. He said that people at home praise those outside for the part they play. He said that the majorit who are involved in planning are those outside. And they are the ones who contribute the greater part of the money raised. People at home see that those outside bring good suggestions. For example, the first launching was for electricity, and this was the idea of those outside. People at home "love them and take their advice." Many of those outside are picked as officers of the IDU; people know that they are trustworthy and that they will take good care of the things they are asked to do. "People at home always embrace them" (those

outside).

I asked for much information on the electricity that he mentioned. He said that they got electricity in 1985. The project started in 1976-77; it was started by launching a fund for electricity in 1974. The contractor asked for N17000, and the community raised 6000. They were going to get loans to get the rest of the money, but then while they were doing that, the government said that they should wait for their own turn to get electricity thru the government. So they shelved the contract. Eventually it was done by the government. The money that had been raised for electricity was used for the grammar school, and then they rised more money in order to establish the school, which occurred in 1976.

I asked if most of the ideas of what they should do came from those outside. He said that those at home also propose development activities that should take place. But they dont carry them out until they discuss them with those outside the town. They have regular meetings of the IDU every three months. That is where proposals are made, and where they discuss them and decide what is feasible.

I asked what role the chiefs play in these decisions. He said "we carry them along, and they carry us along with them." He said that they too suggest what they think is fit for the town. If they think it is a good idea, and if the people at home support it, then they take the ideas to those outside; they all work together. The chiefs always attend the meetings of the IDU when they are held at home, and when they are held outside, one chief attends and reports to the others.

At this point we heard a bell ringing; Babatayo said that it was the town crier, announcing something, that he thought there was some work scheduled for this evening -- to clear the bush arouhnd the palace, and around the Risa's place (another chief). People are supposed to come out and work. I said I'd like to see the palace and health center and we agreed it would be best if I came back so we set Saturday afternoon as the time for me to come back.

fnmay9554

Tuesday, June 20, visit to Olashore's farm behind his house

We stopped at Olashore's on the way back from Iwoye, and asked the guard if the person who takes care of the pigs was around. He checked, then came back to say that he was in town, but that the other caretaker was there and he would take us around. Later, we were joined by the guy in charge of the pigs. The first man took us on a tour of the whole area; we were joined by several children, who I assume were his.

We went around the outside of Olashore's house to the back/ There's another building there which must be where the people who work there live; then there's another building which I assume is the guest house, where the school bursar is now living. The whole area slopes down somewhat, so that none of this is visible from the road. In fact the house itself really doesnt show very much from the road. We went thru a gate at the back to enter the same area that I had visited in January. We went first to see the pigs; the females have litters -- five litters with varying numbers. There is one male. Then there is a smaller pig, which the man said had been dashed to Olashore from Iloko on his birthday; it's a local variety and smaller than the others.

We then went back and walked around the whole area which is planted, which is to the right and back from a large fishpond. The man pointed out the various crops that are growing -- new yams, plantain, cassava, sugar cane, pineapple. The area is extensive, it goes back quite far, up a slope (the fishpond is in the lowest part). I asked what they do with the produce. They said that "Prince" takes things like yam back to Lagos; it wasnt quite clear about the sugar cane, but it sounds like they sell it, but they didnt say specifically. He told me that there are no fish in the fish pond, because Olashore has decided it is too expensive to stock them right now. When the man in charge joined us on our way back past the pond, he said that I should advise Olashore to put fish in and basically implied that it doesnt do much good to have a fishpond without any fish. He said that they did have fish there before but havent restocked after they were harvested.

When you are out in the farm area, Olashore's house is not visible. The farm is actually behind other buildings rather than directly behind his house. Also since he has the building where staff live behind his house, you cant see his house even when you're directly behind it. And even when you're on the slope on the other side of the farm, you still cant see the house. For that matter, you cant really tell that there's anything like a farm if you look out from the back of his house.

I took some photos as we walked around.

fnmay9555

Thursday June 22, brief visit with Prof. Odeyemi at Osun State College of Technology, Esa Oke

I went out to Esa Oke to look for Professor Odeyemi. He was in his office; he recognized having seen me at the meeting in Iloko. We talked briefly, discovering in the process that he did his masters and Phd at Cornell. He wantd to know what I wanted to talk with him about, so I explained. We then set an appointment for Sunday at 5 PM.

fnmay9556

Thursday June 22, discussion with Kunle Ifaturoti

I went to see Kunle in the late morning and we were able to discuss a number of topics that I had been wanting to talk with him about.

First, on the plans for the birthday celebration for Lawrence Omole. I asked about the outcome of the meeting the other day. He said that they have decided to go ahead with having it at Ife, but that they will do some of the things themselves (like distributing invitations) at considera bly less cost. It is planned for October (oct 11 I think).

Then I asked Kunle about the historical research fund, and about the fact that there seem to be different versions of the history, from different towns; I suggested that given the concern with Ijesa unity, the history seems to cause problems with that. He responded that there is one history, there is a correct history. He said that that history is based on oriki and that the oriki are universal, that is the oriki that is told about someone in Ilesa is the same as when it is told in Ibokun. He explained the mistakes that had been made in the telling of the history in Ibokun, when the ISG videotaped there, that they were telling the wrong story. With regard to the issue of unity, Kunle said that "there is one Ijesa kingdom". He then said that his brother demonstrates this in the article on chieftaincy that he has written for the brochure for the research fund. He then went and got the article, which has a title about "Ilesa" chiefs, but Kunle said it is really about "Ijesa" chieftaincy in general,but they used the "Ilesa" name so that they wouldnt ruffle feathers. The article shows the top chiefs in Ilesa, and demonstrates that those top chiefs include chiefs from places like Ibokun and Ipole. The article includes lists of the various types of chiefs, and in each list, there are some from towns outside Ilesa as well as from Ilesa itself. Kunle showed me these, saying that he doesnt know all the details, but that there is one system of chiefs for the whole of Ijesaland and that there is one Ijesa kingdom.

Then Kunle went on to talk about why the hometown is so important, commenting on the papers I gave him to read (he simply moved from our discussion of history to a statement that "the hometown is so important because---" and then went on to say that it's because of the discrimination that Ijesas experience in other parts of the country, such as the north, and even within the state. He said that it will continue to be important until the country has a democratic system under which anyone can live and work wherever they want and have security there. He said that at present in Nigeria the only place you have security, the only place you can be sure of, is your hometown. And that that is the place where you are known, and where people will protect you. He gave the example of his own connections at Ijoka, the area of town where his family is from, saying that Ijoka is where he is known, not here at Imo, he's not from Imo. He gave an example of an incident: that he was driving at Ijoka when he came face to face with another car driven by someone important (dont remember who), who refused to back up or make room for Kunle to pass. The man got out of his car and confronted Kunle. Then the young men in the area, who recognized Kunle altho he doesnt know them, came out and confronted the man and would have beaten him if Kunle hadnt intervened. They were willing to risk themselves, he said, becuae of their

connection, or knowledge, of him.

He went on to say that one of the reasons why this is so important is land tenure. He said that in the north land has always been owned by government. He said that when he lived in Jos, Kayode Eso tried to get him to buy land and build there, and apparently Eso himself did this, but Kunle did not. Kunle's feeling is that you could invest in land and then it could be taken away from you and you couldnt do anything about it. I mentioned Shonekan and said that he seems to be an exception. Kunle's response was that "he's an aberration". Then he went on to talk about what happened to Shonekan, how at one point he was removed from his job becuase people felt there should be an indigene of the area in that position. Then he was appointed Sports Commissioner of Plateaus State, and again after a while people came along asking why someone who wasnt an indigene was in that position, and he was removed. On top of all this, the children in his wife's school protested her being the principal of the school as a non-indigene.

We talked some more about Shonekan. Kunle said that so far as Shonekan is concerned, his home is Vom, that he would have preferred to stay there. But that Kunle was hoping that he would come back to the south, and has tried to persuade him to do soo. He said that they've known each other since 1937 and are very close, but that he (Kunle) cant understand why Shonekan wants to stay int he north. He was hoping that now that his wife has died, hewould move back home, but hasnt. I asked about Shonekan's chidren. He said that two of them -- Ope and Tomiwa -- are in the south, altho Wande is in Kaduna; I pointed out that Wande is maried to a Fulani woman, but he mentioned that she's a Christian. He talked about someone else, a woman who has long lived in the north, who came back to teach for a couple of years at Univ. of Ibadan but then returned north to ABU. He said that he cant imagine her living any where else. He said that she is from Igbajo and her mother's hometown is Imesi, but that he cant imagine someone like her coming back home. She grew up in Jos, taught two years at UI, then went to ABU, and he doubts she'll ever leave the north.

I asked about those from other parts of Yorubaland, such as the northern area, who dont seem to go home so much. He said that it's different there, because they are both yoruba and northern. I also asked why, if the reason is insecurity, peeople from the north dont seem to be so involved in hometown connections. His response was that it's not so important for them because they dont experience the discrimination other groups do.

He went on to discuss identity issues, saying that his identity is as an Ijesa, that he doesnt identify in terms of Osun State, that the state doesnt do anything for him. (A few minutes later he told me that he was expecting some people to come soon from Oshogbo, to discuss problems they are experiencing with the state -- this is apparently in reference to problems of state government employees who are Ijesa.

I said that there seem to be divisions among Ijesas too. He agreed, mentioning for example that Ijeda and Ijebu-jesa are next to each other but there has always been conflict between them and he cant see it changing. There's also conflict between Iloko and Ijeda. He said that Iwoye wanted to have an identity separate from Ijebu-jesa, but that he thinks they've

given up on that now. (didnt say what evidence there is of that).

He also mentioned that there are people who are Ijesa who dont maintain their connections. He gave the example of DK (?) Ajayi, who lives in Ibadan. That he is educated, sophisticated, and probably viewed Ilesa as a place where there is nothing for him, that it is just farmers here. He now identifies with Ibadan.

I asked him about problems for people coming home, building houses etc, whether there's jealousy, resentment. He told me about Akinmokun, from Ikeji-Ile. He said that for a long time Akinmokun did a lot for the town. He built their town hall, their palace, the grammar school. And people appreciated what he did, and for a long time the relationship was very good. He built a very large house there -- a "palatial house" with marble floors, etc. Whenever he's having any event, he would provide a lot of food, and a lot of people liked this, he'd provide cows and other food for people. But then recently, a group of younger people have turned against him, saying he's really from the wrong part of the town, and making things difficult for him. And now Akinmokun hardly goes to his house there any more. He went on to say that the Ijesa Solidarity Group is trying to reconcile them, that there is a committtee trying to do something. Kunle said that he himself tried on his own, but failed. I asked a little more about Akinmokun, and others, re. display of wealth. Kunle said that Akinmokun wasnt "arrogant" in his display of wealth. If someone is arrogant, then he'll be resented. But Akinmokun displayed his wealth, all right, but not in an arrogant way, and he gave a lot to the community. So in general people dont resent that.

I mentioned that I had gone out to Esa Oke to see Odeyemi. I said that he's from Iloko, isnt he? To which Kunle replied, yes, but that he thinks of himself as Ijesa, that others from Iloko tend to be more parochial than Odeyemi. So far as he, Kunle, is concerned, he sees himself, as well as the others as Ijesa -- they're all Ijesa and it doenst matter which town you're from.

fnmay9557

Thursday June 22, conversation with Bodunde about the importance of the hometown

In the car on the way back from talking with Ifaturoti about the hometown, I asked Bodunde what he thought -- whether he agreed that the reason for the importance the hometown was because of discrimination. He said that he didnt think that was the reason. He said that his family hasn't had any problems in Ilorin, but his father wanted to go home. The family has convinced him not to do so, but his father has gotten them to agree to take him home to be buried. Bodunde said that they will do so. He then went on to say that he himself (ie. Bodunde himself) wants to be buried at home. He also said that he would like to go to his hometown more, but doesnt do so because of the fear of jealousy from family members, that something will happen. He likes the village,"really loves" his hometown.

He said that whether one goes home depends on the family, that some are ok. But he gave the example of Foli (Folorunso) who is from Ogidi, and when the others from the gallery went there, he stayed out of the town, because feared what could happen to him there, that there's a lot of jealousy from family members.

In the case of Bodunde's father, he comes from the royal family, and his grandfather was oba. But there were problems over the succession and jealousy, and Bodunde's father had to leave. He went and joined the police. Later, people convinced him that he should come back home to become oba, but when he did so, problems again arose, and he had to leave again, and he rejoined the police. (His father is now in his eighties)

So Bodunde has only been to his hometown once. But he really liked it and would like to go there more. He said that he is ashamed to tell his friends that he doesnt know his hometown, and that when people talk about their hometowns he just doesnt say anything much. I asked how his interest in the town has developed given that he's hardly been there, and he said that his father told them stories about the town, about the grandfather being oba, etc.

I asked him if he feels any connection with Ilorin, where he grew up, and he said no, that he doesnt have any interest in being there, altho he still knows lots of people there. He'll continue living in Oshogbo, but he would really like to have more cnnection with his hometown.

fnmay9558

Saturday June 24, conversation with Chief Fatodu, Ijebu-jesa

I had been trying to see Chief Fatodu to check on various things re. the Community Bank, but when I had seen him he was busy or on the way out. So we had made an appointment for about 2 PM today. It was raining very hard on my way to Ilesa, so I got to his house in Ijebu-jesa rather late. But we then spent about an hour talking about the community bank and related topics.

I asked him for more information about the group that started the bank and how it's structured, and why it seems to be working better than some of the others. He said that the group that started it is a smll group, people who are professionals and middle class people. There are about 15-20 members, nominally, but he indicated that about 15 attend the meetings. They meet in Ibadan usually, but come home once a year to meet there. The main purpose of the group is not for themselves, but for the development of the community. They see themselves as a kind of pressure group, that thinks out ways and means to bring the community up. It's a poor community and they want to find ways to raise the standard of living. The group has been introducing the community to new things.

For example, the government wasnt thinking of introducing water and electricity here so soon. But they thought that they could influence the government, especially since some of them were in government themselves, some of them have been ministers. In about 1976 they worked to get water and electricity; they were involved in influencing government policy, by writing to the government , pointing out what the government should do. They apparently got water and electricity for the town at about that time. (from the govt, as opposed to the way it was done in Iloko)

They also influenced getting a Post Office there. They had a postal agncy, and the group petitioned the governmnt to get a post office. The government said that they should provide a building; the group contributed money for the building and gave it to government for the post office.

Another example of efforts of the group was the building of the town hall, which was done in conjunction with the Ijebu-jesa Union Conference. The Ijebu-jesa Union conference embraces all that peopl in the town. The Conference arranged to "go all out to get contributions " for the town hall. Contributions were made both by those living in the town and those outside.

The group to which he belongs also "pioneered the building of the oba's palace". The palace is now at the stage where they are trying to roof it. They wanted to make the new palace look more like an ancient palace, than the modern building which is currently in use.

Later, he said, something happened and people (members of the group) got to thinking that in addition to helping the town, they should also think about themselves, about establishing some sort of commercial company. They thought they might have shops, factory, a farm,

trading. It would generate revenue for the community and employ some people from the community, as well as providing some profit to the members. The idea was that it would be " an economic venture" that would spread to all sectors of the community. They began by making contributions and forming a company. The company is called Egboro Nigeria Ltd. They have a building located on the road to Ilesa, after the Agip station. He said that there is a big uncompleted building on the left hand side, which is their building. It will be the headquarters of the company. They started by selling soft drinks, beer, cement, milk, flour, iron rods. They also hire out chairs, tables and canopies for parties. They employ a few people this way, and they have some people (women) as distributors of drinks. It gives them some means of livelihood. They can buy on credit and then resell, and also get a discount. They are helping the community develop in this way, because it's possible to buy things locally, and people dont have to waste time travelling to Ilesa or Oshogbo for them.

He said that the same frame of mind, of doing something to help the community, "led us to jump at Babangida's idea of community banks." They thought that if they could start one here, it will help people; they wouldnt need collateral for loans. He said that if someone goes to First Bank to borrow 500 or 1000 to buy beer, or for farming, they wont get a loan; the commercial banks only help the bigtime farmers. They wanted to help the low people, the grassroots to develop. They need small amounts of capital for small enterprises.

According to the policy under which the bank was formed, it must be a group that initiates a community bank. So their organizaiton became the initiator. They levied themselves. They got as many people as possible to contribute N25000 each. The minimum needed to start the bank was N250,000; they started with N500,000. Shares were N1 per share, and a person can have as little as 100 shares (ie N100 worth). Those who contributed N25,000 each included members of the group, as well as others - people both inside and outside the town.

The reasons why the bank has been successful so far are 1) that they didnt go out to build a building at the start but instead rented, so they didnt spend their capital in that way. and 2) the directors of the bank are not being remunerated in any way, in fact they are spending their own money. 3) they have not been too extravagant about overstaffing; they have hired staff according to the volume of work. 4) all the directors come home at least once a month to be at the bank and see what's going on. And one of the directors resident at home is there almost everday. I asked if others besides him are resdient at home and he said that he's the only one -- so presumably he's referring to himself as the director who is there almost every day. He said that he is one of the signatories for withdrawal from the corresondent bank.

The fifth reason he gave for their success is their policy in giving money out to borrowers -- it isnt left to the management alone. There is a committee of the directors and the manager. They look at the loan application, after the manager and staff have interviewed the person. So in giving out loans they are selective and cautious.

When a loan is given out, the manager or one of the staff is always checking the borrower, to see how he or she is spendng the money. Repaymnt is taken seriously, he said.

If the loan is for a large amount like N50,000, for example for buying equipment, then the

bank retains ownership of the equipment until its paid off. If the person runs away (stops paying), then the bank can impound the property. He said thatthe directors are not too involved in the day to day runnng of the place, but that they dont leave everything to management.

At the same time, the directors "don't allow themselves to be lured by the money there". They dont ask for loans under the table. And when management knows that the directors are upright, then they will be too.

I asked if he's the only one on the board who lives here and he said that he is, the others are outside. They all have their own jobs and arent ansious to make money. They see the bank as an investment and htey want to leave there money there. It's a long-term investment, they arent getting anything back yet, right now they are just breaking even.

And because the community knows that these people are at the helm in the bank, they know they can be trusted, and hence there's confidence in the bank and in helping it grow.

I then went back to the topic of the company he mentioned and asked more about that. He said that they started with smal capital, and doubled their capital within a year. In another year they doubled it agian. They wanted to go into production but were advised to starte with trading. That production would take a long time to realize anything on the capital. so they went into trading (buy and sell) instead. The company started in 1978. Within a year they started sharing profit. In recent times however, the economic situation has meant that things are difficult. You need to have a big investnenebt to be in drinks trade. So for now they are just left hiring out chairs, etc., and getting cement when there is a supply. They have not gotten in to manufacturing. They also wanted to go into the restauarant business but they havent yet, an the building is still not completed.

They see what they are doing as a sort of experiment. He said that in other towns, you see a group startintg something and then collapsing because of dishonesty within the group. Even here at home, there have been groups of semi-literates, who have started something, it/s been properious to ,begin with and later it collapsed becuase of distrust and dishonesty of some of the group. For exmaple members might ask for loans from the capital and not return it.

In their case the groups has been together a long time -- from school, college, university days. They have tested one another. They're not a large group and they know each other well, we can trust ourselves, he said. And because of what they have been doing in the community, in the church, educational instituions, people have confidence in them. People feel that "whatever we handle is likely to succeed". They havent abused that trust.

I asked if all the members are the same age. He said no, that they are between 50 and 70.

Then I asked about succession, especially with regard to the company, who will take over in future. He said that they are looking at businesses like John HOlt, PZed to see what they have done. They have registered as a private compnay, and private liability company. They started with 20 people involved, but want to extend it to 50, to spread the ownership among

the community. People with the means to join will be invited to do so. and now that they know it's come to stay, they will be more likely to join in. They know they have the building and other property (land). Then they intend to involve their own children and have them take over the shares of present owners. Eventally they want it to become a public compnay. They think it can go on growing; they dont want it to die, and they want to spread it to others in Ijebu-jesa.

I mentioned having heard about IUTTC and their experience and eventual failure. He pointed out that one of the problems they had was that the company was doing the same things as those involved did as individuals -- produce buying and transport. At first IUTTC did well, but the greed and disthonesty led people to draw back to their own individual businesses. In effect they were in competition with themselves. In their own group, they dont have this problem. Those at home are not interested in private business and those outside have other work. And their purpose isnt mainly commercial. Or rather it is both commercial and humanitarian; they want to help community development this way. So they arent depending on returns from the company or from the bank. So far as these (the company and the bank) are helping to enlighten, and helping the development of the community, helping the community, that is their satisfaction.

H pointed out that there is a long spirit of community development in this town. In the 1930's a group in Lagos, the Ijebu-jesa Union started doing community developmnet work. This group included peopl who were shoemakers, laborers, traders. None had completed primary school. But their major concern was how to improve the educational institutions inthe town. At that time there was just a primary school that went to standard 4. They tried to contribute money to help support theschool. And this is the group that built the grammar school.

I asked if Ijbu-jesa is different from elsewhere. He said that the surrounding towns are watching what they re doing, and trying to do similar things. For example in Iwoye, one society has come together to initiate a bank. He couldnt thnk of other examples right away.

I asked him about the meaning of the word development, saying it seems to have various meanings. He said that he sees education and infrastructure as the two things that are needed for economic development. In this context I asked about building the town hall. He said that some thought they should build a moderate size building, and others wanted a big town hall. Those wanting a smaller one thought they could use the money for other things. But those wanting the big hall won. The town hall is a place where people can meet, which people can hire for receptions, and use for events. It beautifies the town; it is something to see in the town. He pointed out that most of the other towns around dont have a town hall. I asked him about the one they're building in Iloko and its size. He said that it can attract attention to the town, and that they have someone who is able to pay, who has the money now, so it makes sense that they do it now while there is money.

He said that the town halls in the bigger towns like Ilesa, Oyo and Ibadan were built in the 1930s.

On the way out of town I looked for the building they are building for their company. There are a couple opposite Agip, but I'm not sure that's it, or if it's on the same side as Agip.

fnmay9559

Saturday June 24, brief visit with Mr. Babatayo, Iwoye

After seeing Chief Fatodu in Ijebu-jesa, I drove to Iwoye to see Mr. Babatayo. I was later than I said I would be because I had been delayed by the rain. When I got to Babatayo's house, a young girl told me that he was out, but then said she would go get him. I followed her down the street and around the corner, where there were some men sitting on the veranda of a house. They realized who I was looking for and told the girl that he was at the church down the street. I stayed at the corner, and within a few minutes Babatayo appeared. He said that he thought I wasnt coming because of the rain. I told him that I had been delayed and that I had been in Ijebu-jesa, but still wanted to see the things we had talked about, quickly, and then get back to Ife.

So we went right away to the area at the crossroads, where the new community bank is located. First we went to see the palace which is behind the community bank. It is considerably further along in being built than it was the last time I saw it several years ago. Babatayo took me thru it and showed me the various rooms. Some rooms already have doors, I noted one carved door and he told me that each of the royal lineages of the town are responsible for one carved door, and that that particular one had already been done whereas some others are still to be carved. He said that there are eight royal lineages in town.

Behind the palace, we went to see the place where the health center is to be located. It is a large piece of land that has the boundaries staked out, but nothing more seems to be done there. There are foundation posts, but right now it is quite bushy. Babatayo said that the town will clear it when the local government says that they are ready to proceed with the center.

The health center is on community land; it was part of the palace land. There is a sort of road that leads to it from the other end of town, so according to Babatayo it will be accessible from that road, and there will be a wall or something to divide off the palace from that road. The community bank is also on community land, in front of the palace. Babatayo said that they wanted these to be centrally located.

He pointed out the old palace, which has fallen down.

As we were leaving the area he told me a little about the oba-elect. They want to finish the palace before his installation. He is an insurance executive in Lagos. According to Babatayo, the town has agreed that it is ok for him to continue working, and he will come to Iwoye every weekend. The chiefs here will take care of matters during the week. He will continue to do this until he retires. Babatayo said that this arrangement will be good for him (the oba-elect) and also good for the town -- ie. to have someone like him as oba, and to have him continuing to be Lagos-based.

I left from the bank, after taking a couple of pictures of it; Babatayo said he would walk home, and I was anxious to get going since it was after 5 PM and still raining a little.

fnmay9560

Sunday, June 25, conversation with Bodunde and his mother re. burial

On Sunday morning, I was at the petrol station with Folarin, trying to get the car tire fixed again when Bodunde drove up in the Peugeot. He was stopping to get gas, on his way back to Oshogbo from the funeral of Solomon's father, somewhere in Ekiti. His mother was with him, as well as two kids who are Solomon's kids. I invited them to stop at the house, and met them there as soon as we finished with the car.

Bodunde began talking with his mother (in Yoruba) about the importance of being buried at home. She took up the topic right away. She said immediately that if a person isn't buried at home, it shows that his children don't care, it is like they are just throwing him away if they bury him somewhere else. I asked about where a woman should be buried. She said that she should be buried at her husband's home. She mentioned her own hometown and her husband's hometown, and said that she will be buried at her husband's hometown. She also said that if a woman marries and has her firstborn, and then divorces her husband and remarries, she should still be buried at the hometown of her first husband, becuase he is the father of her first born.

I asked about Solomon's father's burial. She said that Solomon's father gave instructions on where he should be buried, in the middle of the house. I then asked about the idea of burial grounds or cemeteries, as had been discussed in Iloko. She said no, that a person can't be buried in a burial ground, that the children must follow the man's instructions. If the father says they should bury him in a certain place, and they were to suggest a burial ground instead, then they will be pursued by the father's spirit, because they havent followed his instructions.

She gave an example of what happens when someone's instructions are not followed:
When her father died, he had about 60 cows. He gave instructions that she was to receive three of them. But her senior brother and others took all the cows. When her mother saw what was happening and went to complain, they refused to give her any cows. Then her mother had a dream, in which her father appeared and said that she shouldnt bother about the cows. Within seven days, all the cows died.

Bodunde went on to say that it is very important to pay attention to the wishes of an old person, to the things they say before they die. This is why young people like to get close to an older person before they die, so that they will hear what their wishes are.

I asked Bodunde about who uses a burial ground, if people prefer to be buried at home. He said that burial grounds are only for young people, one doesnt bury a young person at home. Or if the person is important in the church, they might bury him at a place in the church.

Bodunde and his mother left soon after this conversation, as she still had to get back to Ilorin by public transport from Oshogbo.

fnmay9561

Sunday afternoon June 25, appointment with Prof. Odeyemi, Rector at Esa Oke, College of Techonolgy

When I had seen Odeyemi at the College earlier in the week, he had given me an appointment for 5 PM on Sunday, saying that that is the only time he is at home. He had also described the location of his house for me, saying that it is on the old road into Ilesa, on the lefthand side before you get to Faseru motors. It took me a little while to find it, as I first turned in where there is a sign for Kaolak Mosque; there are two houses there, but one is empty and the other -- belonging to peop;le associated with the mosque I think -- there were a number of kids and a man. One of the kids knew the location of Odeyemi house, and directed me back to the road, to another turn off the road a bit further down. There is a sign there also, and several buildings visible from the road. But it is only after you turn down the dirt road that you see a white wall; Odeyemi's house is behind that wall. It is set back down a slope; I parked outside although there is a driveway, but it is quite a steep slope down. You really cant see the house until you get inside the driveway, when you can see that it is a large, modern house. Right after I got there, he appeared around the corner of the house with another man; he was wearing rubber boots and said he had been on the farm. The other man was introduced as the head of Parks and Gardens at Ife (Odeyemi is on the faculty at Ife, in microbiology). There was also a woman parking a car as I arrived. This turned out to be his wife, who joined us for part of the interview, and then left to go into town. She is Deputy Bursar at Ife, and is now on sabbatical at the College of Education.

We went into the house to talk. The other man, from Parks and Gardens, also joined us, but sat off to one side, reading the newspapers.

I first said something about the house. Odeyemi said that he had started building it on his return from Cornell in 1977 (where he did his graduate work). Later on, he said that he built it as a hobby, something to keep busy with, that he always needs something to keep busy. I asked why he built it here, rather than in Iloko (after confirming that Iloko is his hometown. He said that he had built the house here because of the site; he had picked the site because it has a stream, and land for farming, for a fishpond; he has a farm and fishponds behind the house (it sounds like quite an extensive piece of land but I didnt actually see it). Later on, he again emphasized that it was the site that he picked, that this is where he could get the kind of land he wanted.

He got the job at Esa Oke two years ago. By that time the house was completed and he moved here then; before that he was living in his house at Ife.

His wife then asked me if I know Olashore; she said that she has seen me two or three times at Olashore's house. I said yes, that I had been there for Iloko Day and at other times. We didnt figure out exactly when she had seen me, but probably at Iloko Day as well as perhpas at other times. She is from Ijebu-jesa and is Olashore's cousin. Her father and his mother are related; her name is Oni. (Not sure if she said they are brother/sister or if she explained exact relation; she is quite a bit younger than Olashore).

I asked Odeyemi about his involvement in Iloko. He said that he is not as involved as some are, but that he tries to be there whenever there is something happening in the town, such as the meeting a couple of weeks ago that I attended. He said that he tries to find ways to help, to develop the town. His own main concern is education, he said. I asked how he has helped with education. He said that he helps those who have graduated from secondary school to gain admission to tertiary institutions. And also helping them find jobs.

He said that part of what he had been planning to talk about in his speech that was cancelled was the importance of education. (He added that the speech has now been postponed three times -- the earlier times because of conflicting activities that the organizers decided it should be postponed. He said that he is still hoping to give the speech but is waiting to hear from the organizers. He referred to it several times during our conversation, about things he planned to talk about. I said that I would be leaving so would miss it but would like a copy. Then he said that the most interesting part will be the discussion that follows, so I said that I would try to get my assistant to go if that was ok. He said that it would be announced in the paper and that yes, my assistant should attend.

He then went on to say that another emphasis of his is farming. He thinks that the farmers in Iloko have to change their methods. I asked what he has done to encourage this. He said that he has spoken on this to farmers, and also at meetings like the one a couple of weeks ago, that he showed slides at one meeting. But he hasnt done it thru any organization or in any organized way. I asked why they need to change methods, and he said that they have a problem with land there, that there isnt enough land for the way they produce things now. Also he said that he thinks that people from there have to be willing to leave the town and go elsewhere to farm, again because of the land shortage. He did not specifically say what farming methods he would change or how they should be farming.

I asked him about decision-making in Iloko. He gave the same general picture that others have given: that the Development Committee and the oba are the ones who make decisions, that they consult with people like him about what to do. I asked if he's a member of the Development Committee. He said that he is, but indicated that he's not as active as some, altho he tries to participate in things going on. Then we talked more specifically about current projects in Iloko such as the community hall. He said that he doesnt quite see it like others in the town, that his own emphasis is on education. He said that others like Olashore aren't entirely happy with him because he hasn't built his house there (and he added that Olashore first built his own house in Ijebu-jesa, and that he also built in Lagos, before he built in Iloko). He said that he too can build in Iloko if he has the money.

In general, he indicated that he has a different opinion than others in the town, and implied (but didnt actually say) that he wasn't that much in favor of the town hall. He said that he's more concerned with putting money into schools than other types of projects. I commented that they had done that in the past, and he agreed but said that they are less willing to do so now. He also said that he thinks eventually there will be the development of a private university.

I asked about his involvement with Ijesa Solidarity Group. He described the assignment that

he has been given by Ifaturoti, about industrialization. He said that, first, agriculture is important. And then there should be industry based on agriculture, such as agricultural processing activities. Also he's interested in production of energy -- thru biomass processing. He said that he's been concerned about energy for twenty years. He wants to see these things put together -- biomass energy, agriculture, processing, to encourage industry. He did not give any specifics or indicate whether he's actually involved in anything of this sort that is going on now.

I asked if there are others with ideas like his. He said yes, but that those who are like him, who are more liberal (his term), who are concerned with the whole area, even with the whole country rather than just their own town -- that there are others like him, such as other university people. But that university people who think like him "tend to keep off" -- ie to not get involved. But that he wants to be involved, and to be part of both -- the community and the university-type people. He said that there is a split between those focused on developing one's own town and those concerned with the region, and that the problem is that people aren't united, (for example, within the ISG this split exists). When he said that he wants to be part of both, I think he's also saying he's concerned about his own town, and wants to be involved in things there, but that he's also concerned with wider issues in the region and country.

It was starting to get late, and the man from Ife was interested in getting a ride back to Ife with me, so we began to get ready to leave. In the meantime Odeyemi's wife had gone out. As we were walking out, the man from Ife noticed a keg of palmwine on the verandah, and Odeyemi said that it was from his own trees and freshly tapped. So he got someone to bring glasses and we sat on the verandah for a few minutes to drink some palmwine. (The verandah was quite pleasant by this time -- it was about 6 PM; the house itself had airconditioning on). The palmwine led to talk about Odeyemi's farm. He said that he started it as a hobby, just as he had built the house as a hobby, that he likes to have things to do. He said that if it has commercial value, that's fine, but that's not the reason he's doing it. He talked about his fishponds, and said that he has 10,000 fish there. He said that he built the largest of the ponds last July-August, during the crisis. He was at home, couldnt go anywhere, so he got his sons to help him clear the area for a new fishpond. During that same time, he got hold of some fuel one day and decided to drive out on the road that goes past his house (the dirt road off the main road) as he had never been there. It took him to some villages, and someone there had piglets, so he bought the piglets and that is how he started to keep pigs. He said that h has a gardener to help him maintain the farm. But that he himself works on it in the mornings and on weekends; he again emphasized that he likes to keep busy.

We left then, and I indicated that I would like to come see the farm itself the next time I'm back here.

fnmay9562

Monday June 26, lunch with Bolanle Awe

Bolanle Awe and I got together for lunch in Ibadan; we went to the Cabin restaurant on Lebanon Street. We had a pretty general conversation about a number of things, but it included quite a bit about Ilesa activities. The following is in the order I remembered it for my handwritten notes, not exactly in order we talked about the things (typed notes written up after return to US from detailed handwritten notes written down right after we got together).

I asked her about the book published by Ijesa Cultural Foundaton, since I wanted a copy of it. She said that she has copies and we agreed that I would come by that evening for one, which I did. I asked about other activities of the Ijesa Cultural Foundation, and she told me that they had worked out with John Peel (who was around not long ago) that the Foundation would sponsore the reprinting of his book -- that is, they won't sponsor it financially, but they are behind having it reprinted -- I think by Spectrum. She will write the Foreward, and she wants it to have a "proper launching" when it is done.

I asked about the history project that Ijesa Solidarity Group is starting on. She said that she thinks it's too ambitious and that she isnt involved. She said that she doesnt think those invovled realize the amount of money and what is really involved in doing a history of this sort. She said that there is someone, a man who is a friend of Ifaturoti who is a historian, who has commented to her that he thinks they don't realize what's involved. But it doesnt sound like either she or this other man have told Ifaturoti or others what they think.

In this context she mentioned that she has been asked to speak to an Ijesa organization in Ibadan on controversies in Ijesa history and that she will talk about origin stories -- that there is plenty of controversy in those alone without having to go beyond that. This led to her talking about the divisions in Ijesaland between those in the north and the rest of the area; she said that those in the north see themselves as separate from Ilesa. She also said that Ilesa has contributed to the problem by acting as if it is the only town in the region and in the past at least, people from there acting as if no place else counts. She said that people from other places used to say that they were from Ilesa. That it was only with a woman whose name she mentioned but which I didnt know (Mrs. O----, apparently someone well known) who in the 1950's began telling people that she was from Esa Oke, rather than saying she was from Ilesa. The reaction at that time was for people to say "where's that"?

Bolanle went on to say that the Ooni has been playing on these divisions within Ijesaland. He has been inviting chiefs from the northern towns to events. For example, he brought four northern chiefs with him to a book launching in Ibadan -- from Ipetu, Ilare, and two other towns). He has also given the Apetu of Ipetu a crown. I mentioned that the Ooni had come to Iloko DAy. She said that that could be for other reasons, since Olashore was Minister of Finance at the time, and if you are someone who gets contracts from government, you have to come.

She said that the Owa hasn't handled the situation well. That he acts like he is a divine king

and that he doesn't listen to people. I mentioned to her that except for one time a long time ago I havent met him, and that I cant ask those I know to take me to him; her response was to laugh a little and say, "No, you're in the wrong constituency". (I got the impression from what she said and comments later on that she does see the Owa from time to time; maybe she is the one I should ask to take me to him.

We also talked about my current research, and I told her about the conversations I've been having in Iloko and the answers I'm getting from people, that everyone seems to be saying the same thing. She said that Iloko may be the exception with regard to development activities, because of Olashore. That people will go along with what he suggests because of who he is. But that at the same time, he has to carry others along with him. I told her a little of what I am writing in the revised version of my ASA paper, and she commented that people in the towns will see those outside as having ideas about what to do, that those inside think those outside see what's happening elsewhere and therefore have ideas. At the same time, those outside have to not be too far from what others want; those at home may have different priorities and they need to be sensitive to that.

I asked her if she's involved in Ijesa Solidarity Group. She said that she's not too involved, that she is a "sleeping member" and that if she starts to do anything, then they will ask her to do more. She said that there was a meeting to organize a women's wing of ISG, and that she didnt attend the meeting. I said that it does seem like they're trying to get women invovled, and she said yes, that they are conscious of the need to have women involved.

We also talked about where she stays in Ilesa. She said that before her aunt died, she used to stay with her. She said it wasnt very comfortable, but that her aunt liked to have her stay there. Now, she sometimes stays with a cousin, but the cousin is much younger than her, and she doesnt really like to stay there. There are other relatives like Mrs. Thompson who would expect her to stay with them. But, because no of these alternatives are very good, she usually returns the same day if she attends something in Ilesa. She said that there is a family compound in Omofe, where her grandmother's house is. They are thinking of building a bungalow there. There is also her father's house which is near what used to be the home care center at Ijoka (I think this is the health center just past the Texaco station), there are tenants at that house and they are trying to get them out.

We talked some more about the Ijesa Cultural Foundaton. She said that "IBB" (ie Babangida) laid the foundation for the building near the town hall, and was supposed to come back for the launching. But they couldnt agree on a date. The day proposed was Easter MOnday and they were told only a few days beforehand. She didnt think they would be able to get people together in time. She said that the owa hasnt forgiven her for the missed opportunity; he told her that he would have gotten enough people there, even if they were just touts.

This led to talking more about the relation of the owa to educated people in Ilesa. Bolanle said that she feels sorry for the owa, because there are a lot of people in Ilesa who she calls "overbig" --I think that was the term she used, or something to that effect. She said that you can't do anything with them, in other words that they do what they want and don't pay

attention to what someone like the owa wants. She gave the example of Omole. And she said that the owa can't govern without them. She gave the example of what happened when IBB came to Ilesa to lay the foundation stone for Ijesa Cultural Foundation. There was a dinner planned at Omole's for Babangida, and they didnt include the Owa in the invitees. And they had their own program for the day, which was different fromt he Owa's program. But IBB went to greet the Owa, and he was handed a copy of the Owa's program. And he (IBB) never went to Omole's dinner. Bolanle's interpretation of this was that Babangida realized that he had to go along with what the traditional ruler wanted and that he was sensitive to the situation.

Overall it was a very good conversation covering lots of topics, (including on other issues Bisi Aina's ideas about women in poverty program) -- and it's clear that she has lots of insights into Ijesa affairs.

fnmay9563

Tuesday June 27, interview with Omoniyi, in Lagos at his house

When I met Omoniyi in Iloko after the meeting there, we had talked about getting together when I came to Lagos and he had given me his card and home address. He lives in Ikeja, so I went there after getting to Lagos on Tuesday; got to his house at about 6 PM. The house is on a fairly major street, and there is a shop in the downstairs room facing the road. We went there to ask about Omoniyi and it turned out that the woman there was his wife, who I had not previously met.

Omoniyi's full name and address: J.I. Omoniyi, Chief Executive, Print Konsult Limited, 89 Palm Avenue, Mushin, Lagos, PO Box 6120 Ikeja. Phone 524734 (business address and phone). Home address is 68 Opebi Rd, Ikeja. Phone 966404, 967355 (but he had told me the phone wasnt working).

His wife told me that he wasn't home yet from work, but that she expected him soon, and invited me to sit in the shop to wait, which I did. We chatted a little bit. She told me that she is from Ilesa, but said that she's involved in things in Iloko. She was not present at the meeting where I met her husband however. She joined us for part of the time when I talked with her husband, but didnt say much, and then went to visit with a friend who had arrived. When I was leaving she was seeing her friend off, and we talked again then for a few minutes.

While we were talking and waiting for her husband to get home, and after I told her what I am doing, she asked me if I had suggestions for things that would improve the situation of women in Iloko. We had just begun to discuss this when she heard her husband, and she let him know that I was there. She referred to this again when I was leaving.

Omoniyi got home about 10 minutes after I got there. He didnt seem to remember me at first, but then did when I reminded him that we had met at the meeting in Iloko. He invited me in, and we went out from the shop, down the driveway to the back of the house, and then went thru to a large sitting room. It turned out to be a large house, which one couldnt tell from the front. The room was airconditioned and comfortable. His wife had told me that he had a meeting, so I first asked if he had time tonight, or if I should return the next night; he said that he had some time now, but that he did have a Rotary meeting at about 7 PM (it was about 6:15 or 6:30). In fact we talked until after 7, but I cut the intereview off so that he could go to his meeting, and he did rush off as soon as we were finished. (I did not take notes during the conversation, but did write detailed handwritten notes soon after; typed notes were not done til July when back in the US).

I first asked about plans for the next Iloko Day. He told me that there is a planning committee meeting the next day, there at his house. There is a group of Lagos-based people who will meet to make the decisions and plans about the Day. Then there will be a meeting on July 8 in Iloko to make final decisions about it. They definitely want to have an Iloko Day this year, but it will be smaller than in past years because the economic situation is not

good. But they want to do it, they want it mainly as a homecoming for people who are living outside, but it wont be as elaborate as last time. And, he said, they won't miss it again (they did not have one this year).

I asked about the structure of the development committee and who is involved in decisions. He said that they try to say that everyone is involved. The committee only has five officers -- the Chairman (himself); Secretary; Treasurer; Financial Secretary; Social Secretary. It's a small committe, because those likely to be involved aren't very many. They try to involve as many as possible, especially the educated people. Because there arent many, they dont limit the number on the committee; anyone who is interested can participate.

I asked about participation of those at home and those outside. He said that more of those at home participate than those outside. That it is difficult for those outside to get together. So those at home form the core, because they are together there. When those outside go home, they can easily summon those who at home for a meeting. Again, he emphasized that it is especially the educated people who are involved, including the educated people at home. He also said that those who are "financially strong" are important -- that they try to enlist them. He said that there are just a few of them who "have the spirit of giving". So overall there is a cross-section of people involved he said.

Before they begin any project, they discuss the idea. He said that they are "very democratic" and discuss things together. And then they go for the project that has the most support. They look at the options and also at the resources that they have. For example, he said that with regard to the community secondary school, there are some things they have intended to do there, but have not accomplished. (He wanted to be sure I knew he was talking about the communityu school, not Olashore's). He said that this is one area where they had hoped to do more. I asked about this because I thought they did do something there. He said that they do something regularly but not as much as they would like to do. He said that maybe when they finished the community hall they will be able to do more.

I asked why the communtiy hall had been selected as a project. He first referred to the "prestige" of it. He said that within the local government, there are not many towns that have a community hall that can be used for conferences or large meetings. Ijebu-jesa does have a hall, but there is no other in the local government. He said that they envisage that the one they are building can be used for conferences, that there is a need for halls that can accomodate 500 people, and that they will contribute to the local government area in this way. He also mentioned ceremonies in the town, that when there are ceremonies or receptions they don't have a "befitting" place in the town for such ceremonies. If they have a hall, people from the town can use it when they are having ceremonies. I asked whether they will charge people to use it. He said that they havent decided on that yet, altho he has his own opinion on the matter -- but he didnt tell me his opinion.

He said that the purpose of the meeting I attended was to sell the idea of getting contributions, of having a levy. That they wanted to educate the townspeople about the need for such a levy, and that they accepted the idea. At the meeting tomorrow, they will decide how to carry out the levy and how to collect it; he said that the amounts to be paid will be

according to the ability to pay.

I asked about other projects, if there are other projects they are invovled in. He said that the Development Committee intends to bring forth other projects, that it is a continual process. One area they are considering is doing something to improve the market, and they want to have a cold storage area for the market, so that cold storage would be available, for example when there are ceremonies. His wife added at this point that the cold storage project is actually the project of another group -- the Iloko Progressive Ladies association. She said that the women are also thinking about establishing a career center so that townspeople can learn trades, like dyeing, hairdressing. They want to get professionals in who would demonstrate to those who are schoolleavers and drop-outs how they can do these types of things. There is a woman who she said is widely traveled who is interested in setting this up; so far they have just discussed the idea, but are not yet doing it.

Omoniyi said that UNICEF was involved in projects in the town. He said that UNICEF had had farms there, but no longer does (it wasnt clear exactly what this was). Now they are invovled in the Day Care center. The town set it up, and UNICEF took it over and pays the two teachers who work there. UNICEF is also interested in the family planning clinic he said; the town financed it, through the development committe, and UNICEF has equipped it, and are supposed to give them trained staff to pay for it. I asked how the connection with UNICEF had been established. He said that the town approached UNICEF first (but not clear how) and that UNICEF likes to see that they have put their own money in first, so after they had done that, UNICEF was willing to get involved. He said that UNICEF is also supposed to be helping them with animal husbandry but they have not done so yet. He pointed out that they like people to start a project first. (He really didnt explain how the approach to UNICEF was made and it would be interesting to find out more about this -- who, when, how).

I asked him whether Iloko is more invovled in development activities than some other towns. He responded that those from Iloko feel that the government (that is, the local government council) hasn't done enough for them, hasn't done as much as they've done in other towns. So they decided that they have to do things thru their own self- effort. Where the local government can come in and help, that is ok, but they dont want to wait for them. And now that they have been doing things on their own, the local government is getting interested.

He then gave me more history on the Development Committee. He said that it started in 1957. The first thing they did was to get electricity for the town. In 1959 they got contributions, they levied people. They went to Iloko sons and daughters living in all the towns around and got contributions. The electricity was done "100 percent by us". They went to the government and said that they were prepared to pay for everything -- the wiring, the poles, etc. They had looked at the government program and seen that Iloko was in phase 3 for getting electricity, and that the government was only on phase 1 at that time, so they would have waited a long time if they waited for government. For example, Iwaraja only got electricity last year. He added that Ijeda did the same thing as Iloko and got electricity at about the same time.

On water, he said that that was provided by government. But that the water isn't flowing; it never worked in Iloko. The waterworks are at Esa Odo but it doesnt function properly. What they are using instead is water from Efon Alaye that comes thru Ijeda to Iloko, and then goes on to Iloko. But this water is "unprocessed" when it reaches Iloko, it is "raw water". And it hasnt flowed this year. I asked about the boreholes. He said that they were provided by Prince Olashore, who provided two boreholes for the town, but that those have problems also. So what they have now is the brook. And also three wells -- these were provided by government and they do work, but not in the dry season. Also individuals are sinking their own wells. Two of the wells provided by government were there before the boreholes -- one is at the secondary school and one is in the center of town, and one at the far end of town (not clear which end he meant), but one is not yet completed.

With regard to the school, he said that they help the school occasionally, with furniture, libary books, and sometimes they pay the teachers. He said that they regularly do this (pay the teachers) for the secondary school.

I asked what had happened, why the community hall hadnt been finished yet. He said that they hadnt anticipated the rate of inflation when they started out, and that that has delayed them. The original costing was thrown completely off by inflation. They thought that it would cost 2.5 - 3 million, and have now spent 2.8 million and are about half-way finished. I asked about how the money was collected, trying to get an idea of how much was collected at Iloko Day, but he just said that the money was from their own contributions, and from friends, and said they collected money for the hall at both the first and second Iloko Days. They are now trying to make it usable, and then they'll complete the rest gradually. They won't be able to complete everything now.

Finally, we discussed the reasons for doing these things, for involvement in one's hometown. He seemed to really like the question and discussed the topic at some length. He said first of all that any Nigerian loves his hometown, that wherever one goes, one likes to be linked with his hometown. Traditionally, he said, that whatever one becomes, if you neglect your hometown, then there is no respect from the people (ie the people at home). Further, he said, "charity begins at home". One must have a base, a constituency (these where his terms). The normal Nigerian must do something in his hometown.

A person builds a house at home once you can afford to. The society expects you to build in your hometown. If you dont do so, the local society won't respect you as much. They'll believe that you're trying to not be part of them, to disassociate yourself from them (ie from those at home). You are expected to have a residence in your hometown. If you have a house or houses elsewhere and dont build at home, you will have no respect.

Also a person should provide for his parents, and build something for them at home.

In addition, a person should show an interest in the development of the town. If he doesnt, then he's not fulfilling the duties that are expected of him. One shouldnt just build a house at home but should also show interest in the town.

He was quite emphatic about this topic, and we probably could have discussed it further, but we ended the intereview because he said he was already supposed to be at his Rotary meeting. We went out, and his wife was in the driveway seeing someone else off, so he left me with her, saying that he was going to leave to get to his meeting.

His wife and I then talked for a few more minutes. She again said that she would like my suggestions for things for the women. I asked if she does things in Iloko or in Ilesa. She said that she's more involved in Iloko than Ilesa, that Ilesa is a big place and you can do more in Iloko. (implication was also that there are more people to do things in a place like Ilesa, and also that there's more to do in Iloko). She told me that she is a member of the Women's Council in Iloko which involves all women. This is the group that has the idea of the career center. The Women's Council includes both literate and non-literate women, but the non-literate women listen to the suggestions of the literate ones. She asked for suggestions from me, and said I should send them ideas, or copies of things I have written that would present ideas. She met Bodunde and told him that he should help her get these things from me. I said I would try to send her something. I also asked if it would be possible to come back the following day to talk with her more, but she said that she would be very busy that day, so we left it that I would try to see her the next time I'm in the country.

In asking for suggestions, she also told me about how she used to work at the airport, and she once met a woman (European I think) whose plane was delayed a long time, so she invited her to come home with her. She said that woman had all kinds of ideas for her about things she could plant around the house, including where the long cement driveway is. And that while she hadnt gotten around to doing these things, she liked having someone offer suggestions.

fnmay9564

Thursday June 29, Apara wedding, Lagos

(Handwritten notes taken immediately after; typed up in July)

The wedding was scheduled for 11 AM at the Anglican Cathedral on Marina in Lagos. I got to the church a little after 10:30, and went in, collecting a program on the way. The wedding was of Kunle Apara's daughter, and I had been told that both she and the man she was marrying now live in New York. They had come to Lagos just for the wedding. The "engagement ceremony" was held on Sunday, and the wedding on Thursday, because they wer flying back to NY right away.

When I got there, I saw Kunle and Tinu Ifaturoti sitting toward the front, and went and joined them. Soon after, another woman came and joined us; later, I learned that she is Tinu's twin sister. Before the ceremony started she and Tinu decided to move up to the very front, where the family was seated. Kunle explained that they went to primary school with the bride's mother. Kunle stayed where he was, and I did too. A little later, Bolanle Awe came and joined us (neither of us had realized that the other would be there; she said she saw me taking photos and then realized that it was me). I then moved to the aisle seat so that I could take pictures more easily.

After Bolanle Awe sat down, she commented to me "All the Ijesa elite are here". I asked, such as who, and she pointed to Justice Eso who was sitting in the same row as us, but further to one side (I had not in fact seen him before she pointed him out). She didnt mention any other specific people, just that they were all there. And in fact, the church was nearly full; she commented that she was surprised to see so many people since it was a weekday. Later, toward the end of the ceremony, a man entered and sat across the aisle from us; Bolanle said to me that he is the brother of Chief Mrs. Ajikale, who she said is dead now, but had been a strong Ijesa woman. She didnt remember the brother's name.

The entire ceremony took nearly two hours; it ended at about 1 PM. Toward the end, they called for members of the family to join the bride and groom for the signing of the register. Mr. Apara came back and got Kunle Ifaturoti to go with him to do this .

When the ceremony had ended and I was leaving the church, I walked out with Bolanle Awe. She greeted various people, including one woman who turned out to be Mrs. Abe. So she and I greeted each other also; Mrs. Abe told me that she had not been able to get to Ilesa as she had thought she might because she hasnt had a driver (we had talked on the phone when I first arrived and had made tentative plans to see each other in Ilesa). Mrs. Abe immediately commented to me on the Asuni tragedy which occured this week (Tolani's son was killed in a plane crash) -- she knows that I stay with them and she knows Tolani.

Bolanle Awe said she wasn't sure if she should go to the reception, because she still wanted to get back to Ibadan that day to get to her office. I said that I was thinking of going for a while, and then leaving, because I had to get to Ife. We decided we would both go for about

an hour. The reception was being held at the Federal Palace Hotel, in the restaurant there. The restaurant has a big banquet room. It was set up with a head table under a canopy of flowers and balloons and other decorations, and then tables for invited guests to sit at, with places set. Then the whole back of the room was filled with rows of chairs for everyone else. People were told that those with cards were to sit at the tables and others in the chairs. Bolanle and I first took seats in a row of chairs several rows back, where another woman joined us (never found out who she was). When they saw I had my camera out, they suggested we move up, which we did -- to the first row of chairs, so we had a good view of the tables and the head table area. I took a lot of photos but it was very dark in the whole place and there wasnt much light, so a lot of them didnt come out because my flash wasnt strong enough.

Bolanle and the other woman were very interested in pointing out to me the various important people who were there. Among those pointed out were Dove-Edwin (former high commissioner to Britain); Mr. Wey(?), who was the first Nigerian secretary to the government; Chief Fadahunsi; the sister of Dr. Irene Thomas. the first two are not Ijesa, but of course Fadahunsi is. There were lots of other elite Ijesa there as well. Kunle and Tinu Ifaturoti were seated at one of the tables, as was Justice Eso. I spoke with him briefly, and we confirmed our appointment for Sunday morning.

There were also younger people there. I saw Adebisi, Ifaturoti's daughter. A group of young women took seats in front of us, partially blocking our view.

By 2 PM, when Bolanle and I had planned to leave, nothing had happened yet. Then people began handing out plates of snacks. Finally, around 2:30, they started handing out plates of food -- a luncheon. We had a hard time getting any however. Finally we got some food, and Bolanle left almost immediately afterwards. I stayed a little while longer, and left about 3 PM.

By that time, the official proceedings had just begun. First, the man acting as master of ceremonies called the people for the high table. I tried to get photos as they went up to the table. It included Apara and his wife of course, as well as the mother of the groom, and various others. When the Chairman was introduced, the mc talked about his degrees, the fact that he was an ambassador, and then emphasized that he is an "outstanding Ijesa" -- this was noted a couple of times. The chairman was Ambassador Fafowora. The mc also noted that there were a lot of outstanding Ijesa there who could have been asked to be chairman.

After everyone got to the high table, Justice Eso was called on to say a prayer. Then Fafowora began to speak, describing his connection with the bride and how long he has known her. I decided that I probably should leave, as it was 3 PM and I was supposed to see Dele Olowu in Ife at 7:30. So I did not hear the rest of what Fafowora said, or the rest of the program.

fnmay9565

Sunday, July 2, conversation with Fr. Ilesanmi

I wanted to see Fr. Ilesanmi before I left, especially since he had asked me to read his manuscript. When I stopped by on Saturday he suggested I come for breakfast on Sunday morning, which I did -- at 8 AM, since I had to be in Ilesa by 10 to see Eso, and he had to go to church.

Mainly we talked about his manuscript, but we also talked a little more about Ijesa issues. He mentioned, as he had earlier, that one of the problems in Ijesaland is that all the chiefs have origins in other places -- that there are varying origin stories, and especially for those from Ijesa north, they come from places different from the people from Ilesa. He said that this is the reason for the problem about Ijesa unity. I asked about oriki, and whether these reflect the different origins -- whether the situation is like that desribed by Barber. He didnt really answer this question, but instead talked a bit about oriki. He pointed out that there are both derogatory and positive oriki, about the same people and families. He said that the differences in oriki depend on who is telling them. He was also pointing out the problem of using these as historical sources -- because there are variations and can be used for different purposes by different people.

fnmay9566

Sunday July 2, conversation with Justice Eso, Ilesa, 10-11:15 AM

We had agreed that I would come to see him at 10 AM on Sunday at his house in Ilesa. When I got there, Justice Eso was outside in the garden; we went in and began our conversation right away, while he asked the man who works for him to bring me coffee and a slice of mango. I did not take notes during the conversation but wrote handwritten notes right afterward, when I got back to Ife. These were typed up later in July, back in the US. Eso was very informative and eloquent on a variety of topics -- this is one of those times when it would be nice to have it recorded to get exact words.

Eso had come to Ilesa the day before for something (he mentioned Aiku's mother's funeral in Ijebu-jesa but I don't think he went to it) and was leaving as soon as we finished talking to go back to Ibadan. The previous week he had been in Lagos most of the week, for various work-related activities as well as for the Apara wedding. Before we started discussing other topics, we talked briefly about that. I also checked with him to make sure that he knew about the death of Tolani Asuni's son, and he told me that he had gone to Asuni's house on Wednesday evening at about 8 PM, which was about 15 minutes after I left the house.

Eso asked me how my research was going, and I told him briefly about the conversations I've been having with people in Iloko (tho I didnt actually tell him that this was in Iloko). I mentioned how it seems as if everyone is saying the same thing. He said that you have to get them unawares, or else "they will tell you what they believe you want to hear."

I then mentioned that I was talking with people about the importance of the hometown. He asked if I am finding answers, and I said "many". He then began to talk about the topic: he said "Look at me. I have national, and international involvement. Yet my hometown is still very important to me." He went on to say that he believes this importance of the hometown will end with his generation. He said that it isn't important for his son. His son wants it to be important, but he doesnt have the same situation as Eso himself. When I asked again why it's so important to someone like him he responded that "it's the culture." Then he mentioned family connections, that when your parents are alive, you want to come home to see them.

Then, he went on, you can't stay in the family house, so you build your own house. In his own case, he said, his father was a polygamist, and it was not comfortable for him (Eso) there. I asked why not, and he said because the wives are there; he said the house is fine, modern, etc., but that he can't stay there. Also if all the children had rooms there, then there would be "no room for the old man himself". I asked if some members of the family live there. He said that some of the wives are there (apparently still there -- presumably these would be younger wives of his father) and some of the younger children, but that others are like him, they have their own houses in the town.

He went on to say that you must build a house at home, and you should build a better house than the one where you live (although he noted that in his own case he didnt do that as his

Ibadan house is better than his Ilesa house). He gave Chief Fadahunsi (S.O. Fadahunsi, the engineer) as an example of someone who had built a more beautiful house at home than in Lagos; Fadahunsi's house is at Imo, on the hill -- I've never beent there.

Again, he said it's the culture. "You must show yourself." When your father does, you must have a house of your own from which to bury your father and to entertain others who come for the burial. You shouldnt stay in the family house. If you don't have your own house, then you are "an outcast".

We then moved on to the topic of resentment and jealousy. I asked if there is any resentment or jealousy of those who are very succesful and rich among those who live at home. I gave Iloko as an example. His response: "No, on the contrary." He said that people at home are proud that someone from their town is successful. They want people to display their success, to show off success. And other people hope to get there themselves some day (ie to be a success). He said that "Iloko is a beautiful example" because there are just two or three people there with money. Other people accept their situation and look up to those with money. And they expect them (those who are wealthy) to do things for them.

He went on to talk more generally about those outside, noting that they are sojourners. And he asked if I've seen all the big houses in Ijebu-jesa, and along the Ijebu-jesa Road. He said that all of these houses have been built by people like himself who are outside.

I mentioned other places, such as the town Bodunde is from, where there seems to be fear -- that those outside are afraid those at home will do something to them. He said, yes, that there are places like that, where there is fear. He gave the example of the Ijebu area, he said that Ijebu people don't come home, or that if they do, they don't show off their wealth. But in Ilesa, he said, the emphasis is on showing off your success, and there is no such fear. In fact, it's the oppposite. If you don't build a house, then you are seen as an outcast. I asked why there was this difference; his answer was "it's the culture". But he added, of course, people (in Ilesa area) will expect you to help them and you will never be able to do all that they want, so then they (people at home) will talk about you.

This led to talking about the limits to what a wealthy person can do. I asked how people decide what they can do. His response was to say that he doesnt know, because he is not in that situation himself; he said "I don't know how I would cope with this" if he were in that situation. He said that "people know I don't have that kind of money, and that since I'm a judge, they respect my position, they respect my privacy. People don't come here asking me for things." He said that when he attends a function, people appreciate what he is able to give, they "respect me". But he said, if he were in another situation, he doesnt know how he would manage; he added that "I can't see myself in that position and I couldn't cope emotionally with it" (ie in the situation of having lots of money and lots of demands on him).

Going back to the hometown connection, I asked about the importance of the connection with the community, not just with the family and not just building a house. He said that it's because one "has one's roots here". You see this as your "real place"; in other places one is a sojourner. You should build a more beautiful place here than in the place where you live.

And he pointed out that this is a very expensive thing to do -- maintaining a place where one hardly stays is very expensive.

He then went on to say that he can't imagine coming here (to Ilesa) to stay. That when he retired from the Supreme Court, he couldnt see who he would interact with here, who he would talk to. He said that there were maybe 4 or 5 people to interact with. I asked about Ifaturoti, who did do this. He said that he's the "exception", that he's "the only one" who has done this. In fact, he said, he's an "aberration". He said that when Ifaturoti decided to retire and come back to Ilesa to live, he (Eso) thought he was insane, and told him so. But, he pointed out, Ifaturoti was able to establish his business here, and could do his work from here.

We then talked about the Ijesa Solidarity Group. I asked about his involvement in it. He said that he is still involved but that he hasn't had much time. I mentioned that there seems to be some frustration or disappointment about what ISG has been able to do. He said that it's hard to do much, because "there's a lack of commitment." He said that people still want their own recognition, they want to do their own projects -- for example, the different organizations want to do their own activities. He said that they fear they will be swallowed up by ISG. He said that it's good they have someone like Ifaturoti at the head of the organization because he persists. He said if it were himself, he would have given up by now.

He then went on to say that he doesnt want the ISG to become "an organization that gives receptions." I then mentioned the meeting I attended in December where this issue had been discussed. He then went on to talk about this topic, referring to the idea of having a reception for a minister. He didnt mention the name of the minister (Babatope), but did say that the man is a relative of his. He said that he felt they shouldnt have a reception for him. He said that if he is doing the job he is supposed to do, that is fine; if not, then they don't want to be associated with him. He said that the man is a close relation of his, and that he thinks he is corrupt.

He said that people wanted to have a reception for this minister, because they had had one for Olashore. I asked about that one. He said that he had spearheaded it. He said that at the time, he thought they were on their way to democracy -- but that it turns out not to have been the case, it was all a deception. Olashore was part of that (the democracy process that they thought was taking place) . And that it honors the town to have him there (in government). And also because of Olashore's "transparency" and "judgement" it seemed appropriate to honor him.

But he said, that they shouldn't do receptions just because someone is there, or just because someone else has been honored.

He added that it is hard for him to say this, because when he retired from the Supreme Court in 1990, he was given a Civic Reception by all Ijesas. He said that there had never been anything like this before for an Ijesa son, that Ijesas don't usually do such things. He said this reception involved everyone, from the king, to the other chiefs, to many others -- and it involved people from all over Ijesaland. The reception was held at the brewery (this was

before he was associated with the brewery). He placed a lot of emphasis on what an unusual event this was. But his main point of telling me about this was to say that he's not really the person to speak about having receptions -- or not having them-- because this had been done for him.

We then moved on to more general topics, talking a bit about the present government and other issues. I got ready to leave soon afterwards. Before I left, I asked if he knew whether Ifaturoti was at home, since I was thinking of going there. He said that he thought he would be, that he didnt think he would be at church. But then he telephoned Ifaturoti's house and spoke with Tinu. He learned that Kunle was in Ijebu-jesa attending the Thanksgiving service in connection with the funeral of Aiku's mother; so we figured that it would be a while before he got back home, so I went straight back to Ife.

fnmay9567

conversation with Kunle Ifaturoti Monday afternoon July 3

I had planned to go to Ilesa Monday morning to pay last visit to Ifaturoti and perhaps others. But as I was leaving Ife, it began to rain very hard, and there was a high wind, so I went back to the house and packed. Then I started out again after lunch; it turned out that there were trees down on the express road to Ilesa so it was a good thing I hadnt tried to go in the morning.

I went to Ifaturoti's, and visited with Kunle for a while, also saw Tinu. I also left notes with him to be delivered to Tina Fatiregun and Chief Lamikanra, since there wasnt time to see them. We mainly chatted about various things, including their planned trip to US next year. But we also talked a little about recent events.

I told him that I had had to leave the Apara wedding reception early, and also that I had not had a chance to properly greet Mr. Apara, and would he give him my apologies for not having done so. He said that the wedding reception had gone on til about 5 PM, and that then he had to go to Mr. Apara's house to wait for the bride to be taken away by the husband. The traditional thing is that people are supposed to come from the husband's house to get the bride. Kunle said that they waited for a long time; he also indicated that it wasnt done properly, in accordance to what is traditionally done at least. But he said that he had to be there, he couldnt leave, because of his relationship with Apara. I asked about him signing the register at the church and checked whether he is a relative of Apara. He said no they are not related, but very close friends. He also talked about the fact that he had to spend the whole week in Lagos because the engagement had been on Sunday; he wasnt too happy about the way they had scheduled the whole thing.

I also told him that I had tried to see him on Sunday after seeing Justice Eso. But that Eso had called and we learned that he was at Ijebu-jesa at a church service. He said that he hadnt been able to go to the funeral for Aiku's mother on Saturday in Ijebu-jesa, so instead went to the Thanksgiving service yesterday. He agreed that I wouldnt have been able to see him as the service went on for quite a long time. He also said that everyone from Ijebu-jesa was there, that the Ijebu-jesa people always do things together. He mentioned that Mrs. Fatiregun was there, but then said that Olashore was not -- so I told him that Olashore has travelled out of the country. I also mentioned that I don't know Aiku, tho I have heard his name -- he is another prominent Ijesa I think, I think I've seen him at ISG meetings.

I didnt stay too long as I still had to finish packing and the guys from Oshogbo were coming to get my things.

fnap9601

Wed. April 3, 1996. visit with Kunle and Tinu Ifaturoti, Ilesa

I went to Ilesa from Ife at about 10:30 AM, found the Ifaturotis at home, sitting in the sitting room, and visited with them for about an hour and a half, then returned to Ife.

When we first greeted each other, and responding "fine" tovarious questions about how people are (Dick, my parents), Tinu then said, "Everything is not fine in Nigeria". But at that point we didnt really talk in detail about the situation here. Later, we did a little -- Kunle said that the US should "do a Noriega" here -- ie do what they did with getting rid of NOriega in Panama. I suggested this might be difficult, but he seemed to think it should be possible -- that if the US could do it elsewhere it could do it here.

We talked at first about their efforts to get at US visa, which they finally succeeded in getting. But they ran into problems at first, with questions about the bank statement of the person who would be supporting them. When he brought back all sorts of additional information from that person, the man in the consulate said he didnt ask for all of that -- but issued the visa. They are planning to go towards the end of the month.

Fairly early in the conversation , Kunle showed me an ad in Third Eye newspaper from Monday, from Osun State civil servants who are Ijesa, claiming discrimination against them in the state civil service. Kunle said that they asked him to place the ad (my understanding was that they were asking him as Chair of Ijesa Solidarity Group) but that he said he didnt have the money; that it costs 400000 per page for a full page ad, so this ad cost N80000. He also said thatthis is something the civil servants have to do on their own, because ISG is concerned with the plight of the common man and cant get too involved in battles like this one. HOwever, he also commented a little later that he didnt know they were going to put the ad in, and would have liked them to tell him. (A couple of days later I saw in The Guardian in an article about this situation that Ifaturoti had testified to the Boundary Commission about the need for a separate state of Ife/Ijesa area. So I wil have to ask him more about this -- if this is now his position.)

Kunle told me that there will be a meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group on April 29, which I will find interesting, he said. This will be after he has left for the US -- at least that is his plan, but he may have to stay and leave a week later if they previal on him to do so, but he doesnt want to be there. He thinks that others should now take more responsibility, that he has gotten the organization started but there are others who can do more now. While we were talking, he received a phone call, apparently from someone about the brewery, and they were discussing arrangements for the meeting. Apparently, the other person was concerend that it is not certain that April 29 will be a public holiday; it is a MOnday but they are anticip[ating that it will be a public holiday (to kill rams), so Kunle told him that if it isnt a public holiday they wont hold the meeting then. Also during the phone conversation, Kunle referred to something about the meeting and siad that for hundreds of years "our people" got along, but now it is the educated people who are causing problems, "it is the educated people doing this". Of course, I didnt know what they were talking about, but as soon as he got off the

phone he began to explain.

He said that there are problems in Ikeji-Ile, and that one of things the meeting will be doing is trying to help resolve those problems. He said that he needed to give me some history so that I would understand. He said that there are two groups of people who originally settled Ikeji-Ile, each coming from a different area. Then later on, the Owa sent a third group. They all lived together and the other two groups accepted the Owa's representative as the chief (the Akeji?? - - I'm not sure of the title tho he used it). Then around 1917, the town decided to move to a new place, closer to the road. This became Ikeji Arakeji. But not everyone moved. About half of the Owa's group moved, and all of one of the other two groups. And about half of the Owa's group stayed in Ikeji-Ile and all of one of the other groups. Everything was fine in Ikeji-Ile between the Owa's group and the other group until recently.

But Akinmokun (very wealthy man from Ikeji-Ile) is from the indigenous group that stayed. He has a beautiful house there, a palace really. Kunle asked if I've seen it and I said no; he said he was there just once, for Akinmokun's mother's funeral. There is marble all over, and it's really beautiful he said. Some of the Owa's people think that Akinmokun is trying to become the overlord, and that the indigenous group to which he belongs is trying to take over.They have been talking about Akinmokun, saying a lot of bad things about him.

Ijesa Solidarity Group tried to settle the situation. But while they were in the midst of discussions about it, the people from Ikeji went to the commission that is looking into chieftaincies. So ISG couldnt do anything until that commission made some recomendation. Then the commission decided in favor of the indigenous group, saying that there can be two kings in Ikeji, one representating owa's group and other representing indigenous group. The oba of Ikeji (Akeji?) then went to court, and the case is in court now. ISG is tryng to get them to sette out of court. The Akeji was recently installed, within the last year, and Kunle thinks he could have taken a more neutral position and tried to resulve it, but he didnt.. So now they are talking with him as well as with Akinmokun to try to resolve. But Akinmokun is the ISG person who is suppposed to deal with such situations, and clearly he cant be the one in this case, so they had to get someone else-- he mentioned the name, Justice someone.

I asked Akinmokun's postiion in all this. He said that Akinmokun is for unity, but he was talked about so badly that now he is all out for a separate king. He said that Akinmokun doesnt go there any more, that when he was in Ilesa for something that took place over several days he went home to Ibadan every night, rather than to his house in Ikeji, evern tho it was much closer.

I asked whether he thinks they will be able to settle the situation. He said that he thinks they will, and mentioned the interconnections between the groups. He gave examples of two marriages between members of Akinmokun's family and members of the owa's group to demonstrate the extent of inteconnections.

I asked Ifaturoti why he thinks such situations arise. His response was that the cause was illiteracy. That is, that their history is not written. So now everyone is rewriting history,

turning things around to make their own people look good. He mentioned other examples of this process: a group in Ilesa who were slaves, and the head of the group is traditionally buried alive with the Owa when he dies. NOw they are trying to say that they are essential to the installation of the owa. He says that what is happening is that educated people are doing this for their own self-aggrandisement, instead of working to help people in general.

Another example he gave is that of Olashore in Iloko. He said that the Aloko of Iloko is a lesser position that that of loja. But now the Aloko has a seat on the Osun State Council of Chiefs. The only towns in Ijesaland that have important chiefs besides Ilesa are Ibokun, Ipole, and one other but now places like Iloko have seat onthe council of chiefs. Olashore was able to do this by giving money tovarious people. I asked why he did this, and whether he is planning to be oba. He said that he (Kunle) thinks he wants to be oba, judging by the things he is doing. But he himself doesnt understand why such people want these positions. He said that they should realize that there wont always be a military government, and that in a democracy there is no place for chieftaincies, that even in Britain the people are rethinking the roleof the royal family.

The Ikeji situation will be discussed at the ISG meeting on April 29. More generally, in reference to the types of people who are more concerned with their own status than with the larger community, I asked him if these people aren't also members of ISG. He said that they are, but they really dont do anything with the organization, that they dont come to meetings. And when they do, they dont want to do the things being proposed. So he said that they are going to have to start getting rid of some of these people from the organization (he did not mention any names, certainly didnt refer to Olashore in this context, tho it might seem to refer to him by implication of the other things said.

The meeting on the 29th has been scheduled for a public holiday, becuase when they have meetings on Saturdays people say they will come, and then end up going to a wedding or other ceremony instad. But if it is a public holiday, people will have a 3 or 4 day weekend and wont have anything else that day since it is MOnday. It will be an all day meeting, and lunch will be served. When I asked who would be running it, he said probably Mr. Apara, and thatJustice Eso will also be away then.

Several other items of interest came up during our conversation:
That Justice Eso has published a book, entitled Mystery GunMan. He showed me his copy but said that it is not generally available yet and hasnt been launched. I looked thru it quickly; one chpater is about the trial of Wole Soyinka in the 1960s; Eso was the judge. Kunle said that the book may not be launched because Mr. Apara is worried about the government arresting Eso, because he is critical of both past and present governments.

He also told me that there is a book launching on MOnday April 8 inIlesa, at Ilesa Grammar School, and he is the guest speaker. The book is by Dr. Fajemisin, who has died, but who asked Kunle to launch it, and Kunle promised to do so before Fajemisin died. It has a strange title, which I can't remember, seems to be on a religious theme. Ifaturoti said "it's not the book I would have written". I said that I would probably attend, as the invitation card had a long list of people many of whom I know (but not all of whom will be there I'm

sure). But presumably some will. It's at 10:00 on MOnday.

The rest of our conversation was on general topics.

fnap9602

Wednesday April 3, 1996. Met Ifaturoti nephew, Dr. Arigbide (spellling?) at Folarin's
(Later chcked spelling-- correct spelling of name is ARIGBEDE)
When I returned from Ilesa, a man was sitting in Folarin's sitting room, who turned out to be Ifaturoti's nephew, Dr. Arigbide, who I had met once many years ago. He is a friend of Folarin's and had come to see him; he stayed for lunch, so we had some time to talk. Much of the conversation was general, and about the situation in Nigeria as well as about what he is doing. He's involved in a peasant organization, and also an organization called Navisoc, which he referrd to as an effrt to get civil society together. We talked about other ngos such as COWAN and Bisi Ogunleye, and what has happened; he is quite critical of funders, and of organizations that get large amounts of money from outside. He thinks development has to take place from bottom up. I also told him about our possible conference; he discussed variousconferences he's attended, and doesnt see most of them as useful.

We also talked about his uncle, Kunle Ifaturoti. He told Folarin about him, about how honest he is and how many things he's done, such as when he worked in the mining commision. He told a story about a jar of gold that sat on his desk and how Arigbie's mother (Kunle's sistr) asked why he didnt use it, why was he saving it. His reponse was tht the gold belongs to the public -- that if she wants gold, he'll buy it for her. He also told about the organization that Kunle and others started, back before Buhari administration, but how they stopped doing anything as soon as Buhari said there could be no organizations. His comment was that Kunle is a "true Nigerian".

I also told him about my work and my interest in seeing what people themselves are trying to do re. development, people's own ideas of what developemnt is.

fnap9603

Thursday April 4, another meeting wth Dr. Arigbidi at Folarin's

Dr. Arigbidi again stopped at Folarin's and we again had lunch together. We again talked a bit about my work, his work, and related issues. He asked me if I've observed any changes in people's involvement in activities I've been studying. so I talked about some of the changes in theway people feel, tho saying that they still seem to be doing things, but there's much less optimism than when i started the research. He pointed out that the political aspect is relevant to sme (I had said most werent interested in party poliicts as such). He also referred to the overall situation of uncertainty and unpredictablity as affecting people, and I agreed.

I asked him his view of actvities of Ijesa Solidarity Group and other organizations. He said that Solidarity is different from the others-- others may be intrested in things like building a school. But not doing things to empower people; ISG is trying to do something different. It is trying to get people to work on problems and in the process do something for others -- for the common people. He would like to see (or is trying to help) ISG "professionalize" -- that is to make it into an ngo. But he said this would take N4 million. Omole could give that, even now, but he thinks Omole would rather give money to his foundation than to something that won't be able to show off. He said that peopl prefer "showier" things. He really didnt explain what he meant either about professionalizing ISG or what the money would be for.

fnap9604

friday April 5, 1996, visit with Justice and Mrs. Eso, Ibadan

I had called Thursday night, and left a message to say that I would be stopping by on Friday. I got a ride to Ibadan with Folarin, and he dropped me off at Eso house at around 10 AM, with the plan that he would pick me up there in the afternoon. I thought I might go elsewhere, but in the end just stayed there for the whole day. When I got there Mrs. Eso was at church, but he was around, and we visited in the sitting room. Later, she was back and out supervising workers getting a fountain to operate in the garden, so we went there, and then had lunch by the swimming pool. Eventually it got too hot there, and we went back in to the sitting room. Folarin came back just after 4, I had already told Eso about him and his work, so he came in and Eso showed him his art collection -- quite a lot of paintings and other things in the sitting room.

Most of the conversation during the course of the day was on general issues, especially things happening in Nigeria. One specific issue was the ASUU strike, because two people informed Eso that his name had been in the news the night before as part of a group being set up to meet with the disputants in the threatened strike. But he didnt know anything official about it. He had been head of a panel several years ago, whose recommendations were first rejected and then later accepted, which had been basis for settlement then.

We also talked about the visit of the UN team looking into human rights and democracy; he said some of those supposed to meet with the team had been picked up -- and what more evidence do they need of what is happening? Later, towards en of the day his cook came back from Ilesa and brought letters, including one inviting him to meet with the UN team on Saturday, but he said he wasnt interested.

We also talked about the local governemtn elections that took place recently, and the fact that anyone connected with politicians had been disqualified, and that the governemtn had put in its own people everywhere. And that people came out to vote because they were given money to do so.

We talked about his human rights work. He was in Bourkina Faso recently for meeting. The official Nigerian delegation consisted of police and security people, he said. He is now chairman of the organization based in the Gambia, and it is now Pan-African and they no longer are supported by the Gambian govt (since the coup there last summer, when they told the govt they could not be supported or sponsored by a military govt). The organization is talking with Ford Foundation about possible core support. He was also in the US in January with a group from ICJ looking into death penalty -- in Texas and other southern states.

I asked about his book. He said that he plans to launch it on June 6, assuming the govt will let him, NIAA in Lagos. He said that he refers to military governments of past, as well as present government -- critically.

He is planning to travel to the US around April 27, so like Ifaturoti he wont be here for the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting on the 29th. I asked him about this, and he said that others will have to run he meeting, and that it is time for others to take charge. It's time for the "younger element" to take charge. That those who started it have done what they can, in getting it organized, and now a younger element must take over if it's going to continue. He and Ifaturoti have discussed some names of younger people, and they agree on who some of those people are. He said that it's not good for those in their seventies to continue to run the organization.

I mentioned meeting Dr. Arigbide. Eso said that he is very honest, and very committed, has been commiteed for a long time to what he is doing. But he doesnt think he's apprecated, that he's ahead of his time, and is being taken advantage of. He thinks that he needs funding, and I told him that it seems that he doesnt want it, but may be he should at least get small amounts -- Eso doesnt think small amounts will help, that at least $50000 would be necessary. But later in talking about his own activies on human rights, he said that people such as Mora McLain have suggested he start an organiztiaon and that there would be funding, but he doesnt want to have external funding because then people will say just doing what someone else wants. And he hasnt wanted to start an organization.

I also asked Eso about his farm. He said it's still there, but someon stole all the fish, so nothing really there now.

On other hand, Mrs. Eso told me about all the things they have at Ibadan -- chickens, ducks, pigeions, snails,and she's planning to plant a vegetable garden. Just before I left she showed me the pigeons and other birds, which are on the other side of the house in a large fenced-in enclosure. She wants to get quail also.

She and I also talked about Mijindadi, trying to find out more about what happened to him. She didnt really know; thought she had his wife's phone no. in Zaria but couldnt find it.

Eso also told me that I should let him know if I want to use the room in the house in Ilesa, so the people there will get it ready.

fnap9605

Monday April 8 launching of Fajemisin book, Ilesa Grammar School

The launching was scheduled to take place at 10 AM. I got there at just about 10, or shortly after. I saw a few cars in the lot, and saw Tinu Ifaturoti in a car that was stopped, and I went in to the hall where I've attended other events in the past. There were some men at the entrance handing out programs "for the Posthumous Launching of "The Pilgrim's Journeys to the Great Beyond." People were arriving and there were about 10-15 people already seated. I found Kunle Ifaturoti, and he indicated that I should sit in the row in front of him, which was the second row. He also introduced me to the woman sitting next to him, Mrs. Fajemesin (the wife of the author). I chatted with her a little, explaining that I'd been in Ilesa a lot but had never met her, and that my earlier research had been on markets; she said, "so you werent interested in school teachers" and explained that she taught there, at Ilesa Grammar School. Another woman who stopped to greet Ifaturoti and others was introduced to me as Mrs. Omole. By 10:30 there were about 30-40 people present.

I talked with Kunle about seeing him and Tinu on Wednesday when they come to Ife; he said that there are "many things happening" and that he would tell me later.

I overheard Kunle discussing with Mrs. Fajemisin and a couple of men what the price for the book would be, today at the launching; they discussed N500 and N250 and seemed to agree on N250, but later when they were collecting money, they announced that the price would be N500. (I paid that for it).

The program had a long list of names on it, as special launchers, but many were not there. This included the "father of the day" Lawrence Omole (but he had a representative); special guest of honor, Kayode Eso, and various "special launchers"-- Oba Adeyeye from Idi-Oko; Olashore; Apara; Akinmokun; Fatiregun. Later I saw Chief Fatodu from Ijebu-jesa and Chief Ilesanmi; Lamikanra was apparently also there, but I never actually saw him.

Tinu Ifaturoti came in at 10:40; I said that I had seen her earlier. She said that she went home to get something, and also that there was some problem with the car and that the Chairman of the event had given her a ride back -- but he also didnt put inan appearance until quite a bit later. In fact, there was basically a lot of waiting -- not only for the Chairman but also for the chief launcher, Engr. Fadahunsi; the latter showed up at 11 AM and later apologized for being late, that he thought it was scheduled for 11 not 10. Tinu also commented to me at one point that they should get started because they wanted it to be over by noon, since they were supposed to go to Ijanna to her brother-in-law's village (where he is loja); he is visiting there today and wants them to be there with him.

A few people sat in front, including a young woman in her twenties who seemed somewhat out of place and didnt seem to know people; later it turned out that she was the representative of something, but I didnt catch what. There was a group of women behind me, and some men further back. There was discussion about how to get hold of the Chief launcher, Fadahunsi. Eventually he arrive, at about 11, and other people say they should get started.

Around 11:10 a man and woman dressed in same cloth arrived; I thought this was the chairman but it turned out not to be.

At 11:15, a young man who acted as MC began the program, asking a minister to say the opening prayer. Later learned that the man acting as MC is the son of the oba of Idi-Oko, Adeyeye. The MC called quite a large number of people to the "high table" -- there were actually two rows of people sitting on stage. These included: Mrs Fajemisin; representative of the Bishop; representative of Omole (the father of the day) -- one of his "brilliant children" --;
The introduction of Omole's representative referred to Omole as "pillar of industry in Ijesaland, and in Nigeria, and that Ilesa is the capital of the whole world".
Kunle and Tinu Ifaturoti were called to the high table; he was to be the guest lecturer and was introduced as "an outstanding scholar".
Others were the Babalaje of Ibadan, Dr. F.O. Ajayi, who "always remembers his roots in Ijesaland and spends Christms and Easter in Ilesa"; an older man introduced as "now a pastor"

The mc said in the midst of his introduction that someone said to him that he always talks about Ijesaland, and that he responded that "he is never tribalistic but is alway tribally realistic".

The Chief launcher,Engr. Fadahunsi and his wife, were introduced.

Then, in introducing the chairman, the mc said "In Ijesaland, when you want to have a successful program you need to have a Prince as chairman". The Chairman was suppposed to be Ambassador (Prince) Adedokun Haastrup. But he wasnt there and he was represented by Prince (with emphasis) Dr Haastrup.

Others introduced were Dr. Bayo Fajemisin and Ambassador and Mrs. G. A. Falase (the ones in the same cloth), and a representative of the Fajemisin family,Chief E. O Fajemisin -- a rather old man.

One everyone was introduced, the mc more or less followed the program, but Ifaturoti spoke first. A lot of the comments made were on a religious theme.

In between speeches, the mc recognzed various people -- such as Chief Ilesanmi. some were introduced in terms of their position at St Saviour's Church (as baba ijo, mama ijo); it turns out that St Saviours Church is the church that Fajemisin had built which is located ont he Ijebu-jesa Rd

At one point when the Chairman spoke he referred to the mc as "the Prince of Idi-Oko".

Mrs. Fajemisin spoke, as representative of the family,and spoke about her husband's visions.

The book review was given by Chief Akinlabi Kuponiyi, who was introduced as having been a member of the HOuse of Assembly from 1979-83, and a lawyer.

Other guests were recognized by the mc -- Chief Lamikanra, Dr. Abiodun Oginni, a representative of Chief Bibilari, a"Chief from Ijebu-jesa, former reigstrar of UI, Chief Fatodu.

In the book review, the reviewer summarized Fajemisin's life, because the book is basically an autobiography. He said that Fajemisin was the first Ijesa medical doctor, the"first Ijesa-born and -bred medical doctor son of the soil. He also talked about various "revelations" discussed int he book including one to build the church now built.

The mc recognized more people -- two children of Fajemisin, the principal of Ilesa Grammar School, Prince FunsoHaastrup, and a man who is an artist at the Osun STate College of Education.

Then the launching began. The chief launcher was Engr. Fadahunsi; he talked about his connection with Fajemisin. He didnt announce the amount he was giving, but then the mc did announce that he had given N50,000 to the Fajemisin Endowment Fund. The mc then said that they will do the launching the "osomaalo way" and then called on the father of the day (the representative of Omole).

Another person spoke about Fajemisin; he said that he was a sharehlder and Director of International Breweries. He talked about the donation of the church that Fajemisin built. He said "we Ijesas are not like that, we're not that generous. We're too individualistic." This person gave N10,000.

By this time it was about 1 PM, and there were ab out 100 or more people there.

The Chairman, Ambassador Prince Haastrup gave N10,000 and the person representing him gave his own N1000.

A letter from the Chiar of International Breweries plc (Eso presumably but no name given) was announced, and said that he was paying N10,000 to purchase 10 cs of the book on behalf of intl breweries.

Chief Akinmokun gave N5000 for 5 copies for Isoglass (his company). This was also announced, I dont think he was there.

Then the mc referred to Ifaturoti, and said that he won't spend on material things but on things like this, he will-- the amount can run in dollars. Kunle gave something but didnt speak and no amount was announced.

Then the Baba Ijo of St Saviors Church said he was buying 10 copies for the churhc library and gave N11,111.11.

A man who was referred to both as engineer pastor (older man at high table) spoke and gave N10000.

Ambassdor Foloseye gave N7700.

The mc began to read off the special launchers list (printed on program). Most were not there, but some had representatives and gave money.
Oba Adeyeye-- not there and no representive
Olashore -- not there and no representative
Apara -- ""
Oyeleye -- N5000
Ayeni -- N10000
Akinmokun N5000
Rosiji not there
Ajayi
Longe
Obembe -- 10000
Aiku
Ibironke
Ojo
Ibironke -- 5000
the young woman representing someone
Bibilari -- 5000
Lamkanra contributed
the manager of the brewery contributed

The launching continued with smaller amounts; it was announced that the price of the book was N500 (which I paid for a copy). Nearly all the amounts were announced.

Afterwards, Tinu Ifaturoti said that they had gotten close to N200000.

Things wound down and a lot of people left, although there were still closing prayers and speeches. I was tempted to leave, but ifaturoti asked me to wait and drive them home since their car wasnt working. I did so, and we talked briefly after we got back to their house.

I also talked breifly with Chief Fatodu before I left and let him know that I'm back and that I'll come to see him. I asked about the bank and he said it's doing well.

fnap9606

Mon. April 8 brief conversation with Ifaturoti following Fajemisin book launching.

He had mentioned to me that "a lot is happening" so I asked about this. He said that there is to be a ISG meeting on April 29 and told me a little more about it. He said that he may stay til then although he is supposed to leave for US on 4/25. He said that Apara was to preside, but that what he is intending to do will destroy the organization. He said he came up with about 27 names of people, presumably that these will be the people to continue doing the work of Solidarity, but that three quarters of those named are just interested in themselves, they just want to be associated with Solidarity, but arent actually interested in doing anything for ordinary people. In contrast, Kunle said that he wants to do things that will have an impact at the grassroots.

I told him that I had met his nephew Dr Arigbede. He said that his nephew will play an important role at the meeting on 4/29, that he has asked him to come up with plans for things that will have an impact on farmers. He said that there are people in Lagos who have money, they can put it into something that will affect grassroots, not just in Ilesa but in villages. For example, he's talked before about idea of rice mill. This would help the farmers because the mill can buy their rice. Also helps the mill owner, because he can sell the rice. So he has asked his nephew to come up with ideas like that.

fnap9607

Wed. April 10, 1996

visit of Kunle and Tinu Ifaturoti to me in Ife. Kunle and Tinu came to see me for a short visit, following their dentists appointments in Ife. Convresation was mainly general. Ifaturoti asked about Fer Ilesanmi who lives next door, and left a note for him. A few days later I saw Ilesanmi and he told me that he had gotten the note from Ifaturoti. Ifaturoti said that he doesnt know Ilesanmi, but that the latter is a member of Solidarity (ISG)

fnap9608

Friday April 12 1996
visit with Ifaturoti, Ilesa

I had told Ifaturoti when I saw him on Wednesday that I would come today, since next week I'll be in lagos, and they'll be leaving soon for the US.

He had asked me the name of Paulina Makinwa's neighbor who is a chemistry professor at University of Benin. I had checked my notes and found the information; the name is Chris Ademoroti. When I told this to Ifaturoti, he confirmed that that is the correct name and spelling.

In the course of general discussion about my research, Kunle mentioned that the oba of Ijebu-jesa had died, and that they are in the process of appointing a new one, whose name is Chief Taiwo Aribisala. He also indicated some sort of problem with this appointmenet but was vague, but was definite that this is the person who will become the new oba.

I asked Kunle about the article that was in the newspaper about the formation of a new state for Ife and Ijesland, referring to article that said he had testified about this. He then told me what Ijesa Solidarity Group position is on this. He said that it is a strategy to let people know about the situation in Osun State vis a vis Ijesas. He said that they had written a letter, in which they said that there re 395 ethnic groups in Nigeria and they cant all have their own state. That the Yoruba people have six states, and one wouldnt think they would want more. But that there is a problem between those who call themselves "Osun proper" and the Ife and Ijesa peoples. Those who consider themselves Osun proper feel that Ijesas dominate the state civil service, that there are fewer Ijesa local governments than Osun proper local governments but that there are more Ijesa civil servants. So because of this situation, they are asking for a separate Oduduwa State which would encompass Ife and Ijesa areas of current Osun state.

He referred to the ad that the civil servants had in the paper recently (2 page ad), and said that the civil servants needto solve their problem themselves. In his view the ad is "rubbish". He feels that those who are civil servants could be using their expertise for the benefit of the rural people but that they aren't doing that, and even if they are helped with their problem, it still wont work that way, they still wont be helpin others.

I askd about Ife's position on the formation of a new state. He said that Ife is also for the formation of a Oduduwa state. But that they presented a map which drew state boundaries in such a way that Ife is the center, demonstrating that Ife should be the capital (whereas Ilesa is actually more centrally located in the present ife/Ijesa areas). They left out some areas and included others so that this would be the result. The Ife petition for Oduduwa state was signed by many chiefs and local leaders, and 80-90 percent of these were Ijesa. He said that the Ooni sent the letter to them, and influenced them to sign the letter. He showed me a copy of the list, which inclueded about 30 names, including the Chiefs of Ipetu, Ido-Oko, Ibokun. IT also included Olashore's name; I mentioned this, and Kunle said that he;s already denounced this, and has written a letter to the Ooni about it. That what happened is that the

Ooni just sent him a pieced of paper to sign, and he didnt know what he was signing. Kunle then showed me copy of the letter (about 6 pages), and later I asked if I could take it to photocopy, which I did.

I asked if he knew the Oni's reaction to Olashore's letter, and he said that he didnt know. But his own reaction is that Olashore's letter is an afterthought, that how can someone like Olashore just sign a piece of paper without knowing what he is signing.

He then went on to say that Olashore should stick to what he knows, that he shouldnt try to do history. He just wanted a crown for his father, and to make Iloko look like a more important place than it was, to make the Aloko seem as important as the Owa (not that the Owa is so important, he added). He said that he had met Olashore's father when he was obain Iloko, and that he was disappointed in him. That he had thought he would be an enlightened man (his term), since he had been a civil servant and had a son like Olashore. (I asked about him being a civil servant, and also ab out living in the north; Kunle said yes, that Olashore's father worked on the railroad, in the North. I asked for more information about this commetn, and he explained that at one time they wanted to make a quarry in an area that is part of Iloko. He went to Olashore's father, the oba, to get his agreement, but he wasnt interested, and accused them of having started before getting permision . The quarry was never developed in Iloko as a result. (Kunle added that there is a place that that still has explosives which were there for blasting the rock).

With regard to Olashore's interest in history, Kunle said that if he were really interested in history, hye should have supported the fund for historical research that Kunle and others set up. But he hasnt; such people are not really interested in real research, he said.

This led to discussion of problems with the launching of the historical research fund. The brochure was printed, but with a lot of errors that need to be corrected before distribution (my breif article was lost apparently and not included). There were problems between the Lagos organizers of the launching and those inIlesa, and apparently very few people kjnew about it an very few showed up. Kunle's assumption seems to be that it will be done again at some point. I saw the brochure, along with the handwritten corrections, but did not get a copy.

fnap9609

Saturday April 13 visit at Mobo Akinola's house

I got to Akinola house at about 11 AM, and stayed til 1 PM. As soon as I arrived and had greeted Mbo, she told me that her brother, Prof. Fadahunsi (Akin Fadahunsi) was around; later she also told me that her other brother, the one in Lagos (Olu Fadahunsi) was also around, although he had gone out a few minutes before I arrived -- in fact, I had gone past him on the way in, on the road, but wasnt sure it was him.

Mobo greeted me in the outer sitting area, near the front door. When I got there, her husband was also there (Akin Akinola) but he soon left that room, and went into the inner sitting room, where he seemed to be talking with several other men, who came and went -- several of whom I later met and talked with. There was also another man in the outer sitting room when I arrived, but he went off with Akin a few minutes later.

After a few minutes, Akin Fadahunsi came out from the inner sitting room and greeted me. He told me about a seminar that will be taking place soon in Ibadan that I might be interested in. He also referred to the last time he saw me, also here in Ilesa at his sister's house. He also asked about my previous interest in discussing some topics, and I said that I had tried to get in touch with his brother (Olu) as I had been told that he would be a good person to contact re. information on the IUTTC. It was at this point that Mobo told me that Olu is also around today. She also said that both Olu and Akin are around frequently, especially on weekends. When Olu himself came in a few minutes later, we again referred to my earlier attempts to get together with him to discuss IUTTC and the problems of doing so. He gave me his card again and said to call him when I'm in Lagos; he gave several other phone numbers where he can be reached. I asked how often he comes to Ilesa, and he said about twice a month, so I suggested it might be easier to get in touch with him in Ilesa.

Olu Fadahunsi phone numbers: home 882348; office 872595. Also 5450154 and the Apapa Club, 5873300, where he spends a lot of time.
Akin mentioned that he first knew about me and my work from Seyi Lufadeju, so I asked about Lufadeju and said I'd heard from him recently. They said that he is in Lagos now.

Akin and Olu mentioned that they will be having a tenth year memorial service for their father, I think on May 12. They said that no doubt Mobo would tell me about it, but then also said thta it is just for the family.

After we talked for a while, Olu said that he had to go out, and that he would be back soon, but I left before he got back. Akin also left after a while, to return to Ibadan. Meanwhile, another man came in who Mobo introduced to me, Tunde Olojo, a lawyer. For a few minutes, Olojo talked with Mobo and Akin; they were discussing an issue concerning chieftaincy in Ilesa. Mobo explained to me that the obala position has been vacant for 5-6 years, since the last obala died, and the owa hasnt appointed anyone. The obala is second to the owa. She said this is related to chieftaincy disputes in Ilesa. I was interested that when she was talking with Olojo and her brother, she seemed to be the lead person in the

conversation; she in fact introduced the subject.

Mobo wanted me to meet Tunde Olojo because he is active in Ilesa organizations. He said that the only organization he is involved with is Ilesa Social Elite, which is the organization Olu Fadahunsi is also part of . Fadahunsi reminded him that they had filled out some questionnaires for me and he remembered that I had attended one of their meetings. He and Olu and Akin started talking about IUTTC and what had happened with that organization. Their conclusion seemed to be that it didnt last because members of the organization were also involved in the same activities, so were in effect competing with the organizaiton. They also talkd about the brewery, as the one example of a successful effort at joint investment in something. They said that eveyrone looks to the brewery as an example of what can be done but that in fact nothing else like it has been able to develop in Ilesa. I asked why the brewery had worked; Olojo said he thought it was because of the involvement of the state as well (ie in the form of government banks and loans).

Olojo then went on at some length about what he sees as the problems of any joint efforts in Ilesa. He referred to Ijesa individualism. He said that each Ijesa thinks he can do things by himself, with his own hands, with his own brain. That Ijesas have self-confidence, egotism, arrogance, perhaps conceit -- each one thinks he can do it alone. They are not willing to work with others. He used terms (such as arrogance) that were not flattering, and it seemed that he was seeing this trait in a negative, not positive way.

Since Olojo was talking about the difficulties for groups of Ijesas to do anything collectively, I asked if he is involved at all in Ijesa Solidarity Group. He said that he is not, that the only group he is active in is Ilesha Social Elite. He asked if I know Dr. Ifaturoti and of course I said I do.

Olojo then suggested to the others that a good person for me to talk with would be a man in Ibadan named Dr. Kayode Adedeji. He is a legal practitioner; his office is near Coca Cola in Ibadan, near Sango -- tw buildings after Coca Cola going towards UI, opposite the cemetary, before the Bodija junction. Olojo offered to give me his phone number if I called him in Lagos. He also said that I should mention his name when I saw him and that he would also tel him that I would be contacting him. He said that Adedeji was in the Constitutional Convention in Abuja, and that he did a study of chieftaincy disputes in Ijesaland, which he presented to the Owa. He said I would find that study very helpful.

Olojo gave me his card. He is Principal Parnter in the law firm of Shinkafi, Kusamotu, Olojo and Co., located in Unity HOuse, 9th floor, 37 Marina; tel 1667492; 2662354. He then excused himself to go back to the inner sitting room. I then got ready to go, and after saying goodby to Akin Fadahunsi, who was also leaving, I went into the inner sitting room and said goodby to Akin Akinola and the others there.

At one point while I was talking with Olojo, I could hear the voices from that room, and heard the name of Olashore, but couldnt hear what was being said.

fnap9610

Saturday April 13 1996, visit to Tina Fatiregun

After leaving Akinola house in Ilesa, I went to Fatireguns -- found Tina at home, and stayed and visited for about an hour, had lunch there. Didnt really discuss anything much. I asked about Olshore's school, she said it is doing well, I asked if she sees the principal and wife and she said no, she doesnt go there, since she (Leslie Burgess) didnt behave well toward Olashore, but that she thinks she has learned by now.

fnap9611

Saturday April 13, visit with David and Leslie Burgess at Olashore International School

I found them at home, David working out in the garden, and Leslie having just returned from going to the market in Ilesa. We talked a bit about the school. They now have 300 students, will be taking in another 100 in September with eventual goal of 600. They have just hired two new teachers from Britain, in math and computers, who have just arrived. We discussed Olashore and the amount of money that has gone into the school; Burgess said that so long as one is still developing and expanding the school, it will continue to require additional money.

We also talked about Olashore's house, which still isnt finished, but which has progressed further than last time. (I got a glimpse of it thru the gate; it has a roof and looks very large and impressive). Burgess said he didnt think it would be finished any time soon, since Olashore has had problems with architects and contractors, and each time they cheat him he sacks them and then has to find someone else. Also, he changes the desgin, or someone says that the quality of material isnt good, so he tears out something that has already been put in.

I asked if anything more has happened with Olashore becoming oba, and Burgess said not yet, but that he expects that he will become oba eventually, and that he thinks Olashore wants to do so. I asked why, and Burgess said that he thinks it's for the status, and that Olashore thinks that he will become part of a group that he wants to be part of, and that he will have influence in that group if he is oba. Also, there is a lot pressure on him to do so, and if he doesnt agree there will be a lot of ill will toward him. Bu Burgess said, he will have to spend a lot of money. He said that there are always people waiting for him, waiting to ask for money. And that he (Burgess) goes thru the letters that come to the school for Olashore, and there are always letters requesting money.

I said that I understand that Olashore is in Europe. They said yes, that he recently went and hadnt been away for quite some time. They said that Akin Akinola had just been with him in London, and had just arrived back -- in fact they met Akinola at the airport when they went to meet the new teachers who had just arrived. They said that he made a quick trip to London earlier this year when his son Bimbo's wife gave birth (she went to England to have the baby since she is Nigerian-British), but he just went quickly and came back, so this is his first trip in about 8 months other than that. They therefore expect him to stay away for a while, but Burgess said that there is a board meeting of the school on may 17 so he will certainly be back before that.

fnap9612

Friday April 26 1996 Richard Olaniyan comments on installation of an Ijesa oba

While talking with Richard Friday night, he said that he had just returned from Oshogbo where he had been since the day before for the installation of a friend of his, the owner of Rasco Hotel in Oshogbo, as the oba of a small Ijesa town near Idominasi. He said that the installation actually took place before the scheduled date, because the owa of Ilesa was demanding payment of more money and Rasco didnt want to pay more. According to Richard he had paid about N60,000 already. Richard also said that this is what is happening with Olashore as oba of Iloko, according to what people told him while at his friend's celebration today. The owa demanded N10 million from Olashore, and it was beaten down to N2 million, and Olashore has given the Owa a promissary note -- but of course it remains just a promissary note at this point, (the implication being that he may never pay it). Also according to the people Richard talked with, Olashore will be installed as oba of Iloko within the next few months.

fnap9613

Saturday April 27, 1996 visit to Iloko

Bodunde and I went to Iloko in the early afternoon. We had planned to go in the morning, but it rained, and it was also environmental sanitation day, so Bodunde got to Ife fairly late.

We stopped first to see the old man, baba (Olashore's cousin); he was at the palace, in fact, he was outside, at the door. He welcomed us and invited us to come in. We visited with him for 15-20 minutes. I asked him about Iloko Day; he said that it was a success but that they still had not finished the community hall, that it still needs to be painted and other things. Later, Bodunde and I stopped there and took a look -- the floor has been finished, but there are no windows, no electrical fittings, the outside isnt painted -- still seems quit a lot to do.

Baba mentioned that they are still in the process of selecting an oba. He said that they are still meeting about it. I said I thought that Olashore ("Prince") was likely to become oba. He said maybe, but that they are still discussing it. He said "they want him but that he hasnt accepted it yet." I asked if it will be this year, and he said maybe this year, maybe next. They want him, he said because they want someone who is educated, who is known in the country. I said that I hadnt seen Olashore since I arrived and that I understood that he had travelled. He said that he too hasnt seen him in two months.

According to baba, the Regent was around. But we went to his house and were told that he hadnt arrived yet, but was expected that afteroon and would be there thru the holiday (since Monday and Wednesday are public holidays). We therefore planned to come back before the end of the holiday.

On the way to the Regent's house, we stopped and greeted a woman in the market. Otherwise we didnt really see many people around; it was afternoon and very quiet around Iloko.

fnap9614

Saturday April 27 1996, visit at Prof. Odeyemi's house, Ilesa

On the way back from Iloko, we decided to go thru Ilesa and to stop and see Prof Odeyemi, the Rector of the College of TEchnology at Esa Oke, who lives in Ilesa (near the College of Education). We got to his house around 4 PM. We were told that he was not at home, but that his wife was, so we went to see her and visited for a few minutes. She said that her husband had gone to Ife, that he always goes there on Saturdays to check his mail and his lab. His wife is back working in the bursary at Ife; last year when we met she was doing her sabbatical at the College of Education. I mentioned that we had just been in Iloko, and about the fact that I had met her husband there at a meeting last year. I asked if she is also from Iloko and she told me that she's from Ijebu-jesa. Aside from talking a little about the university, about the various strikes there, she didnt say much and I didnt stay very long.

She said that the best time to see her husband is on Sunday afternoon, so we agreed that I would come tomorrow to see him, at about 4 PM.

fnap9615

Sunday April 28 1996, visit with Prof. Odeyemi, Ilesa

I got to Odeyemi's house just before 4:30; on greeting me, he made a point of mentioning that I had said I would be there at 4:00.

He said that it was too bad he hadnt known I was around last weekend, because there was a major masquerade celebration at Imesi Ile that I should have attended., He said that he didnt go, but that he usually does because he's very interested in traditional culture and thinks it's very important. The masquerade is held every other year in Imesi, and on other years in Oke Imesi. It's one of the most important around Ijesalnd, most of the other towns dont do much any more, and people come from outside the area too. (including foreigners). He said that he would like to know more about traditional culture, that he wishes his grandfather were still alive because he was a babalawo and he woudl like to be able to learn more from him.

He also talked about "his school" -- ie the College of Technology at Esa Oke and that in the several years he has been there they have not had a strike or other problem. That when there is any problem with staff or students he goes and talks with the state government.

He asked me if I had seen Ifaturoti, and he knew that he had travelled a few days ago. I said that I would be attending the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting tomorrow, and he said that he would be also; we confirmed the time and place. He also said that Ifaturoti had contacted him about a copy of the paper that he presented to ISG. He said that it was a very thorough paper, about the history, economy, and so forth, and especially about unity. He also points out things that he thinks are wrong with the Ijesas and makes suggestions for improving the situation. He said that there should be copies avaliable at the meeting tomorrow, because they are supposed to discuss it, and that he will see that I get a copy.

Odeyemi asked about what I am working on, am interested in. When I mentioned development, he said that so far as he is concerned development isn't building buildings, but is education and industrialization. That most people aren't really concerned about development in the sense that he thinks it should be meant, that they are more interested in buildings. I suggested that perhps the reason people like to build buildings is that they like to see something tangible resulting from their money. He said that he doesnt think that is it. Rather, he thinks that it is someone like Olashore who likes building buildings and then convinces others that that is what they should do. (obviously referring to the town hall in Iloko tho he didnt specifically say so). I asked then if it was Olashore who influenced others in Iloko to build the hall, and he said yes -- making it sound like it was Olashore's decision. I asked if he has ever said to others there what he thinks should be done instead. He didnt answer directly. Rather said that they know that he has emphasized education, that he has worked to help people from the town gain admission, both when he was at Ife, at the university, and now especially at his college. He went on to say that his own idea about development is that they should invest in industry. The implication seemed to be that the community, or groups from the coomunity, or groups such as ISG, should do this. But then he said that ifhe invests in industry he will do it on his own, not with others. He said that

the problem is that most people dont understand technology, and that he is a science and technology person. If someone has money but doenst understand technology, then there will be problems if they try to invest in industry together. He referred again to Olashore, saying that he doesnt think he is really interested in developing industry.

He said that some people (presumably still referring to Olashore, but not by name this time) are "capitalist to the core" and they're not really interested in helping people. Whereas his own focus is on helping people. He would like to have investment in industry that would provide employment for people. It should be something based on food, on processing. I then tried to ask more spcifically what he might have in mind. I asked what is produced around Iloko, and he laughed, saying didnt I already know that if I've been doing research there. He then mentioned yams, cocoyams, cassava, and also some cocoa and kola but not much. But when I asked again, what type of industry might work there, he was vague, just saying any industry that would employ people. He said there is already some very small scale things, like rice mill, but he would like to see something on larger scale -- medium-size indisutry. But later he said that in doing it himself hewould start small, that that is what he did with the farm and fishponds around his own house. He also said that he was able to do those on his own, but that trying to do something similar at the College is very difficult because of the bureaucracy.

We talked more generally about industry in the Ilesa area and he menitoned the brewery as the one success. He said that Pa Lawrence Omole had really done a lot to bring others together to work together to set up the brewery. That they really tried, and did something. According to him, it was not just Omole's money, but that he was the one who brought the others together. He said that there have been some other efforts, including some others by Omole and others in the brewery group but that they havent been very successful. One, a plastics factory owned by Omole "failed woefully". He also menitoned the nail factory, foam factory, and a couple of others. I asked if there are any based on locally produced items, and he said no, then I asked about vegetable oils, and he sia d yes, and referred to Akad oil, and the one owned by Akinola, but he said he didnt think that one was doing very well.

In general, he said that people are beginning to come home and estabish industries. But he then referred to the problems in the country, as causing dificulties for people who want to invest.

I asked him if he attended Iloko Day. He said that he did. Then he said that all they did was collect money for the town hall. I mentioned that we had taped it. He askd if having been to one, isnt that enought, arent they the same. So I referred to the fact that there seemed to be differences. He said that what was different was that this time they decided not to invite people from outside. He said that it was Olashore who said that they shouldnt ask people from the outside this time, since they hadnt finished the project that they got money for. This was Olashore's idea, according to him. I mentioned the language differences, and his wife, who had joined us but didnt say much, said that that was because it was a "home-grown" affair, for insiders, not for those from outisde.

He mentioned that his wife is from Ijebu-jesa and I said that I'd also been talking to people

there, so he wanted to know to whom, and I metnioned the community bank, but didnt relly get a response. He also said I should look at other places, outside Ijesaland.

I left his house at about 5:30, saying I would see him at the ISG meeting tomorrow,

fnap9616

Monday April 29 1996 meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group

The meeting was scheduled to begin at 10 Am, at the large hall at the Brewery. Bodunde and encountered a few delays en route, but managed to get there justafter 10. There wasnt any need to hurry, however, as we were among the first people there. There were 5-10 men and one woman already there; the woman was just registering and told someone that this was her first time coming to a meeting. Several of the older men who were already there greeted me, and clearly recognized me from my previous times at their meetings, and asked if I'm back again. I went to greet a couple of men who were already seated at the table in th front of the room. Chief Fatodu was also there already. I talked with him briefly, then later asked him if Bodunde could videotape, and he checked with the other men, one of whom turned out to be the person who was chairing the meeting. They said that we could but that they would signal if we should turn it off, if there was something senstive being discussed. As it turned out, there wasnt that much of interest, and it would have been hard to get any sound, as people didnt talk very loud, so we gave up on taping after a few minutes.

We first took seats at a table at one side of the room, but the women from the brewery who were setting places at the table suggested moving to the table in the middle, since there was a fan over it. We did so. Already at one end of the table was the woman who arrived when I did' she introduced hereself as Mrs. Ogundele.

Others at the high table were introduced as Justice Adeyemi, the man who is the secretary of the organization, whose name is Omole, and the man who chaired; Ifaturoti had given me the name of Mr. I.A.O. Orolugbabge as the person who was going to chair, so presumably that's who it was. He's probably about seventy, was very soft-spoken and hard to hear during the meeting.

When I first walked in, I was asked to register and was told to pay N200; I paid for Bodunde as well. I was then given several written documents -- copy of the ISG constitution; auditors report; secretary's report; president's address; and minutes of the last meeting. I aslo picked up copies of the FEb. 1993 Newsletter and the organizer's manual for the Historical research fund. A brochure for the launching of the fund was also there, but they said I had to pay for it, which I did, N250. This is the same brochure that Ifaturoti said had to be reprinted before it was distributed.

Later, Prof. Odeyemi arrived, and after he sat down across from me handed me a copy of his paper on "Unity and Development of Ijesaland: The Way Forward".

Copies of the Omole biography were also there for sale, but I already have that.

Shortly after taking seats, and while sitting around waiting for something to happen, I saw that Akin Akinola had arrived; he was the only man there not wearing Nigerian dress, but instead wearing shirt and slacks, looking quite casual. He and I talked for a few minutes. He told me that he was just back from Abuja. I mentioned that I understand that Olashore is

still in London, and he said no, that he was due back last night. He was carrying a copy of Bola Ige's book, the launching of which was recently prevented. We talked about it for a few minutes; he said thta he wasnt at the launching but his wife was, and that she got there after the gates were already closed. I mentioned getting a copy of Justice Eso's book and he said that the launching for that, which had been scheduled for June 6, has been postponed because there is no way it will be allowed to hold -- that the book is more controversial than Ige's.

Akinola and I also talked about the general economic situation; I asked how work is, and he said ok, not as good as before, but still managing to pay the bills. But he said that people like university lecturers can't afford anything, for example they couldnt pay the N200 to attend this meeting, yet they need them in an organization like this.

By 10:45 about 15 people had arrived. Most sat down at the same middle table that I was at. A woman arrived who I recognized as someone I met before, at the last meeting I attended. She is Prof. Mrs. Ebun Oni, physics lecturer at UI. A man sat next to her, who introduced himself as Prof. Fadahunsi, apparently another brother of Akin and Mobo; he is a pediatrician. Mrs. Oni and Fadahunsi didnt recognize each other, and were introducing themselves to each other. There was a least one other man named Fadahunsi there. Later when Odeyemi sat down across from Mrs. Oni, they introduced each other, and he said that he had always heard her name when he was a student, but this was the first time they had met.

Just before 11 Mrs. Oni and prof. Fadahunsi discussed the starting time of the meeting, saying one shouldnt get impatient in the first hour.

AT 11, the meeting began, with a prayer. The chairman announced thatthe President (Ifaturoti) is abroad. At this time there were 10 people at the high table, and 11 others seated at other tables. One woman was at the high table; later I learned she is Mrs. Yoyole, from Ibadan. Chief Fatodu was also there, tho he left about 45 minutes after the meeting startted and then came back much later. People not present, with excused absences, were announced. The chairman introduced me. He then asked anyone new to introduced themselves and Chief Mrs. Ogundele did so.

Then they went over the minutes from the last meeting, which took about 45 minutes, with various changes. they went thru them page by page; there was discussion about the description of the dispute over civil service in Osun state, and someone said a paragraph should be expunged because the man referred to is still in the civil service.

Odeyemi arrived at 11:15. The minutes were approved around 11:45.

After the minues, they had reports of committees. The historical research committee reported that they met but that the launching was "not well organized" but the Chairman of the event gave his N50000 anyway. They have decided to do a relaunching.

Two more men arrive,d one of whom was Apara; they joined those at high table.

It became very hard to hear because of noise from the kitchen and someone went to check on that.

Committee reports were basically not made becuase no one was there. For the Ways and Means committee, they said that the chair is out of the country. Akinmokun is chair of the National Affairs Committee and he wasnt there. There was criticism from someone, and asking whether everyone received notice of the meeting; the chair defended that notices were sent to everyone. Apara spoke briefly for committee he chairs, but I couldnt hear him, and the general sense was that none of the committees had done anything.

Then another man, Justice Ibidapo-Obe reported. He said thatthe other committees are permanent and his is not but his iw the only one that has been active. The others have not been functioning, he said; they are moribund. His committee was concerned with the situation in Ikeji Ile. He said that there were 2 issues concerned wtih: peace and harmony, and unity. Others on his committee were Prof. Yoyole, Chief Ope Makinde, E. A. Ogunleye. He said that the committee has completed the collection of facts and evidence, both oral and documents. That they have traveled to Ikeji Ile and Ikeji Arakeji, that they were able to see the oba, and collect information regarding the causes of the unrest. They also collected historical facts, that the 3 groups have lived together in peace and harmony in the past, that it is only recently that there has been disagreements. The committee decided it should write a report and the draft has been produced, but the members of the committee havent discussed it yet. The main points regard, one, peace and harmony; they are the owners of the land, the land belongs to us al. The written report will be done in the next 30 days.

There were a couple of comments on the report. Then a man sitting at the same table as me but more toward the front of the room spoke, and referred to the comment about the Owa in the President's (Ifaturoti's report) where he says that the Owa has put Ijesaland in disharmony. This man said that he had man the suggestion before that the Owa should be the patron of the ISG. He said that he (the man speaking) was secreetary general of the Council of Ijesa Societies Lagos, and that he objects to the comment that the Owa is the cause of disarray.

Then Apara spoke and said that they were discussing the report on Ikeji and not the Owa. Someone else commented that the matter (IKeji) has gone to court.

Then there was a report from someone else on the boundary dispute between Ijesaland and Ondo. The speaker said that when you talk of the unity of Ijesaland, you're in trouble from the start. That we're (Ijesas) are fighting ourselves. Some believe the Owa of Ijesaland is Owa of Ilesa. The Ondo state people know that we're not united.

There was a comment, that they should try to involve the administrators of both states in solving the problem.

Next there was a call for a report from the Urban and Rural Renewal Committee, and they looked to Prof. Odeyemi. He looked surprised, then said that he's not a member of that

committee, but that he was just asked to contact his institution since it has urban planning, and he did so, that he linked his lecturers with the president, but beyond thta he doesnt know what has happened.

Next the Presidential address was read by the chairman. When he came to the part about Ife as the capital of Oduduwa state there were various low murmurings.

At 1 PM a relativey young man arrived; most others were in their fifties or above.

There was a motion to adpot the presidential speech before discussing it; this was done. Then they suggested tht the General Secretary's report be read and the two discussed together. This was done. Before the secretary read his report he announced the death of a sponsor active in Kaduna State and there was a moment of silence.

Discussion of the speech and report then took place.
One person started by saying that from the Presidents reprot you can see that he is frustrated. Also from the secretary's report, eg the comments about those who dont attend the meetings. That the Standing committees havent met. He then went on to say that he pleads that Ifaturoti be allowed to continue as president, that this great man is committeed, but has had bad people working with him (then said he would omit the phrase bad people).

Apara spoke next. He said that the situation in the country is so serious. That he and the others hope that young people would be brought it. Those of us who ar over 65, we want young people to run this, it is high time that young people run the organization. Young peopple may feel awkward to argue with me or Dr. Ifaturoti or Kayode Eso, that it's time for younger people to take charge. He said the committees are not functioning because they are almost irrelevant. And he talked about the cost of coming to Ilesa for a meetign and how difficult that has become. He said that both dr. Ifaturoti and myself are too old to lead the organization, neither me, nor Ifaturoti nore Eso. He mentioned the state creation memo and siad that people likehimself going to Abuja, no one will listen to me. The people in governemtn are young and will listen to young people. They want young people who will do the work. He went on to say that it's difficult for you people to sack us, but that with younger people, if they dont do the job, you can sack them.

Another older man spoke and said that he agreed with Apara but said he wanted to give a warning. He said that the country hasvery very serious problems. That they need to try to localize their activities. Given the cost of coming to Ilesa, better if meet localy. Also can localize subject studies, those in ibadan can look into one specific issue, people elsewhere into nother, so that they dont have all this cross-country movement. About the membership, he said they should expad it, but that the people who make things move are never really large. He also said that the problem of a lack of unity hasbeen there for a long time and they cant really root it out in just a few years.

Next a man sitting across from me spoke, he spoke first in Yoruba, interspersed Yoruba proverbs with his English. Heappeared to be in his fifties. He said that he was appealing to the elders, that Ifaturoti has a year tenure to go, and that he should not abandon the

aleadership. That the executive should supervise a one year transition (some laughter at that term), that they should not be so much in haste and hand over to the younger generation who would kill the organization in a year or two. He gave another proverb, then said that the moment you do something good for your fatherland and expect something for it, that you're wasting you time, that the Ijesas dont do that (ie recognize things person has done).

Odeyemi spoke next, int he same vein. Saying that he had discussed this with the Presidnet (Ifaturoti) before he traveled, and that there is a lot off respect for the elders in our culture. He said how many young people will come around. The elders should continue, and then should ensure that some young ones will be in between, e.g as vicepresident. When necessary they should call on the younger peole and have them do some assignments. For example, if there is a problem in state government, an older person will have more respect.

An older man at the table spoke. He said that young people can do things. Tht the president is unhappy, but that in all organizations it is like that, e.g there is poor attendance at meetings. People should be more responsible. We must not allow this organization to die, you should get some of your friends and mates to come. He also said that it will be easier when they divide into zones, but that they still need coordination.

The first man who spoke spoke again, saying that there are only 31 people here.

Someone else spoke and said that there is nothing sacrosanct about the old,. or the young, that there needs to be respect across the different ages. He said that it takes a while for an organization like this to take root and make its impact felt. There are so many organizations already and it is hard to bring them together. People shouldnt be discouraged, they should look at the strategies they are using. e.g with regard to state formation, the lack of unity was demonstrated by fact that 3 groups presented memoranda and Ijesas were in all three. Something is wrong with a strategy where this happens, which doesnt mobilze all Ijesas to speak with one voice. ISG needs to carry people along on occasions like that. He said that they should get younger people involved, and identify who is right person for particular purpose. But the present leadership shouldnt think that things will be better if they hand over to others.

The woman at the high table (Mrs. Yoyole) agreed that they should try to persuade the president to continue. She also spoke about membership dues,that increasing dues may not be the way to get more money. She said that its better to collect from those who are members, she doesnt think they should increase from N200 to N500. (This was later supported by a motion, leaving dues at N200, which was passed). She also said that the zonal representatives should be two from each area because areas such as Ibadan are large.

Another man spoke about the state creation memos. And about Ife as the capital. He said that it was signed by chiefs of the major Ijesa towns, that this is a serious matter, and is connected to a paper he wrote on the assault on traditions. He said that people dont know Ijesa history, who really considers themselves ijesas. He saidthey should set up a committee that cuts across Ijesaland to look at these memoranda. He also referred to the rejoinder by one of those who signed the memo for Ife as capital, a man who is a prominent Ijesa man,

that what he wrote is an apology for Ife, for the supremacy of the Ooni. that person doesnt really know the history of the Ijesas, he said (clearly referring to what Olashore wrote on this issue). He said that the person is neither here nor there.

At this point there was some grumbling from people at my table that they are discussing too many different issues at once. Someone else said more on the state creation issue.

A younger man said that we are now way behind schedule, and that so many issues are being raised with no resolution. That so far as state creation/local government are concerned, it is with Abacha now, and people should try to influence decision there. He then commented to someone else next to him that businessmen would have no use for this lengthy discssion; there was no doubt that the meeting was really dragging.

Akinola spoke on state creation, saying that every oba in Ijesaland except the Owa signed the document for Ife to be capital, and that he has a copy of the document, and that he is worried -- how can every oba sign that document.

It was now 2:30; Odeyemi was grumbling that it was lunch time, that he was hungry. There was other conversation among those there. There was still more discussion on state creation, the chairman went on at lenght but I couldnt hear him, then someone else presented a resolution that ISG put in motion all possible actions to neutralize this very dangerous action that was taken by the obas. This was supported by others.

Then Justice Ibidapo-Obe moved that the old should continue as chair, and that election of officers scheduled for today be adjorned til the president returns, and they should instead go ahead to auditors report. That they should skip discussion of consitution and election of officers. There was generl agreement, but people felt they should discuss the consitution, re the formation of zones and chapters.

Apara spoke on the state issue saying that if they are not going to create a new state they should change the name to Oduduwa and make Ilesa the capitl. The reason why there is no development in Osun state is because Oshogbo is the capital. He referred to the extensive area that is Ijesa, including university land at Ife, and places near Oshogbo and said that people are ignorant of their own history. He said that no one can take away importance of Ife as creator of Yourba, but state capital should be at Ilesa. Apara also mentioned the historical reseach fund and the economic developmetn committee.

Finally, at about 2:45 the chair announced there would be a break, and lunch was served. I asked Mrs. Oni who the woman at high table is, and she siad, Mrs. Yoyole and that the two of them have been friends since primary school, in 1945. It was also during lunch that Mrs. Oni and Odeyemi talked and became acquainted.

By the time lunch ended, there were about 25 people left; Akinola had left by then. Fatodu had returned during lunch. After lunch they discussd the auditors report, but decided there were problems with it because treasurer hadnt prepared the books andthe auditor had done so so said they should reject the report.

Finally they discussed amendments to the consitution but decided they should just do that involving formation of chapters and branches, and that passed.

According to the circulated agenda for the meeting (I saw Mrs. Oni's copy), lunch was supposed to be at 1:30 and then at 3 there was to be three groups discussing:
--unity (with Odeyemi)
--economic sitution at the grassroots (with Arigbede)
--living together in harmony (with Justice Ididiapo-Obe).
this never happened. Arigbede was not there. And when all of the above finished at 4 PM and someone asked Odeyemi to speak about his paper for 10 minutes, he said that he would prefer leaving it til another time, that it would be best if it is distributed and people read it, thn they can discuss it at a special meeting. This was agreed and meeting adjourned at about 4.

Odeyemi told me that his paper was the one he was supposed to present last June at Ijebu-jesa meeting that got cancelled. Then he did present it at ISG in December, their meeting in Ijebu-jesa, but the oba there had just died and there were just a handful of people. Mrs. Oni was given a copy, and she told him that she liked his objective approach. I spoke with him briefly afterward and said that I would read it and try to see him to talk about it. Also he suggested that Bodunde could come and videotap the special meeting when it is held.

I also talked a bit with Mrs. Oni. She said that she has been a member since the beginning, but that she attends meetings but isnt otherwise active. She thinks the organization is doing ok, that they expect too much to happen too quickly. After the meeting she introuced me to another woman, sister to Prof Yoyole, but she hadnt attended the meeting and said she isn a member cause cant usually come from Lagos for meetings. Was home visiting-- had come with her brother. she's a doctr in Lagos.

One of the younger men came up and asked for a ride to ife, which we gave him. He said that he thinks the older people should stay on as leaders of the organization, that otherwise it will die. that they should stay on for some time. On the state creation issue, he thinks they should use any influence they have with Abacha. He toldme that he used to be a teacher at a secondary school in Ife, then was in private sector, then unemployed and now lectures at federal polytechnic in Ede, seemed to want to strike up a connection with me, said he wants to go back to the unviersity still for M.A. and Phd -- never could figure out exactly what his field is tho I asked.

I asked him what he thought of the meetingand he said that it could have been better. Also, Bodunde said that other men at the table were saying to one another that the meeting would have been better if Ifaturot had been there to run it.

fnap9617

Tuesday April 30 1996 attempt to see the Regent of Iloko

Bodunde and I went to Iloko at about 1 PM (having been delayed while he tried to get fuel). When we got to the Regent's house, a woman there said that he had not come to Iloko this weekend, because he had gone to Abuja. She suggested that we stop to see someone working at the local government secretariat named Olusanya to find out his Lagos phone number. We went to the local govt office but could not find Olusanya so did not get the information. The person at the local govt offie is probably a son or brother, since the Regent's name is Olusanya also, I believe.

We then stopped at Olashore School, tried to see Leslie Burgess but she had gone out, saw her husband briefly. When I mentioned that I had tried to see the Regent he said, oh, you mean Olusanya, he has a child in the school, he's a nice chap. He agreed that he's usually around on weekends.

fnap9618

Thursday May 2, lunch with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan

We discussed general things, nothing specific regarding Ilesa. She did tell me about the Iyalode of Oshogbo, who had a meeting the other day of women's organizations from Osun State; she is trying to do something with these groups--ngos and community based organizations. Bolanle Awe attended; also involved in this effort is Prof. Odetola from Ife (who is from Oshogbo). Bolanle suggested I might want to see the Iyalode. Her name is Chief Mrs. B. Kolade, 33 Oduola St, PO Box 46, Osogbo. Phone 035-230648.

fnap9619

Saturday May 4 attempts to see people

Bodunde and I went to Ilesa Sat AM inthe hopes of finding various people, but did not find anyone at home. We first went to Iloko to see if the Regent, Ogunsanya, had come home this weekend. He had not, but they were expecting him to come sometime, but didnt know how long he would stay if he didcome.

We then stopped at Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa. There we saw one of the men who had shown us the farm last year. He said that Olashore had just arrived back in Lagos last nite; they didnt seem to be expecting him this weekend. He also asked about the photos I had taken last year. I had forgotten to bring copies, so offered to take more. We then went back to the farm to see the pigs, and met the other man who is in charge there. He asked me whether Prince is in Lagos, seemed to think I would know; he did not know. He also did not know when he would be coming here. And he said that Olashore had been away for six weeks and they hadnt seen him for about two months. We looked at the pigs and I took a couple of pictures. The pigs are reprodcuing; there were a couple of sets of young ones as well as one pregnant pig. They said that they sell them when they are about 3 months old, but they keep some, mainly females, if they are good for breeding.

Then we went to Ilesa and stopped at Akinola's. The guy at th gate said that neither Mr. or Mrs. Akinola were home. But their daughter was. So I went in and talked with her for a few minutes. This daughter is named Jumoke; she is a student in Economics at OAU so home while the strike is on. She siad that both her parents had gone to Lagos, and that she expected her mother back later that day. But she wasnt sure if she would be around on Sunday as the younger children will be going back to school that day and she may have to go with one of them. She thought that her mother would be there on MOnday so I said I would come back then.

fnap9620

MOn May 6 attempts to see people Iloko and Ijebu-jesa

I was supposed to have an appointment with Chief Fatodu in Ijebu-jesa so went there first. His wife was home but he was not. She said that he had to go to court this morning about the case of a friend of his, that he had probably forgotten that when he made an appointment with me this AM. She said they would be going to Lagos later in the week for a wedding and that then he would be involved in the Anglican Synod meeting taking place on the weekend. She suggested next Monday but I thought I would be going to Lagos, so we decided that either I would try to see him Tuesdayu of this week, or else next week Wednesday.

I chatted a little with Fatodu's wife about her school, which is a nursery/primary school, it goes to primary 5, and hasabout 200 students. They are from around here. This led to talk of Olashore's school, and she said how expensive it is, that it costs about N60000, and that people from around here cant afford to send their children there. She said the local people dont have the Naira. But she also referred positively to the school, about how much Olashore has spent in building it. I asked if there are scholarships for local children, but she didnt know.

I also tried again to see the Regent, and learned that he had come late Saturday but had returned to Lagos on Sunday.

fnap9621

Monday May 6, visit with Ijebu-jesa Community Bank Manager

I stopped at the Community Bank. We were first told that the Manager was busy and so we waited a few minutes (less than 10 minutes). We sat in the outer office where several people were working. There was a pile of papers on the table where I was seated, which were the records of individuals' savings accounts; the top one was of a woman who was depositing about N20 each time, starting in 1994.

The manager seemed pleased to see me, and thanked me for the photos I had sent back with Bodunde. He said the customers had been happy to see the photos; he had the envelope with the photos out on his desk.

We talked a bit about how the bank is doing. Hesaid that only about 10 percent of community banks are still operating, because many of them were not careful about the amount they loaned out and with the bad economy they've run into problems. In their own case, they made loans conservatively, and didnt give out too much as loans, so they are still in business. Otherwise, he said, we would not have found them here now. He said that most of the community banks have failed, and also referred to the failed banks in general (there's a lot in the news now about failed banks and "distressed banks"). He also referred to the economic problems people are having tho didnt say anything very specific. I tried to ask whether people they've made loans to have run into problems; he didnt say much, tho indicated that some have had problems paying back their loans. He said that this bank is the only one now operating in Ijesaland. I asked about the one in Iwoye and he said that they just started operating in December. I asked if they are competition, and he said yes, that they have some customers from Iwoye and that also some people from here (Ijebu) like to go to Iwoye to bank. I asked about Imo Hills bank in Ilesa, he said it's still there b ut not operating. He also talkd about one of the failures, run by someone who first had a bank in Ibadan and then opened one in Oshogbo, but spent so much on a very fancy building that he spent all the money the b ank had taken in, and didnt have anything to give the custoemrs.

I told him that I had just tried to see Chief Fatodu but that he had gone to court. He said that it probably concerns the case involving the selection of the new oba of Ijebu-jesa. There is a court case. The people of the town have selected someone that everyone wants, a man who is a lawyer in Ibadan. But there is anohter family which says that it is their turn for becoming oba; the man is the former vice chairman of the local government. So that man (or his family) has gone to court contesting the selection of the first man.

The manager asked me to stop to see him again before I leave in June.

fnap9622

Monday May 6, visit with Akin Akinola

I got to the Akinola house around 11:30 AM and was told by the man at the gate that Mrs. Akinola was not home. I asked about the daughter, since I had talked with her on Saturday and was shown in to the house but the person inside didnt know where Jumoke was. Then I saw a man leave and it occured to me that maybe Akin was around, so I walked toward the sitting room he usually uses, and sure enough, he was there, and seemed relaxed and happy to talk. There was another man with him, but he left in a couple of minutes. Then Akin and I talked for a while; I stayed about half an hour.

Akinola told me immediately that Olashore had been around the day before, that he had spent quite a bit of time with him onSunday. He said that Olashore had arrived about 10 PM on Saturday, had spent Sunday in Ijebu-jesa/Iloko and had gone to Oshogbo this morning on his way back to Lagos. Akin also told me that both he and Mobo had been in Lagos on Saturday, for the wedding of Oluwasanmi's daughter (he did not say if Olashore was also at that wedding but good chance that he was as apparently it was the elite Ijesa event of the year, according to Mrs. Odebiyi who told me more about it later). He did say that Prof Omole (OAU VC) had been there.

Akin said that he saw Olashore's new house yesterday, that the house is "a mansion." I asked if it is finished, and he said that there are still things to do there, but that he thinks he should move in now, and then finish things up. He said that there are some problems as the design was changed at various points along the way, and the architect was changed, so some of the original concept has been lost. He thinks he may move in next month. He said that he thinks he should just get everything he needs in the house -- phone, water etc -- and then can move there and live there comfortably. He said that he has suggested to Olashore that he should plant citrus trees in the back of the house, rather than build guest houses as he originally planned. (He said that he plans to replace some of the flowers and plants at his own house with citrus).

Akin also told me that Olashore received the official approval from the governor for him to become oba of Iloko, that the approval letter was brought yesterday while they were at the house. So I said that means he is willing to become oba, and Akin said, oh it's gone beyond that, he now has the official approval so he will become oba. I asked when, and Akin said I should ask him that. Then he said that he's likely to do the preliminary things in the next few months, after the rainy season ends, and then may do installation on his birthday,Feb. 18, next year.

Akinola asked me about the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting, about what had happened during the rest of the meeting as he had to leave before lunch. I told him that they had not gotten to Odeyemi's presentation and he seemed to think that was just as well. I asked what he thinks about the organization and he said that he thinks it's good, that it's important to have such a community organization. He said that he plans to become more active in it. I aasked about the discussion about who should run the organization, and he said that the problem is that

someone like himself doesnt have time to take over the organizaiton, that he had discussed this with ifaturoti before he travelled, and that Kunle had asked him about taking over. He said that he has promised to be more active b ut that he's too busy to take it over, maybe in about five years time. I said that it seems as if there are either those in their seventies or those in their fifties, and he said yes, that he has suggested that Idiapo-Obe take over, as he wouldnow have the time (implication that he's already retired and older than Akinola but not as old as the others). He said the problem that is perceivedwhen those in their seventies are in charge is that others may not speak up, because of the culture.

He said that Ijesas are too individualistic, that in other areas, people are more willing to work together and hence they accomplish things. The Ijesas also get things done, but each one tends to think they can do it on their own, rather than working with others. He thinks they should work together more and that is why he has decided to be more active in ISG. He thinks the development of branches or chapters will help, and also that maybe they should have monthly meetings in each area, and then the yearly general meeting and that they can get more done that way.

I said that one of the problems that seems to exist in Ijesaland is the disputes over chieftaincies. He agreed, and siad that the chiefs in Ilesa dont even come to the chiefs meetings any more. He then went on to say that he and Olashore spent about two hours with the oba of Ilesa yesterday, that he (Akin) is trying to get them to reconcile. He said that you know they don't get along, and I said that I was aware of that. He said that he encouraged them to speak frankly with each other and to say what they dont like about each other. They met at the place where the owa lives, which is a house on the Ijebu-jesa road. Akin said that they spoke frankly with each other, that Olashore was very frank, and that the Owa also responded frankly, that the Owa is a very clever person and can say things in such a way that the person he is speaking to will agree with him. That this is what happened yesterday, that Olashore began to say that maybe he was wrong. He said that he thinks they acheived something yesterday, and that they will be able to meet each other, without all the paraphernalia of sirens and official delegations.

I said that I have only met the Owa once, and not since I began this research project and that I felt I really ought to meet him. Akin said that I should ask Olashore to intoduce me, or else that he himself could introduce me -- he suggested that I first get introduced and then make an appointment to see him another time. Akin said that he and the Owa used to be very close, but then in recent years he hasnt gone to see him at all, but that now he has to again (the implication was that he has begun to do so because of the situation with Olashore but he didnt specifically say if that is the reason or for other reasons). He said they were very close when they were young.

We also talked about when I might see Olashore. Akin said that Olashore would be coming home this coming weekend, and would come Friday morning for the meeting of the Anglican Synod, and that they have gotten him (Akin) to also participate altho he's not really a church person. But that this is another community involvement and that he will go on Friday morning to the church. According to him, there is a church service at HOly Trinity Church Omofe scheduled for Friday at 10 AM, and that Olashore is supposed to go to that. There's

also a service Thursday afternoon at Iloro. He (Akin) will got to the services but not to other meetings. Olashore will probably be involved in the meetings; he suggested that I could probably see him either Friday or Saturday, and maybe I should come to the service Friday Am to check with him. He also said that he would probably be seeing him on Wednesday when he is in Lagos on business so will let him know (he has already told him thta I am around).

I asked Akin if Olashore will live in Iloko, move from Lagos. He said that he thinks he will, although he'll continue to go back and forth, probably going to Lagos weekly. But that he is already semiretired from the bank, his son is taking over and doing very well.

Akinola said that he himself much prefers living in Ilesa to Lagos. He goes to Lagos eveyr week on business but could not live there any more. He was going to try to go every two weeks but that doesnt seem possible. But he plans to build another, smaller house here in Ilesa for his retirement. He already has land for it, behind his present house, going toward Imo Hill -- you wont know the house is there from the road. He is already designing it, has ideas from what he has seen in various places around the world. He wants to use a lot of wood in the new house. The only thing that is missing around here is a view of water, he said.

When I left I said that I would try to phone Olashore in Lagos, to check on when I could see him, but that I may go to the church service on Friday to check on him.

fnap9623

Wed May 8 visit with Lamikanra

I got to Lamikanra's house at about 10 or 10:30 and stayed about an hour. He was about to go out in the car when I got there, but came back in the house; his wife joined us about mid-way thru the visit.

He talked quite a bit about the situation in Nigeria, about how bad things are, how much prices have gone up -- giving examples of the changes in prices, tho saying that his wife can tell you about specific change in price of foodstuff. He referred to the shortage of petrol, to the problems with telephones not working, the difficulties of feeding and educating a family. He said that the government just sits there, and doesnt plan to go. That at least Babangida tried to do some things. He said that it has never been so bad before in the country. and asked if I'd ever seen it so bad. I mentiond the 60's saying that I hadnt been here then and wondered how it compared. He said that now it is a silent war, then you knew that if you were on the wrong side politically something might happen, like a lot of people in Ilesa were in opposition to the government and their houses were burnt. But now it is a silent war. His implication was that the situation now is worse. We talked about what other countries might do, also comparisons with South american countries.

I asked about the effect on organizations and activities such as those I'm studying. He said that you can't do anything now. There is no money to travel home; the roundtrip from Lagos could cost at least N1000 (if there is petrol). People dont come to meetings, and if there is a meeting, nothing happens, you talk about the same thing each time. The phones dont work so you cant communicate that way. So there is no way for people to communicate about things going on. So nothing is happening, in his view.

I asked about the oba of Ido-Oko, who I've heard about and want to visit. Lamikanra and his wife said that he, Oba Adeyeye is a good friend of theirs. Lamikanra said that they schooled together in London, and have been freinds for a long time. Adeyeye was a civil servant, he became a permanent secretary. He was in the ministry of trade, and traveled all over the world, reresented Nigeria on international trade organizatons. also had World Bank connections. I asked why he became oba. They said that his father was oba, and the tradition in that place is for the son to follow the father. But the town waited 9 years after his father's death for him to be willing to take on the postion, he has now been there for five years. He stays there, but since it's not too far from Ilesa he can get here. He has improved the road, the bridges, put in electricity, built the school there. and his wife is working with women's activities such as gari processing. I asked if he would be likey to be there if I visited and Lamikkanra said that everythng revolves around him in that town, that "he is the only man there". They then said that they've been wanting to visit him and havent seen him this year, so I suggested we go together. We therefore decided to go next Tuesday, so long as it doesnt rain (the road gets slippery from the rain).

Lamikanra gave me their phone number in case I need to contact them: 036 461137

fnap9624

Wed May 8 phone conversation with Olashore

I phoned Olashore Wednesday afternoon from Richard's house. He recognized my voice right away, and said that he's heard I'm planning to see him this coming weekend. I said I hope so, and we then discussed when. I told him that Akinola had suggested that I come to the church on Friday, and he said "You dont want to come to the meeting." I said that I thought it was a church service, but he said no, that the service will be on Thursday, and Friday morning is the opening session of the synod meeting. He said he'd be finished with that around 1 or 2 PM, but then we decided that it would be better if I came to see him on Saturday. He said that I should come for lunch on Saturday, between 1 and 2 PM.

We didnt talk about anything else.

fnap9625

Wednesday May 8, conversation with Mrs. Tanwa Odebiyi re Ilesa wedding

I stopped in the Soc dept after returning from Ilesa. I saw Mrs. Odebiyi, who said that she had been at a big Ijesa wedding last weekend and that she expected to see me there. She said that Mobo Akinola was there, as well as Prof. Omole (Vice Chancellor) and all of the Ijesa elite. (She joked that if someone wanted to rob houses in Ilesa last Saturday would have been the time to do it because everyone was in Lagos for the wedding). She said that it was the wedding of the daughter of the Oluwasanmi family -- Kunle Oluwasanmi, the brother of the former vice chancellor of Ife. She said that it was a very elaborate wedding, that they spent lots of money on it, that Mobo was able to guess the amount because she herself had just had the wedding of her own daughter (in February) and that she said they must have spent about N1 million. Odebiyi said that it was really conspicuous consumption. I asked what Oluwasanmi does and she said that he is the former head of the Tin Can Port.

I asked Odebiyi if she herself is Ijesa, because people have told me that she is. She said no, that she's from Abeokuta but that everyone on this campus thinks she is because she has a lot of Ijesa friends -- for example, the mother of the girl who got married went to school with her. She also went to school with Mobo Akinola. And with the wife of Omole, the vice chancellor (who is not herself Ijesa, but her husband is). Also she has a car with an Ilesa license plate, because she needed her car after her husband's accident (in which he was killed) and the wife of Dr. Omole from Alpha medical in Ilesa was returning to Canada. So she bought the car from her and never bothered to change the plates. This is another reason why people on campus think she is from Ilesa.

fnap9626

Wed May 8 meeting with Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye

I discovered that Paulina was working in the demography department and stopped to see her. She told me that she's here in Ife for the week to learn a software program, and that she is staying in her house in Ilesa while she is here, and commuting from there. She is working on the data from the big migration and urbanization survey she worked on. We made a date for lunch on Thursday.

fnap9627

Thursday May 9, conversation with Paulina Makinwa

We got together for lunch and talked about various things. I told her that I had attended the last meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group. She said that she couldnt attend since the meeting was on a Monday (tho I pointed out that it was a holiday).

I asked her whether census information is available from the 1991 census. She said that all that is available is a list of population by local government area, and that she will give me a copy. NOthing else has been released.

She told me a little about the ngo she has formed, called ADON. The president is Mrs. Grace Faoye. They are starting to work in Iloko and Ijeda, have a small grant from CEDPA to do income-generating project there. They plan to put in a gari-processing machine. Mrs. Faoye is from Iloko and is married to someone from Ijeda.

The address of ADON office is 16 Rotimi Williams Ave; her home address is on the UI campus, behind the International School (her husband is at the Intl School).

Paulina will be going to Lagos June 1 to be on sabbatical; her address will be the Population and Community Developmetn Department, 5 Kofo Abayomi st, next to the NIIA.

fnap9528

Friday May 10, observations in Iwoye, Ilesa

I drove thru Iloko en route to Iwoye, and took some more photos. In Iwoye we went tot he Community Bank to see if the manager, Mr. Babatayo was around. But they said he had gone out. Near the entrance to the community bank is a plaque that says it was commissioned Dec. 23 1995 by the military administrator of Osun State. There is also a cloth banner hanging outside advertising shares now available in the bank, at N1 per share. There were several people working inside the bank, and one or two customers. I did not get the impression of as much activity as when I go to the Ijebu-jesa community bank. But then this is a smaller town and the bank has just started up. AT any rate the manager wasnt around and they didnt know when he would be back, so I said I would try to come back sometime next week.

There is a small market at the junction of Iwoye and there were about six-eight womn there selling vegetables. I greeted them and then took some photos of them, as well as taking other photos of the town from that vantage point. They said that there are many more people there early in the morning, selling things like yams. (It was about 11 AM).

From Iwoye we drove to Ilesa and stopped at Akinola house, where I was told that Mobo had just gone out, and that he was not in (which I figured since that was the day of the church meeting). There was activity around their area -- a new sign on the road announcing the Fadahunsi Memorial Methodist church, and the church building itself which is just before you get to the main Fadahunsi house, there were workers there, it looked like they were finishing doing the cement. I wanted to check if this Sunday is the day for the memorial to Mobo's father. The men at the gate just said that she would not be home on saturday but that she would be on Sunday so I left a note saying I'd come on Sunday.

(On Saturday I saw a copy of Daily Sketch which contained an announcement that the memorial service would take place at the Methodist Church at Otapete on Sunday but no time was given; it said the new church would also be dedicated).

fnap9629

Saturday May 11, visit with Olashore, Ijebu-jesa

I drove myself to Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa and got there at about 1:30 PM. When I went into the first sitting room, Olashore was sitting there, talking with another man. He greeted me, welcomed me to Nigeria, asked some questions about whether I found things here as bad as "they" say they are over there (meaning in the US). I hemmed on my answer, and after we chatted for a few minutes, he turned back to the man he had been talking with, who was clearly there to see him about some business matter. The man was quite a bit younger than Olashore, probably in his forties; I havent ever seen him before. Olashore was looking over some paper, and then said to the man that he isnt involved in those decisions, and that the man should just continue with what he is already doing; my guess is that it involved some business deal, possibly a request for a loan for the bank, because Olashore was saying that the man has to determine the feasibility of the project. He pretty much declined to be involved, but the man continued to sit there for some time, and talked about various things with Olashore, including mentioning to him that he (Olashore) had had some interest in politics, which Olashore denied, saying he's never been involved in politics. The man then referred to Olshore's position as Minister and Olashore said that wasnt politics, that was taking up a national assignment. Then Olashore looked over a letter with College of Education letterhead, and then said to the man that the people should come to see him. He referred to two "girls" who had come to see him, who are sisters and one of whom work at the school (his school). They talked about their mother being ill, but didnt make clear what they wanted or who they were, and Olashore said that they "behaved so badly" to him that he told them to leave, that they had no manners. Then he said that the man's sister intervened about them, and told him something about the one girl being unable to continue her education because of lack of money. He said they should bring the evidence of what is owed and that she is a student, and now that he has that, she should come back to see him either tomorrow or next weekend. (presumably the evidence was in the letter from the Colledge Of Education). He will then give her the money to pay for her back fees, which amounts to about N1000, which he said "is nothing". He also said he'd rather give someone the means to gain a livelihood for themselves than be feeding the person. NOthing was mentioned of who the two women are, or of their relationship to him, if any.

Another much older man arrived, who he addressed as Akin; this man was still there when I left at 5 PM, along with another older man who arrived while we were having lunch. The first man left, and Olashore and I went in to the dining room to eat lunch. Almost as soon as we began to eat, he was told that someone else was there to see him, and he said he should come in and join us for lunch. The man was the former chairman of the local government, who was just recently replaced after the local elections. He is a civil servant, based in Oshogbo, and was the appointed local government chair. He is from Iloko but lives in Oshogbo (I think his name is Kayode but am not sure of that). He looked familiar to me but I'm not sure where I've seen him before; he did not seem to recognize me. He didnt actually say much during lunch, and left as soon as he finished eating. At one point though, Olashore was discussing the cost of building, and asked him how much he has spent on the house he (the other man) is building. The man said that the house has five bedrooms and two sitting

rooms and he has spent about N1 million on it. (Olashore compared it with what the contractors are demanding for a two bedroom bungalow at the school, N2.4 milion). The man said that his house is located behind the community hall.

Most of the conversation over lunch was between Olashore and myself. I told him that I have heard that he is going to become oba. He wanted to know who told me, so I told him that Akinola had. He said he hopes the installation will be around March next year, if there are no problems, and asked if I would attend, but then said that I'd only be able to see the public parts, which will include a coronation either by the owa or the ooni. I asked which it would be, but he said they would decide that. He said that he has gotten all the approvals, and hopes there will be no problems and they can go ahead with the installation.

There was also lots of discussion regarding who will be the olori, or oloris. He again talked about me as an olori, which I continued to treat as a joke. However, he didnt mention anything specific about any of the potential -- or real-- oloris. Later on, when he was shown me his house, and was saying which room are for the oloris, I commented that it looks like he is really looking forward to taking on this new role of oba. He said well "it's a fait accompli".

I asked where he'll live, in his new house in Iloko or at the palace. He said he'll live at the palace and is already thinking of making renovations there. I asked what he'll use his new house for, and he said as a guest house. I also asked whether he'll be moving from Lagos and he said he would. I asked about his wife, where she will live, and he said maybe in this house (in Ijebu-jesa).

We talked quite a lot about the new house and the cost of building it. He said that he's not completely satisfied with it, that there were problems and changes along the way and problems with the workmanship and a lot of things had to be redone because they werent properly done the first time. He also talked about how much contractors charge and how they try to cheat him. He said that he has now decided to no longer use contractors at the school, but to hire people directly, on salary, who will be in charge of the building there, and that he thinks he will save lot of money this way.

I told him about the Wingspread conference possibility. He seemed interested but also wanted know when it would be, and when I told him November 1997 he said that would be after he becomes oba. He would still be able to come, but will travel with an entourage then, some of his chiefs will have to travel with him. We left it open (altho when I mentioned grant money paying for a plane ticket he realized right away that it would be economy class, and said you dont expect me to travel economy class do you?)

I mentioned that I had attended the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting recently and asked if he is involved in ISG. He said that he is supposed to be part of it but that he is not active any more. He said that he doesnt think they will achieve their goals or are going about things in the right way. He did not say anything more specific, and we ended up talking about tedious meetings and people who talk too long at meetings. He told me about his board, for the CSS Book shop, of which he is chairman, and how some of the members such as Sam Aluko just

like to hear themselves talk. Also about incidents when he was at the Central Bank and people didnt really read things presented to them for discussion but went ahead and stated an opinion.

I asked him about Iloko Day and told him that Bodunde had made a video of it. I asked if they had collected money. First he said that they hadnt done fundraising this time, but then said that they hadnt raised money from people from outside, just from people from the town, and that people from the town did contribute. He was surprised to hear that I had had someone videotape it, he said he didnt know there was anyone videotaping.

After lunch we went to the new house in Iloko and he showed me around, and I took a few photos. AT the front entrance there is a cement sculpture which he said was supposed to be a tiger but doesnt look like one so it will be removed. The main entrance room of the house is large, and extends all the way up to the high roof; altho there are windows around the top, it is obviously designed to be airconditioned all the time. The entrance room is dominated by a huge staircase. Olashore said he doesnt like the way the staircase turned out, that it looks "bogus" (I'm not really sure what he meant but he repeated that word a couple of times). On the ground floor there are two sitting rooms to the left of the entrance and then a huge reception or banquet area; he feels they put in too many chandeliers (three) there and has asked them to reduce the number to two. In the back on the first floor is a huge kitchen with cabinets; he said that he had all the cabinets redone because he didnt like the way it was done the first time. He also complained about the quality of workmanship on the wood doors, and the color paint -- a sort of dark cream, and said he's goin to change it to white. There's another room at the other end of the house, where furniture (purchased in Italy) is stored, and his study, which is wood paneled. The floors are made of Italian granite. Upstairs are the bedrooms and a couple of balconies. He showed me to fairly small bedrooms which he said are for the oloris, and then a larger one for the "senior olori". His own bedroom is huge, with an enormous bathroom attached to it; he commented that he'll be able to put his exercise bike in there. It opens out to a large balcony, and he commented that it would be nice to sit out there but that people wont have access to it because you have to go thru his bedroom to get there. I said something about putting his exercise bike out on the balcony, but he said that he couldnt have people see him. At one end of the upstais is another large balcony, with a nice view over the hills (whereas his bedroom faces the school). There is acess to that balcony. In the back of the house is a large building for garages and on the other side, quarters for staff. There is also an area that he says he was planning to make into a swimming pool, and in fact it had already been dug, but has now filled it in and decided that that isnt a priority. Talk of the pool led me to ask about water supply; I said that I thought there was a problem with water in the town and he said "that's their problem". But the school has a direct connection to the water works in Esa Odo,just as the brewery does, and they have plenty of water and a big overhead tank which he pointed out to me. He gets water from the same supply. Also he said that the Minister of Water came here recently and promised him a couple of boreholes, to supplement the supply. The Minister is a colleague from when they were in government together, and also from when they worked together at the Central Bank.

When we were talking about the swmming pool, he said that I should find a grant for him to

complete the pool. I laughed and said it should be a community development project, but that somehow I didnt think people would see him as needing a community development grant. He said something about being indigent, and way I suggested that people werent likely to see him as indigent, he said given the number of people who are dependent on him, he is.

During our conversation I asked him about the use of his name in my book. He said that I should use names, so long as I wasnt writing negative things. And mentioned that I should note that he had been "Prince" but that now is "oba".

I told Olashore about my conversation with Akinola about seeing the Owa. He replied that Akinola is the one I should see about that, because they are close. He then said that he went to see the Owa himself last week, that he hadnt talked with him in about two years. That Akinola tried to get them to reconcile and discuss things. I asked if it worked, and he said that he doesnt know, that he doesnt trust him. He said the Owa is a very intelligent man, then he changed that to very clever man. He didnt say anything more about him.

We went back to the Ijebu-jesa house breifly, and discussed other times when I might see him before I leave. He said that he will be here next weekend because there is a meeting of the Board of the school on Friday. He may be around next Saturday afternoon, but isnt sure because he hasnt been to church in Lagos for two months, so he may go back to Lagos on Saturday. He plans to be here again the weekend of June 1, he'll be attending a funeral in Igbajo that Saturday and then will be at home; he suggested I join him at the 8 AM chapel service in Iloko that Sunday. He said I should call him this coming Thursday to check on plans for the coming weekend.

He also mentioned that he may come to the US inSeptember so we briefly discussed the possiblity of visiting Wisconsin/Chicago area.

I left his house at 5 PM; the two older men who had come around lunch time were still waiting to see him.

fnap9630

Sunday May 12, party following Fadahunsi memorial celebration, Ilesa

I had tried to see Mobo Akinola several times this week to check if Sunday was the date for the 10th anniversary celebration of her father's death, but never saw her. Then when I was at Olashore's on Saturday I looked thru the Daily Sketch newspaper and saw a notice saying that there was going to be a service at the Methodist Church at Otapete in Ilesa and then a service dedicating the new church named in honor of Fadahunsi afterwards, but not time was given. I decided not to try to go to the church services, but just to go to the house afterwards, and arrived there at about 1:30 PM. I saw cars parked around the house which is called the REst HOuse, which was the house of the Gov. Fadahunsi and his wife, the same house where the funeral for him took place ten years ago. I parked across the street and walkd in to the yard.

Before I got to the house I saw Akin Akinola, and stopped to talk with him. He said that he had looked for me at the church on Friday -- ie at the Anglican church where the meeting -- the Synod meeting -- was taking place. I told him that I had talked with Olashore on the phone and he had said not to come to the meeting. Akinola seemed relieved to hear that I had seen Olashore on Saturday and then said that he had also been in Ijebu-jesa on Saturday and had gotten there at about 5 or 5:30; I said that I had left at 5. He said that he was on his way there again now. I told him about talking with Olashore about seeing the owa, and he said that he would arrange it. But when we talked about dates, he said he'll be in Lagos til Wednesday and then on Friday he'll be in Ifewara for a chieftaincy celebration. so we didnt decide a time to get together. As we were talking, MObo came along; she seemed very busy, her only greeting was to ask if I was just arriving; then she went off to talk with Akin and attend to other guests. I stood there a few minutes, and then Akin Fadahunsi appeared, and took me in to the house, taking me upstairs to the balcony which overlooks the tomb where Fadahunsi is buried (the same place Dick and I sat during the funeral ten years ago). Mrs. Abe, the Yeyedole of Ilesa, was there and he handed me over to her. She of course greeted me warmly and wondered why I hadnt been at the church.

There were several groups of people sitting around tables on the balcony. Mrs. Abe was with two other women, and I joined them. She introduced me to one of them, telling me that she is also a chief, the yeyedofin. There were some other women at a nearby table, and then there were three tables of men. At one of these, nearest to the entrance to the balcony, were Akin and Olu Fadahunsi, as well as a couple of other men. I didn't know any of the other men on the balcony.

Someone brought me a drink, and a little later a plate of rice and chicken. The woman who brought the food was then introduced to me as the wife of Professor Fadahunsi. Professor Fadahunsi is another brother; he is a doctor. a pediatrician. I had met him at the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting recently, and met him again here; we talked a little bit later on (see below). His wife said something to me that indicated she is not Nigerian, so I asked her. She explained that her family is from Equatorial Guinea, from the island of Fernando Po, but that she grew up in Spain, and then came to Nigeria about 20 years ago. She is also a

pediatrician, at Lagos University Teaching Hospital. Later, she told me that her maternal grandmother was Efik. We also talked about her son, who has just started college at St Johns University in Minnesota. Mrs. Abe told me more about her: that her grandfather was a wealthy man from Fernando Po, and then the family moved to Spain. Mrs. Abe said she went with them to the island when the grandfather died and they went there to bury him,. She has also visited the family in Spain, where they live in Barcelona.

Mrs. Abe also explained the relationship among them more clearly. Her father and Sir Fadahunsi, the former governor and the father of Mobo, Akin, Olu, and prof. Fadahunsi, were brothers. So she is first cousin of the others. She said that one other brother -- the last male in that generation -- just died in February. Also in February the wedding of Mobo Akinola's daughter took place; Mrs. Abe said that was the last time she came to Ilesa before this.

She said that Fadahunsi had had three wives. The first was the mother of Mobo and her brothers; there were six children all together -- Professor Fadahunsi (Femi) is the oldest, then a man she pointed out named Dipo, then Akin, Olu, Mobo, and another sister. The second wife had seven children, and the third two. According to Mrs. Abe, all of them were involved in today's event.

She also told me about the event today. She said that first there was a ceremony at the tomb of Fadahunsi and his wife, which is in a small white building visible from th balcony where we were sitting. That took place at 9 AM. Then they all went to the regular methodist church service, where part of the service was a Thanksgiving for them, and they and friends danced and gave money. She didnt say if there was also a service at the new church, which now seems to be completed. There are two signs about the new church, calling it the Sir Oyeleye Fadahunsi Memorial Church.

She also told me that the women on the balcony, who were wearing the same cloth (aso oke) are part of a ladies group at the Methodist Church, and that Lady Fadahunsi was one of the founders of that society, and that the men were from the equivalent men's group, which Fadahunsi belonged to.

After a while, during which Mrs. Abe went off to do something, she asked me if I had met other members of the Fadahunsi family. She then took me in to the first room off the balcony where we had been sitting. There she introduced me to Engineer Fadahunsi and his wife; they are probably in their seventies, and I have seen them before, e.g at the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting. I think they live in Ilesa, in a house on Imo Hill. Also an Alhaji someone who she said is the senior member of the family still living. Also Engineer Ibironke, who is apparently another cousin. I have previously met him when I was interviewing people in Lagos; he said that he is from Council of Ijesa Societies in Lagos, and perhaps also from Ijesa Social Elite (I need to check further on this). He remembered me right away; I remembered his name but didnt recognize him at first. He gave me his phone numbers and address and I said I would call him when in Lagos. (Olu and Mrs. Abe also asked me to call when in Lagos). Mrs. Abe told me his relationship to the family but I dont recall what it is exactly. There were others in the room as well, and I shook hands with

all. Professor Fadahunsi was also there. They were all watching the videotape of the funeral ten years ago. I mentioned to Prof. Fadahunsi that I had been there, and he said I was on the tape. Also, later, there was a shot showing me and Dick, and Engineer Fadahunsi noticed it and commetned to me on it.

I talked a bit with Prof. Fadahunsi. I had been told that he had spent some time in Saudi Arabia, and he said that he went there just for a few years to make some money, since he was paid in dollars there. He is now back in Lagos. I asked him about his involvement in ISG. He said that that was the first meeting he had attended, that before that he had just been paying his membership, but that since he was home that weekend he decided to attend.

I did not talk much with either Akin or Olu Fadahunsi, although Olu reminded meseveral times to contact him when in Lagos. Towards the end, when nearly everyone had left, I chatted a little with Profl Fadahunsi's wife. She was commenting on her role as wife of the senior brother at an event like this, and how everyone expects you to serve them, and they keep asking for more (there was one old lady who kept asking for a bottle of bitter lemon, when she saw that someone else had one).

Names and addresses:
Engr. J.O. Ibironke, 15 Femi Ayontuga (?) Road, Surulere, Lagos. 962522; 833299.
Chief Mrs. E.E. Abe, the yeydole of Ilesa, 822800; 821583.

I left at about 4:15 and stopped briefly to see Mobo Akinola, who was at her house. She said that she had been called there suddenly and so she had left suddenly to go back home. She was sitting at the dining table with several women friends, who she assumed I knew since she said I've met them before. They were eating some fruit. Then several more women arrived, apparently for a meeting. I said that I would be going and she went to see me off. While we were leaving another woman arrived who was greeted with hugs by Mobo, and her husband also appeared at that point to greet her. She told me that she was the woman who had celebrated her daughter's wedding last week (ie Mrs. Oluwasanmi).

fnap9631

Sunday May 12, visit with Kale Feyisitan, Ife

I had made an appointment to see Feyisitan to check with him on several things. He had just arrivedback from Ibadan, where he was meeting with Paulina and others, as part of the ngo Paulina has formed. He told me that they are doing a project in Iloko, as part of a grant from CEDPA. They plan to put in a gari processing machine and have been meeting with the women there. He said that the Regent also attended the meeting. When I metnioned Olashore he said that was who attended the meeting, but I think he may have been confused on the name, because it sounds like the meeting took place while Olashore was away. Mrs. Faoye, who Paulina mentioned is from Iloko. They want this to be a model of establishing a small development project, working with a local woman's group.

I asked him about the census. Provisional results were relesed in 1992, but nothing else is available; the government has not accepted the results so they are just sitting andno one can refer to them. He promised to make a photocopy of the provisional results which give population by local government area only.

fnap9632

Tuesday May 14, car accident

Sola had an accident in my car on the way to Ife this morning, so I was unable to go out as planned. Bodunde spent the day negotiating him out of the situation.

fnap9633

Wednesday May 15, visit with Chief Fatodu, Ijebu-jesa

I went to see Chief Fatodu as planned Wednesday morning; we had told his wife we would come this morning. It was a rainy morning and he was at home when we got there about 10:30.

He apologized for not having been there the previous time we stopped, saying that he had forgotten that there was a court case that morning that he had to attned. He said he wasnt directly involved but needed to be there to show his support for a friend who was. Later in the conversation he told me more about it.

Then he said that he had been busy over the weekend with the synod meeting of the church. I mentioned that someone had suggested I attend the opening session on Friday but that then someone else had discouraged me from doing so. He said I should have come, that it is open to everyone, and then the later meetings are just for church members. He brought me a copy of the printed Bishop's Charge for 1996, which includes the speech the Bishop made to those at the meeting. It also incluudes a review of what the dioceses has done over the past year The diocese is the Ijesa area. It also includes a list of names of appointments and a list of people to be congratulated. This is the most interesting part of the document.

The appointments include: Eso as Lord Chancellor. Fatodu explained this he is a legal advisor. Morakinyo as Medical Adviser; Lamikanra; Olashore as Financial Advisor; Akinola as Financial Advisor. These are people who advise the diocese on a volunteer basis, so these services dont have to be paid for.

Fatodu said that those attending the meeting include peop;le who are members of the church, wherever they reside. More than 300 people attended the opening session. The meeting went on all weekend.

We then discussed the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting that I had attended. His initial comment was that it was "not bad". He said that he had to leave in the middle because he had another meeting that he had previously scheduled, and that he was chairman of the meeting. But he thought it was important to show his face at the ISG meeting. He complained that notice of the meeting wasnt given far enough in advance. He commented on the fact that not enough people had attended the meeting. He also said that it was too bad that Ifaturoti was not there to run the meeting. In general, he said that he thinks the organization has potential and is a worthwhile organization. But he said it isnt run as well as it should be, and has not been able to achieve its objectives. I asked if he has a role in the organization, since he was seated at the high table. He sad that he is a vice president of the organization.

I asked him about the discussion of young people vs older leadership. He had missed that part of the meeting. But he said he would approach it in a different way. He said the reason that the young wont want to take over is cultural, that there is respect for those older and if a young person says he wants to be head of the organization in place of an older one, people

will view him as an upstart. But at the same time, younger people may have ideas and feel they are listened to. If someone younger presents ideas at a meeting, older people dont pay attention to them. The older people tend to be more cautious and conservative than the younger, may view the younger ones as having "revolutionary" ideas, and so they may react negatively to ideas presented by younger people. The result is that younger people dont bother attending the meeting because they feel they wont be listened to. His view is that the way to do it, to effect a change in the leadership, is to have one older person at the head of the organization, but then bring in some younger people as officers when there is an election. They should get people who can do the work they want to get done. But he also felt that nothing should be done to carry this out until after Ifaturoti returns.

He then went on to say that the problem of ISG is that it has had a variety of goals, and has undertaken too many different things more or less simultaneously. First, they established an endowment fund. He thinks that it really isnt an endowment fund, that they should call it shares, and then people would be more likely to contribute as they would feel they are purchasing shares that they own. Then they started the historical research fund, and then still some other cause for which they wanted contributions. He feels they should choose one cause, and do it well, and then they can pursue other things later. I asked what that cause should be and he immediately responded "economic development". He said that history is important but can be done later. It is economic development that will help the people, and that is what they should be focusing on.

This led to talking about the difficulty of getting people to put their money into something. He agreed, but noted that there are some succesfful examples of people having done something jointly. The first one he noted was the brewery. And he commented on the impact that has had throughout the community. He then noted that here in Ijebu-jesa there is another example of successful group investment. This is the effort begun by a group some years ago (he's previously told me something about it). Twenty people put in N5000 each, to buy shares in the company. The company is now worth N10 million. They started out buy buying and selling; the idea was that they would provide things that people previously went to Ilesa to buy -- consumer items like milk, sold at the same price as in Ilesa so they wouldnt have to go there to buy them any more. They then got into other things. They have a deep well at the site of their building, so they now have a tanker and sell water to others in the town. They began to put up a building which would be a sort of small hotel and restaurant. The building hasnt been finished, because of the depression (his term, which he used several times to refer to the economic situation in the country, and which he said has affected the ability of this company to continue to do as well as it did in the early years). He said they have been thinking about gettng into other things, into producing something; one idea is to produce plastic for wrapping and plastic bags. But they havent been able to start anything b ecause of the depression. They are now meeting jointly with the Community Bank, to consider a joint investment in something because the Community Bank has put aside some money which they would now like to invest. The bank is now making a profit and has set aside money which it is considering investing.

He said that the company developed out of a group that had an organization that was doing things for the community, and they decided they wanted to do something for themselves, so

they decided to form a company for a joint investment. He said that one result of this effort was that people in Ijebu-jesa were able to see that it was possible to have a joint investment and be successful with it, that it is possible to take group action and put money into somethin. He said this helped with the starting up of the Community Bank because people had already seen that this was something that could work. People also now see that there is good management of the community bank. And the bank is expecting to pay something on its shares this year.

The discussion about investing in some sort of productive effort led me to ask about whether they've thought about something that we depend on local production; I also mentioned organizations like Technoserve as possibly being helpful in helping them to see what is possible.

We then discussed the oba of Ijebu-jesa; I said that I had heard that the oba had died. He said that he had, in October and that the community and the kingmakers had already selected a new oba, by February. But now there is an injunction against his installation, because there is another family that says it is their turn to have the position and they have gone to court. He said that this is why he had to be in court last week. The man who has been selected is a cousin of his. He is a lawyer based in Ibadan. He expects that he will be installed, as soon as the government approval comes thru they will go ahead and install him, he doesnt think the court can stop this, since both the kingmakers and the town agree that this is the person they want. He said that they want someone who is enlightened, someone who can talk to the government and to others, someone who can sit in the council of chiefs and be respected. He said that now that government is looking to the obas -- whether it's for community development, or actually to serve the government -- the community hopes to have someone in the position who can talk to government and get things done -- like the roads; maybe this will be someone the government will listen to.

I said that I assume the man selected is interested in being oba. Fatodu said yes, in the sense that the man said that if people want him to be the oba he would be willing to take it.

He mentioned that there was a chieftaincy installation Saturday in Ikeji-Ile. I said I had heard about th controversy there. He said that the person installed was from the Akinmokun group; that the decision was that the town should have two obas, that there are actually two different communities there And the person installed on Saturday has strong backing from Akinmokun.

(when I heard this I was somewhat surprised that Olashore had been at home Saturday rather than at that event; also that he was not at the synod meeting Sat PM).

fnap9634

Wed. May 15, brief visit with Lamikanra

I stopped at Lamikanra's house to let him know why we hadnt come on Tuesday, for our planned visit to the oba of Ido-Oko. We rescheduled the trip for Friday.

At Lamikanra's when we arrved was a young man who he introduced as Dr. Oginni. Oginni left almost immediately. Lamikanra told me that he is a doctor who has established his practice in Ilesa. He said he isa brave man, he came home to set up practice just a few years after finishing school. He also said that Oginni is active in the Council of Ijesa Societies with him, and that they often get together just to talk things over.

Lamikanra asked how my work is going. We began to talk about the different communities I've been studying and some of the differences among them. When I mentioned Osu, he said that people there look more to Ilesa, they are more likely to build their houses in Ilesa than in Osu. On the other hand, he said that those in communities like Ijebu-jesa and others in that area focus on their own communities more. He also specifically praised Ijebu-jesa, as he has in the past, saying that that is a community where people work together. He said they undertake one project at a time -- the community bank, the grammar school, the hospital, etc. He said that now other towns are also starting to do this, to undertake projects, following Ijebu-jesa's example. He added that he wasnt referring to Ilesa in this comparison, that people in Ilesa have been doing things for the town for a long time.

I didnt stay long, just long enough to confirm that Friday would be ok for going to Ido-Oko.

fnap9635

Friday May 17, visit to Ido-Oko with Chief Lamikanra and his wife

We got to Lamikanra's house at a little after 10 AM but they werent ready to leave yet. We left there just before 11 and drove to Ido-Oko, following the Oshogbo Road to the road that leads to George Burton Memorial College, and then taking a left on a dirt road with a sign that says it's 8 km to Ido-Oko. It's a pretty rough road, and a couple of places are quite slippery where it is wet from recent rain. There's not much along the road; once you leave Ilesa, there's no other communities visible until just before you get to Ido-Oko. There is one small village before you reach Ido-Oko.

When the road enters Ido-Oko you see a school on the left and directly opposite it is a fence, which surrounds the very large compound and house of the oba. this is before you see any of the village itself. We turned in at the gate there, and were told that the oba wasnt there, but that his wife was. Since Lamikanra's know both husband and wife we went in, and were taken into the smaller of several sitting rooms on the ground floor. There was a central room furnished with chairs that look appropriate for audiences with the oba, and the room we were in also had furniture reminiscent of what I've seen in other palaces, including cushions on the couches with beaded designs. The oba's wife joined us there, a woman in her sixties. Immediately after greeting Lamikanra's and me, she launched into a long story to them about recent experience she had of being attacked and robbed by her houseboy; she ended up in the hospital and was nearly killed. She told the story in Yoruba but I understood a fair amount of it. While she was talking, a younger woman and child came in; later Lamikanra told me that this is the woman the oba married when he became oba. She served us drinks but didnt join us at all.

The oba's wife said that his position is one with a beaded crown, and also that it fits into another category, one recognized by government. Lamikanra also interviewed her a little for me; the main thing I learned from this is that she works with the women of the town, she meets with them regulary and helps them to get facilities that will improve things for them. For example, there is a gari procesing place and a rice mill located just behind the house. She said they were also trying to get a market in the town, that one was started but that when she travelled and wasnt around, it stopped functioning, that they need someone there to "ginger them (the women) along" and now they are trying to start it again.

I expressed interest in coming back to see the oba, and we made an appointmnet for next Thursday at 11 AM

The house and compound are huge; I think the house is even bigger than Olashore's. It also seems quite isolated, there's nothing else around except the school across the road. When we left, we stopped briefly at the place where they are processing gari (tho no one was there processing it) and Lamikanra's bought some from a woman there.

fnap9636

Friday May 17, brief visit with Mobo Akinola

Before returning to Ife, I stopped to see Mobo Akinola, who was at home and who was eating lunch. She invited me to join her. I told her that I had just come from Ido-Oko, and she immediately asked if I had seen the oba's house. I said yes, but that I hadnt seen the rest of the town. She said that there's nothing else to see, that it's not a town but really just a farm hamlet, that there are maybe ten houses in the town. She said that she herself hasnt been there, but that her husband has, and he told her. She said that the position the oba has really isnt an oba position -- that traditionally it was probably a baale, but that people with money pay some money and get someone to declare that there is a beaded crown. I asked why someone would do this, and Mobo's response was a movement of the shoulders indicating a high status man -- someone wearing a big agbada and adjusting it. She then said that she guesses that it must be the status. I mentioned Olashore in this context, and she indicated that she sees his situation in the same way. She said, in a general way, not referring spcifically to Olashore but not excluding him either, that someone has had a high position, eg in government, they like having the status and people around them, then they are nearing retirement and they look for a way to continue having that kind of status, and decide to do this. she added that in addition they can take more wives, they get gifts of women when they become obas. She said that it's different if its a "first class" oba positon -- like the Oni or Owa, that maybe there's some reason to become oba, but that places like Ido-Oko and Iloko are very small, and really just hamlets, so she doesnt really see why someone wants to become oba in a place like that.

It was clear that Mobo is somewhat disdainful of men like the oba of Ido-Oko who take oba's positions in small towns. Her attitude toward Olashore doing so was only implied, not specifically stated, but she doesnt seem as enthusiastic about this as her husband seems to be.

I mentioned to her about the idea of her husband introducing me to the Owa, and she said she would talk with him (her husband) about it.

I didnt stay to visit very long because I had told Olashore I would come to his house for lunch, following his school board meeting, and it was already after 3:30 PM.

fnap9637

Friday May 17, stop to see Olashore

Olashore had told me on the phone that he was having a meeting of his school board today and suggested that I join them for lunch, that he thought they would be finished at about 3 or 3:30. It was about 4 when I got to his house in Ijebu-jesa, but he was not there. Decided to go to the school to check, and were told there that he was in a meeting. After some effort (going thru his driver) I sent a note in to him. He came out to apologize, and suggested I go ahead to the house and eat. I said that we would just go on to Ife, as we needed to get back soon. He said the meeting had started late and was running later than he expected. I said I'd get in touch when I'm in Lagos next week.

fnap9638

Saturday May 18, man to see Folarin re. sculpture for Olashore house

On Saturday evening a man came to see Folarin, while I was in the sitting room before dinner. He's a lecturer, but I didnt get the name and hadnt ever met him before. It turns out that he is from Ilesa, is a friend of the vice chancellor, Wale Omole, and that he and Omole had been in Iloko and Ijebu-jesa the previous Saturday to see Olashore (apparently soon after I left there). He had told them about how he doesnt like the tiger sculpture that has been put in front of the house. Omole apparently decided that they should see if Folarin would be interested in doing it. Folarin told the man that there are no tigers in AFrica and that it should be a leopard. He agreed to go look at the place with the man on Thursday next week.

fnap9639

Monday May 20, visit to Olashore's office in Lagos

I phoned Olashore in the morning, and he said to stop in the office. I had some time between errnds so got there at about 11 AM, but waited to see him til about 11:30 or a little later. I was supposed to meet Nike Afolabi at 11:45 to go see her tailor, so my visit was somewhat rushed, tho I didnt actuall leave the office til shortly after 12.

Mainly we talked about the school. First Olashore apologized again about the fact that the meeting wasnt over when I got there on Friday. He said that they had started late and then Prof Omole had arrived very late and wanted to talk a lot, so they didnt finish til after 5 and people didnt leave his house til 8 PM.

I asked when he had returned to Lagos. He said that he had gone on Sunday after chuch to see the Oni and then joined his entourage to go to Lagos. But that they were travelling very slowly so he left them at Ibadan because he had a meeting that afternoon in Lagos, which he was late for.

He complained about a letter he had received from the organization that had helped to find his two new expatriate teachers -- Christians Abroad. Theyhad written that he had agreed to pay the teachers between N50,000 and N90,000 a month. He said not even if he were dreaming would he agree to something like that -- that they have to be paid the same as Nigerian staff. He said the agency had also charged a substantial fee for making the arrangement and so far as he's concerned they're not really Christian. He then put a call thru to London to speak with someone at the agency about this; he seemed to want me to hear the conversation. The person wasnt there, but called back a few minutes later. In the meantime we discussed the difficulties he's had with his attempts at overseas connections for the school, and how he thinks I could have done more than I have. When the person from the agnecy called back he told him that he couldnt possible pay the amount specified in the later. He said the teachers would get the same salary as their Nigerian counterparts, but that the board had agreed at the meeting on Friday to also pay them an annual supplementary amount -- I think the amounts were N75,000 in one case and N100,000 in the other. Apparently the man agreed; when Olashore got off the phone I asked what the man had said and Olshore said that he had backed down.

I left few minutes later, said I would get in touch next week about his plans for the weekend of June 1.

fnap9640

phone conversation in Lagos, with Mrs. Abe, Monday May 20

I got thru on the phone to Mrs. Abe. She said that she had been back to Ilesa since I saw here there, becasue there was a funeral there this past weekend, and she had just returned to lagos on Sunday evening. In fact she said she had been attending funerals all week. and this coming week she is busy with her daughter's father-in-law's funeral, which will take place next Saturday, and the son had just arrived from the US. The name of the father-in-law is Aderigbibe; later I saw obituary notice in paper for someone of this name who was Professor of History at Unilag, so presumably it is the same person.

fnap9641

Sunday May 19 1996 conversation with Nike Afolabi about Olashore installation, Lagos

I had dinner at Nike's Sunday PM, and among other things we discussed the fact that Olashore is going to become oba of Iloko. Nike's attitude toward it seemed a lot like that of Mrs. Akinola -- that becoming oba of a small town like Iloko is not really such a big deal. And that traditionally a place like Iloko did not have an oba but rather a bale. Nike pointed out the name -- she said that anyone who is descended from an oba as "ade" in their name, whereas in the case of Olashore he has "ola"/ "ola" -- she seemed to see that as sufficient evidence to indicate it is not really an oba position traditionally.

She said that she and everyoned from the bank will be expected to attend the installation, that they are expected to attend anything that the chairman is doing. And that even when he returns from a trip abroad, for example, he will say something if you dont come to greet him.

fnap9642

Thursday May 23, visit with oba of Ido Oko

Bodunde and I went to Ido-Oko Thursday morning, as we had told the oba's wife that we would. We got there about 11 AM and stayed til about 1 PM, and had quite a long discussion with the oba. He was expecting us, and told us that he should have gone to Ife today, but that he had postponed that til tomorrow since he knew we were coming.

The oba's full name is: Royal Highness Oba Joseph Adetẹju Adeyeye II, J.P. This is how he gave it to me.

Once I explained that I'm interested in knowing about him and about efforts to develop the town, he basically dictated the information, waiting to give me time to write down what he was saying. I wrote down just about everything til the very end of the interview when we talked more casually.

He began by telling me about himself. He said that he was born in Ido-Oko on January 18 1925, into the Ruling House of Adeyeye. He got his primary education in Ido-Oko and at Isona, in Ilesa. He went to the Ilesa Grammar School for his secondary school education. His post-secondary education was at the Kilburn Polytechnic in London, NW6, where he studied economics and then at Nottingham University in England, again studying economics and received an honors degree there in 1958. In addiion, he also got further training at the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, in Washington, in 1963-64, and is a Fellow of the Economic Institute of the World Bank.

Then he gave me his work history: He said that he first worked as a postal clerk for the Post and Telegraph, from 1949-1952, before he went to England. Then after he came back from England, he joined the Federal Civil Service in 1958. He first worked in the Governor General's office, and then in different capacities in various ministries, including Lagos Affairs; Mines and Power; Finance; and Trade. He became the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Trade in 1975, and retired from that position.

After that he said, he was able to "serve myself" by going into business, and was based in Lagos -- he did not say what kind of business he was involved in.

He said that while he was in government that he represented Nigeria in international conferences, seminars, and negoiations, and with international financial institutions. This enabled him to travel around the world; he detailed some of his trips and where he went. He said that when he was in the Ministry of Finance he was in charge of all international loans, and for four years he was Nigeria's Alternate Governor of the World Bank, from 1966-70, and was also involved with the African Development Bank, with doing the spadework for founding it.

He said that these activities brought him into contact with many important people, for example, officials of the World Bank, The African Development BAnk, the IMF, the

International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation. He said that he "thoroughly enjoyed" his time there.

After he left government service, he continued the contacts he had made, and he was involved with others in establishments in which he had financial interests; he set up with others financial consultancy services, for example to foreigners wanting to establish themselves here, and other kinds of financial activities. He did this until he came back to Ido-Oko.

With regard to becoming oba, he said that there had been a request from the people here for some time that he come and "ascend to the throne of his ancestors here". He said that it "is my right' and that he thought he should not allow it to slip away. But he also realized that assumption of the post would invole a lot of sacrifices, challenges, and create responsibilities. He said that he wanted to "do my utmost best to leave the place better than he found it", that the "quality of life of the people should be remarkably improved".

He said that Ido-Oko was a place where there was no all-weather motorable road, no social amenities such as water, electricity, medical care -- there was no hospital or dispensary or maternity. There was no source of good drinking water, no pipe borne water here. He said "we're next to nature". He said that I could imagine that for a person like himself who had been away for over forty years, mostly in Lagos, Europe, America, and the USSR, coming back next to nature -- no light, water etc -- that this would be a "great sacrifice".

He said that he was "extremely fortunate" because his wife stongly supported his decision; that she was part of the decision and gave a lot of encouragement; that his wife is a "pillar of inspiration".

He decided that he would come and try to contribute what he could to Ido-Oko. He was finally installed the 19th Ado-Oko of Ido-Oko on 3rd April 1988, and was presented with the staff of office by the military governor of Oyo State Col, Idowu Adetunji Olorin on 23 April 1988. He said that in his speech that day the military governor remarked that "I should use all my connections to assist the people to develop this place and make it a model to neighboring communities." That he should becme "a beacon of light, should lead by example, and should motivate and mobilize the people".

His response was that he would dedicate his life to the development of the town, and that this has been his watchword since then.

It's been eight years since then. He said that he knew it would be "a gigantic work for one person" and that he solicited the support and assistance of friends, including those who are not Ijesas, in fact some are Americans. Here he mentioned that he conferred honorary chieftaincy titles on two Americans, and later he brought me their cards so that I would write down their names and addresses. He said that numerous friends have been forthcoming, in assisting the town.

He said that the first task was to ensure that there was electricity in the town, and they

therefore undertook a rural electrification project. He said that he tried all he could to get the government to install electricity, but he wasnt getting anywhere. Then he was finally told that there were no funds to undertake such a project. He was told that only the Presidency could give the directive to do it and to provide the funds, and the person he was talking with said that if he knew someone, he might be able to get approval for it. At first he couldnt think of anyone, but then the person mentioned the name of someone, Dr. Inodem, and it turned out to be a man who had worked under him and who he had worked hard for to get him promoted - this man was not Ijesa, not Yoruba, but he had helped him get promoted. So he sent him a card with a short note, and got a response saying that he should regard the project as approved, and then he got a letter of approval with a check attached -- and that is how they got electricity here. It was 100% financed byt the federal government.

The next target was water. They put in deep wells where people can fetch water. This was done thru community contributions, but he commetned that the earning capacity of people in the town is very small. He said that he also put a lot in, and that his friends from outside also contributed a lot.

A health center is being built. This is a joint project of the community, local government, and state government. He said that the Military Administrator of Osun State came when they commissioned the electricity project, and that he gave a contribution of N200,000 for the health center, which is still under construction.

Then there are the roads. He said that at times during the rainy season they would be cut off for days. He constructed the road from Ilesa and is maintaining it; he did this before he became oba, in 1987. Before it was a very very narrow road.

With regard to education, the neighboring communities and Ido-Oko built two blocks for a secondary school. More than 75% of the cost was paid by the Ido-Oko community. They now have a school, and the neighboring communities send their children here. (The school is located opposite his house). The state took it over after it was built and provides the teachers. They have also provided a vehicle for the transport of the pupils, but now the vehicle is getting old and they are spending a lot on maintaining it. He commented that he may write to his American friends for help with this.

He said that Ido-Oko is very friendly and helpful with the neighboring communities, so they are at peace,t here is peaceful coexistence with those communities. Ido-Oke has rendered assistance to neighboring communities, for example, on electricity, the initial NEPA survey was paid 100% by him and covered 8 communities. Of those, four have been able to get electricity, and two will soon have it.

He said that the outlook of people here has completely changed from before; he has been able to mobilize and educate them, motivate them. They don't think that something is impossible to do; they don't say I fold my hands, government will do this. Now they know god helps those who help themselves, and the government will help those who do things for themselves.

Now he is thinking they should do something to make the children better. He said that we

have been able to open their eyes. Before, boys in secondary school didnt live here, now they are here and can see that they can be farmers, and do other small scale things, and in that way, it will help to reduce rural-urban migration.

He said that they're trying some small undertakings in the town. For example, he has established a gari processing factory, and this will encourage the farmers to plant more cassava. They can produce more gari, and this will provide employment. He said that there is a ready market for the gari that is produced; it is sold here.

They also have a palm oil processing factory, which provides employment for women and school leaves. They are also processing palm kernel oil, and making soap. He believes that if they have these small things, the aggegate of all of them will improve things in the town. Now people see that there is light and water here, that they don't have to go to Ilesa for these things. The road is still a difficulty however.

He went on to say that on a personal level he enjoys being here, he enjoys "being among my people". He hopes that his own children will love this place better than myself. I then asked whether his children come, and he sad that two came from London the week before last. Those who are in Lagos come here with their wives. He said that he doesnt miss Lagos,that when he goes to his house in Lagos, he doesnt feel happy and doesnt spend more than two nights there. He said that it is very peaceful here, and pointed to the open windows, and breeze coming in and said that he hasnt bothered to install the airconditioners yet.

He then talked about the house. He said that he planned on building a house like this, that it was his dream. Two friends helped make it possible; they were classmates of his, one was an architect and designed the house, the other did the engineering, the structural design. The house was built in 1986-87. He wanted his children to be comfortable when they came here. He said that there are separate apartments so that they can come and be comfortable, dont have to see anyone. He feels that having the house helps to bring the children home, that it has instilled that urge to come home.

They were all coming home before the house was built; he said that since 1960 they all came home every Christmas; this was a "point of duty".

The town is now trying to build a community hall. His friends and he have contributed most of the expenses; he said that he is paying 3/4 of the expenses of this project. His belief is that "this community brought me up, and therefore I should do something for the community. Even more than for my own children." He said that he tried to give his children a good education, and a good foundation, so they should now be able to fend for themselves. So anything that he has, he spends most of it on the development of the community.

He then said that he hadnt told me anything yet about the spiritual side. He said that the small place of worship that they were using before was not fitting enough. So he built a small church and donated it to the community in memory of his father and mother.

I asked how they go about decidng about community projects. He said that when they want

to do something, he will call them. He has an inner cabinet, consisting of the high chiefs, who are his chief advisors. They sit down and discuss the idea, and if they want to undertak the project. He said that there is always unanimity. Then they enlarge the group and bring in others, and then they have a general meeting of the community, including the men and the women. And they all agree to undertake the project. With regard to the financing of projects, he said that they dont levy. If they levy the people, and say they should pay say N1000 per head, there will be trouble. People may not have N100 to give. Instead, he asks if all agree to the project, and then says that they will try to find the money for it, and that anyone who wants to contribute should do so, but they wont levy them. Some will contribute N50, others N1000. There is willingness to do so, and they pay according to their means.

On the community hall, he said that they have spent N3 million so far, and that the work is now suspended because they have no funds. If they raise money in some other way, eg by levying, there will be trouble, because some dangerous people will twist things; the implication is that there are always people who will want to cause trouble and who would say the money is being used on himself.

He said that he also goes to the school and asks who is having problems paying school fees, and will pay the fees for those who cant pay. There are about six students on his scholarship at the school, and there are others at Osun State College of Education, and two at the university that he is supporting.

I asked if there is any organization of people from the town that works with him. He said yes, there is the Ido Oko Progressive Union, which has headquarters in Lagos and branches around, in Ibadan, Oshogbo, Ilesa, Ilorin, Kaduna. The meet once a year for a general meeting. They contribute to projects. He has made it so that their president is a member of the inner cabinet, so that they are part of any decision that is taken. He said that if he didnt do that, if you dont carry them with you, then from the beginning you can be completely misunderstood. he said that they must have confidence in the head -- in his integritry. There must be an open administration, he doesnt hide anything. He said that in some other communities there is trouble, people contribute money and then ask how it is spent. Here, if friends contribute, the check goes to the Ido Oke Progressive Union, and he will call at least two chiefs to witness it. People know that any kobo that comes in goes to that account. He is not a signatory on the account. But he ensures that the money is properly spent, he oversees the spending.

This leads to people having absolute confidence in him. Anything he asks them to do, they will do it. He commands respect, does not demand it. He said that some obas here are just out to milk the people. That this is a problem in Nigerian society generally, that people have no idea of service now; people see things as a goldmine now. But in his own community, he has firm control.

He said again that he is very happy here.

As the conversation drew to a close, he went upstairs to get the cards with names and addresses of the two Americans to whom he has given chieftaincy titles:

Freddie Pitcher Jr.. Judge, Court of Appeal first circuit, PO Box 4408, Baton Rouge LA 70821; 504 342-1065. His title is Bamofin, meaning knowledgable about law.

Gloria Braxton, PHD, Director, Center for International Development Programs, Southern University System, PO Box 10596, Baton Rourge LA 70812; 504 771-2008. Her title is iyalode.
Both were in Nigeria before, working on a project with University of Lagos, and someone introduced them to him.

He also gave me his card, with his London address. And said I should contact him when he is in London in August.

He then asked me more about my research. When I told him the towns I'm focusing on, he said that he liked my choice since there is one from each local government area; Ido Oko is in Ibokun local government. Of course, he assumed that I'm including Ido Oko as much as the others, which isnt really the case. When I mentioned Osu, he said that the people there look more to Ilesa than those in the other towns. With regard to Iloko, he said that Prince Olashore is his close friend, that they think alike. He commetned that Olashore has spe millions and millions there, and that the place is very different now from what it was like ten or twenty years ago. He said that there are wealthier people there than Olashore, but that none is so commited as he is to his home place. At the end of this comment, he said somthing about what a good person "Tunde" is; I didnt say anything, but Tunde is the name of Olashroe's brother, whereas he seemed to be discussing Olashore himself, so maybe he just got the names confused.

He also mentioned the problem in Ijebu-jesa with regard to the selection of the oba. He said that the late oba was very good, and that they were close. He also said that he doesnt understand why someone would want to become oba if they people dont want him.

He again said that he liked my choice of places, because it showed I understood that Ilesa is not the whole of Ijesaland. He explained what hemeant: that there are different communities, and different traditions in Ijesaland, not just the traditions of Ilesa. He said that of course the owa is paramount, but that each place has its own hierarchy to chiefs as well.

When we finished the conversation and went outside, I said I'd like to take a photograph. So he went in to put on proper regalia, and came back out for the photograph which I took in front of the house. Then since I had said I'd like to see the town, he asked someone to take me around. We drove down the main street, and really that is about all there is to the town. We saw the church, and at the end of the street, we stopped and walked to the community hall site. The building is constructed, but the area around it is somewhat bushy. I took some photos. Then we went back down the road, and stopped just past the oba's house, to walk over to the area where they have the gari processing and other activities. There were several people in the gari processing area, they were frying gari and have a somewhat different -- larger -- setup than in an individual's house. In back were the equipment for oil processing, soap making, and a rice mill, but there wasnt anyone doing anything with those things at the time.

fnap9643

Thurs May 23, conversation with Aderigbe in Ode-Omu

Folarin wanted to go to see Aderigbe in the town where he lives, Ode-Omu, on the Gbongan-Oshogbo Road, and we went there in the late afternoon. We only spent 10-15 minutes there, since we wanted to get back to Ife before dark, and they had some things they wanted to discuss. But I did get a chance to comment that I was expecting to see him at the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting. He said yes, that his uncle had asked him to be there, but that he didnt think that was the right group to present these issues in. That since what he wanted to talk about concerns the grassroots, that people in that group werent likely to listen to him if he just came there and presented these concerns. That he thinks it would be better if he first met with the Executive Council. He said that most of the people in the organization arent really concerned about the grassroots.

fnap9644

Thurs May 23, re IUTTC building in Ilesa

While driving on the Oshogbo Road, in the vicinity where Ifaturoti used to have his office, I noticed a large building which has an old sign saying it is the Ijesa United Trading and Tranport Company. It doesnt look like there is anythin much in the building now, but there is a smaller sign saying it is the office of the main headquarters in Ilesa, so most likely they still have an office there. But the front of the building, which looks like it would have been used for storing goods, is empty.

fnap9645

Sun May 26 visit with Mr. Omoniyi, at his house in Lagos

I had left a note the previous week that I would stop back today. I went to Omoniyi's house at 68 Opebi, Ikeja at about 6 PM. Although he came to greet me fairly quickly, he told me that they were just finishing a children's birthday party -- and there were still a number of children around -- and he seemed to be very tired. We talked for about 20 minutes. He also left the room for part of this time to go find something for me to drink. While we was out, I noticed more of the decor of the room; I was seated in the sitting room downstairs. There was a plaque from African Petroleum, in recognition of outstanding contribution -- I couldnt see th rest of it. It gave his full name: Mr. Johnson Itanolu Omoniyi. Other plaques and photographs wre in the room, including a flag from a Rotary Club in Connecticut.

I asked him about Iloko Day. He said that it was an internal affair this time. He said that they didnt raise much money. But that it was good because they spent about four hours talking among themselves, and they havent done that before. They discussed problems in the town, things that are wrong (he was not specific). He said tat they levied themselves -- mostly the people from Lagos-- but that most havent paid yet. And said that the economic difficulties of the present period are making it hard.

He said that they hope to do the next Iloko Day in October, but that they havent decided on the format yet. They will meet in June to discuss it. I asked if they meet regularly. He said the committee (ie development committee) has regular meetings, which are held at home in Iloko, but that there havent been any meetings of the whole town since Iloko Day. He said that the economy is bad, but that they want to have Iloko Day every year, whether or not people give money. He sees Iloko Day as a sort of homecoming, a chance to see old friends. He said that many people came to the last one -- according to him there were about 1300 people there. I asked if he sees it as more than a fundraising activity, and he said yes, that it is not just fund raising but also a yearly festival.

I mentioned that last year when we met I had talked briefly with his wife about things for women in the town. He checked to see if his wife was available to see me, but then said she was still busy with some of the people from the party. But he went on to tell me that there is a woman who works for UNICEF who discussed with him at Christmas about doing something for women. But she wasnt specific. He thinks it might be some sort of processing. He said they already have machines for cassava and rice processing in the town (owned by individuals). (Cassava and rice are the two main crops there he said). But he thinks they should do something besides food processing -- for example, starch or glue, some sort of small industry.

This woman sounds like the woman from Paulina's organization -- but she is not from UNICEF; so it's not clear if it is someone else, or the same effort.

With regard to farming, he said that when he was a child women didnt farm in this area, but that now more of them are.

I asked Omoniyi if he knows the phone number of the Regent. He said that it is 965383, and that his name is Chief Ogunsanya.

He didnt seem inclined to talk much or to discuss things in any detail, and he seemed very tired. When I was leaving, I saw his wife outside, and she said she'd like very much to talk with me, but that she was exhausted from the party. I suggested that I could come Wednesday morning, when I am coming back from Port Harcourt, and she said that she would be there.

fnap9646

MOnday, May 27,conversation with Turner Isoun in Port Harcourt

We talked a little about my research, and about the involvement of people at the local level. His view is that Nigeria is big enough that people are able to create their own space; that despite chaos at the level of the government, people can create their own space locally and do things at that leve. He said that most people dont believe in government, so they continue to do things at the local level. He compared this to other African countries which are smaller, and said that it's more difficult to do this elsewhere, but Nigeria is too big for everything people do to be checked on or affected by what's happening at the macro level.

I asked about the effects of the economic situation. He agreed that the current economic situation has made things much more difficult; he said that if not for oil, the economy would have collapsed completely.

fnap9647

conversations in Port Harcourt re. the idea of city as a fishing port -- Mon May 27 and Tues May 28

Miriam introduced me to a man who is lecturer in archeology at U of Port Harcourt, and his wife. She had given them copies of some of my papers which they had read. They commented on how interesting they found them, and on the similar types of things going on in this area (they are from Rivers). She also commented that she wonders what it means for the cities -- that if people living in the cities are mainly concerned about their villages nd not about the cities, then what does that mean for what happens to the city. She referred to the phrase "the city is our farm" and said that what people in Rivers say is "the city is our fishing port". The fishing port was the place that people went to do their fishing, staying there for a few days or a month while extracting the fish, then going back to their village. Likewise people like themselves saw Ibadan, when they were there at the University, as their fishing port -- not a place to get involved in, as it was just a place where they went to work.

Later I talked with Turner Isoun about the same idea. He agreed, that when he was at UI he saw it as his fishing port, and that way could focus on his work rather than get involved in too many social activities; he thought it was easier for him to do this since his home area was far away, whereas those from around Ibadan couldnt ignore their social responsibilities to family, etc.

fnap9648

Tuesday May 28, conversation with woman at airport re. Olashore school

When I was leaving Port Harcourt Tuesday morning, Miriam Isoun introduced me to a young woman with a baby, waiting for the same flight. Miriam told her that I know the Olashore International School; it turns out that she has two children at the school. She immediately asked if I know "Prince" or the Burgesses; I said both, but Prince better. She's an American married to a Nigerian living in Port Harcourt. She said there are about 9 families from Port Harcourt with children at the school.

I asked what she thinks of it, and she said that she's very happy with it, and that the children like it. Her daughter is in the first class. She commented on Olashore's involvement in the school, that the children tell her that he is always visiting, sitting in on classes, showing his interest. (She said that they also say that he comes with a different woman each time). She said that both of the Burgesses are also very involved, concerned about the students, do things with them. I told her about Olashore's interest in trying to establish some sort of exchange reltionship with an American school. She thought that an interesting idea and commented that in a case like that of her daughter, she will be young when she graduates, and it would be good if sh could go somewhere in the US for a senior year.

fnap9649

Wed. May 29, conversation with Mrs. Omoniyi, Lagos

I got to tthe Omoniyi house at about 10:30 AM. He was still at home and seemed surprised to see me; I said I was there to see his wife, and he basically ignored me after that; he was obviously getting ready to go to work, ate his breakfast, and left. Meanwhile, I sat and waited for her to appear; didnt begin talking with her til about 11. She said she had gone out and come back in time to see me, but I dont know if that was really the case; she was clearly around during that half hour, but presumably busy with something.

The visit began with her serving me a glass of papaya juice. She said that she makes it herself, and that it is very good for your health. She said she had gone to a workshop to learn how to do this, and is thinkin about setting up a business to produce and sell this and other fruit juices. She said that now that economic situation is bad, people like herself need to find new ways to make living. She said that she gets the papayas (green ones) from Iloko, that there are a lot at their house there, going to waste. But although she also talked about doing things for/with the women of Iloko, it was clear that she sees the fruit juice idea as her own activity, not something for the women of Iloko.

I then asked her about activities concerning the women in Iloko. She said that she is a member of the Iloko Progressive Ladies, Lagos Branch. This is an organization for wives and daughters of Iloko; anyone from the age of 15 is qualified to join. She is a wife of Iloko; her own home is Ilesa. She said that the organization has identified what the members do for a living. Then if anyone is doing anything, they will patronize them -- e.g, seamstress, caterers, printer,e tc. She said that they also talk about how Iloko can progress, especially the women folk, and if anyone knows any trade that can benefit the women there. When they go home, they also interact with those at home.

There is also a Council of Iloko women, which is supposed to embrace all of the women's societies of the town. It includes representaives of each society, and they are supposed to liaise with the Development Commitee. There are two women who are supposed to coordinate these activities -- Mrs. Owolusi and Mrs. Adejola. They both stay in Iloko and are thus in a better position to do this than someone like herself. But she said that the Council hasnt been functioning very well.

She then referred to all of the activities someone like herself is involved in. She is from Ilesa, from Isokun. Her activities include the Iloko organization in Lagos -- she is the head of that organization (Not sure about this). Then she is the Past President of the Inner Wheel chapter in Lagos, and once you've been involved you're expected to stay involved. There is family involvement in Ilesa. And she is a member of a social club in Ilesa, the Ijesa Ladies Friendly Society; she is president of that group. So she said that it is difficult to continue to be active in the Council of Iloko women -- it is difficult to call meetings, to attend meetings. Just to let people know about a meeting takes sending notices around, delivering them. And with the price of fuel now, it is difficult to get around to distribute notices of meetings, and also difficult for people to attend.

She said that she started the Council of Iloko Wmen and that people welcomed it, but that it is difficult to keep it going.

But overall, they still have a common voice in Iloko, they try to be one family there. She thinks this is why there is more development there than in other towns around, that they work together and love themselves. For example, they work for education of the children. She said that that love has made people like Olashore to do things there, like putting the school there, and that the school brings many people there, big cars, and so on -- when parents come to bring their children to the school. She feels that this is good for the town. She also said that Olashore has a program for the indigenes of the town -- that if they perform well on exams he will give them scholarships. She added that this is not for "our own children' but for the people who really can't afford the school. She said that there are one or two scholarships a year. There are now five children from Iloko attending the school she said.

We talked about other efforts in the town. She said that light and water had both been done through community efforts and mentioned that other towns such as Iwaraja do not have these. I asked about water, saying that I thought there was problem with that, and she responded that only when the pipe goes bad, and that that can happen anywhere, even in a place like Ilesa.

I asked her view of Iloko Day. She said that she thinks it is helpful. That socially it brings together the sons and daughters who have gone far outside the town to trade or work-- people in the East, North -- they may not come home for ten years. They have lost their identity. But since they have started Iloko Day people look forward to coming come for it. It's an occasion to jubilate. She gave an example of a woman, whose parents were from Iloko; the woman was born in Lagos and had not been to Iloko. Her parents have died, she didnt know Iloko. But she heard about Iloko Day and decided that she should come. She came and introduced herself; she was excited about it. She had no identity. But when she introduced herself, others introduced themselves to her, relatives of hers that she did not previously know.

She said that Iloko Day also makes you appreciate what people are doing in the town, and gives an opportunity to commend them and advise them. In addition, it is a way to raise funds for development. The funds have gone for the community hall project, and also some of it for the water supply.

I asked if they have other projects that will follow the community hall. She said that the youth want a library, that they are now using a building in the town, but that she thinks that may be the next project once the community hall is finished.

Another advantage from Iloko Day is that the children get to know each other, children of those from Iloko who are living elsewhere can get to meet this way. Also, they invite visitors to come on Iloko Day, and the visitors donate funds, and also advise them.

She added that Iloko Day is a good thing, but that it should not be too regular, because of the financial expense involved. She thinks it should be every three years. (This is a different

view from what her husband said the other day; I did not point this out to her).

She then had some questions for me, and then I left since it was noon and I was still going back to Ife.

fnap9650

Friday May 31, conversation with Mr. Adedeji, lawyer in Ibadan

I had been given Adedeji's name a while ago, and told that he had done a report on chieftaincy problems in Ilesa. I had stopped at his office once before and left a note. When I decided to go to Ibadan for the afternoon on Friday, I decided to stop to see if he was around. I got to his office at about 4 PM, and he was there; my note was still on his desk and he was wondering when I would come to see him. He also said that he travels a lot, so I was lucky to find him there, that he had just come back from Ilesa the nite before.

His full name is Oluyemi Kayode-Adedeji. The office is near Leventis and Coca-Cola on UI Road, ibadan; phone is 02 8100509.

When I explained how I had gotten his name, from someone named Tunde Olojo, it turned out that there are two people with that name -- the one I met, who is lawyer in Lagos, and one who is a councillor from his ward in Ilesa. (The ward is the area ner the roundabout; he said that his father's house is near a chieftaincy house near the roundabout at the beginnign of the Oshogbo Road, and that is the ward he is involved in. But his own personal house is near Akinola's at Imo -- tho he didnt say exactly where.

I asked him about the report he did on chieftaincy issues in Ilesa. He explained that he had been appointed to a committee to look into chieftaincy problems in Ilesa. He thinks it was in 1989. But the report never saw the light of day because the Owa was not happy with it. He said that the committee agreed to send all copies to the Owa, that that was done at a meeting he was unable to attend. The Owa had said he would circulate them, but in fact the Owa did nothing with them. Adedeji said that he wasnt happy about this, because the committee had met every two weeks for a year, and he was the one who had it typed in his office, and bound, and then nothing happened with it. But he said that he kept a couple of copies for himself, and that he will look for it and photocopy one for me.

He wanted to know more about my research. It turns out that he has a PhD in Sociology from U. of Pennsylvania, and was lecturer in soc at UI from 1973-1985. But he studied law during this time and decided to leave the university and go into law practice in 1985.

With regard to my research, he said that he is not too involved at home. And that the economy is making it difficult for organizations to do much. He is a member of two organizations in Ilesa -- the Egbe Atunluse, and the Ilesa Progressive Circle. He said that his father was on of the founders of the Egbe Atunluse and that he decided to join in 1985, that he applied on his own merits, but that he wanted to join because of his father. He said that this is true of some other members as wll. But also said that he is one of the youngest members of the Egbe. In his view the organization needs to be rejuvenated, it needs to get younger members. He said that the chairman is a man in his eighties, and tho he's healthy and active, still they need some younger people invovled.

He said that because of the economy and also because of the age of the members, the Egbe

has not taken on new projects. However they continue to support the things they did in the past. Therefore they continue to support the two high schools they founded -- Ilesa Grammar School and Obokun High School. They give scholarships. And they supported a sports day that Ilesa Grammar school hosted, that includes it and a nmber of other secondary schools from other towns.

But he said that there is not much in the way of new projects. The economy is a problems. And also the political situation affects them. But he said that they try to have a voice whenever something happens that concerns Ijesas. He said that that is true of the other organization he belongs to as well, the Ilesa Progressive Circle. In his view these are two of the most active organizations when it comes to having a voice on issues affecting Ijesas.

He told me how he joined the Ilesa Progressive Circle. He said that he only wanted to be a member of one organizaiton, so that he could do well whatever he does. But that the Progressive Circle asked him to come and give a report on the constitutional conference, of which he was a member. When he did so they began to get up and praise him and also someone said what a good job he had done on the chieftaincy report. So when they invited him to join, he felt he couldnt refuse.

He said that ther's quite a lot of overlap in membership of the two organizations, and that the membership of the Progressive Circle is also quite old.

He's also been involved in politics in Ilesa. He ran for office in the second republic but didnt win. And then he was in the constiutional conference, selected by people from his area.

fnap9651

Sunday June 2, visit with Olashore in Ijebu-jesa and Iloko

I arrived at Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa at about 2 PM. He was again sitting in the first sitting room; a man with chieftaincy beads on was also there, but was not introdced. A little girl was also there, about 2 years old; he said that she is his grandaughter. A few minutes after I got there he went to check on food, and then invited me to come eat. Lunch was served buffet style; also there was a woman introduced as his cousin, Iyabo, and his daughter-in-law. We sat in the inner sitting room, with cspan on tv. There wasnt much conversation during this time, except I heard Olshore say something to Iyabo about a meeting on June 15, that it would include direct descendants and would take place in Iloko. Later I asked Iyabo if she's from Ijebu-jesa; she said that she is, that she's his cousin, and that she lives in Ibadan. While we were eating, his son Bimbo came in with another young man; they apparently went to eat in the dining room. Soon after, Olashore left the room for a while, and then when he came back said that we would go to Iloko. Meanwhile his son and daughterinlaw were getting ready to leave.

I asked if he was staying in Ijebu-jesa and he said that he was going to go back tomorrow morning, that he would go to Ife to see kabiyesi (the Ooni) and then return to lagos. Originally he planned to spend the week in Ijebu-jesa but he has to be in Lagos for a meeting of the council of the chamber of commerce. And a meeting that was supposed to take place nxt Friday in Oshogbo he was able to reschedule and it took place yesterday.

I drove myself to Iloko while Olashore went in his car, accompanied by Iyabo who apparently was also there to see him about something. When we got there he took us thru a couple of the rooms, which now have furniture in them, including his bedroom. Then he suggested that she continue to look around while he and I talked. He sort of apologized for having so many different things going on. I asked if he is moving to the new house soon, and he said that he plans to move in two weeks. At one point he told some workers there that eveyrone should come for some food on June 14.

We then discussed the several things I wanted to talk with him about. First, his secretary's request re. US visa; we decided I should come to the office when in Lagos before I leave and talk about it with her. Then I asked about plans for his coronation (this is term he used). He said he thinks it will be the first week in April. I asked about videotaping and he seemed willing; with regard to other ceremonies, he said he would check on what can be taped. And I told him about the request to Folarin re. the sculpture of a tiger; he said that Prof. Omole is thinking of giving it to him as a gift.

We also talked about the school, both while in Ijebu-jesa earlier and at Iloko. He saidthat he has decided to send his new expatriat teachers home, because they have been very rude to him, and discussed the issue concerning their pay. Later he said that this experience has led him to decide that really the only way to do it is to have an exchange, and that he would like me to take it on as a project -- to devote more of an effort to it. I said I would try, but didnt really commit myself; we discussed the meaning of "I'll try" and he said that when he says

that to someone he really means that he will try to do something, because he is direct and says what he means

I didnt stay longer than necessary because it was obvious that he had other things to do, and Iyabo was still waiting to see him.

fnap9652

Monday June 3, conversation with Mr. Babatayo at the Community Bank in Iwoye

Mr. Babatayo is now the manager of the Community Bank in Iwoye.

WE got to Iwoye at about 1 PM. Babatayo was there, but said he was about to leave to take a check to Afribank in Ilesa. But he said he had a few minutes to talk with me, and we went into his office. I said I was glad to see that the community bank is now open. He said that it opened on July 1 last year. He said that they've been doing well, and that quite a number of people both from Iwoye and neighboring towns have been opening accounts. He said that about one-third of their accounts are people from Ijebu-jesa, and thre are also people from Ere and other places on this side, as there is no other community bank. I asked why people from Ijebu-jesa would use this bank since there is one there and he said that maybe people dont want others to know how much money they have so they prefer having their account in another town.

He said that there are now about 400 current accounts and about 400 savings accounts, making 800 accounts altogether. I asked if they are doing a daily saving account system, and he said that they are, and that the person who handles that is out now going around to people who contribute. They can contribute anything from N5 up. The daily savings accounts pay a fee, of one day's contribution per month.

I asked about loans. He said an individual can get a loan up to N50,000, but a society can take a larger loan. The board has recently decided that a person must own shares in the bank to get a loan; they feel that this way people will feel that they have more of a stake in it, and will be sure to pay their loan back. Shares cost N1 per share. Loans so far are for tradng, manufacturing, and farming, but mainly for farming. The length of time depends on what they are planting -- eg 4 months for maize, two months for vegetables. All loans given so far have been repaid; there have been no defaults.

He said that anyone can own shares, they dont have to be from Iwoye. I asked about the board of directors. He said they are all from Iwoye, and all are knowledgable about banking. Also, must be larger shareholder to be on the board; all on the board own at least 25000 shares.

He answered all my specific questions but was not particularly forthcoming with information.

I also asked about other projects in the town. He said that all other projects have been suspended until they finish the palace. The new oba was installed in november, but he is using the house of another chief; he is still working and going back and forth between here and Lagos. They want to finish the palace before doing anything else. I asked about the health center. He said that that is a joint project beteen the community, local government, and UNICEF, and that it is still at the foundaiton stage (I presume this means nothing has been done since my last visit). That the current local gvernment chair has said they will begin to work on it again.

The other project that the town wants to do is the post office, but this will wait til palace is finished.

While talking, I noticed a pamphlet on Ijesaland on his desk and asked to see it; he said I could borrow it, which I did. He said it had been given to them by the publisher.

He was anxious to get to the bank so I left.

fnap9653

Monday June 3, observations and comments during interviews in Ijebu-jesa and Iwoye

The four interviewers did interviews of taxi drivers in Ijebu-jesa and farmers in Iwoye. I joined them in Ijebu-jesa. While we were waiting for one of the interviews to be finished, one of the taxi drivers who had been interviewed began to talk with Yemi about community banks. He said that he had had an account at the community bank in Ilesa, but that then it hd closed down. so he doesnt really trust the banks although he knows it's better to keep his money in a bank. Yemi told him that since this one is owned by the community it would be better than those owned by individuals.

In Iwoye, Kehinde went to interview at the home of her mother's older sister, and I joined her and Yemi there. The woman was processing gari while she talked with them. Later I asked Kehinde if she is a farmer too, and she said yes, that she grew the cassava from which she made the gari. She will sell the gari in the market.

Kehinde is from Ere. Her father was a policeman, and she lived and went to school in Ondo State. But he has retired back to Ere now. She said that she knows a lot of people, has a lot of relatives in the towns in this area -- Ere, Iwoye especially. A young man who is her cousin (the son of the woman she interviewed) was around. She said she also knows peop;le in Iloko, and also in Oshu, that her sister married someone from Osu. And she said they also have a family house in Ilesa, at Isokun. She pointed out that everyone in these villages also has a family house in Ilesa, that all of these villages are subordinate to Ilesa. Later I asked her if it's easier to interview people she knows or people e doesnt know, and she said that it didnt really make much diference. That once you ask people about the economy, they want to talk about it, and they hope that maybe we will be doing something to help.

fnap9654

Thursday June 6 visit with Mobo Akinola in her office, Ilesa

I stopped at the Akinola house at about 10:30 AM and was told that he had traveled and that she was at Supreme -- the vegetable oil company that they own. I went there and stayed about half an hour talking with her.

We first talked about the killing of Kudirat Abiola on Tuesday, which has shocked everyone. We then talked about other things.

She told me that her husband had arranged for me to see the owa. I apologized for not having gotten back in touch with him and said we'd have to try again next time I come. Akinola is about to leave for London, and then he'll be going to Canada later in the month.

She asked when I will be coming back again, so I said I might come for Olashore's installation as oba. This led to our talking about this again. She said that she doesnt understand it, but that he seems to want it (ie to become oba). She said that she didnt think he would be interested in it. And that it seems to indicate a change in the person. She also talked about the taking of wives, and said that there are some who become obas who dont take wives, but that if they are already of a polygamous mind, then they will like to take more wives. In the past people gave their daughters as gifts to obas. That doesnt happen now. But there are plenty of women who will be interested, especially since they know he is very rich man -- they know they will live comfortably, have a big house and ride in a big car. I asked what the first wife thinks when this happen, but she didnt answer that, and didnt say anything about Olashore's wife. She also said that becoming an oba involves many "messy things", which she then explained means a lot of ritual things. She said this is true of chieftaincy too, but even more so of obas. She also said that becoming the oba will be a long process, involving many different stages.

We talked about where Olashore will live. She said that he fixed up the palace, modernized it for his father, so maybe he will live there. But that he already has a "castle" (his house); she said that she has seen the house. She thinks he wants to leave Lagos, so this gives him the opportunity to do so. She also said that she thinks he wants to be like the Ooni, but that since he is from Iloko people will still let him know that it's really a small town, not a big place like Ife.

fnap9655

Friday June 7 visit with Prof. Wale Omole, OAU vice chancellor

Folarin and I went to see Omole Friday night. Mostly we talked about the exchange,and about the situation of the university. We also talked a little about Olashore, about how we had missed the day I went to see him in Ijebu-jesa and how he got there a little after I left (he said that he saw me driving out of Ilesa). I said that Olashore is not coming home this weekend, but that he will be home next weekedn and that he is plannin on moving into his house. Did not discuss the house or Olashore's becoming oba.

fnap9656

Sat June 8, visit with Justice and Mrs Eso, Ibadan

Folarin and I went to Ibadan and stopped on the way out,. The Esos were home, and we spent more than an hour there. Mainly we talked about the situation in the country -- the killing of Mrs. Abiola, stories of armed robberies and other problems. Did not talk ab out Ilesa at all, except that he asked how my research is going. He also told me that he had made arrangements in case I wanted to use the house, but had learned that I hadnt used it when he went there last weekend. They went to a wedding in Oshogbo last weekend (of his sister's son) and stayed at the house Fri nite. He returned from his trip to Holland about two weeks ago. He did not have the book launching that he hadbeen thinking of having on June 6, because of concerns of what the government might do.

WISNT36

Sept. 23, 1996

visit of Olashore to Racine Thurs. Sept. 12 thru Sat Sept 14

Olashore called from London the previous week to say that he was coming to the US and that he'd like to come to Racine. First he mentioned coming that week (which was the first week of the classes) but then we decided that it would be better for him to go to other places he wanted to visit, and then come here at the end of the trip. He said that he wanted to return to London by Sept 14. So he went first to Washington, then to NY, then to Toronto, and flew here from Toronto; we talked on the phone several times during his trip, but mainly to make travel arrangements. He flew in to Milwaukee Thurs morning and left from O'Hare Saturday evening.

I arranged for him to visit with people from several schools -- we met with Pat Foran from Marquette High school in Milwaukee on Thurs. evening, then had dinner with Jerry and Susan Greenfield. Earlier, Thursday afternoon, Kim came over and met him. On Friday I took him to meet Bill Frayer and Nola Ratliff at Horlick high school; then we stopped at Parkside where I introduced him to Ostheimer, and then we went to Burlington where we met with Sharon Gill, a counselor named Nancy Simonsen and the principal Jose Martinez. Among the schools, Ratliff seemed the most interested in doing something with Olashore's school, altho the others expressed interest in maybe establishing connections thru the internet, and we promised to help him look into that possibility.

On Friday evening, Peggy James and Brian, as well as Jim and Sam Stills, came over to visit. Then on Saturday I took him to Chicago, where we went shopping at Watertower Place, and then drove out to O'Hare in time for him to check in at around 5:30 PM. I left him there around 6; he called the next night from London to say his trip back was fine.

In between all this, we had a fair amount of time to talk, especially on Saturday.

When Olashore first arrived and we were driving from the airport back to Racine, he was complaining about making such a rushed trip. He said that people in NY and Toronto were upset with him for not staying longer; in NY he visited with the UN Ambassador (Gambari), in Washington with the new Nigerian ambassador, who is a friend of his; and in Toronto he stayed with Dr. Omole. He also told me later that he attended a party with the Owa in New York. I asked why he had to get back by the 14th, and he told me that he "has picked a new wife" and her birthday is Sunday the 15th. This of course led to talking about who he had married. He told me that he had been with this person for a year or more, but that they got married in July. I asked her name, and he told me Sade, so then I told him that I had met her at his house (he didnt remember the occasion). He said that now that he is to become oba, he can't continue "living like a bachelor" and that there are a lot of obligations, e.g. hospitality, that he needs someone to help with. I asked about his first wife, and he said that she "is in her own world," that she's very withdrawn. I also asked why he hadnt told me when I was there in the spring that he was getting married, and he said at that time they had

had a disagreement, so he didnt want to tell people til he was sure that it was happening. Apparently the disagrrement was about a statement that he made that once someone decides to be a polygamist once, he cant decide it again -- ie he could still take more wives if he wants to. He said he told her that if she fulfills what he is looking for, then there wont be any need for him to take another wife. He said that she has been studying law in Britain this year -- that he wanted her to do something for this period of time (presumably til he becomes oba?). He also mentioned that she wasnt very happy about his traveling to the US, that she was supposed to come with him but couldnt (he did not say why but I got the impression that this was his decision that she not come on this trip).

Also on the trip from the airport, Olashore mentioned that he wants to do more for the development of Iloko, and that he wants me to be involved. But he didnt get into details at this point, but we did discuss it more on Saturday when we went to Chicago.

Thursday afternoon, when Kim was there, she asked about hometown involvement. He gave pretty much the standard answer, about the importance of keeping connections with one's roots. He also mentioned the political context -- that if one, or one's child, wants to be involved in politics, he must have a home base. Essentially, he mainly emphasized the pragmatic aspects of hometown connecitons in this conversation.

Some of our conversation focused on becoming oba. He told me that his installation will be in February - March and that the coronation will be on April 5 -- or at least that is the hoped-for date. He explained that there are rituals that must take place first, and these will be done Feb-March. Then he must get the staff of office from the Military Administrator of Osun State, and this will take place in April, he hopes. But there is a new administrator so he must contact him when he returns to Nigeria and get that date confirmed. He will be sending out invitations in December. We talked about videotaping. He said that he is going to find out whether he can have the FEb-March events (or some of them) videotaped. But said that I can not send Bodunde to tape then -- that these are held at night and are not open to others. On the other hand, he said maybe he could come afterward, when he will be greeting people who come to see him. The April event will be the big public occasion, and he is inviting lots of people, including people from overseas. He expects people like his doctor from England to come, and he invited people that he met here, such as Nola Ratliff, and is going to send me invitations to give to others. He also discussed with me accomodations for foreign visitors, wondering about using the school dormitory, but then seemed to decide that the conference center at Ife would be best, and he could have a bus transport people from there.

He told me that he will be on the Osun STate Council of Obas. I asked who is involved in that, and he said the Ooni is permanent chair; from Ijesaland it includes the Owa, as well as the Apetu of Ipetu, oba of Ibokun, and of Ijebu-jesa as well as himself. He seemed pleased that he will be on this council.

He also told me that the road is being built between Ilesa and Iloko -- this is the road that was just a dirt track that leads past the house of the regent and some other new houses -- I guess it comes in to Ilesa somewhere near the brewery. He said the governemtn is spending N4.5 million to build it (I think that was the figure).

AT another point he talked about how he really doesnt approve of the institution of obaship, and that he wants to use his position to influence the behavior of other obas. I questioned him about this, especially since he is becoming an oba. He pointed out how long it has been til he agreed to take the posiiton. He also said that he wants people to use it to help better their communities, not for themselves. He thinks the attitude that people in the position of oba have should be changed -- that too many are only interested in themselves. He did not say how he hopes to change this attitude, except perhaps by being an example of something different.

On Saturday when we were driving to Chicago, I asked him about his statement about the development of Iloko, and what kinds of things he is thinking of. Of course, he first mentioned the school, and its impact, on changing things around the community. He is also now thinking about expanding to a university, altho that sounds very uncertain at this point, and also mentioned that he is thinking of adding primary school, so children of staff have some place to go. He mentioned the road that is being constructed, as well as the fact that there is now phone service there. He also seems to feel that others will start doing more things there now, such as the man from Oshogbo with the fancy house.

He also talked about wanting to do things for the women of the town. One specific thing he mentioned was the development of a market, where people from the town and outside could bring their stuff to sell. He said that the school itself places considerable demand, and that people from the town and surroundings could be selling things at a market there. We also talked about the project being headed by Grace Faoye, the woman Paulina Makinwa told me about. He spoke very highly of her, and said that they are going ahead with gari production project. But he wants to find other ways for women to have more source of livelihood. One idea he mentioned is a community farm, on which people from the town would make regular work contribuiton, and this could help provide their share of resources for community projects. I suggested that it's important to get people themselves invovled in thinking about what they want, need, and also said that I'd be willing to work with him in helping to do this. I also mentioned Technoserve as an organization that might be able to help in some way.

It turns out that he has met Adhiambo Odaga of Ford, and that they had lunch together. I also told him that Natalia Kanem is interested in attending his coronation (but now I've since learned that she is moving to NY office).

Don't know if I really impressed on him the idea of getting people themselves involved in development efforts, but at least we began talking about it. He also said that he wants to have a research assistant to work with him. I suggested that he get someone to document what happens with projects, such as the one Faoye is establishing, so that we actually know the impact of something. No doubt these are issues that I'll have to discuss with him again.

At one point during the day on Saturday, he said that people think that he is richer than he is. He seemed to be trying to emphasize that he is starting to live more modestly -- ie he was traveling economy class. On the other hand, he spent a lot at Watertower Place on a suitcase and linens. And he also told me how much he had spent on furniture for his new house in

Iloko, all of it imported from Italy -- something in the hundreds of thousands of Naira.

I promised to try to find out more about how to establish internet connections

fnmr9701

Saturday March 29 1997 Iloko and Ilesa

I arrived in Ife late Friday afternoon. On Saturday, Bodunde got to Ife around 11 AM and we left for Iloko and Ilesa. Decided to go first to Iloko, to check on Olashore (had discussed this with Richard and Folarin Friday evening and they had suggested trying to see him, that he would most likely be available).

On the road into Iloko, there were men out filling potholes in the road with dirt. As we drove into Iloko, I could see that there is a new monument in the center of the small roundabout. It's a sort of long narrow pyramid with what looks like a crown at the top; I will have to take a closer look, and photograph it. Bodunde turned left there, to go to the palace; there was a light blue mercedes parked out in front and we stopped behind it. As soon as we stopped, a woman came up and started talking about the photo we took of her; she is the akara seller I used to see in Iloko (tho I never saw her at all last year when I was here). We reminded her that we had given her a copy of the photograph.

We asked for Olashore and were told that he was inside. There were some workmen in the small parking area outside the palace (inside the gate), and then a number of people on the veranda including two security people in uniform; I'm not sure if one was a policeman or if they were both private security. They asked my name, and then asked for a card (which I forgot to bring with me) so one of them went in to announce me, without the card. He came back to tell me to come in, and I went in to what is now the reception hall. It is not the same room where I used to meet with Olashore's uncle, but a larger room to the left of that room. It seems to have been closed off more than it was previously. Olashore was sitting at the end furthest from the door, on a low couch and immediately greeted me, telling me to come and sit in a chair to his right. There were just a few people -- three or four-- in the room at the time. I went in and as I got closer to him and he indicated I should come to greet him, he then said something about how I should kneel down; I decided to do so, saying that I would do so one time, and shook his hand, then got him and took the chair indicated -- one of a number of upholstered chairs lining the walls of the room. Bodunde went and sat in a chair by the door, after first prostrating to Olashore.

Olashore was dressed in aso oke agbada, had some of the pink and white "coral" beads around his neck, and a fly whisk on the seat next to him. He and I chatted briefly. He told me that he had heard that I was coming, and I said I had sent a fax recently. He said he had gone to Oshogbo earlier in the week, and had phoned his secretary from there (he said there's no phone here, that he is "isolated") and she had told him, but he thought I would be arriving next week. He said that he had heard from the principals to whom he sent invitations; I said that some people who were expectin invitations didnt get them, mentioning Jim Stills. He didnt realy say anything in response, just kind of indicated that he didnt mean to exclude him, and that he meant to invite him, noting that with the invitation he wouldnt have a problem getting a visa this time.

Within five minutes of my arrival, Wale Omole, Vice Chancellor at Ife, arrived. He came in

and went first to greet Olashore, kneeling briefly as he did so (not prostrating), then saw me and greeted me, and sat down in the chair next to me. This turned out to be fortunate, as I learned more from their conversation about things going on and I also had chance to talk with Omole.

Others also came in -- several young men, and then Olashore's son Bimbo, wearng shorts and a shirt, and looking hot, came in and out a number of times; he was obviously seeing to various things. Later, after Olashore had gone out to another room to meet with one of the men who had come (he said that he had come from Lagos to see him), a woman and daughter in her twenties came in). The woman looked familar to me, and when she saw me she greeted me effusively but I don't know who she is (and Bodunde didnt know either)! She sat there waiting to see Olashore but didnt say anything more to me, so I still dont know who she is.

Olashore mentioned some of the events that have taken place already to me. He said that on Feb. 20 there was a Christian anointing, a church service. Then there were various ceremonies that were private and took place at night; it seems some of those took place on the same day. he mentioned that he first became head of all the princes. He said they had videotaped some of these, but the one at night hadnt come out, but that there are photos I can see. He said that later on (but didnt specify when) there was another ceremony where he actually became oba, and that was private except for the end of it, when all the townspeople came out to greet him. (Later both Wale Omole and Mobo Akinola told me more about this event, when he "moved to the palace" -- this took place just a few weeks ago).

Olashore and Omole discussed the changes that have been made in the palace. Olashore saidthat he had made the room we were in the reception area, and had moved some of the furniture to the hall. He also said that he made a private area at the other end of the reception area into a place where he can meet privately with people, and also put in a dining area there. Then off the end where we were sitting, he has put in a room for resting. He suggested that we go to look at the hall -- which I've been in before when it was used for a town meeting. There is now carpeting on the stage area in the front, and a large chair (covered with red velvet cloth so no one could sit on it) was in back of this area -- Omole said that that is the throne, and it will be movedout to the stage area, with two other large chairs on either side for senior chiefs). We also looked at the doors entering the hall, which have carved panels on them; I asked about them and was told they are older, and have been newly polished. There are also aluminum panels on the door that goes back into the reception area from the hall. I think the windows have been changed in this room, and airconditioning has been put in.

There was an engrved marble plaque lying on a table, ready to be put it; it was about the staff of office being given to Oba Oladele Olashore, Ajagbusi Ekun of Iloko on April 5 1997. I saw another one hanging up in the entrance way (which had not been there before) which was about his father with the years he lived, and gave his title as Ajagbusi-Ekun IV, Aloko of Iloko. I'll have to check whether the Aloko part is still being used (it is not on Olashore's plaque).

Also, in the reception room, I think it was more open before, and now it is closed off with sliding windows at the top, and airconditioning. The airconditioning was on when I first got there, but it went off after a while (low power) and then as the room got warm, some people put on the overhead fans. But then the electricity went off completely, so then a couple of the men who were waiting got up and opened the windows. Omole seemed to think Olashore had made good improvements.

The other topic of conversation was the events scheduled for next weekend. Olashore said that there will be a cultural performance on Friday evening, with cultural groups from various places performng. That will start around 7 PM. Then on Saturday will be the main event, scheduled for noon, but he said I better plan to get there early, by ten, because there will be lots of people. That will be followed by social events. Then on Sunday morning a Thanksgiving Service at the Methodist church in Iloko; he also mentioned prayers in the mosque on Friday. Olashore told Omole that he especially wants him to be at the church service; later on Omole said to me that there would be three main events -- Fri evening; Sat; and Sun church, and that he thought Olashore would appreciate it if I attended all three.

When Olashore was talking about the events and telling Omole he wanted him to be there for the church service, Omole told Olashore that "he had a bombshell" -- and announced that he has to go to South Africa for a Commonwealth meeting of university presidents and that he'll miss the coronation. Olashore didnt seem upset or surprised. Later, at lunch, Omole told Olashore's son about this, and siad that he was glad he had been there the other Sunday when Olashore had moved to the palace (the first I had heard of this).

They also talked about how many people they expect to attend, and mentioned a few. Olshore said that he had heard from the Deputy Mayor of London, but that because an election has been called there, they will not be able to travel.
While things were fairly quiet in the reception room, and while Omole had gone to see the other rooms (I suppose I could have gone also, but wasnt specifically invited to do so), I gave Olashore the pen and said it was a gift from Dick and me. He immediately asked, before opening it, if it had his name on it, and seemed pleased when he saw that it did. He put it aside on the seat next to him, and left it there when he got up a few minutes later, so I hope he remembered it.

I noticed that nearly everyone in the room had shoes on, as well as head gear -- they did not take these off when they entered the room. Everyone who came in came over to greet Olashore first.

After awhile, he went out, to the room he'd indicated is now his private sitting room, to meet with someone who had come from Lagos to see him. Omole was still there, and quite a few other people arrived during this time, and they just took seats and waited. During this time, his son, Bimbo, came and went several times, and Omole went out of the room to talk with him once or twice. I also chatted a bit with Omole during this time. One issue discussed is whether Olashore will still be in Lagos much. In Omole's view, he has to be -- it will be too boring here, he said.

When Olashore finally returned (about 2 PM), those who had been waiting immediatley went to greet him -- men prostrating, women kneeling.Omole indicated that he had to leave, to go to a party in Ilesa for justice Ilori, and I said that I would be going also. Olashore told both of us to stop at his house to get lunch, and said he might join us there -- but we left before he got there. I drove with Omole and Bodunde followed us; when we got to the house, Omole found the servants and had them give us lunch. A few minutes later, Bimbo and two other young men and a girl came in and joined us. The girl appeared to be the younger sister of one of the men, and apparently attends Olashore's school. The brother had just arrived from South Africa.

I had a chance to talk with Omole about the exchnge and the photos I sent back with Richard; I told him I was planning to see him this weekend but he said he was leaving for S. Africa so I said I'd see him after he gets back. Omole also told me about the party he was attending in Ilesa, for Justice Ilori who has become Chief Judge of Lagos State. He said that the owa had earlier given something in honor of him, and this one was being held at the Ilesa Social Elite clubhouse. When I said that probably the people I want to see in Ilesa will be there and not at home, he suggested that I stop by. I said I'd try to, but later it was getting too late and did not do so.

When I left, Bimbo saw me out. I askd him if he'd been very busy with all this and he said he had. He also said that he would be there from the middle of next week, since he'll have to greet guests who come.

From Olashore's house, we went to Ilesa and stopped to see Mobo Akinola. It was already about 2:30 PM. She was home. We talked about the coronation. She said that the most interesting things have already taken place, especially the move to the palace which was a few weeks ago. She said I should see the video of that, that it was the traditional part of the activities, that what is taking place next weekend is "just a party" and that I've been to lots of Ijesa parties already. She asked if I've seen Olashore, and when I said I had she said that I'd seen a changed man. Later I questioned her about this, asking what she meant. She said that with all the ceremonies he has been thru, that has to have changed him. And before he had a lot of freedom, now he'll be restricted, he can't move about freely, he has to ask permission from local govt to leave the area.

I asked Mobo about staying at their house Friday and Saturday nites, and she said I could, but that her husband has promised accomodation to some people, so it might be one of the room in the back rather than the room I've used before. She also said she'll be busy all week at a training program in Ife and wont get back til late Fridy, and then will go to Iloko for the Friday evening events. She said she would tell people that I'll be coming and arrangements will be made for me.

I then went to Ifaturotis, where I saw Tinu. Kunle was out, but she phoned him at Mr. Apara's house, and we spoke on the phone briefly. During that phone conversation, Kunle told me that he had had a stroke last fall; he also told me about the death of his brother-in-law Arigbede (which Folarin had also menitoned). Tinu and I talked about Olashore. She said that she had gone to the church service on Feb. 20, and that she hopes to attend on April

5, but that Kunle wont be able to since he cant be in such big crowds. While I was there she got a phone call from Mrs. Fajemisin, who told her that Olashore has made an arrangement with Total petrol station so that there will be petrol for people in Ilesa to get to the coronation on Saturday.

In my phone conversation with Kunle, i said I would be back to Ilesa on Tuesday (Bodunde is going to Ilorin on Sunday, and may not be back til sometime Monday, so it seemed Tuesdau was better).

We left Ilesa about 4 PM.

fnmr9702

Sunday March 30 1997, conversation with Richard Olaniyan on obas

During a visit with Richard Sunday afternoon, we discussed my trip to Iloko, and that led to talking about obas more generally. He mentioned that there are now a number of obas who are highly educated, including some who were formerly lecturers at the university, and he gave several examples. He said that a lot of towns want someone like that, and that in a place like Iloko they clearly wanted Olashore, since they see him as someone who will help develop the town. He mentioned that it usually isnt acceptable for a son to succeed a father, but that in this case, they're overlooking that. In other towns, they won't do that --such as Otan Aiyegbaju where a brother went to court against his brother when he wanted to succeed their father. He said that it's now also acceptable to be a part time oba, and he is sure that Olashore will contnue to spend a lot of time in Lagos. He gave the example of his friend in Oshogbo, Rasco, and said that his town only wants him at home on the weekend. He mentioned other examples like that.

Also on Rasco, he told me that he is challenging the Owa of Ilesa as the father of all Ijesas, saying that the small town where he is from is actually the owner of the Owa -- the title there is Alowa (I think the town is Ilowa); it is located off Oshogbo road, near Idominasi. Rasco is looking at historical evidence on this, and saying that several owas are buried there. Also there is something in the present Owa's own book -- The One who wears the crown (Not sure if that is title) -- that supports this view.

fnmr9703

Monday March 31 1997 phone conversation with Nike Afolabi

I called Nike from Ife and we discussed plans for the weekend. She said she plans to be at Olashore's coronation and will probably come Friday, altho Sina is away in Calabar and due to return Thurs. She said that she is on leave from the bank right now, but that there will essentialy be a public holiday for everyone working there this weekend. She indicated that she hasnt been able to get too much information; she said that she asked Olashore's secretary for a program and was told there isnt one available. She also has tried to find out about aso ebi, and learned that it will be white (off-white?). We discussed what I would wear; I told her that Judy had lent me a white iro and buba and she thought that would be ok -- that women would wear white, with a little of the aso oke, while men would wear outfits of aso oke. She also said that Dr. Adigun is involved in making arrangements, and asked if I had seen him (I havent).

I told her that I still wasnt sure where I was going to stay, but that I planned to check with Mrs. Fatiregun. She said that usually when she attends things there, people stay at one of the hotels around Ijebu-jesa, such as Country Hotel or one of the others. We agreed that we would look for each other Friday nite.

fnmr9704

Tuesday April 1 1997 -- Ijebu-jesa and Ilesa

Bodunde and I went to Ijebu-jesa and Ilesa Tuesday morning. We went first to Fatiregun's house, but the gate was locked and no one was around. On our way out of Ilesa later, we stopped at the College of Education and learned that Tina Fatiregun had just gone out, so I left a note that I would come to see her tomorrow.

Then we went to see Kunle Ifaturoti in Ilesa. A young girl came to the door, and then called him from inside; he came out quickly, but said that he has difficulty moving around since his stroke last fall. He also said that it affected his speech, although that wasn't too noticeable (when he was speaking Yoruba to someone who came later, he sounded a bit hesitant). He has been getting physical therapy; his left side was affected. (he said that the stroke occurred when he was attending a funeral in Ijebu-jesa, but that he stayed for the end of the service).

We began talking about Olashore's coronation. He said that they think they are doing something traditional, but there's very little traditional about the way they do it, that it's not really traditional at all. Our conversation was interrupted by an old man who came to the door; after a brief conversation and attempt to phone someone at the brewery, Ifaturoti wrote a note for the man, which he showed to me. It dealt with the purchase of shares in the brewery that the man had made, and that there was some misunderstanding about; Kunle had helped the man (who doesnt speak any English) to purchase the shares, so nw the man has come back to him for help. After the man left,he explained to me that the man had come wanting to purchase shares, that he said he wanted to be one the owners, and Kunle had been impressed by that. But it took a long time for him to get the shares -- thru a broker -- and then they got less than he wanted, and wrote a check to retunr the difference in what he paid. But since then he hasnt received anything, and hasnt gotten any dividends (but the brewery hasnt paid dividends this year because of financial problems). So Kunle was sending him to someone at the brewery to explain the situation to him.

Later, we returned to the subject of the coronation. Ifaturoti said that he thinks Olashore could do more outside for his town than he can by coming backand being the oba. He also wonders whether he will really stay there, indicating that he thinks he will not. I said that I've heard quite a few obas are doing this -- going back and forth. Kunle said that it's wrong for an oba not to be there. But he also said that he thinks Olashore will get very bored there. Kunle said that when he returned to Ilesa the Owa asked him if he wanted to be a loja, and that he said no. He wanted to establish his business, and work throughout the nation. his idea of a loja is someone whose day is like this: he gets up in the morning, washes and has breakfast, then meets with various townspeople to discuss issues and problems -- eg land disputes -- then has lunch and rests, and then in the evening does more of the same.

I said that I've heard about people like lecturers becoming obas, and Kunle asked are they doing it right? Then I mentioned Richard's friend Rasco, and Kunle immediately siad "Rasco? Rasco can become anything but not an oba." Then he proceeded to tell a story about an arrangement regarding land for his business, when he first returned to Ilesa, he

wanted to locate his business in Oshogbo and got some land there for it. Rasco was involved in the deal. But later, someone had put a road thru the middle of the land, and Rasco had also encroached on Kunle's land. We didn't hear the end of the story because the phone rang and then we switched to other topics, but it was clear that kunle's opinion of Rasco wasnt too high.

I asked Kunle about Ijesa Solidarity Group. He said that they're doing ok, that there's a new president now, Idiapo Obe, who is very enthusiastic. He explained that the consitution says that president can serve two two year terms, and that last year he wanted to have someone else take over, as Presdient -elect, before he left for US. But that they didnt agree. But after he got back from US, they agreed, and elected Idiapo-Obe, in November; he said they should have a meeting May 24. He also said that ISG got a boost when the Osun state council of obas tried to suspend the Owa. 39 obas, including 6 from Ijesaland, who were influenced by the Ooni, voted to suspend the owa from the council. ISG played a role in preventing this from happening and the suspension order wasnt ever actully given. So that gave ISG a boost, and in fact the Owa came to thank them.

Kunle asked me to stop to see Tinu at her school on the way out of Ilesa, which I did. She's now in her temporary site, near the palace, but he says they will move back to permanent site once the Oshogbo Road is redone.

We also breifly discussed where I will stay this weekend, and I said I was trying to see Fatireguns. He said I could stay with them if didnt find anyone else.

fnmr9706

Wed April 2 1997 visit with Chief Fatodu, Ijebu-jesa

We stopped at Chief Fatodu's house after checking on the person that Folarin is interested in staying with this weekend, and after learning tht the policeman Bodunde hoped to stay with has been transferred from Ijebu-jesa. When I told Fatodu that I am here to attend the coronation this weekend, he immediately began to talk about the combination of non-traditional and traditional elements. He said that they have added several new elements to these events. First, the annointing service at the beginning; this is what the enlightened obas are doing now. Then they go thru the installation process, with the kingmakers. This is the traditional part. In the past, the new oba was supposed to spend 3 months in a house, not the palace and not his own house. Now they have reduced that to about 3 weeks. Then there is the government part, which is what is occurring this weekend. This is not traditional at all.

I asked about the new oba in Ijebu-jesa and about the dispute he had told me about last year. He said that the dispute is still on, but the oba has been installed, quietly. The townspeople have selected the person they want, but the other man is still contesting and the case is still in court. In the meantime, however, the installation has taken place, and the part with the military administrator took place on March 24; it was supposed to occur in middle of February, but the administrator couldnt make it on date specified so took place later.

I said I'd like to meet the new oba, and asked about next week; Fatodu said that the oba often goes to Ibadan for several days during the week so that probably Thursday or Friday would be best.

I asked how things are going at the community bank. He said they're allright but that people aren't taking loans because of the sitauation in the country so the bank isnt making money. Also he said that there is a new decree that will link the community banks to the Central Bank so he doesnt know what the impact of that will be.

After we left Fatodu's house, we stoppped to see the community bank manager, briefly (to deliver Christmas card!), and talked a little with him about the situation at the bank. He said that the commercial banks that hold thier money are reducing the interest rate they pay, as part of deregulation, from 16% to 21/2% so they can't make any money. I asked which banks and he said like Lead, and others (a folder with Lead Merchant Bank written on it was on the manager's desk). I said that there really isnt any independence from the rest of the banking system, and he said no, that they can't store their money here at the community bank, have to put it somewhere. Basically he didnt seem very happy about the way things are going there.

fnmr9707

Wed April 2 1997 visit with Olashore at palace and his house

We got to Iloko at about noon, following our stops in Ilesa and Ijebu-jesa. We went to the palace, and Bodunde drove in to the palace gate, where there were again some workmen doing various things to fix up the exterior. Bodunde noticed right away that baba, the old man we have always seen at the palace (Olashore's cousin) was sitiing out on the verandah, with a number of other men. As soon as baba saw me, he greeted me warmly and we stopped to talk for a few moments. One of the other old men there came over toward me, saying something and ringing a couple of gongs that he held; the other men stopped him rahter quickly, and at the same time the security man began to beckon me to the door, so Bodunde and I went in. As before, there were just 3 or 4 men there, with Olashore sitting in the same place he was in on Saturday. He told me to take a seat on his left (the same seat as before) and then greeted me to shake my hand, saying something about making it easy for me (presumably a reference to my not having to kneel). Right away he asked what happened to me the other day; apparently he had expected me to come back to the palace after going to his house for lunch.

His son came in a few minutes later, and they began to discuss some of the details of plans for Saturday. Olashore told his son that the time was changed from 12 to 11 AM (this was also announced in the Daily Sketch paper that I bought), that this was the time the military administrator of the state said he would be there, in fact that the administrator would be arriving at 9:30 AM. His son said that the "cj" (or that is what I thought I heard) had sent a message from Abuja that he would be there for 12. And that he had been phoning Abuja to his protocol office to find out. So there seemed to be two different offcials and two different times, and Olashore basically said that it would be at 11, and they would just leave things as they are. His son wondered about the program, which says 12, but then they agreed that since no one will get the program until the event itself, it doesnt really matter. Later Bodunde and I discussed what the "cj" is -- and figured out they must have been saying cgs -- Chief of General Staff, ie, Diya, second in command in the government. Olashore said that if the cgs comes, there will be a lot of security, and then other administrators will come from the other states around.

He and his son also discussed seating arrangements, and then called over another young man who was sitting at the end of the room, who was apparently from the company providing the canopy. They were discussing the size of the stage and the size of the canopy, and the fact that there would be a lot of obas coming, and each will have his entourage. The three of them were studying a diagram that the man from the canopy company had been working on. Olashore was very intently involved in this discussion. Bimbo (his son) and the other man left. I used the opportunity to tell Olashore that I had a copy of the newspaper article from the Burlington high school paper; I thought I had also faxed him a copy but he apparently hadn't seen it before. He was very pleased to see it, and read it right away; he liked the photo and asked for a copy of it. I also gave him the pen that he had lost when in Wisconsin and a photo I took here last year, and my letter that had been written to accompnay all of this (and which never got delivered by Bodunde). He seemed more pleased and interested in

these things, especially the news article than in the pen I gave him on Saturday. I tried to ask if the pen is all right, if it works ok,but he didnt really answer.

Soon after someone else was announced -- a man in a suit and tie and his wife came in. They greeted Olashore: the man in the suit prostrated and his wife kneeled, and they also presented him with a gift-wrapped box. Then I was introduced to them -- the former Vice Chancellor of Ibadan, Prof. Oyediran, and his wife (later learned from Folarin that the wife is Awolowo's daughter). They said that they wouldnt be able to attend on Saturday becaus of a family event so that they had stopped today. They stayed for quite a while, visiting with Olashore, with some interruptions from a few others who came in, and later we all went to Olashore's house for lunch.

Olashore talkd a little about the process that has been going on, and especially the period when he had to stay in a place for three weeks, that they should have seen him then, that he wasnt allowed to shake anyone's hand, can't ever prostrate to anyone again, etc -- the various rules involved in being and becoming an oba. He also talked about his intentions, that he intends for this to be his job now, that he's finished with looking for money and that he has told his sons that they have to take care of an expensive father now. He said that his schedule is that he comes to the palace around 11 and stays til lunchtime, then comes back in the evening around 6, when people have come back from the farms. He said that there is lots to do and he expects to be busy. Later Oyediran asked him about this, about what he would be doing, and he mentioned tht he likes to write, and is setting up his office, and also there are things to do in the community. He also said that he plans to come to the palace for activities relating to his position, to minimize traffic at his house.

In reference to that, he also talked about the plans for Saturday. The ceremony will be held at his school's field; he said there is space there, and some space for parking cars too. And then people can be fed afterward in the school hall and dining room; only the obas will be brought to the palace to be fed. No one will go to his house. The cultural performance on Friday nite will be held in the school hall.

Three men were announced, who came in and prostrated, then presented a letter; I heard him say that it was from Timi (of Ede) and later Bodunde said that Timi had sent him two cows and some drinks. (There are about ten cows grazing in front of his house). Olashore then told us that yesterday he had a delegation from the Alaafin, and that they told all kinds of interesting stories -- the kinds of stories that people used to tell at night, about all kinds of things that he didnt know. He said that Alaafin will be attending on Saturday.

A policeman came in to deliver a letter, and then talked about the difficulty of gettin there because of the petrol problem. Olashore took out a wad of N50 bills, and gave them to him.

Oyediran's wife asked Olashore about the school, and about why he doesnt estabish a private universtiy, so that there is some place for these students to go after they gradute from his school-- the way she put it sounded very elitist, that the school children couldnt possibly cope with the current situation at the universities. This led Olashore to point out that they have to learn to cope with the situation in the country some time, unless one expects people to stay

abroad, and he said that he is now suggesting that the older students be somewhat less protected and coddled than they are when they are younger. They talked for some time about this, about the difficulties of students who have gone to good secondary schools and what they will do for university -- Oyediran's wife saying that probaby most of the parents could afford to send them abroad, and Oyediran saying that if they have a good foundation they can benefit from going to university here more than other students who dont have that background. Olashore talked a lot about how well cared for the students are, well fed etc, and then said that he thinks they should do less for the senior students; that unless one wants the students to never come back to Nigeria to live they have to learn how to cope.

After a while Olashore invited them (and presumably me, tho it wasnt completely clear) to his house for lunch; at any rate I went along. We first sat in the sitting room of the house and had drinks, but Olashore didnt have anything. Then he told us to go in to the dining room to eat, but he stayed in the sitting room. While we were in the sitting room, there were two photo albums from the installation ceremony; I got to look at one fairly carefully, but didnt have time to go thru all of the other one before lunch. One had photos of the church service -- the Christian anointing service, and the other one showed the installation and move to the palace. Oyedirans also looked at the album, and he asked Olashore about the Christian anointment, if it was his idea; he said yes, that he wanted them to do that. He went on to talk about some of the other ceremonies that involve "fetishes" saying that the man perfomring them was almost apologetic when he had to do any fetish things.

Oyediran also asked him about the title. He said that Ajagbusi Ekun is the real title, that it is the one that allows him to wear a beaded crown. That his father had that title, but it had not been used for a long time before that (I think this is the story). Then Oyediran asked about Aloko, and Olashore said that he had learned a lot during the time he had to stay in-- that he hadnt known some of these things before. He said that the original title was Owa of Iloko but that at some point in the past there was an Ilesa Owa who didnt want anyone else to be called Owa, and made them all change -- that Iloko had a weak king at the time, so he had changed the title and that is when Aloko began to be used. he didnt actualy say if he is using Aloko, but there was a new carved wooden plaque hanging in the palace which referred to him as Aloko.

We were served at lunch by a young woman, presumably Olashore's new wife, the olori. Oyediran addressed her once as "olori" (just as he addressed Olashore as "kabiyesi"). Most of the conversation that took place was generated by Oyediran asking her questions; she didnt say much to initiate conversation, and no one really said much to me. Oyediran asked her if she is Ijesa, and she said that she is; he askd if she is from Iloko, and she said no, that she is from Igbajo. There then ensued a discussion of where Igbajo is, and whether it is in fact Ijesa; she said it's not far from Ijebu-jesa. They asked her if it's a big change in life style (not exact words but that was what was implied) especially living in Iloko; she indicated that it is but didnt say much, just sort of shrugged her shoulders as if to say that she will manage. Before lunch, Oyediran said something to Olashore about Koye visitng, and Olashore said yes, and that he broke out in tears when he saw the school, after all you know his parents were in education, and he said that this was the kind of standard there used to be. During lunch, Oyediran asked the olori about the community health project; at first she didnt seem to

know what he was talking about, then said they just came and made a tour, and that's all that has happened so far. I asked about it, and Oyediran said that there is to be a community health project under the Better Health for Africa Program; when I asked who is doing that he said, the World Bank (so my guess is that the Koye referred to is Ransome-Kuti).

After lunch, Oyedirans left, and I stayed a few more minutes. Olashore asked if Bodunde had eaten, and it turned out he was eating right then, so I waited til he'd finished. Olashore said that I should borrow the videotapes of the events so far, as he's sure I'll want to see them. I asked if he'd be around next week; he said that on Monday he has a Council of Obas meeting, but would be around otherwise. he was thinking of going to Lagos, but doesnt think he will, because he thinks the first time he goes to Lagos it should be a big thing. I asked about coming on Tuesayu and he said that he thought that should be ok, and when I asked about the time, he said it didnt matter, that even if he's in the palace, he should have some time to talk with me. As I was leaving, he said he would see me Saturday, and I said that I would probalby be there Fri nite. He then said that if it got too late he was sure I could find a place to stay, so I said that I had seen Mrs Fatiregun and asked about staying with her.

Before I left, a young girl came in carrying what was obviously a cane, wrapped in wrapping paper. The olori unwrapped it, and it was another beaded cane; he was using one that was blue and white, and said that a cousin who is a chief in Ilesa had brought it, along with matching cap, that morning. This one was red and blue stripes. He said something about not liking presents, not liking to get them on an occasion like this, when everyone feels they have to give something (I acted sort of insulted then, since I had given him a present, so he of course said he wasnt referringto that).

When I left, the olori saw me out.

fmr9708

Friday April 4 1997, beginning of Olashore coronation weekend

Following the usual delay in getting going (Bodunde was getting his car repaired and it wasnt done on time and of course I was worried because I didnt know what had happened to him), we left Ife around 5:45, and went straight to Iloko, and got there at about 6:40. As we went through the town, I noticed that some sculptures of leopards (at least I presume that's what they are) have been added to the monument in the center of the junction -- two are lying down, and one looks like it's supposed to be ready to pounce. Quite a few people were hanging around in town, and as we drove towards the school, we passed people walking in that direction. At the school, there were some cars parked in the parking lot in front of the school hall, which is now called Oba Sijuade Hall, and people inside; in fact when we first went in, the place looked quite full already, so we went upstairs to the balcony, but then we could see that there were lots of seats in the front, so we went back downstairs and to the front and took seats a few rows from the front in the center. There was a row of upholstered chairs set up in the front. Some school children were singing, but I think this was just to entertain people while waiting for the real progrm to begin. After a few minutes, Bodunde decided to go let Mrs. Fatiregun know that we were there, so he left to go to her house, and came back a little later with her. She went to sit on the side, also towards the front and when I went over to say hello I also saw Mrs. Faseru there.

The crowd there mostly seemed to be local people. Siting next to me were several old men, including baba; the man next to me really seemed to be enjoying the whole performance.

As we sat there, people came around selling things; I bought a calendar that shows the oba and other chiefs; another calender was also being sold but didnt have the chiefs on it. T-shirts were also being sold, but I didnt buy one. Also bought a magazine called Iloko Chronicle which is put out by the Federation of Iloko Ijesa Students Union and which focuses on the coronation and related events.

At about 7:45, Olashore and the olori arrived, escorted by drummers. They were both dressed in white; later I noticed that Olashore's agbada was embroidered with gold designs, and in the center of the back was the design of a crown. The olori had a rather simple white head tie. They were seated in the first two chairs in the row of upholstered chairs. Others who sat in that row included the regent, Chief Ogunsanya, and Omoniyi. A man who I think is Olashore's brother was in the row in front of me.

The program began with a prayer. A man was acting as mc, but I dont know who he was. He introduced Mr. Omoniyi, the head of the Development Committee, and Dr. Adigun, the Head of the committee of friends. Adigun was sitting in the first row, on the left side; he came over to talk with others, including Olashore, at a number of points during the evening. Akin Akinola was also sitting on the left side, and moving around to talk with people. I also saw Prof. Odeyemi come over to talk with Olashore, but dont know where he was sitting.

The first part of the program was a comedian, who also acted as mc for much of the rest of

the evning. Then the Osun State cultural group did a dance performance. After that, a play put on by the students of the Muslim Commercial high school in Iloko was announced. It was suppposed to be a play about the history of Iloko. Altho much of it was in English, I could understnd very little of it. Parts were quite dramatic, with dancing and drumming, and quite good; other parts were not. It seemed to go on and on, altho later on I was told that they had cut it short; in any case it went on for more than an hour.

After the play finished, a cultural group from Enugu performed; the announcement was that it usually costs N1500 per ticket to see them, and that they perform overseas, but that they were performing here gratis. Then the Osun State group performed again, and another comedian. Eventually, the announcer said that kabiyesi wanted to go to sleep, and the evening ended at about 11 PM.

Throughout the evening, more and more people kept arriving, and the hall was full, with people standing towards the back. There were overhead fans, and it didnt get too hot, and evening when the power went off for a couple of minutes (during the Osun state troupes second performance, things stayed pretty calm.

As various people arrived, they went to greet Olashore. Four or five men arrived who went up to his seat and greeted him by raising their fists; Bodunde said that he thought they were from the north. Most others who came to greet him knelt down to speak with him, but I didnt see anyone prostrate, except the performers who did it as part of thier performance.

At the end, when people were leaving, I managed to talk with several people -- Prof. Odeyemi, who said that I should have been here 2 or 3 weeks ago, for some of the other evetns; Mrs. Omoniyi and Mr. Omoniyi (separately); and then when we went outside we found Dr. Adigun. When I told him that I had come especially for this he said "Bless you" and gave me a hug. He asked if I had a place to stay, and I said that I was staying in Ijebu-jesa but was looking for a place for my assistant; then he called Akin Akinola, who came over and after greeting me, said that his wife had a room for me. He also said that she had just left (I didnt see her, and in fact never saw her all weekend). So it looked like she was still expecting me to stay there and hadnt received my note; as I tried to explain things, he said he had to see someone and that he would be back in a minute. After about five minutes, I didnt see him anywhere, and decided to leave. On Saturday morning, I saw him and he asked where I had gone and said he had been looking for me til about 11:30 PM; I apologized, saying I hadnt seen him and had left. In the end, Bodunde and Femi ended up staying at Fatiregun's also.

A few additional things:
Many of the women were wearing caftans and bubus, rather than wrappers. There were also quite a lot of children there, including a quite young child (about two) with a woman next to us.

At the end, before people left, the mc announced that people who were going to Ilesa should go via Ijebu-jesa rather than use the express, becus of securtiy late at night.

We got back to Fatiregun's house in Ijebu-jesa around 11:30 and went to bed almost immediately.

fnmr9709

Saturday April 5 1997 coronation of Oladele Olashore as Ajagbusi Ekun, Aloko of Iloko

I got up quite early in the morning, greeted Mr. Fatiregun (had not seen him the previous evening and he did not go to the cultural performance), and Tina Fatiregun introduced me to a friend of hers, Mrs. Bello, who is in the same dept as she at the College of Education. Mrs. Bello had also spent the night there in order to attend the coronation. We agreed that we should leave for Iloko by 9 or earlier, and in fact we did so; we went in separate cars but they got there about five minutes after us.

When we got to Iloko we went straight to the school; there were alot of police around on the road just opposite the school, but otherwise not that many people around yet, and we had no trouble parking in the lot near the school hall, and walked from there to the field. Others were arriving and parked along the drive that runs along the field. The field was set up with a raised stage, covered by a canopy, and a red carpet leading to it; a large space in front of the stage was left open. On either side there were two huge canopies covering the main seating areas; the one on the left facing the stage had a banner reading "Special Guests" and the one on the right had a banner for "Members of the Family of Ajagbusi Ekun". Plastic chairs were set up at a slight angle, so that eveyrone sort of had a view of the stage. At the end of the field was another smaller canopy, with metal chairs; this was presumably for anyone (mainly for townspeople I think). We had our pick of seats at that point, so I took a seat in the front row in a the special guests area, in a section at a good angle to the stage. Mrs. Bello joined me there, but Mrs. Fatiregun said that she had to sit on the other side, with members of the family. At one point we considered having Mrs. Bello and myself sit with her, but then it turned out that they were arranging people in a special way where we were, so we stayed where we were.

At that point, Olashore himself was out there, with some others, going over arrangements, it seemed; he was near the stage when we got there, and left soon after. People arrived and took seats; there was pretty much a steady stream of people arriving. After a while, men who seemed to be taking charge of the arrangements, including Dr. Adigun and Akin Akinola, appeared, discussing things amongst themelves. Though they werent far away, they didnt see me, and they seemed very busy so I didnt go to them. All the men in this group wore white agbadas and had caps made of red and brown aso oke material. I learned later that they call themselves the Kings men. Soon thereafter, a couple of these men came along and told everyone that we had to move out of the first two rows, as these were reserved for the obas. I said that I had come all the way from the US for this, and the man I spoke to said, well, these seats are for the obas, and it's their show. I thought of looking for Akinola or Adigun, but decided to change seats instead, tho by this time we had to be in about the fourth row; Mrs. Bello went to a seat behind where we had been, but I ended up moving to a somewhat different section, where I had pretty good visibility and could move in and out to take pictures. In the end, the obas were seated in the section much closer to the stage, and people who arrived later took the seats we had vacated -- and I ended up with women with big head ties who blocked the view.

A lot of people had arrived by around 10 AM. I saw Mrs. Ifaturoti arrive, and she sat quite near me; she told me that she liked the outfit I was wearing (iro and buba, and headtie, borrowed from Judy Asuni).

As important people arrived, they were announced by the mc. The obas in particular were especially noticeable, as each one had at least one large umbrella. Each oba was greeted by talking drummers and by a group of people, and was first escorted part of the way down the red carpet, then stopped for photos, and then continued -- with some (the owa and ooni) being seated on the stage and the rest in the special guests section. The first of the major obas to arrive was the Ataoja of Oshogbo, who Bodunde recognized and pointed out. Others included the Soun of Ogbomosho, the Alaafin of Oyo, the Ooni of Ife, and the Owa of Ilesa. (later on, there was talk about the fact that the obas had been reconciled --- and an article in one of the newspapers).

Other important people who were announced included the Chief Justice; former administrator of Osun STate, (Udofia), former governor of Oyo State, Bola Ige. Bodunde saw Justice Eso, so I went to greet him; his wife was also there, and she told me of a party they are having for the new chief judge of Lagos State, Justice Ilori, next Saturday afternoon.

People were going around greeting their friends. I went across the open space to take photos of Mrs. Fatiregun and other family members; she also pointed out the members of the Olashore family, seated in the first couple of rows; again, they were all in white. I took photos there, as well as of some of the obas and others on the other side. Nothing too much was happening during this time, except for the arrival of obas and others.

A few people were going around selling things; right after I arrived someone came with a badge to wear; she asked N50 for it but I gave her N40. The magazine that I bought the night before was also being sold, and copies of the Monitor newspaper.

After a while, probably around 11 AM, Olashore himself arrived, and was greeted by talking drummers and cries of "kabiyesi". He was followed by an entourage of other people, but I couldnt see who was there. He was seated on the stage. The program that was handed out said that the program was to start at 12, but earlier in the week we were told that they had moved it up to 11. But it became apparent that nothing was going to start at 11. There was a lull for a while, and then the dance troupe from Enugu came out to perform. While they were performing, we heard sirens, indicating someone important arriving; then cars drove on to the field, right in front of the stage, and the arrival of the Chief of General STaff, Diya, was announced. With him was the military administrator of Osun State, Lt Col. Obi. Their arrival was just before 12 noon. Once they got seated on the stage, the program began.

Soldiers were ringed around the front of the stage, below it, and the press photographers and video people were there also. There didnt seem to be as much security as we thought there might be with Diya there.

The program that actually took place was shortened somewhat from the printed program that was distributed. There was an opening prayer, but no welcome address by the chairman of

the local government council, and no cultural displays. Instead, the program really began with a speech by the Owa of Ilesa. He spoke in English (and referred to the fact that he was speaking in English during the speech). Among other things he referred to the fact that there are disputes among the obas of Osun state, saying that these reports are incorrect, and that he has welcomed the ooni not only with open arms but also with open legs (this was quoted in some newspaper reports). He also talked about Olashore being too big for Iloko alone, so that he should be considered the Ajagbusi Ekun of all of Ijesaland (this was also quoted in the papers). After the Owa spoke, the Ooni of Ife also spoke. He referred to the fact that Olashore is a personal friend of his. (I didnt try to take any notes during the ceremony, but hopefully the whole thing is on the videotape). (There was a fairly good sound system so I could hear most of what went on, but couldnt really see anything much).

There was also a short speech by Diya (check video for whether before or after coronation)

Then the coronation took place. The mc made a point of saying that this was a very traditional thing, and also asked the press people to move from in front of the stage so that people could see. An Iloko chief was called to come forward and he recited a number of prayers (in Yoruba); the Ooni and Owa were also involved in this part of the process, which took place up on the stage and wasnt really visible. According to the printed program, what they were doing is blessing the Ajagbusi-Ekun's crown. Following that, the crown was placed on his head; it is a beaded crown, with the fringes hanging down in front. I could see this but was too far away to get photos; considered going up closer but was somewhat intimidated by the soldiers in front.

Then it was announced that the military administrator would present the staff of office. This looked like a beaded staff. After this, the military administrator also spoke. The administrator was in uniform, whereas Diya was in agbada.

They skipped the "felicitations" part, simply announcing that congratulatory messages should be sent directly to the palace. A choir was called on to sing the Iloko anthem-- they were sitting in the back, and it was made up of schoolkids, couldnt really hear them.

Finally, Olashore himself made a speech; instead of him coming to the lectern, they moved the microphone to where he was, but the first part of it didnt come thru clearly over the sound system. I went out on the field then, and took a couple of pictures, but from quite a distance and doubt much will be visible. When I came back, I could hear more of the speech. One point he made was that he plans to change some of the traditional things that are done, but he didnt give any specifics (he referred to this point later in the afternoon, too, when I saw him at the palace).

The program ended at about 2 PM, with the departure of Diya and others -- the convoy with cars that were driven right on to the field. There were other activities listed on the program but they didnt take place -- including "traditional homages" and a durbar. (Subsequently, Olashore referred to the fact that traditional homages should have taken place but becuase of the fact that Diya had to leave to be at the Nigeria-Guinea football match by 4 PM, they skipped them). (also Kunle Ifaturoti referred to the fact that a durbar with 100 horses had

been planned, but fortunately cancelled).

Dress at the event: most women were wearing iro and buba, and headties; there were some very elaborately and elegantly dressed women. Men were mostly in agbada. There were a few identifiable groups. People from Iloko-- especially those helping out with ushering guests on the field, and other such activities -- were wearing cloth that had Ajagbusi Ekun and a crown on it -- ie specially designed, fairly light-weight (probably cotton) cloth. Members of the Olashore family were wearing white; and Bimbo, the son, was wearing the kind of traditional cap that has little flaps. The group called the kingsmen -- Adigun, Akinola and others -- were wearing white agbada and caps in red.

I don't know whether Olashore's first wife was there; I did not see her, nor did I see the second wife but am sure she was there. Towards the end of the program, it was announced that Olori Dupe Olashore was presenting a gift to the Military Administrator; I think that is his first wife's name, but dont know if she was actually there (she was definitely not in the church the next day).

During the ceremony, a woman went around distributing cards which were tickets for lunch inside the school hall; I was given one, but she did not give one to Bodunde. Mrs. Bello (Tina Fatiregun's friend) also had one, so we started to go in that direction, although we stopped to use toilets, and then I took photos of some of the departing obas. We met up with Mrs. Fatiregun, who did not have a ticket for the hall, and went over to the school hall, where there was a crowd trying to get in thru the one door that was open. I was about to give up, and decided just to try to get some water to drink, when Bodunde and I went around to a side door where the caterers were. I then went in that door, took a bottle of water from the first table (people were already sitting there) and then walked around looking for someone I knew. I found Prof. Odeyemi also walking around, and he took me to a table where he said some other people from U. of Ife were sitting; he and I joined them, and he helped get one of the people serving to bring us food (fried rice). The woman sitting next to me was Odeyemi's wife I think; she knew about me and asked about my work. I didnt meet any of the others.

During lunch, Odeyemi told me that I should have been here for the earlier events, and briefly described what took place -- the anointing service, the installation, the move to the palace. I asked him if he had been very involved in all this, and he said yes, that he had been very involved, that in fact he had probably done more than anyone else.

Nike Afolabi found me during lunch; she had arrived from Lagos that morning, and had been at the ceremony but we hadnt seen each other. She was sitting with some others from the bank, and after I finished eating I joined her for a while. I met some of the others from the bank, including one man who when he was introduced said that he's been hearing about me from the Chairman (ie Olashore).

All the tables in the hall were full; there must have been several hundred people eating there. After a while, Bodunde came in and said he and Femi were trying to get some food; Nike called someone to serve them, who then came back and siad there was no more meat. She

said he should take some meat from her plate that hadnt been touched and add it to rice, which he did and they got some food.

Outside the hall there was a canopy set up and more tables; this is where Mrs. Fatiregun was eating, and other members of the family were there. I went out there after lunch, and spoke with her briefly; she said that she was going to stay around for a while, and suggested that I go to the palace and take some photos, saying that Olashore would be going there. There were some drummers around, and people were dancing; otherwise not too much else was happening. Nike Afolabi had left to look for fuel, and had said she would look for me later at Fatiregun's house.

Nike had gotten a ticket for fuel from Dr. Adigun; these were being given out to people attending the ceremony, to get fuel at the Agip station in Ijebu-jesa (owned by Olashore) I asked Dr. Adigun for one, and it gave it to me. Others said that Bimbo (Olashore's son) was the person to ask; everyone seemed to know about this, and several people asked me if I had seen Bimbo to get fuel. (On Sunday I learned thatMr. Omoniyi was also giving out these tickets).

I decided to take Mrs. Fatiregun's suggestion and go to the palace. As we left the school grounds, some cars were heading in the gate of Olashore's house, but then we saw that his car was heading out of the gate, in the direction of the palace. So we followed it and went there. By the time we got there, Olashore was outside, near the entrance to the parking area for the palace, with a group of people around him. It turned out that it was the Old Boys Association of Offa Grammar School, of which he is the president. They were donating a plaque in his honor, that was in the process of being unveiled. One of them saw my camera and immediatley told me to come forward, in front of the group, to take pictures; then he helped me find a spot around on the side where I had a good view (but unfortnately the sign was in the wrong direction so don't know how the pictures will turn out). Olashore made a brief speech, thanking them and saying how importnt the Offa Grammar School was to him. Then he went into the palace, followed by a large number of other people, including those from the Old Boys Association. I tried to follow, but there were too many people trying to get it right then, and they were going in to the smaller sitting room, rather than the larger reception room. So I waited outside a while, til some people left, and then went to the door and was told by the guard there that the only place to sit was on a stool, if I could manage that. So I went on in, and then later moved to a chair when someone vacated it. I stayed there quite a while, probably an hour or more, observing people coming and going, listening to the conversation, with something being directed at me occasionally.

Olashore was at one end of the room, seated on a couch, with the parphenalia of office -- staff and fly whisk -- next to him. He was wearing an agbada and matching shoes -- with small figures of leopards sewn on to the cloth; this was the same outfit he had been wearing in the ceremony, but now he just had a cap on, not the beaded crown.

When I first got there, all the chairs in the room were filled, and people were still coming in; one person sat on a leather pouffe that was stuck between two chairs. As they came in, women kneeled and most of the men prostrated, except that those who were helping out did

not, they came in and went out without greeting. Some of those who came in brought presents; one was a large box, a case of Remy Martin Cognac. People tended to come in in groups. When I first got there, there was a family with a couple of young boys, who were sort of playing with Olashore's staff; after they left, there were some more seats in the room. At first I just took a seat, and no one said anything to me. Then a little later, Olashore said something directed towards me, and when I spoke, a woman who was sitting just to his left, said that I sounded like I was from London; then I started speaking with her, told her I'm an American. She proceeded to tell me that she is a Deputy Mayor of a borough in London, and that she had just arrived a couple of days ago for the ceremony. She is Nigerian by birth (but quite fair -- bleached skin I think). She also informed me that she holds three chieftaincy titles in Nigeria and comes here often. She was very elegantly dressed, with a sort of extra wrapper made of white fluffy material, across her shoulder. Olashore talked with her from time to time, and after a while, she called over another young woman, dressed in western dress who was sitting across the room; the woman came and sat on the pouffe next to her.

In her conversation with me, the Deputy Mayor asked about what I do, and I breifly told her bout my research. She then started talking about the bad, undeserved reputation Nigeria has outside, and how many good things are going on here, and how the things people focus on outside, like human rights, arent a prblem. She saidthat since she arrived on Wed she has seen discussions of televisions, and no one is being arrested for sayng critical things. She also said that "we have our own form of democracy". I didnt say anything much in response, and later, when she left, she didnt say anything to me.

In conversation with her, Olashore talked about wanting to change some of the traditions, and referred to what he had said in his speech about that. He said that there are some dehumanizing things that should be changed. That respect is important, but some of these traditions shouldnt be continued. The deputy mayor disagreed with him, and talked about how important it is to maintain tradition.

After some time, Olashore arranged for a car to take her to see the Ooni of Ife, and she left. Before she did, she began to praise Olashore (in Yoruba) and then sang a short song, also in Yoruba. (Earlier, she had told me that she is not from Ijesa area, and when I asked, she said that she was half from Bida in Niger State and half from Lagos.

Another, older woman who came in was dressed in a sort of red aso oke outfit, not iro and buba but rather morelike a tunic and pants, with a cap more like that worn by men. I got the impression that she was meeting Olashore for the first time (she was with another woman) and she too recited praises in Yoruba, but seemed to be doing it in a semi-humorous way.

In one of his conversations with visitors, Olashore talked about all the obas being there, and his success in bringing them together. He said that he's waited for this day since 1990 (presumably referring to something tht happened then involving owa and ooni, especially; also I think it was considered very important that the alaafin of Oyo was there, as he and Ooni dont usually appear together).

There was a constant flow of people in and out, but the room was never crowded. At one point, some of the people dressed in Iloko outfits (the cloth with Ajagbusi Ekun on it) began to serve drinks, and also brought out some food -- they actually served the food to me, but I didnt really want it then, and it was just put on a table and left there. During this period, Mrs. Omoniyi came in to help. She was in and out of the room. When she saw me she invited me to attend a meeting of the women's forum that night; she said that they would be meeting at the palace between 8 and 9 PM. I said I would come.

One man arrived who said he had just gotten there from Ibadan, that he had been on a petrol line all night. Others came in who had not been at the ceremony, and they were told to go to the house to wait for him to come there. At around 5 PM, someone mentioned that there were a lot of people waiting at the house (and some names were mentioned of some big people) so he began to make signs of moving there, calling for his driver, and saying that he better go there to see people. I left at that point, and as I left, he reminded me that the church service would be at 10 AM the next morning.

As I was leaving, a woman sitting near the door stopped me and began talking with me. She lives in New York, in the Bronx, and told me she works in Forest Hills. She said that she is from Ilesa and that she came for the ceremony, arriving last week. She said that her name is Ola, but then said that her surname is Daudu. She was an older woman, probably in her sixties; I said I would see her the next day at the church service, but did not.

fnmr9710

Sat. April 5 1997, conversation at Fatiregun house re coronation

After leaving the palace, I went back to Fatiregun's house; it was about 5:30 or 5:45. Tina Fatiregun had just gotten back there herself. About ten young men were in the sitting room, watching the soccer match between Nigeria and Guinea (world cup qualifying match). ABout an hour later, Nike Afolabi came there, along with her friend, who works at First Bank, and with whom she had driven from Lagos. The power had gone off, so we sat outside for a while, and the conversation turned fairly quickly to the question of why a person like Olashore wants to be oba. Four of us were involved in the discussion -- me, Tina Fatiregun, Nike Afolabi, and the woman who works at First Bank. Most of the comments were made by Nike and Tina. They talked about whether Olashore will really be able to stay in Iloko. The consensus was that he would not. Tina said that after a month he will be in Lagos; the woman from First Bank said it would be after a week. Tina said that we should have seen him during the time that he was staying at the chief's house, for three weeks, that he became emaciated. That he was just sitting there, greeting people, flicking his fly whisk, that it was like being under house arrest. That becoming oba is like being a prisoner of your people. They said that they were sure that he will be in Lagos most of the time and just come to Iloko part time, and that he'll still rely on his regent a lot. I then mentioned that the Regent lives in Lagos; Tina did not know that.

I said that I didnt think he'd be able to visit us like he had last Sept, in the US. But they said no, that that was different, that he could visit us and travel, that then he is a private person, when he is out of the country. That it isn't like the Ooni, who always has to have an entourage with him. But that when he is here in the country, he can't just do whatever he wants, he's no longer free.

They also said that they didnt see how someone who was so active as he is could just sit in one place. That they are sure he will be bored very quickly, that he will find the village "very boring" as Tina put it. I asked her if she finds Ijebu-jesa boring, and she said yes, that that is why she is always going to Benin and Warri, that it's very hard to stay here.

Nike and I also talked a bit, separately, about the bank, and she said that it makes a difference when Olashore is there, and now that he hasnt been there for a while, it's not clear where things are going. That his son is too young, and also not as direct as he is, so that you dont really know where you stand with him.

At another point (not when the others were around) I asked Tina about the new wife. She said that's been a long time -- ie that he married her a long time ago, but that was really all she said. She didnt make any comment about her.

At another time, Mr. Fatiregun was talking with his wife about going to see Olashore, and he said that it was just the usual thing, that he was sitting there saying "ase" "pele o" and waving his fly whisk.

It was pretty clear from these conversations that people have their doubts about Olashore becoming oba. And also that they don't expect him to be a full-time oba, despite the fact that he keeps telling people that he is now here (ie in Iloko).

fnmr9711

Sat April 5 1997, brief stop at night party following coronation

I went to the meeting of the women's forum (see fnmr9712) and on the way back through Iloko at about midnite, decided to stop off at the school to see what was happening with the party. To our surprise, there was no music. There were lots of people sitting around at tables on the field (the same area where the morning's ceremonies were held) but no dancing and no music. I decided not to stay, and was about to leave, when I saw Kemi, Olashore's secretary. (I had seen her earlier in the day, briefly, and had said I would talk with her).

She saw me and stopped me, and we talked for a few minutes about her plans vis a vis travel to US. Then I said something about the musci, and she said that the performers were supposed to be there by 8 PM, and that she wondered what had happened.

We then talked a little about her job and she said that she has been very busy the last few months, chasing back and forth between Lagos and Iloko, that she has been trying to help set up the chairman's (Olashore's) office. She said that there is a computer there now, but that until there is phone and fax, she'll probably still be doing a lot in Lagos. I asked where she expects to be working, and she said probably here in Iloko, for the most part, that once the office is set up, she will be here more than in Lagos.

fnmr9712

Saturday April 5 1997 evening meeting of women's group in Iloko

In the afternoon when I saw Mrs Omoniyi at the palace, she told me that there would be a meeting of an Iloko women's group at the palace that evening, starting between 8 and 9 PM. She invited me to join them. I got to the palace at about 8:30, and saw a few men and women sitting around in the open courtyard in front of the palace. When I went over to them, I saw that Mrs. Omoniyi wasn't there, and when I asked those who were there about her they said she was at her house. When I asked about a meeting, they said no, there wasnt any meeting planned for then. I checked the location of her house (I'd never been there but was pretty sure it was across the street from the Muslim Comercial high school, and that was correct). We went there, and she said that she was just about to go to the meeting. We went in, greeted her husband, who looked pretty tired and was just sitting there relaxing, and waited a few minutes while she got ready to go. Two grandchildren (small boys about 2 and 4 years old) were around, and also their daughter, the mother of the children. A couple of younger women also went with us to the palace, altho I didnt actually see them later at the meeting. Mrs. Omoniyi went with me in my car, while the others went in her car (a mercedes).

While at the house, I gave MRs. Omoniyi the book on fruit and vegetable processing that I had brought with me.

When we got back to the palace, Mrs. Omoniyi spoke to the few people who were there and reminded them that there was a meeting. I took a seat while she mobilized a couple of people to clean off two long tables that were off to one side; they brought them out into the center of the courtyard, and put metal chairs around, so that there was a good size table to sit around, with enough seats for about 25 people. There still werent many people there, so Mrs. Omoniyi told me that she was going to go check on some of them; first she suggested that I wait there, but then said to go with her, which I did. We went down the street, to the other side of the roundabout, and stopped at one house about halfway down that street (toward the health clinic). We picked up one woman there, then as we went back out on the street, we met several more wome who said they had been there (to the palace) and since no one was there they were heading back home. They joined us. We then stopped at one other house, where Mrs. Omoniyi introduced me to an elderly man, and a woman with him, and emphasized that the man was someone who had done a lot for the education of people in the community, that he is their "father" of all the educated people.

We then went back to the palace, and more women were rounded up. Eventually, there were about 25 (maybe up to 30) women there. Mrs. Omoniyi asked me to sit on one of three upholstered chairs at the end of the table; she sat at another one, and a third woman sat in between us. This woman seemed to be very much involved in getting the meeting underway, and it occurred to me that she might be the woman Paulina had told me about last year, Mrs. Faoye, who is involved in the ngo that Paulina has established. I checked with Mrs. Omoniyi and learned that I was correct, so when she came back to sit down, I introduced myself; she had heard about me from Paulina, and told me that Paulina should have been

here this weekend but she is traveing soon. She gve me her card: Mrs. Grace A. Faoye, Association of Development options in Nigeria (ADON),16 Rotimi Williams Ave, Old Bodija, Ibadan, tel 02 8104690.

The meeting fin ally got started at about 10 PM. It started off with songs -- basicaly religious (Christian) songs; they sang several of these very enthusiastcally, and at one point called on me to lead one, which I did not do, so someone else did it for me. Then they called on a woman who is also a minister to say a prayer, which she did -- a long one. Mrs. Omoniyi introduced me, and explained to me that they usually use Yoruba for their meetings. In introducing me, she said that I was here this weekend as the guest of kabiyesi, and explained that I had been spending time there. Mrs. Faoye followed up with a further introduction, mentioning my connection with Paulina, and saying that perhaps I will be able to help or advise them. She also said that perhaps I will become the olori and will stay with them, at which everone laughed. I spoke briefly and said I was interested in learning about the things they are doing.

Mrs. Omoniyi also announced that the group is the Iloko Women's Forum, and that women born in Iloko or married in Iloko (to men from Iloko) are members. (Later I tried to find out if all women are eligble to join, but didnt really get an answer; my impression is that it's basically educataed women, many of them resident outside).

After the prayers and singing, there were reports of the activities of the zonal groups -- apprently the organization is divided up by the place of residence of the members. There were reports from people from Abeokuta, Oshogbo, Ibadan, Lagos, and Iloko itself. Most of the reports seemed to be about efforts relating to the coronation and to raising funds. Some were very short, others, such as that from Lagos, given by Mrs. Omoniyi, were quite long. Mrs. Omoniyi described how they had had "rosettes" made (the badges being sold at the coronation) and were selling thm. They also had stickers made, in two sizes, one about 3x5, the other about 4x8 -- these are like bumper stickers. They announced that each zone should take a certain number, and sell them; the stickers also commemorate the coronation.

The reports went on for a long time, even tho there didnt seem to be that much content to them. Children were playing around in the background, and there were still some other people, including several men, sitting off to one side drinking beer. Two large metal pots had appeared in the middle of the table early in the meeting (I did not see who brought them or where they came from). After a while one of the women got a tray and put some of the doughnut type snacks from one pot on it, and took it around to the children, but did not pass them to the women at the meeting. Later on, toward the end of the meeting, the snacks were passed around to those around the table, and then more were divided up and put in plastic bags for people to take home; they gave me two of these bags, which I gave to Bodunde and Femi. The other metal pot had soft drinks which were also passed around at the end, and there were even straws to drink them with.

Towards the end of the meeting, things began to get rather disorganized. Some well-dressed women arrived, looking more like they were on th way to the party than to a meeting. Some of the women at the meeting began talking with one of these women, and then they began to

sell some of the stickers to her and others. AT the same time, Mrs. Omoniyi and Mrs. Faoye announced that the women should do self-introductions, and they started going around the table. This process kept getting interrupted, and Mrs. Omoniyi and Mrs. Faoye began to tell people to stop selling the stickers and pay attention to the introductions. Mrs. Faoye, in particular, seemed quite upset by the disorganization, and commented to me about how she doesnt like things to be like this. Eventually all the women did introduce themselves. Most told their names, where they live and the kind of work they do. I couldnt hear a lot of this, as they spoke quietly and there were all the side conversations going on. But it seemed that most were resident outside Iloko, especially in Lagos (and in fact, at one point, they all identified themselves in terms of the zonal group they belong to, by raising hands, and the largest group was Lagos.) Jobs included women in business and civil servants; for example one woman at the end told me that she works in a govt office in Lagos.

While the introductions were going on, a woman came over to me and told me that she is involved with the gari processing project, and that she hopes I can help them. I said that I would like to visit the project, and she said that when Prof Ransome-Kuti visited Iloko, he came to see them. She is a teacher at the primary school in Iloko, and she wrote down her name for me:Mrs. D.A. Adejola, President, Omodunni Gari Processing Complex, Iloko-Ijesa. I said that I would come to see the project either this coming week or when I come back in June.

The meeting finally broke up at midnite. Mrs. Omoniyi and Mrs Faoye were still discussing things, so they asked another woman to escort me across the street to my car; I said that I would see them at the church the next morning (I did see Mrs. Omoniyi but not Mrs. Faoye). Also on Sunday, quite a few women greeted me and I think some of them were people who had seen me at the meeitng.

fnmr9713

April 6 1997, Sina Peters no-show at coronation party

Nike Afolabi came to Fatiregun's house a little after 7AM on Sunday morning. She and her friend from First Bank were on their way back to Lagos. She told us about their experiences the nighte before, when their car and driver went off withe someone from the bank, in search of Dr. Adigun to get his help with accomodatin for them, and didnt return til 1:30 AM. They ended up staying the night in a teacher's house.

They also told us that Sina Peters, the musician who was supposed to perform had never shown up the previous nite. And that when the members of his band started packing up ther intruments, the instruments were impounded.

They discussed the problem of music, and said that what they should have done was to have one band in the afternoon and another at nite; then if the second didnt show the first would stay on. They also agreed that it would have been better to have had a band there in the afternoon, as it was somewhat "dull" then.

Nike said that she understood that Peters had begged to have this job, and that h had been paid in advance. The assumption was that he went to another job, and stayed rather than coming to Olashore's. All agreed that it was very bad that he hadnt shown up, and that there had been no music. They also said that there were a lot of rich men's children there, and that this will affect Peters reputation; that he gets these jobs because he gets close to the children of rich men.

Later, during the church service, Olashore's driver talked with Bodunde and told him that Peters had come to beg in the morning, saying he had had an accident. Olashore's children wanted to do something to punish him, but that Kabiyesi (Olashore) had said to let him go.

fnmr9714

Sunday April 6 1997, church service in Iloko

The Thanksgiving Service for Olashore's coronation was scheduled to begin at 10 AM. I left Fatiregun's house a little after 9:30 (I thought that the Fatireguns were also going, and they seemed all ready to leave, but in the end they never showed up). When we got to the Methodist Church in Iloko, which is just a little past the palace, there were just a few people beginning to arrive. The church is a relatively small building, with wooden benches for pews, but it has electric fans overhead which were working throughout the service. There was also additional chairs set up outside the church, covered with a canopy. Some of those who arrived early just took seats outside; these seemed to be mainly townspeople. We took seats towards the back on the left hand side.

Just before 10 AM, Olashore's son Bimbo and his wife and a couple of his other children arrived and took seats in the front, but there was no sign of Olashore himself. Nevertheless, the service began as scheduled at 10, at which point the church was about half full. Several other obas arrived and were seated towards the front. The service began with regular prayers and hymns; this first part was in Yoruba. Olashore and the olori arrived at 10:30; he had on a white agbada, and the olori was also in white, with a sort of unusual headgear, a white cloth cap sort of resembling a European type crown. Other people arrived still later, including some who came as late as 1 PM. I saw Prof. Odeyemi arrive around 1, and also some obas. The service ended at 2.

After Olashore got there, things seemed to get more lively. There was a first collection, where everyone went up and made donations, starting with those sitting outside. It was during this procession that Olashore's driver told Bodunde what had happened with Sina Peters. Then there was a fairly lenghty sermon, given in English, so that (according to the person giving it) guests from elsewhere would be able to understand it. We should have it all on videotape. What struck me most was the emphasis on the religious nature of the obaship, seeming to make it in to a Christian thing, connecting biblical things with being oba.

After the sermon, three choirs performed -- one from the Methodist church, one from the Apostolic Church in Ijebu-jesa and one from the Anglican church in Ijebu-jesa. Each one seeemd to sing a song that focused specifically on Olashore; they seemed to have been written for the occasion. As the choir sang, people again went up to the front to make donations; on each occasion, this was started off by Mr. Omoniyi and most people went up to donate.

Then the minister announced the Oba Oladele Olashore was giving the church N500,000 to build a new church. A letter from Olashore, in English, was read, which explained that he was giving this "token donation" to start the building, and that there would be further donations, conditional on the people themselves contributing to the building of the new church. These should be both from those who are methodists and from others from Iloko, regardless of religion. By a year from now, they should have gotten to a certain point with the building -- it should be ready for roofing -- and then he would make another contribution.

And when it is ready for furnishing he will help furnish it.

Then Olashore and olori went forward for prayers to be said over them, and then the other members of the family. His first wife was not there so far as I could tell (I went up to the front to take some pictures.) Those sitting in the front included Olashore, the olori, Bimbo and his wife, the other sons; there was also another young woman on the other side of him, who I think is his daughter. Then there were further contributions, with members of the family first being called forward (this seemed to be a large number of people, presumably extended family), then his friends, then everyone else. I went up during the call for friends to come forward, but this looked like a fairly small group -- ie his close friends, like Akinola, and Dr. Adigun. The contributions being made at this point were also relatively small --there were 50 and 20 Naira bills, but not that many.

It was 2 PM when the service ended. I was able to take some photos as Olashore and other obas left the church, and then took some more outside. I saw Mrs. Omoniyi with several other women and took their photo; Prof. Odeyemi appeared at the same time and I invited him to join them; he made a comment about my being a researcher and that there was a reason why I was taking the picture, but then did join the group for a second photo.

A woman in a Volvo car was leaving the church and saw me and asked if I needed a ride; I said no, and then she askd if I was going to the palace to greet the oba. I said I would, but in fact did not. (I think she may have been the same woman who I spoke to inthe palace the day before who told me she lives in NY).

I spoke with Mrs. Omoniyi about her invitation to have lunch with them, and we agreed that I would come to the house right away and have lunch quickly before returning to Ife.

fnmr9715

Sunday April 6 1997, lunch at Omoniyi house, Iloko

I went directly to Omoniyi house after the church service; I was still somewhat hesitant about whether we should stay, but Mrs. Omoniyi said that they had already started preparing food, and that that was why she had come back to the house right away. She was busy in the kitchen, along with a younger woman. Later another woman joined us at lunch; she was introduced by Mrs. Omoniyi as "my wife, Mrs. Omoniyi" -- presumably an in-law. The two grandchildren who had been there the previous nite were also around, and she called on them to get the radio going. (which the older of the two did).

Soon after I got there, Mr. Omoniyi arrived, and soon after him, two other men came. They first sat in another part of the room, but then one of them came over to talk with Omoniyi, sitting near me, while the other, older man sat and relaxed and had a beer. Omoniyi offered me non-alcoholic or regular wine, I took the non-alcoholic, and he had some too. (imported from Spain). Omoniyi and the other man were discussing money and Omoniyi went in and brought out an envelope with cash, which the other man counted; Omoniyi was also telling him how much various people had paid, and the man was writing the information down.

During this time, a young girl was sweeping and then washing the kitchen- dining room floor. Later Mrs. Omoniyi said that they had had a lot of people staying there who had left this morning, and there hadnt been time to do anything since then. After 30-40 minutes, she invited me to come eat lunch; she also invited Femi and Bodunde in to eat. She joined me, and the two grandchildren also ate; it was all pretty casual. She explained to the others that she wanted to make pounded yam for me, but that I had to leave to go back to Ife. I think they were still preparing pounded yam for others. She and her sister-in-law and her husband began discussing something about people buying cloth. She then explained to me that they had bought more of the special coronation cloth than they had sold, and that they were now going to make it compulsory for people to buy it. It costs N1000 for a piece. They still have 50 bales; each bale has 6 pieces, meaning they need to sell 300 still. During the discussion, the old man who had been drinking beer and not saying much began to talk, and the two women, who were still in the dining area signalled to each other that they should listen to what he had to say. My impression was that he was telling them that people might not have the money for the cloth.

Since I had finished eating by this time and since it was about to rain, I left them in the midst of this discussion. AS I was leaving Mrs. Omoniyi said she would go thru the book I gave her, and that she also wants me to help her get information on water purification.

fnmr9716

Monday April 7 1997, discussion with Segun Adeku and Folarin re obas

Segun Adeku, the artist, came to see me Monday afternoon. As he was leaving, we began talking about the coronation. He asked me, why does someone like Olashore, who has made it in business, etc., want to become an oba? He said that he really couldnt understand why he would want to go back and live in a small town like Iloko. Folarin joined the conversation saying that his brother has taken the chieftaincy title that was held by his father, but that he himself has not interest in becoming a chief.

We did not reach any answer, but I was interested in the fact that people like Segun are asking this question.

fnmr9717

Tuesday April 8 1997, conversation with Ifaturoti re coronation

On Tuesday morning I went first to Iloko and saw Olashore briefly (see fnmr9718); he said to come back at lunchtime, so I went to see Ifaturoti. He had a visitor -- Mr. Fadahunsi, a man about the same age as him. He was surprised that we had never met before, as he said that he is his close friend, like his brother. When I asked which Fadahunsi, he said that this man's father and the late governor were brothers.

We immediately started discussing the coronation, and that was the main subject for the whole time I was there. Ifaturoti had clearly heard all about it from Tinu, and had seen the printed program, with the history of Iloko that it gives. His first comment was that there has never been anything like it before and there won't ever be anything like it again in Iloko. He then went on to talk about the history, saying that the whole thing is built on "a tissue of lies" and nothing good can come out of something built on lies. He said that the history they are now giving of Iloko is completely wrong and made up, that they are trying to make it seem like Iloko is separate from Ilesa when in fact it has always been part of Ilesa.

Ifaturoti and Fadahunsi agreed that there used to be a loja in Iloko, ie someone appointed as chief by the Owa. I asked about the title Aloko, and they said that there was also an aloko but that the loja was over the aloko. I asked how long ago this was, and they said that the last loja had died sometime in the 1960's (ie during time Olashore's father was oba), that Agunlejika, being a man of peace, had not bothered when loja was not replaced.

Both of them emphasized that all the towns, whether in Ijesa North or Ijesa South are "part of Ilesa"; we are all one, according to Fadahunsi. Ifaturoti said that Fadahunsi is key person in Atakumosa, the head of the landlords for Atakumosa and that led Fadahunsi to say that a boundary dispute between Atakumosa and Ondo has been resolved in Atakumosa favor, which had the "weight of the evidence". He also explained the new local governments for me -- Atakumosa East, with headquarters in Iperindo, and Ilesa has been divided into Ilesa East and Westn(along Ife Rd/Oshogbo Rd).

When I tried to suggest that there are different versions of history, they pretty much rejected that idea, and Ifaturoti said that "there are facts" such as who the chief was at different times.

At the same time that Ifaturoti was criticizing the version of history being presented by Olashore, he also told me that the ISG is going to have an issue of their newsletter featuring Olashore.

He also discussed why someone wants to become oba, again emphsizing that this is not something he would want to do, that he would never want to be owa. He and Fadahunsi discussed the fact that someone like Olashore can help his town, and Ifaturoti said that the best thing he has done is the school. But Fadahunsi said yes, but that doesnt really help people in the town. Kunle responded that it does, some are employed there, and Fadahunsi said just at the lowest levels. He said that it's mostly for children of people who are overseas

and I said I thought most were here in Nigeria. Ifaturoti then mentioned some of those he knows whose children are there, such as Kofo Ajanaku's children.

Fadahunsi talked about Olashore's money and where it came from, basically asking where someone who worked in government had gotten so much money and implying that it was obtained wrongly. Fadahunsi's comments were about as directly critical as I have ever heard of Olashore (tho a bit like comments that Lamikanra made a couple of years ago).

Ifaturoti said that the best thing about the coronation was what did not take place -- that there was a durbar planned and that they were planning to bring 100 horses to Iloko. He said that he's sure there has never been a horse in Iloko, that while some people in Ilesa used to keep horses, he's sure there's never been horses in Iloko. They were planning to bring them from the Polo Club in Lagos, and as late as Thursday before were still planning to bring them. Then the number was reduced to 50 and in the end they didnt have the durbar at all, which Ifaturoti thought was a very good thing. He didnt know why the plans changed, just thought that maybe someone had realized this wasnt a good idea.

We also talked a little about the new oba in Ijebu-jesa, and they said that he did his installation in a less grand way. Ifaturoti told me about the controversy over his title. He said that the man decided he didnt want to be called ogboni, but rather a new title -- Egboro. But he didnt get approval for this new title, and then the government refused to carry out the official part of the installation. Finally they said they would do it, if he continued to be called ogboni and went thru correct procedure later to try to change it. He did that, so he was installed as ogboni. They also referred to the man, in what seemed to be somewhat derogatory terms, implying that they hadnt known much about him, hadnt done much, he was just a lawyer in Ibadan.

Ifaturoti also said that in fact the government shouldnt be involved in the procedures at all, that these positions have nothing to do with government.

Ifaturoti also said that he had written an article in the Monitor (a newspaper) recently, dealing with relations of Owa and chiefs.

While we were talking, and when I was about to leave, a man arrived with a basket; it turned out that he was sent by Lawrence Omole, with a basket of hot akara, to commemorate the death of his mother, which took place about 40 years ago. We ate some of the akara.

Then we left, to go back to see Olashore; when I said that that was where we were going, Ifaturoti said to tell him that he would come to greet him as soon as he was able to get someone to go with him, and said that maybe Fadahunsi would accompany him. When I told this to Olashore a few minutes later, he asked why he had to wait for someone to go with him, and I explained about Ifaturoti's stroke, which Olashore had not heard about. He then said that Ifaturoti had written an article, having to do with Owa, and that Olashore did not like the article, that it had put him off Ifaturoti, whereas he used to respect him a lot. But then he said that he would go see Ifaturoti. (I assume the article is the same one Ifaturoti told me about).

fnmr9718

Tuesday April 8 1997, visit with Oba Oladele Olashore, Iloko

Before the coronation, I had asked Olashore when would be a good time this week to see him. He said that he would be going to the Osun State Council of Chiefs meeting on Monday, so we agreed that I would come on Tuesday and that I would borrow the videotapes then. I got to Iloko a little after 11 AM, and stopped at the palace, but the people there said that he hadnt come there yet, so I went to the house. The olori was outside chatting with two women who were leaving, and then she greeted me and asked "from where" -- she seemed not to remember me from the previous week. I told her my name, and she brought me in to the reception room. Three women were sitting on one side, and a couple of other people were also there; they looked like they had been waiting there a while. I began to think I was going to have trouble getting in, especially when several other people came in and went thru the reception room on in to the large room where Olashore has been meeting with people. But then after a few minutes Olashore appeared and told the people waiting that he was on his way to the palace and that they should go see him there, and asked me to come in for a few minutes.

I then went in to the large room and took a seat. The three people -- two men and a woman -- who had preceded me were reporting on something to Olashore. When I came in, they seemed to be telling him that they had gone to see the Owa on Olashore's behalf. One man was doing the talking. He said that they had discussed various things with the Owa, but then he hesitated as if he didnt know if he should tell him what Owa said. After a couple of urgings from Olashore, the man said that Owa had said that he had been misunderstood (apparenlty in reference to his saying that Olashore is too big for Iloko and should be Ajagbusi Ekun of all of Ijesaland.) Owa said that what he meant is that Olashore is too big for Iloko and that he should be assisting all of Ijesaland. In other words, he was not conferring a new title on him, (tho the man reporting this didnt spell this out) and he also said that there can be only one Owa Obokun. Olashore just kind of responded with a smile and a sort of "well, we'll see..."

The man then went on to talk about a folder they were developing, apparently for thank you responses for Olashore. It turned out that the man represents a pr firm, and I got the impresiion that the woman with him, who was elegantly dressed and didnt say much, was the owner. He then introduced the second man as an Ilesa-based pr man; Olashore seemed annoyed with this, and told them just to do the job and that he didnt need someone else to work on pr. He also said he just wanted the folder done, so that he can use it for future occasions, not just for thank you letters from the coronation. The man representing the pr company asked about a photo, and he said no, there wouldnt be any photo. He then went off to get a sample of somthing done by someone else, and while he was gone, the three discussed among themselves, saying that you would think he would want to have a picture sent out with the thank you letter. They also talked about replies to all the newspaper ads, and mentioned this to Olashore when he returned. He said he would wait some time before doing that, it would probably be in May. He also said that he's not in any rush with all this, that he waited a year after deciding to become oba before actually having the ceremony, so

he's not in any hurry.

The three left, and then one of the photographers from the other day asked for money from his photographs; Olashore told hm to first bring the photos.

Then Olashore said that he better go to the palace, and said I should follow him there, which I did. People were waiting there to see him, and after we got there I reminded him about the videos. He said that they were at the house, so we agreed that I should go off and do other things and then return around 2 PM for lunch; it was about 2:30 when I actually got back. I found him still in the palace, but just stayed there a litle while before we went to the house for lunch. (While at the palace I told him about the conversation with Ifaturoti about seeing him -- see fnmr9717).

When we got back to the house, we sat down in the large room and I was offered a drink. Olashore began asking me what I thought of the coronation; it was a bit hard at first to ask him questions, as he seemed to be the one asking the questions. After a while I asked if the process had been what he expected. He said yes, that he had learned a lot about traditions and about Iloko history, that when he was forced to stay in the chief's house for 3 weeks (pointing out that traditionally this was for a period of 3 months) the chiefs instructed him about things he's supposed to do. He said something about maybe we learn faster now than they used to; also said that the chief instructing him didnt know that much more than he did, as the chief is a relatively young man. He also talkd about parts that he thought were particularly impressive, referring especially to the anointing service. He said that this is a biblical thing, not traditional, and that they had poured a whole bottle of oil on him and he was blinded -- he had not expected that. He also said that there was a very impressive candlelight procession when he was installed in the first chieftaincy position, which he took first, before becoming oba (I think that was done the same day as the anointing service; unfortunately it's not on the videotapes he lent me).

He also said that they didnt do a lot of the traditional things in the installation process (ie, things connected with traditional religion). That this was done out of considertion for him (presumably his Christianity).

While we were talking, the chief whose house he stayed in, the odofin, came in, and he introduced him to me. The man said that Olashore stayed in his house for 3 weeks; the house is on the Ijeda Road,he said. Then we went in to eat -- me, Olashore, the odofin, and Akin, the man who seems to be general assistant to Olashore both around house and palace (I think he is also a chief; one day he was wearing chief's beads). During lunch, very little was said; the other two men didnt talk at all, and I was waiting for Olashore to begin speaking before doing so myself (Note: he did eat with us). Eventually we started talking about the proposal I wrote last fall, (the USIA one that wasnt funded) and I also mentioned my effort with Ford funding. He told me that the Kenyan woman at Ford has left there.

He told me a little about the health project and the visit to Iloko by Prof Ransome-Kuti. When he started talking about it, he said that I should probably meet the people involved, in connection with my research. I then told him about attending the Womens Forum meeting

Sat night so then he said that I'm already part of it. He said that the Ransome-Kuti visit had come about as a result of an ngo based in Ibadan, headed by a woman named Dr. Dare, who is from Ilesa. He didnt seem to know why they had picked Iloko, but said that Dr. Dare had been so impressed with the things they were doing in Iloko, with the things that the community had already done, especially since the people here are not rich. He enumerated some of these things -- the gari processing; a weaving center; the electricity, mentioning that they still pay for there street lights,; and now the new church. He said Rasome-Kuti was so impressed. From what I gather, the ngo and Ransome-Kuti were visitng with a view to establishing a project in Iloko; so far as I know there is no actual project yet. (Olashore gave me a video on this along with the ones on his installation). The ngo is something like Chistead ?? --it is not the one Paulina is associated with.

After lunch, we sat back in the large room. Almost immediately a man in very casual dress (blue jeans and blue shirt and sandals) and his wife came in. They turned out to be Gen (Major General?) Jemebiwon and his wife. After they left Olashore said he had been first military governor of Oyo State, is retired from the military and now is a lawyer. (He looked pretty young, but must be about same age as Olashore or a little younger -- late fifties I suppose). He went to same secondary school as Olashore -- Offa Grammar School -- and both are active in the old boys association (Olashore has been president and it sounds like he is getting Jemebiwon to succeed him). They reminisced about the school for a few minutes, but Jemebiwon didnt stay long, just had a beer.

Jemebiwon asked about the olori, and Olashore said that she had traveled to Lagos that morning.

After Jemebiwon left (the chief and Akin were still there), I asked Olashore a little more about being oba. Snce we had been talking about development, I asked if he saw development as he main function of being oba. His response: "That is it". Then he said, that, and shuttle diplomacy between the warring obas.

I asked if he's really going to stay in Iloko, and he said he would be visiting Lagos -- the way he used to visit Iloko, now he will go in the reverse direction. (didnt say how long or how frequent the visits would be. I asked about the bank, and he said that he hasnt been that active in the bank for a long time, that it runs itself, but then added that his presence in the building makes a difference.

I said something about people's views about his becoming oba, and he responded that the expectations people have of him are too high -- but didnt say anything more about what he thinks those expectatiaons are.

Then he went to get the videotapes for me to borrow, going to find them himself. He lent me four -- one of the anointing service, one of the move to the palace, and two frm the Ransome-Kuti visit. We discussed when I would return them, and I said I'd get them back either Thurs or Friday. He said to ge them to him by Friday, because on Saturday he'llbe traveling to Ibadan, that Justice Eso is having a party for Justice Ilori. I said that I planned to be there too (in the end, we got delayed with car problems Fri-Sat and I never got tohe

party).

fnmr9719

Tuesday April 8 1997 conversation with Olaniyan on obas

In talking about Olashore's coronation, Richard Olaniyan commented on the new trend for people like Olashore to become obas. His view is that the obas are becoming more relevant now than they used to be. But also that they are being used by the military. He also talked about the article in the newspaper that focused on the comments made by the Owa and the Ooni, and the underlying sarcasm in those comments. This led to talking about the different views of the history of Ijesa towns, and relationship to Ilesa and to Ife. He said that his friend Rasco, who is oba of another small town that lies between Oshogbo and Ilesa, has found material that supports the view that some of these towns, including his own, were founded prior to Ilesa, and that their obas are independent of the owa. In fact Rasco's town is Ilowa, which is supposed to mean "owner of owa". Apparently there is now a book out in English that has the histories of all the different Ijesa towns; Richard has promised to check into getting hold of it. There is also the book written by the Owa himself, which I have never seen, and which Richard also mentioned.

Richard mentioned a number of other people who are highly educated who have taken oba titles, including some with Ph.D's and former lecturers. He seems to view this as a good thing.

fnmr9720

Wednesday April 9 1997 conversation with Bisi Aina and Odebiyi on obas

I went on campus on Wednesday morning and stopped to see people in the department. I was in talking with Mrs. Odebiyi when Bisi Aina stopped by; she immediately asked if I was here for the coronation, and that led to talk about the event and about people taking titles more generally. Both of them seemed to have the view that taking titles is strange thing for someone like Olashore to do. They referred to others who have become obas, and how they have quickly realized there isn't much for them to do. Bisi told about someone who is a lecturer and who became an oba, and who now has returned to lecturing, how he comes to campus dressed in his agbada and lectures to his classes; she laughed as she told this story.

Then Mrs. Odebiyi talked about her auntie, Soyinka's first wife, who has taken a chieftaincy title in Abeokuta. She said that she really seem to enjoy it, goes around letting people know that she is a chief; Mrs. Odebiyi said that she (Odebiyi) really doesnt understand why this is such an important thing to her aunt, but that it is.
'

They also referred to Akinola (Akin), saying in an approving way that he had turned down a chieftaincy title when it was offered to him by the Ooni. It was clear from the whole tenor of the discussion that they don't understand why taking titles has become such a big thing and that they think it is kind of funny, even a bit ridiculous for someone who has done well in other areas to then want to become an oba or a chief.

fnmr9721

Thursday April 10 1997 converstation with Tina Fatiregun re coronation

I stopped at the College of Education to see Tina and to thank her for the weekend. We chatted briefly. She explained why she and her husband hadn't been at the Thanksgiving SErvice at the church; they had left to go there, then she remembered something she wanted to give me (her cv) and asked to go back, and her husband said that if they went back he didnt want to start out again. So they didnt atend. She said that she is waiting til kabiyesi (OLashore) asks her husband why he wasnt there, that after all he is his relative not hers, and that people dont even know her unles she is with her husband.

We also talked about what happened with the entertainment Saturday night and she said that they had run out of food; that that was the problem of the caterer, because she said that they (Olashore) had spent "millions" on food for the event.

fnmr9722

Friday April 12 visit to Olashore in Iloko

I went to Iloko with Folarin and a couple who are friends of his, en route to the wakekeeping for Arigbede's father; I had to return the videotapes I had borrowed.

We stopped at the palace first, but Olashore was not there, so we went to the house, where we were askd to sit in the outer reception room, which has bamboo frame chairs and seems more casual than the other room. There was a large flower arrangement on the table in the center of the room, and there is a little art in the room, including a wood sculpture and a portrait of Olashore, both of which Folarin took a close look at while we waited. The only other person there was the professional photographer from Oshogbo, who followed us in.

Olashore joined us after about 15 minutes, and we sat and talked in that room. He seemed quite relaxed and casual, and after receiving greetings and congratulations from Folarin and his friends, he commented that he was glad that it was over and that all had gone well. Folarin mentioned having heard that Sina Peters hadnt shown up, and that led Olashore to tell us the story of how his son first wanted a party on Friday night, before the coronation, and that they planned to hire Sunny Ade. But he had said no they couldnt have a party the night before, and that if Sunny Ade wasnt available for Saturday nite, they should get someone else. So they ended up with Sina Peters. But years ago Olashore had had a similar expereince with Sina Peters where he hadnt showed up for someting planned in Ijebu-jesa, so he apparently wasnt too surprised, and didnt seem to be too upset. He said that his children wanted to do something to Peters for not showing up, but that he didnt see the point in it. That anyway there were all these people there wanting to spend money, and he had missed out on that -- plus it will damage his (Peters) reputation.

Olashore also talked about Diya (Chief of General Staff) coming to the coronation and said that he would have been just as happy if he had just sent a representative instead of coming himself. He said that they made them change the schedule, and then in the end he showed up at 12 anyway. Also that there was too much security as a result. And that they had to change the program because Diya had to leave to get to Lagos for the soccer game. So they had skipped the homage from traditional groups, that townspeople were all ready for, and that the townspeople hadnt been very happy about that. (He mentioned tho that I would have seen some of that on the videotapes).

We also talked about the videotapes, and he thought that there was another one that he had forgotten to give me, and later went to get it, but it seems to be the same as one he had already given me. This led to talking about the visit paid by Prof. Koye Ransome-Kuti, which was in conjunction with an ngo; Olashore said how impressed he was with the things they were doing, especially some of the women's groups such as the gari processing group and the weaving group, and also with the school.

Olashore also told us that he had been in Ife that morning, to see the Ooni.
We left after about half an hour as we still had to get to Ilesa for the wakekeeping.

fnmr9723

Friday April 12 wakekeeping for Arigbede in Ilesa

Folarin and I had planned to go to the wakekeeping, as Seinde Arigbede is a good friend of Folarin, and since Arigbede was Ifaturoti's brother-in-law. After our stop in Iloko to see Olashore, we stopped to get petrol (since there was a short lin at the Sazo station), and then started drvingthru Ilesa. But the car began to give problems, and stalled and wouldnt start. We got a mechanic, who said he could fix the timing if he took it to his shop. So while Folarin waited witht he car, I and the other couple with us took a taxi to Ishokun area for the wakekeeping. (The other couple, also from Ife, hadnt been in Ilesa before and were very impressed with how large it is).

By the time we got to the house it was 7 PM and people were leaving, so we only spent about 10 minutes there, just long enough to greet people. Bisi Aina and her husband were leaving as we arrived; they are freinds with Seinde's sister, who is also at Ife. Then I found Ifaturoti, sitting with Mr. Apara, and then I saw Seinde and explained about the car problem.

Seinde then got his nephew to drive us back across town, where we found Folarin waiting for the mechanic who had gone out for a part. We finally went to Ifaturoti's house at about 8:30 and waited there and saw their daughter, Adebisi, who had come from Lagos for the wakekeeping and the funeral tomorrow. Finally got back to Ife at 10:30 PM.

fnmr9724

Friday April 12 1997 conversation with Onabadejo in Ife

Onabadejo (not sure if I have name right) is lecturer at Ife who does archeology and art history. He stopped by Friday morning to ask me to take a letter to Roslyn Walker. We began to talk about recent events.

In talking about the coronation, he commented that the Ooni had influenced Olashore to accept the position. (Onabadejo knows the Ooni).

We also talked about the size of various places, and problems of not having any census data. I mentioned that at one time the World Bank had said that Akure had a population of 800,000. Onabadejo responded that Ilesa is much larger than Akure and most have a population of 1 million. He also said that Ilesa is larger than Ife or Oshogbo.

fnmr9725

Saturday April 12 - Sunday April 13 conversation with Nike's husband the Commissioner

I went to Lagos Saturday afternoon and stayed with Nike and the commissioner Sat night, then left for the airport from their house Sunday afternoon.

We talked about various things, including the coronation. Nike had wanted to go with me to it, but I didnt know she was back in Oshogbo that weekend. Also, the Commissioner said that the Osun state police commissioner wanted him to go with him, but that he didnt feel like going out to a big event.

We talked about Olashore's decision to become oba, and the commissioner said that he had been influenced by the Ooni in deciding to take the position. He also said that the Ooni and Olashore are close friends, and that they became close when Olashore was Minister of Finance and released the money from the Ife-Ibadan road, since the company that has the contract for that road is owned by the Ooni. He releaed several million Naira immediately, to begin construction (back in 1993) and the Ooni has been very close to him ever since. That Olashore will be visiting Ooni frequently.

When I showed them the picture of me and Olashore, taken after the coronation, the commissioner made a joke about my becoming the olori. We then talked a little about the women who become oloris, and he made the comment that they do it for the money, and then after a while they get tired and they leave, and that that is what usually happens when someone becomes oba, they have a lot of different women as olori. When I said that Olashore's first wife was not there last weekend, he said that she wouldnt be, because she wouldnt be happy about it.

Nike commented that she is sure that Olashore will want to make me a chief soon.

fnjn9701

Thursday May 30 1997, Lagos, conversation with the Commissioner at Nike's.

According to Nike's husband, the Commissioner, there was an article in one of the newspapers about Olashore, about chasing beggars from his palace. According to the commissioner there was an article about people who are coming to the palace every day to ask for money. He has told them ho much he has done for the town, and that he isn't going to be giving them money all the time. There was a story that he met a group of about twenty men from the town, and they were all asking him to give them money. He refused, and now the townpeople are complianing. They say tht he can't drive people away from the palace.

Addendum: since hearing this story at the end of May when I first arrived, I havent heard any more about it. I asked Richard Olaniyan if he had seen the article; he had not. I have not asked Olashore about it but I havent seen any particular evidence of anything like this, but it is possible that he has said something about this. (June 19 1997).

fnjn9702

Wednesday June 4 1997 visit with Olashore in Iloko

I got to Iloko at about 10 AM and went first to the palace, but was told that Olashore wasnt there and the gates were closed. When I got to the house, there were about 8-10 people sitting in the entrance/sitting room, including a minister; Olashore was there, and was surprised to see me. He said I should wait for him in the sitting room. There wasnt anyon else in the sitting room; Bodunde and I read the papers while we waited. After about 20 minutes Olashore joined us, after seeing his other visitors out; then almost immediately the phone rang, and he went to the other room to talk on the phone, and came back after another 10-15 minutes.

He told me right away that his mother had died yesterday, and that he was busy making arrangements for her burial, that the reverend had been there already to see him. After a few minutes his cousin (baba) came in, and he told her about his mother's death.

He also asked almost immediately if I had received his letter (thanking me for attending the coronation), and said how much he appreciated my coming for it, and more generally, his appreciation for all those who came from overseas.

He talked about how busy he has been since the coronaiton, giving a detailed, almost day by day account of all he's been doing. He said that he had his first official visit to Lagos, and called on the oba, who received him very well. Soon after that he went to Abuja for something. Last week he was in Lagos. He said that if I'd called his office on Friday, when I was in lagos, that I would have found him there, preparing a paper for a meeting he was at in Oshogbo on Saturday. Then on Tuesday (yesterday) he was in Ibadan for a meeting of the obas from all of the western states (which was written up in today's newspapers). He was told about it on Saturday when he was in Oshogb, and was told to prepare a paper for it, which he did by Monday; that became the submission of the Osun State obas. The paper was on the role of traditional chiefs in the governance of the country; I asked what his view is, and he said that there is no role. He also said that he would look for a copy of the paper for me, but did not do so.

He should have gone to Abuja today, with the Ooni and someone from Ijebu to represent the obas from his zone at a meeting there for traditional rulers from all over the country. But he didnt go because of his mother's death.

This coming Saturday the wife of the miltary administrator of Osun State is coming to pay anofficial visit. I heard him tell some of his staff that this visit will go on - life goes on, he said. He'll have the military administrator's wife lay the foundation stone for the new market

place, and will involve the townspeople. I asked about attending, and he said yes, to do so, that he thinks it will be about noon on Saturday.

(The market place is now a very large dirt/mud area directly opposite the community hall. There are a few cement blocks in it, and so far nothing else. There's also a large area of cleared land next to the wall of Olashore's compound; Bodunde says he was told that will be a mini-stadium for the school. And across from that, next to the school wall, Bodunde says there's going to be a nursery/primary school (part of the school apparently); I havent heard anything about either of these from Olashore).

Olashore said that next week on Tuesday and Wednesday he has to go to Lagos, for the Institute of Directors meeting (he said that this is organization of top echelon private sector people). He is the incoming President of the Institute, so he will go to Lagos for this nd return to get ready for himother's burial.

Other activities he's been involved with in recent weeks: he hosted the Anglican Synod meeting here, and later went to Lokoja for the Synod meeting there.

On his mother's burial, he said that he would have done it this week Friday but that when he suggested that "they all shouted". So it will be a week from Saturday, in Iloko. The reverend was there this morning to discuss the plans.

This led to talking about age -- of one's parents, and about feeling age. He was surprised when I told him that I'd recently celebrated my 50th birthday. He said that he's doing too much running around; and in fact he looked and sounded tired. In fact after we'd been talking for a while, he dozed off for a few minutes. I left right after that.

He also said that he won't get away til September, but that he hopes to visit the US in September, and asked me to invite him.

fnjn9703
Wednesday June 4 1997, stop to see Mrs. Adejola in Iloko

Mrs. Adejola is the primary school teacher who gave me her name and told me about the gari processing group when I was here in April. I went to the school and found her there, and reminded her that she'd promised to tak me to the site. We went there right away. It's on the Ijeda Road, past the health center, on the right hand side, a little ways off the road. There is a big sign on the road side announcing the Owodunni Gari Procesing Complex, and listing funders including ADON, CEDPA, and US Embassy sef help project.

There was one woman there frying gari. Mrs. Adejola showed us around. She showed us the area where they grind the gari, but said that they take the machine away when not using it, for security. They have a well there, and a place where they leave the gari to ferment, and where there is a press, as well as a shed with several fireplaces for frying gari. A woman was there to buy gari; Mrs. Adejola said that she was from Iree and that yesterday someone from Ife had come there. They sell the gari that they produce.

She said that they get together as a group every second Thursday to grind cassava that they bring from the farm; the next time will be a week from tomorrow, so we said we would come then to see them. She is the President of the Owodunni group. She said the group has about 20 members and that it was first orgnized under the Better Life program of the Babangida period. They started a cooperative farm then, did not have this project. Later, they changed the name from Better Life. The gari processing began last August; they process and sell gari as a group, but the women can also bring their own cassava there to process.

fnjn9704

Wednesday June 4 1997 visit with Ifaturoti in Ilesa

I stopped to see Ifaturotis after leaving Iloko. I brought them Dick' letter and the basketball instructions sent by Jim. Kunle was there playing ayo with a friend when I arrived; Tinu came back a little later. Kunle introduced me to his friend by saying that Ilesa and Ijesaland is her laboratory.

They told me that they are going to Warri tomorrow for about a week, or less, to see their son; the son and wife had a new baby in march but havent been to visit, so they are going to see them.

A grandson and granddaughter were visiting, staying with them; the boy is the son of Adebisi, I'm not sure about the girl. Both are there because their educational instituitons are closed -- Ife, and the polytechnic in Iree.

Kunle said that Tinu is in the process of reorganizing the school, so that it will have a board of governors and others, so that it wont just be run from Rockhaven.

I asked about Dick's comment inthis letter about people's reaction to the amount of money Olashore spent on the coronation. Kunle said that the common sense reaction would be to think that money shouldnt be spent like that. But that is not the common reaction. rather people are proud that they have someone with so much money, who can spend so much money.

I didnt spend too much time there but said I would see them after they get back from Warri.

fnjn9705

Saturday June 7 1997 Iloko following visit of military administrator's wife

We were planning to get to Iloko by noon, but there were problems with Bodunde's car again. We left Ife at 2 PM, and got to Iloko between 2:30 and 3. We went to the palace first, where we were told to go to Olashore's house. I noticed a banner at the roundabout welcoming the military administrators wife -- from the Iloko-Ijesa Women Forum. When we drove in the gate we saw that there were about 10 cars in the lot, and about 20-30 people gathered outside. The first person I recognized was Mr. Omoniyi, who was surprised to see me back again. He said I had missed this morning's ceremony and that the wife of the military administrator was about to leave. He then walked off to see someone else. I stood around the people milling about, trying to figure out what was going on. I saw Mrs. Adejola, he woman from the gari processing center, who greeted me, as well as another woman who recognized me and asked if I had gone away and come back or if I had been here all along.

Then I saw Prof. Odeyemi and walked over to where he was, on the other side of the main entrance of the house. Again, he was surprised to see me, but seemed pleased to see me. He greeted me warmly. Just as we were greeting each other, there was movement at the entrance way, and I saw Olashore standing there, seeing some people off. The wife of the military administrator was leaving -- I didnt actually see her but saw someone get into a Range Rover, and think that was her. Bodunde pointed out the Timi of Ede, who was standing with Olashore and getting ready to leave.

After people had left, I greeted Olashore and explained I had just arrived. Then he invited people outside to come into the house. I spoke briefly with Odeyemi who said he wasnt going in, but then he did, but he left shortly after. I told him I had a photo for him and agreed to bring it to him at his office in Ife Sunday afternoon.

Almost as soon as we had all sat down in the main sitting room, a delegation of people arrived, all apparently chiefs, and I think from Ilesa. There were two women and three men, and they took the remaining seats in the room, while another woman who had been there left. They had come to greet Olashore; possibly to give condolences, but I'm not sure about that. The whole conversation was in Yoruba. (It was the most Yoruba I've ever heard Olashore speak). (Bodunde had stayed outside so didnt have him to translate later on). A lot of the conversation seemed to be Olashore telling them about his recent activities, for example the meeting of obas in Ibadan on Monday, that he had told me about the other day. He also said something about having had a cold, and that they found malaria parasites in his blood (that was in English) and the doctor had treated him. They also talked about the owa, but I couldnt follow that.

AT one point, the youngest of the men said in English "it's an interdependent world" and then proceeded to tell a story in Yoruba which seemed to be about the father of Sani Abacha having been the maiguardi for someone (his own father? not sure about that part). He repeated a couple of times that father of Sani Abacha was maiguardi.

During most of this time I just sat and listened. Then Olashore spoke briefly with me, and said i should stay and have lunch. He told his servants to prepare food, and to bring drinks to everyone there -- three of the chiefs (2 men and 1 woman) had wine -- rather large glasses of it. After drinks the delegation left, but one woman stayed, so she may have come separately. She seemed to be complaining to Olashore about something -- something he hadnt done perhaps, but there conversation was in a friendly, bantering tone. Later at lunch, she sat at the table with me, and told me that I looked like her Italian daughter-in-law ("my wife from Italy") and that she has seen me in Iloko before. She said that she is from Ilesa, and that she is Comfort ____ (Mrs. Davies)-- I did not get the Yoruba name.

Olashore told the visitors that the military administrator's wife was supposed to just be there to greet him, but that he had made it a working visit, and had had her lay a foundation stone for the market. (Today the market area looked very muddy when we drove by; it is a very large area. There is also a big plowed area next to Olashore's compound, which Bodunde said he's heard is for a mini stadium.

While I was in the sitting room, several Iloko chiefs came in, including Olusanya (the former regent), the chief who liv es in Oshogbo, and one other -- they seemed to be saying that they were leaving. They didnt stay long in the room.

After a while i became aware that there were some women in the next room, in the dining room, and one young woman came out to talk briefly with Olashore, and at another point he went there to look for the servants and talked with the women. I couldnt see who was there, but a little later a woman came into the sitting room, and it was Mrs. Faoye, the woman I had met at the meeting of the women in April. She stopped to greet me, and then said she was leaving to go to a big ceremony (funeral) in her husband's place (Ijeda tho she didnt say that), and that she too had car problmes so kabiyesi was giving her a car so she could go. I asked her if she'll be in Ibadan next Wednesday, but she said no, that she has to go to Ondo State. But then she ased if I'll be in Iloko next weekend for Olashore's mother's burial, and she said that there would be a community meeting that afternoon at 5 PM. She also said that it is easier to see her here than in Ibadan. I asked if she was attending a meeting now, and she said yes, on some other community affairs. I went out with Mrs. Faoye, then came back. Meanwhile some other people had arrived and one had taken the seat I had been in, so I sat elsewhere. The Ilesa woman was still there;' the arrivals were two women and a man who were in the midst of a discussion with Olashore about getting old photos from when he was a child; he said he hasnt been able to find them. They also wanted to get footage (video?)

of him exercising; he said that he used to play tennis, but tha they could show him on his treadmill, but now he mainly walks for exercise. They discussed whether this should be done in Lagos or here. I presume they are producing a video about him, and they discussed getting it finished this month. But he said he couldnt set time with them for doing the exercise portion of it, if it was to be done in lagos, until after his mother's burial.

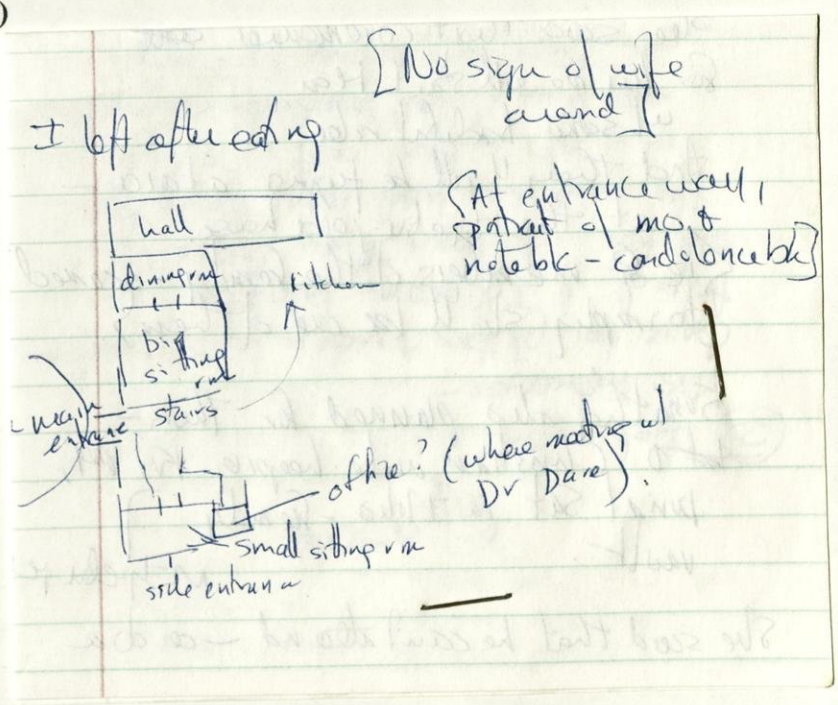
They left, and then a couple of local men came in. Olashore then left the room and didnt come back. After about 15 minutes, I decided it was time to go; the policemen at the door said that he was in another room and I went in, where he was talking to the young woman I'd seen earlier. He introduced us; she is Dr Dare. He said that they were having a meeting and that since she has to go back to Ibadan he wanted to meet with her. They had papers spread out. I think she is from the health ngo (Chestrad) but dont know any more about what they are doing. I was about to leave, when Peter (Olashore's servant) came in and said there was food for me; Olashore said I should eat before leaving, so I went back; they were serving in the large room beyound the dining room, which they call the hall. It's a large room with tables and chairs -- where a banquet could be held. The others who were in the sitting room also came in to eat, including the woman from Ilesa. There were also two women, from Chestrad, in the room sitting at one table but not eating.

I went back to see Olashore briefly after eating. He asked when I'm leaving (NIgeria) and if he'd see me before or after his mother's burial. I said I planned to be around next Thursday; he said he'll be in Lagos Tuesday-Wednesday.

I noticed in the entrance way a large portrait of his mother had been set up on a table, with some flowers, and a notebook for condolences.

There was no sign of Olashore's wife around.

diagram of house-- ground floor (see notebook)



fnjn9706

Saturday June 7 1997, visit with Tina Fatiregun.

After leaving Iloko I made a brief stop to see Tina Fatiregun. I gave her the photos and video from the coronation. She asked if I'd seen kabiyesi and I told her that I had been there on Wednesday. She said she had been there that day too; that she had heard about his mother's death on Tuesday, but he was in Ibadan, so she left school at about 2 and went to see him. She said that th ceremonies for his mother will start on Monday, with some traditionl rites. And that they'll be frying akara all week, at Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa. (that is, the women members of the family; she indicated she would be among them.)

She said that there is also something planned for Thursday and a Crhistian wakekeeping in Ijebu-jesa on Friday, with the burial on Saturday in Iloko, in the family vault. She suggested that I come on Friday and stay with them.

She told me that Olashore cannot attend, because an oba is not allowed to see the corpse of his mother (later I learned that he's not supposed to see any corpse) She said that she feels so sad about it (especially about that part it seemed). She also said that he is the only child of his mother, so that it is all on him. Also that if it were left to him he would have had the burial today (basically the same thing he told me the other day).

Other conversation was general; I didnt stay long as it was getting late.

fnjn9707

Saturday June 7 1997 conversation with Bodunde about things happening in his home area and other issues

On the way back from Iloko, Bodunde started telling me about things that were happening in his home village. He said that juju is being used by old men who are farmers, they kill young men and then have their spirits work on their farms. And that is how these men have bigger farms than others and are getting rich. One young man whose father was doing this saw that every day before they went to the farm his father washed his face with some water. One day he wasnt with his father, so he used the water to wash his own face. And then he could see the spirits, he saw the people who have died working in the fields. He accused them of using juju to kill the young men. Bodunde said that this was reported on a radio program, and that others from the area who he knows, including Suleiman and Fatai (our mechanic, who is from same village as Bodunde's mother) have heard about this too.

He said that this is why his area doesnt develop or progress, because rich people are afraid to go back there. I asked about Nike, he said that she is not going as much as before. I also asked about the man she once introduced me to -- her "brother" who she said has a very nice house there. Bodunde said that some people who are really strong still go there. But it is not like Ijesaland where people come home, and do things in their hometwn.

I asked if he thinks things like this happen in Ijesaland, and he siad that they dont because people there have travelled more and are more educated.

He also said that there was a report on the same radio program that people in Ikire (on way to Ife) are shooting people and using their body parts to go rich.

On the subject of the Oshogbo-Ilesa Road, Bodunde said that some of the drivers who were at Olashore's were talking. One who works for the government said that the Oshogbo people dont want to finish the road because then people will live in Ilesa and commute to Oshogbo. Housing has become very expensive in Oshogbo; in some places its comparable to housing costs in Lagos. According to Bodunde, the first military administrator of the state, Udofia, took lots of money and that nothing has been done to develop the place. They havent finished the secretariat or other projects; the roads in the town are terrible. Bodunde says he would prefer if the state capital were Ife or Ilesa. He thinks the Ilesa people would have done more to develop the city if Ilesa were the capital, that they are reallyi interested in development.

We also talked about the question of whether people resent people like Olashore -- people who spend lots of money. He said that people will make comments, like one of the drivers was looking at Olashore's big mercedes and saying that if he had the money that was spent on that

car he would be able to live for his whole life on it. But Bodunde then said that some people just spend lots of money, and waste it, on musicians and parties for example. But that people like Olashore use their money for things like the school, the house.

We also talked about why people from Oshogbo and Ibadan resent Ijesas. Bodunde thinks it's because Ijesas are more educated, and they had most of the positions in Oyo State before, that the others are jealous of them.

fnjn9709

Sunday June 8 1997, meeting with Prof. Odeyemi

I stopped by Odeyemi's office in Ife, in the microbiology dept, at about 2 PM, to give him the photo taken at the coronation. He was pleased to get it. He commented that I'm always around, when kabiyesi is doing anything -- ie referring to theburial of Olashore's mother. I said that it's a coincidence this time. He told me the program for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, including Apostolic church prayers and service in the Anglican Church -- Olashore's church in Iloko. Odeyemi said he'll be in Iloko for the burial. That Olashore can't attend the burial so the Sunday Thanksgiving service is the one where he will be more active.

Odeyemi commented on the fact that there is lots going on in Iloko. He said that Olashore likes that, he likes to have lots of people around. He said that he (Odeyemi) is not like that, "I'm an academic". He said that even if he had money like that, he wouldnt do the same things. But he said, "he's my friend, and I have to support him."

I left after about five minutes, because Folarin was waiting for me in the car.

fnjn9710

June 10-11 1997, attempts to get Ijesa maps

I went to the Osun state survey office in Oshogbo, and was told they have done no maps of the state, that the only map they have done is a land use map of Oshogbo.

Then I went to the Oyo State survey office in Ibadan, where I met a man named Femi Akintola. He tried to be helpful, but said there has not been any mapping in many years. They have done maps of Ibadan, fun ded by the World Bank, but nothing else. He helped me get the old sheet maps of Ilesa, which are dated 1973, and I bought a number of these as they are more detailed than anything I have, but really wont help with my main problem, the location of the new Ife-Akure Road.

Later I talked with STanley Okafor of UI Geography dept; he suggested trying the federal survey office in Lagos. He also suggested working from a road map, which I had also thought of. I think I will also discuss the problem with John Campbell.

fnjn9711

Thurs June 12 1997 Iloko -- gari processing

We got to Iloko at about 2:30 PM so went first to Olashore's house. There were several mercedes cars, other than his, parked at the house, and one parked by the guest house. No one was around outside, so I went in the side door that goes into the waiting area. A policeman and several other people were there, and they said that kabiyesi was coming, that I should wait. I decided to check in the main entrance way, where there were several more policemen, one of whom I've seen around before; he said that Olashore was upstairs and that I should wait in the entrance waiting room, so I went back there. I decided I would wait half an hour, and then leave even if I hadnt seen him, since we were in Iloko mainly to see the gari processing. The man who seems to act as Olashore's assistant came thru, and said I should wait. After a while, the policeman looked into the room and again said that he was coming. Other people entered: three older women, one of whom seemed to recognize me and greeted me came in and sat down; then a young man (one of Olashore's sons??) came in carrying a little girl and came thru the room and went into the main part of the house, then a well-dressed young woman, probably the wife of the man, came in and greeted me and the older lady seated next to her, and then went on in. I don't think the man was Olashore's son, nor the woman his daughter so I'm not sure who they were, but definitely part of the family. Another little girl opened the door, looked in, saw everyone sitting there, and went out again. I left a few minutes later; I told the policeman that I would come back. As we were leaving, Bodunde told me that Olashore's assistnat had told him that we had come at a bad time, that he was very busy. We looked for the assistnat to tell him that we were leaving, but he wasnt around just then. We didn't come back, because by the time we
finished with the gari processing it was almost 5:30 and looked like it was about to rain.

Later, the next day, I realized that the young woman probably is Olashore's daughter, and that was confirmed by Mrs. Fatiregun, who said that he has two daughters.

We went back into town and down the road to where the gari processing place is. As we got out of the car, Mrs. Adejola appeared in front of her house, and after greeting me she said we should go wait for her at the place, so we went there. At the entrance to the lane that leads to the site there's a big sign announcing the Owodunni gari processing center, and giving sources of funding -- Iloko community, CEDPA, ADON, US Embassy. Another smaller sign is right in front of the shed used for frying gari.

No one was there at that point (shortly after 3), but she seemed to be calling to people that I had arrived, and very soon, a number of women began arriving. They were mostly older women, fifty and up. There was a sizeable pile of already-peeled gari inside the first shed, and soon several of the women began to peel more gari. At the same time, another went to

the well and began to draw water (very simple technology -- a rope and a sack for the water). After a little while about ten women began to wash the peeled gari. In the meantime I began to take photos, and Femi began to videotape. Bodunde asked Mrs. Adejola to explain on the tape what they were doing, and then I asked her to tell us about the group. She said that it began in about 1989 as part of the Better Life program under Babangida. Later they changed the name to Owodunni. They first had a cooperative farm, where they grow maize, cassava and sometimes soybeans. Then last year, they were given machines for gari processing by ADON, and the Iloko community helped with money to build the sheds, so the gari processing project started last year.

She showed us the various stages of the processing -- first peeling, then washing. While we were talking, the machine used for grinding had been brought into the shed and set up. As soon as some cassava was washed, a young boy who was helping started the machine (which operates like a lawnmover) and they began putting the cassava in to grind -- whole tubers are put in one at a time, and they come out in a fairly fine powder. She also showed us where they leave the cassava to ferment, for four days, in bags or baskets, and then it is put under the press to press out the water. Some was in the press, and was removed for sieving and frying. The sieve is a wooden box with a screen, and after the gari is sieved it is taken to the frying area to be fried. A small amount was being friend today by a young woman. She told us that the gari belonged to Mrs. Adejola, but that the stuff being ground today belongs to the group. She also told us that she is not a member of the group, but is a seamstress, has a "fashion design" shop in town, by the roundabout, but brings her own gari here to grind. Appparently she was just helping Mrs. Adejola out today by frying gari for her.

Another woman, a bit younger than most of the group (probably inher forties) was also helping, mainly with the sieving. She told me that the group also has adult education classes and that she is their teacher, teaching them to read and write in Yoruba. They meet for classes twice a week, Tuesday and Friday from 4-5 PM. Not sure if she is actually a member of the society too, or just their teacher. She also told us that she is from Ilesha, but came to Iloko for a teaching job (I think she teaches at the primary school where Mrs. Adejola teaches). Her name is Mrs. Fasegba (I think).

There was a great deal of activity for about an hour and a half, with washing, grinding and then putting into plastic sacks for fermenting, while others were finishing the pressing, sievng and frying of the small amount that had been prepared earlier. According to the teacher, Mrs. Fasegba, anyone who wants to process their own gari there pays to use the machine, and rents the frying area to fry; this includes members of the association as well as others.

By 5 PM it seemed like much of the work had been done, tho there was still some cassava to grind and people were still putting it into the bags for fermenting. But most of the women had stopped, and were talking. The young woman fryin gari told us that they were discussing how

to do the next steps of improving the site -- the fencing I think, tho Bodunde thought they were talking about cemeting more of the area. They were proposing that they should do the work themselves, but one woman said that she didnt have the strength for that and that they should contribute money and hire laborers to do it. In the end they apparnetly decided to do it themselves.

I took some group photos and then since rain was threatening we left. We asked about buyng gari and Mrs. Adejola said that the one they were doing today would be ready next week, and that it costs N30 per bowl. Bodudne had sampled it and had said that it was good gari, so we both said we would buy some next week.

I also told Mrs. Adejola that I would be there for the burial on Saturday and she said she would be too. I said that Mrs. Faoye had told me there would be a meeting Saturday, but she has not heard about that.

I have decided not to attend all the events in connection with Olashore's mother's burial, but just go on Saturday.

fnjn9712

Saturday June 14 1997 burial ceremony of Olashore's mother and meeting of development committee

I decided that I would go to the church service scheduled for 12 at Olashore's church (in his compound) and the plan was not to attend any other service. I ended up also going to the one in the afternoon, at the Apostolic Church in Ijebu-jesa, and in fact, more people went to that one.

Bodunde and I arrived in the vicinity of Iloko at about 11:40. We couldnt turn onto the road from the express road at first; there was another funeral procession coming out that road and essentially blocking the road. Then there was a long line of cars going by in the opposite direction, as well as a number that were turning left to go to Iloko. After about five minutes, we were able to turn, and joined the line of cars heading to Iloko. They were going pretty slowly, especially as we got closer to Olashore's house and the church, where it was pretty much stop and go. Finally I got out of the car, leaving Bodunde to park it, and made my way into the church. It was about 11:50 and nearly all the seats were talken, but some women made room for me. I saw Mrs. Adejola and Mrs. Faoye, and a number of other women greeted me. But I didnt see many people I knew during the service. I did see Justice Eso come in after me, and he went to the front to sit; I never saw him again tho I looked for him later.

There were drummers and others hanging around outside the gates, but none were inside the gates. The gates to the school were closed throughout the day and I didnt see anyone go there. (nor did I see the principal or his wife all day).

The service started at 12 promptly, with people from the undertakers playing music (a band with trumpet, trombone, saxophone), followed by the pallbearers with the coffin and then members of family -- the children primarily, and then others who I assume are also relatives. They all took the remaining empty seats in the front of the church. The church is not very big, and a lot of people were seated outside, along the sides, as well as under a tent in the back. There was a detailed program handed out which included all the prayers and hymns, in both English and Yoruba. Essentially the whole service was given in Yoruba, including the sermon, although some phrases of that were repeated in English. It was an Anglican service.

The sermon included details of her life, and prayers for her and others (there is a biography on the last page of the program that was handed out).

At the end of the church service, everyone went outside, where the burial took place on the side of the church. Most people did not really go to the area where the burial was taking

place, other than family members. In fact, I think a fair number of people left at this time. I loooked for Eso but didnt see him (I wonder if he went to call on Olashore then). I stayed on the side of the church where I could see the burial, but was fairly far back, and mainly looked around to see if I knew anyone there. It was about 1:15 when the service ended and the burial ceremony last about another half hour. Finally I saw Chief Lamikanra and greeted him, and told him I'm planning to come see him; he said Monday would be good day to do so. He told me that there would be another service in Ijebu-jesa at the Apostolic Church, and then a reception back at the house. But said that he was going back to Ilesa.

A woman greeted me who I didnt recognize; it turned out to be Remi Fakeye, from Ife (who is from Ijebu-jesa.) I saw her again later on, during the luncheone and said I would come see her sometime next week.

Then i saw Mrs. Omoniyi, who gave me the same information about the service at the Apostolic Church, but added that kabiyesi would attend that one. She said that she was looking for Mrs. Faoye and that the community meeting this evening would be at 5:30. She encouraged me to go to Ijebu-jesa for the service there, since kabiyesi would be attending. I then decided to do that, and Bodunde and I drove to Ijeb-jesa, following the other cars there.

Lots of people were already at the church when we got there, but it is much bigger, so there was room to sit. I sat fairly far back. As I was arriving I saw Wale Omole arrivingat the same time. There was no program for this service. It started at about 2:20, and in addition to prayers and singing included the reading of the biography printed in the other program. The spoken parts were primarily in Yoruba, but with some translation into English, but the English was not particularly good. Also at one point the man speaking Yoruba made a mistake with Olashore's name. After about an hour it looked like the service was going to go on for a long time, so Bodunde and I decided to leave and go look for Mrs Fatiregun, who I hadnt yet see. As we were leaving I saw Mobo Akinola, who greeted me and asked where i was going. No one was home at Fatiregun's (we saw someone driving out who said they were at the service), so we just went and bought some biscuits and roast corn,and then went back to the vicinity of the church. Decided to go back for the rest of the service after eating the corn, and got there just in time for the call for visitors from Nigeria and abroad to make donations. So I went up with the others -- Mobo Akinola was also in that group, and that gave me the chance to be seen; I think Olashore saw me. (This seems to be the main reason why so many people attended this service). I then took a seat in front of Mobo, and later saw that the person sitting next to her was Wale Omole's wife, and we talked briefly about the situation at Ife. The service ended soon after, with announcement that people from the church were to stay at the church for entertainment there, those who didnt have much time could go to Olashore's house in Ijebu-jesa, and those who could stay longer should go back to Iloko to the house there. I went to Iloko, as did Mobo Akinola, Omole's wife, and people from Iloko who I saw later. I did not see Akin Akinola, nor did I see Dr. Adigun; possibly they were with Olashore earlier,

or mayber they werent around.

At the church Olashore was with his daughter and other children, and there was also an elderly man who I havent seen before sitting with them. I did not see either of his wives there. Olashore's cousin, baba, saw me in Iloko and again outside the church in Ijebu-jesa and thanked me both times for coming.

Bodunde and I got back to Iloko before many others who were in Ijebu-jesa, but when we got there we discovered that many people had not gone to Ijebu-jesa and were already sitting around eating and drinking. In fact, most of the tables were already occupied. We saw Mr and Mrs Fatiregun, who were eating. Later, she told me that they had been at the service in Iloko but had not gone to the one in Ijebu-jesa, apparently had gone home and then come back here. We finally found an empty table, and got some food pretty quickly. But there was a long delay in getting drinks and glasses to drink from, and people were getting pretty impatient. A young woman who is either Olashore's other daughter or his son's wife was trying to direct the caterers on getting food out. Our table filled up (I didnt know any of the people there) and I saw Mr and mrs Omoniyi not too far away, as well as Mobo Akinola and Mrs. Omole (who left pretty quickly with her husband). Also Remi Fakeye ended up sitting nearby.

After I ate I went to find Mrs. Omoniyi who asked me to join them, which I did. She said that she was looking for Mrs. Faoye, who she had seen in the church in Iloko but had not seen since. Her husband was also looking for her she said. We were about to go to Mrs. Faoye's house to look for her when Mrs. Omoniyi suggested we stay around for a while longer; she said that kabiyesi had just come back. (While I was there , he did not come out). Also, her husband had learned that they could get vouchers for fuel at the Agip station in Ijebu-jesa, and she wanted to go buy fuel. I asked about the voucher and she said that Bimbo was giving them out (Olashore's son) so she and I went to him and he gave me one. Bodunde went to get fuel, and I visited with various people. Mrs. Omoniyi took me to meet Mrs. Odeyemi. I had given Omoniyi the photo of her, and one of the other women in the photo is Mrs. Odeyemi, wife of Prof.Odeyemi. She introduced me (actualy we've met before, at their house), and also to another woman who she said is also Mrs. Odeyemi, the wife of "professor Odeyemi, senior" -- with the other woman (the one I know) wife of Prof Odeyemi, the rector (of college of technology). They then wandered off and I went to talk with Tina Fatiregun.

At the height of the afternoon, I estimated that there were at least 500 people at the tables under the tents eating and drinking. Many had left by about 5:30, and there was a lot of debris around -- bottles on the ground, pieces of plastic, etc. A band had started playing almost as soon as we got there, and there were people dancing in one, relatively small area. Another band was getting set up. Mrs. Fatiregun said that there would be a night party.

After Bodunde got back from getting fuel, I decided that perhaps it was time to leave, as it was then 6 PM and I hadnt seen Mrs. Faoye, and it didnt look like the meeting was actually going to take place. But then someone pointed out that Mrs. Faoye was now there, and I went to join her; she was standing in the driveway. She explained that she had had to go to another function in her husband's twon (Ijeda) and had just come back. While we were talking a young man came up to speak to her, and she stopped to talk with him for a while. Meanwhile I realized that the other woman with her was Dr. Dare, the woman I met with Olashore last Saturday. I asked if she was the person, and she remembered meeting me; apparetnly he had told her that I'm doing anthroplogical research, so she asked me about it, and was very interested. We had a brief, very useful conversation in which she told me a little about the project she's involved here -- World Bank/UNDP project to work with communities engaged in their own developmnt activities, and using participatory methods. Will be throughout the country, but starting in four locales -- Iloko, Efon Alaye, Eruwa in Oyo State and a place outside Ibadan. We agreed to meet at her office in Ibadan a week from Monday to talk further. She also told me that she is from Ilesa.

Then she and Mrs. Faoye discussed whether to have the meeting. Mrs. Faoye was telling her something about what kabiyesi had said to her and it sounded like she didnt think they needed to have the meeting. But Dr. Dare insisted -- she said this man (Mr. Omoniyi) has come from Lagos, he's scheduled the meeting, and people are waiting for them. if they dont go there to talk with them, it will be very bad start, since this is supposed to have community involvement. It was also clear that she thought it was fine if I went with them to the meeting, and in fact I became useful, because I had my car, whereas she had just sent her car for fuel. Also I was able to provide her with some paper for notes. And then she got very excited when she discovered I had a camera, because she wanted to take photos of the meeting to be able to send as evidence to Washington! I readily complied and took a number of photos.

While I was talking with Mrs. Faoye and Dr Dare, Prof Odeyemi appeared, I think he was coming from the house. He greeted me, said I should stay around more because whenever I'm around something is happening there.

I left with Dr. Dare, Mrs. Faoye, and another young woman who seems to be Dare's assistant. We drove to the palace. Mr Omoniyi was there, as well as several other men, and a couple of women. I think the group is the town Development Committee (Mrs. Omoniyi was not there). We sat in a circle, and others joined the group later, including several more women, including Mrs. Adeloja.

Omoniyi began the meeting, explaining that there had been earlier visit in February by Prof Ransome-Kuti, and out of that had come this project. That since a lot of people were around this weekend they thought they should have a meeting with those involved. That there is a paper which details the project, but kabiyesi has it, and he hasnt seen it yet. Then he let Dr.

Dare speak, after a breif discussion of whether everyone there understands English. She said she'd prefer to use Yoruba, except for my presence, and asked the other young woman to transltate for me. She then introduced me, and then explained in English that she was doing so, then I said that I understand a fair amount of Yoruba, and Omoniyi said that most of them already know me. She then began to explain the project, saying that it is to assist communitieis already involved in their own development activitieis. That outsiders are not there to tell them what to do, but for them to decide. However, she then went on to talk about the various aspects of the project-- health, especially for under fives, and nutrition; economic activities, she mentioned microcredit and farming; and education, mentioning a public library with books for schoolchildren. She talked about a community diagnosis process that will take place, and emphasized that this will involve participation of the community. Also leadership training, so that people will have negotiation skills and will be able to say no if someone comes along with a project they dont want. She also explaind that they will have an office in Iloko, nd a computer and said that kabiyesi had given them an office (in his house??). She mentioned both World Bank and UNDP. She stressed community ownership of the project. I understood much of what she said in Yoruba, and she used some English; also the other young woman translated some things.

She then asked for questions. One man began in English, commending her interest in them; others then said he should speak Yoruba, and Dr. Dare said that she understands, Ijesa, Yoruba and English, and that they should use whatever comfortable with. I dont think the man actually asked any question. Meanwhile, several additional people had arrived, and Mrs. Faoye explained, more briefly, much of what Dare had said. I decided to leave after that, since it was getting dark and we had to drive to Ife. I said good by to the people I knew there, and Mrs. Faoye suggested we meet when I'm in Ibadan next week, so agreed that I will come to her house near internatonal school at 2 PM Sunday.

fnjn9713

Saturday June 14 addendum to fnjn9712 -- conversation with Dr Dare and Mrs. Faoye

When we were driving from Olashore's house to the palace, we went by the new market place. Dr. Dare mentioned that by next year, there will be a market there. Mrs. Faoye then said something like, yes, in this town we have dreams. And Dr Dare responded, if you don't have dreams, then nothing happens.

fnjn9714

Monday June 16 1997 visit with Olashore at Iloko

I got to Iloko at about 10:30 AM, things seemd quite quiet around the house, very different from Saturday. There were cases of empty soft drink bottles piled up, but otherwise no obvious signs of the crowd that had been there. I took a seat in the waiting/entrance room; no one else was around. I saw the chief who acts as Olashore's assistant and he said that he was just arriving from his house. The policeman inside the house said that Olashore was still upstairs and that he would let him know I was there, then came back later to say that he was coming. Olashore appeared about 45 minutes later, apologized for keeping me waiting but said he wanted to take his bath because once he comes downstairs it's hard to get away again.

He started talking right away about the burial, saying that I had now seen the burial of a king's mother. He asked if I was there on Saturday for the church service and I told him that I had also been at the one in Ijebu-jesa. He asked if I was there yesterday (Sunday) and I said I wasnt. He also wanted to know if I had seen the procession from Ijebu-jesa to Iloko with the corpse. I said I had not. He said that they walked all the way, singing and dancing, and that the undertakers had really done a good job. (It sounded as tho he saw them, but of course he's not supposed to so I'm not sure he really did). He said that the most painful thing was not to be able to be present for the service and burial, not to be able to see it. But he said in a way it was a relief that she had died as she had been bedridden for some months. He said she chose a good time, that it would have been bad had she died before his coronation.

He said that he wouldnt have done it this way, had such a big deal for a burial, that he would have buried her the Friday after she died, and done it on a Friday when most people would be in their offices. But when he called his son to tell him about the death, and told him this is what he wanted to do, his son said no, they couldnt do it that way. Then he told his son he didnt want to spend more than half of million, but that he was soon told that the coffin alone would cost N750,000, unless they just got some plain planks for it. He said, no they couldnt do that. He said that he spent a lot on the burial, and that together with the coronation, this has been a year for big expenses. But that he is glad that his children insisted on this, that they did it this way. And especially since he's oba, there's role for the townspeople too, (and then he added that he has to pay for it all).

He then asked if I'd like to eat breakfast with him, and we went into the dining room. A young woman was there (possibly Bimbo's wife) finishing her breakfast; she left immediately. I had some tea and then shared some of his egg and toast. We talked about his planned trip to the US, he said he hopes to come in the middle of September, but that he has to get visas for the people who will accompany him. I asked how many there will be, and he said two of his chiefs -- then he said that the man who assists him (the one I always see around the house) and

his driver -- at least I think that's what he said, but am not sure. I told him about my research award and fact I would get it Sept 12, and asked if he wants to visit Wisconsin again; he didnt commit himself.

Olashore also told me that he is working on his autobiography, that he wrote the first draft, and then gave he to Bola Ige, who tore it up and told him he has to add a lot more details. He said that draft is now about twice the lenght of the original. When we went back into the entrance room, he got someone to bring the manuscript and showed it to me. I looked thru it. It's about 400 pages in ms form. Justice Eso is to write the foreward. Olashore is now going thru and correcting and revising it, and said he hopes to do that this week. He commented on how difficult it is to write an autobiography, to be sure not to step on any toes. He said that for example in writing about his father he had to be careful in writing about some things (but wasnt specific).

In fact, at that point a woman came in with a boy carrying a plastic bag. She greeted Olashore and took the seat next to me. They began talking and after a while Olashore asked if I understood; I said I understood some, that I knew they were talking about food preparation but didnt know context. He said he would be surprised if I understood anything since they were speaking Ijesa. Then he told me that the woman is the younger sister of the mother, and that she was talking about how meticulous his mother was about everything -- with cooking, cleaning, telling people to clean their hands, etc.

They continued to talk for a while, and then she started taking pieces of white cloth out of the bag and showing it to him. She also took a notebook from an envelope, as well as some money, and started going over a list of names with him. Bodunde told me later that this was a list of people who had donated things, mainly cloth, but also some had given money, to the family. He told her that he didnt have time now to discuss this, that they would have to sit down later and go over everything that had been given to them. He also told her about people from the town who had come last night. Apparently there is a tradition that when there is a death, money, drinks and cloth are supposed to be given. He had given them money and drinks but they came back last night to tell him that he's supposed to give them cloth. He asked them if this is the first death since he became king, and they said no. He asked what happened the other times, and they said that things are supposed to be given to various people, including cloth to the king. He asked what had happened to his cloth, and they said that they had brought the cloth to the palace and his assistant had told them he didnt need it. So he asked what happened to it, and they told him that they had sold it. So he said they're taking money from people to get the cloth, and then going and selling it and making money. Bodunde told me all this after we left; he didnt know if he gave them the cloth they asked for. Olashore also told the woman that he had been given a big cow, by one of the banks (First Bank I think), but they didnt have fuel to bring the cow, so they brought a smaller one instead, and now the big cow has died. The small one is what they ate yesterday. (I suppose there

must have been another whole crowd of people there on Sunday).

When there was a break in conversation wtht he woman, I decided to leave. Meanwhile we had agreed that I would come on Wednesday to do videotpaed interview.

fnjn9715

Monday June 16 1997 visit with Chief Lamikanra and his wife

I saw Lamikanra at Iloko on Saturday and he said he would be in on Monday, so we went there after seeing Olashore (and after trying to see Mobo Akinola who also said she would be home, but wasnt). I spent about an hour with him and his wife. Mostly the conversation was about how bad things have gotten -- the fuel situation, the economy in general, the political situation etc. He asked me if I saw any positive things, and when I tried to reply about local activities and groups, he disagreed, saying that everything was deteriorating, such as the educational system which has fallen apart completely. When I said that was still something that was at the level of government he basically answered that that affects everything else, and seemed to be saying that there cant be any good things happening when so much negative at national level.

Later, he commented that getting old is difficult, and they talked about how they dont have a driver now, when they need one, when they were younger didnt need one.

They showed me two books of essays written by their son, lecturer in pharmacy at Ife; essays were publshed in the Guardian.

They're still producing honey, but said that it's fairly expensive to keep up -- hives etc cost a fair amount.

Didnt really talk about Ilesa events at all, not even about Olashore or the coronation.

fnjn9716

Wednesday June 18 1997 interview with Olashore

I videotaped an interview with Olashore as scheduled; we got to Iloko a little before 12 and were told that he wasnt up yet. He appeared about 15 minutes later and said he'd been workin on his book upstairs; also said that he hadnt been sleeping well, and that he'd been up late working on it, and each time he goes over it, he wants to rewrite it. We started the interviw immediately after that, in the less formal of his sitting rooms (the waiting/entrance room). The other day he had mentioned going to the palace but didnt seem interested in doing so today. The interview took about 45 minutes, with several interruptions for phone calls and for others who had arrived to see him. Severa of the phone calls were about his need for a secretary; apparently he's planning to hire someone, but in the meantime is having problems without one. Since presumably all he said is on the tape, I'm not going to do notes on it now. Other than to note that he pretty much sat in own position the whole time; he had on a white agbada and coral beads, and a pair of specially made shoes (whereas the other day he was wearing ordinary sandals). I was coughing a bit since I seem to have developed bronchitis; hope it doesnt affect the tape.

After the intereview we talked a little about several other things. I asked about Dr Adigun since I have a photo to give him; he said that he had just arrived back last nite from the US and phoned him from Lagos this morning, and that he'll be coming to iloko on Saturday. So I left the photo with him. He's not sure if he'll be there next week, or if he'll go to lagos, so don't know whether I'll see him again before I leave. I mentioned his coming to the US again, but this time he said he thinks people inviting him should buy him a ticket. At another point he siad how many people from US and Canada had sent him letters, and even a gift in one case, on his coronation; he was obviously pleased about that.

We got talking about the reputation of Nigeria and Nigerians abroad, 419, drug dealing etc, as well as about things that he said in his talk at Wingspread several years ago, about democracy in Africa. But really didnt say anything too specific, and by this time there was someone else waiting to see him, so we left. One surprsing thing was that he never offered me anything to drink.

A driver from the Ife Vice Chancellor's office was there, and he gave him a chit for fuel, so I asked about one too. He said that there should be fuel either in Ijebu-jesa or at the filling station in Ilesa (Agip). We went to both and were told the fuel they were selling is not kabiyesi's. They wouldnt sell to us (and there were huge lines and crowds at both).

One change today: when we arrived at the gate to Olashore's house, the guards made us fill in a piece of paper saying why we were there and who we wanted to see; this is new, and

Bodunde asked why we had to do this. They said that earlier this morning they let someone in, and they got in trouble for doing so. I noticed that everyone else who showed up also had filled out such a paper.

fnjn9717

Wednesday June 18 1997 Iloko -- brief visit with Mrs. Adejola

After leaving Olashore's house, we went back into town and did some photos and videotaping on the way, and around the palace nd the roundabout. Then we went to the school to find Mrs. Adejola since we said that we would come today to buy some gari. It was 2 PM and the school day was pretty much over; she was getting ready to leave.

I had noticed a new water tank where several children were getting water from the taps, located across from the Methodist church, so I asked her about it. She said that they have a well there, that one man from the town had provided the well and tank (which is a very large one). I asked who the man is and she said the junior brother of Professor Odeyemi. I said that I don't know him, and she said that he was there on Saturday. Then she said that his house is located on the street past that of the man from Oshogbo -- which must be the very large house that the Regent took us to when he showed us around a couple of years ago. At that time I think he told us that the man works for NNPC. So he is apparently Odeyemi's younger brother, and the one who provided the well.

We went to Mrs.Adejola's house, and she went to get the gari for us. Her husband came out and introduced himself, saying that he is a retired teacher, and that the other time we had come, he had gone to the farm -- that he has retired to farming. We left after we got the gari. Mrs. Adejola mentioned that they have problems at the gari processing center; when I asked what kind of problems she said they need money for the fencing around the site.

fnjn9718

Tuesday June 24 1997 fuel situation

The petrol situation has been getting worse and worse. Bodunde has so far been managing to get fuel, mainly in Erin Osun outside Oshogbo; last week prices went up to N1400 for 50 litres (22 per litre instead of the official 11). Yesterday in Ibadan, there was no fuel anywhere, and very few cars out. We drove from Bodija across the whole city, thru Dugbe area, to Ring Road to go to KLM in about 20 minutes. On the way back we saw that there was fuel in Gbongan and stopped to check, but decided not to try to get it. There was also a kid along the roadside in front of the petrol station who called to us "black market". We told Richard and Folarin about the fuel at Gbongan; they had gone to Erinmo inthe morning (past Ilesa) but hadnt been able to get it. They went to Gbongan and got 3 50 litre jerry cans, at N1100 for each, which is considered a good price now.

Richard says that people have been lining up since yesterday afternoon to get fuel at the university filling station, where they will be limited to 14 litres each. Apparently it is chaotic there this morning (he came by to say we should go to see what is happening but Folarin wasnt interested in doing so).

The papers are full of stories about the fuel problem, which seems to be pretty much all over the country now. This morning's Guardian says there were protests in Kano by youth about the lack of petrol; yesterday's says that Maiduguri has no fuel, no light, no water (a power transformer burned). There's a public arguement between the Minister of Finance, Ani, and the Petroleum Minister, Etete, about money that Ani says was allocated for repair of refineris.

When I saw Eso in Ibadan on Sunday, he said he thinks this is going to last a long time; that the problem is the refineries, and since the money has disappeared, they will have to allocate more money to repair them, and that people involved would have to be fired; he doesnt think that will happen. Also he thinks the Head of State may be involved, because Etete was quoted as saying that Ani is underminining what he and the Head of State are trying to do. Richard's take on that is that Ani didnt get his cut, and that is why he is making noise about this.

According to the papers, there hasnt been any fuel in Lagos for a couple of weeks now. Today's paper says there was a big hold up on the road to the airport because of petrol queues and that it took several hours to get thru. (Also there were big floods in lagos yesterday due to very heavy rain).

fnjn9719

Sunday June 22 1997, visit with Justice Eso

We got to the Eso house just before 12, and I was greeted by both Justice and Mrs Eso. We decided to sit inside; Mrs. Eso didnt join us, later she said that she thought we had some things we wanted to discuss and that was why she didnt join us.

We talked about a wide variety of issues. He asked me what I was doing here this time, so I told him the various things -- continuing some of my research as well as looking into some new possibilities. I told him that my book is underway and that there are two people I want to ask to write something -- either preface or foreward. And that I wondered if he'd consider doing one of these. He said he'd be delighted to do so, but must read the book. Also said that his main constraint is time, and then went on to tell me about several other books he has recently written forewards for. He didnt mention Olashore's but I said I'd heard about that one, and he said yes, that he hasnt seen it yet, but has agreed to do it. He said that when Olashore asked him to do it he said he had a very big favor to ask of him and he told him that if it's something he cant do he will tell him. He didnt think it was such a big thing once he found out what it was Olashore wanted.

I said that I wanted to ask someone who was involved in the things I'm writing about, at least to some extent, and he then asked if perhaps that was a reason why he shouldnt do it. I said that I thought he's less involved than some others and that it wasnt a problem. He asked who the second person was, and seemed very pleased when I said Bolanle Awe, tho told him I hadnt yet asked her. He said that he has known her essentially her whole life, and thinks very highly of her.

We agreed that by the next time I see him I should have at least a partial draft for him to read. We also discussed some of the issues I'm dealing with in the book, and my effort to portray the setting for those who dont know it.

I told him about the possibility of continuing my research, and of my interest in some of the current developments in Iloko, and the fact that more seems to be goingon there than in neighboring communities, and what the implications of that are. He asked about what is going on, and I mentioned the gari processing center. He said that he was pleased to hear that because he wonders when there is such a small number of very well off people and a majority of people with much less, and whether that is within a family or a community or a nation he thinks it's likely to lead to problems. So he was happy to hear that there might be some things that would help people do a little better in the community. I mentioned Dick's comment about the lavishness of the coronation, and Eso said yes, that people will just look at it like it's a film, not real to them.

He also agreed that it would be interesting to look at the implications of situation where some communities seem to have people to help them mobilize resources, and others do not, and the kinds of divisions that leads to.

We talked more generally about the situation in the country. He mentioned the lectures he gave last week, in which he talked about democracy and the rule of law. So far as he is concerned democracy is essential. I asked about idea of having economic development without democracy, as in the Asian examples; he said he's not interested in that, that there must be democracy, to have the freedom to say what one wants. I aslo asked about the idea that they have to develop their own form of democracy, and he said there is just one type of democracy, in which people are free to speak and to select own leaders. He said he came down very hard against the military in his talk. I commented on the fact that it still seems possible for people to be critical. He said that he doesnt know why he hasnt been picked up, but that he can only think that they think best to just let him talk, that can't really do any harm.

He has some measure of optimism in that he still thinks it's worth getting involved For examp[le he did a report a few years ago on corruption, nothing happened with it, but now those on Vision 2010 committee on corruption have asked for copy of report, and are using it. He is on Vision 2010, committee on rule of law or judiciary, I'm not sure exactly; he thinks it worth doing this not because this government is going to use what they do, but because it will then be there for the future.

Eso also told me that Prof. Ajayi, (retired historian from UI) is writing his biography, that they have begun doing intereviews and that Ajayi will also be going thru his papers.

They wanted me to stay for lunch, but I explained that I had severl other people I was supposed to see, and left just before 2 PM.

fnjn9720

Sunday june 22 1997, lunch with Mrs Grace Faoye in Ibadan

WE found our way to the Faoye residence on the grounds of the International School near UI. Mrs. Faoye greeted me warmly and introduced me to her family -- her husband, who teaches at the school, and a number of her children. Three of her children are in university but; there was also a friend of one of her daughter's and she said that a niece who is a student at UI also stays with them. The niece is the child of her younger sister, who is married to Omoniyi's younger brother. There was also a young man who is on secondment, I guess at the school; he is from Liberia. And she has 3 younger children, the youngest of whom is a girl of 7. The older children were preparing the lunch, and we sat and visited; her husband joined us during most of the conversation, but didnt say too much, she seems the more outgoing of the two.

We started out talking about ADON, the Assocation for Development Options in Nigeria, which is the ngo she is part of. She formed it with Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye, Kale Feyisitan and one other person who I don't know. They support themselves doing consultancies, and they are also doing community development projects in a number of communities. She is trained as a nurse/midwife. They began the gari processing project in Iloko last August.

I asked how and why they chose Iloko as the place to do this. She explained that she is from Iloko, and her husband from Ijeda. That some years ago she undertook a project in Ijeda, to help with developing economic activity there -- that is a weaving project. Since then, people in Iloko have been complaining that she did something for her husband's hometown but not for her own town. Then the resident director of CEDPA asked her if she thought ADON could do something like what she had done in Ijeda in another community. She thought that Iloko would be a good place, especially since people in the community are already involved in many community development activities there, that just about all development that you see in Iloko was done by the people. She said she doesnt know of any other community where people have undertaken so much by themselves, and where there has essentially been no government involvement. In addition, Olashore is the Patron of ADON, and he was about to become oba.

So they had a meeting and undertook a little research in Iloko to see what people there wanted. She and Paulina and Feyistan went there and talked with people. Olashore also attended the meeting. There was interest in setting up a gari processing place, so that is how this came about.

She'd like to find other things that people in Iloko can do to improve economic situation. There isnt much land, so they are thinking that perhpas they could develop citrus trees, and have fruit juice processing. Another idea is to have a communal, more mechanized farm,

using tractors to prepare land. OR perhaps some sort of cottage industry.

I then asked about Dr Dare and what she is involved in. She said that is another organization. And that they had a meeting in February, a seminar, in which Iloko was presented as a case and people there were having a hard time believing that a community such as that described existed in Nigeria. She had been invited to attend so she stood up and said that she is from Iloko and that it really is like that. The project which Dr Dare is developing will involve health, economic activities and education. It hasnt started yet; the meeting last week was so the community would be involved in it. She said that the meeting which I had to leave at 7) lasted til 10:30 PM. That there was a lot of discussion, and that they selected the ten people who will be trained to work on the project.

I commented that there seems to be a lot happening now in Iloko. I explained that I had done my earlier research in Ijesaland and had visited Ijeda, but hadnt been to Iloko at that time. She and her husband, sort of laughingly commented that Olashore has really put Iloko on the map. I asked about what the effect of all this attention on Iloko will be on neighboring communities and she said that it will also benefit those communities. That in fact Olashore doesnt see development just in Iloko as the goal, but in the whole area.

We then discussed some of the connections between Iloko and neighboring communities. she said that in her own case she has ties to all four communities -- Iloko, Ijeda, Iwaraja and Ijebu-jesa. But that the connections are strongest between Iloko and Ijeda. That there are a lot of people with ties in both places and there's been a lot of intermarriage between the two. Such as her own case, where she is from Iloko and husband from Ijeda; they have a house in Ijeda. She said there is less connection with Iwaraja, that aside from proximity there isnt much interaction, and that Iwaraja people tend to have stayed to themselves. Also she explained that Ijeda and Iloko children went to school together, and that that made a big difference, because they became friends in school, later married, etc. She indicated that Ijebu-jesa is also somewhat less close to Iloko than Ijeda, (altho my impression is that there are a lot of people with ties in both of those places too).

We talked more about the extent of community development activities in Iloko over lunch. she mentioned that ADON is also doing a project (in health) in Osu, and I asked whether she thinks there's as much going on in Osu. She said that it seems to her that people there are waiting for someeone to do something for them rather than doing things themselves. She then added that in general there is a difference between communities northern and southern Ijesa communities. That the people in the northern communities are more concerned about the development of their towns, whereas those in the south are more likely to build their houses in Ilesa, so they can say they are from big city. She said that of those from Iloko only Prof Odeyemi has built his house in Ilesa, but that now he seems to be getting more interested in Iloko, that now that Olashore has become kabiyesi there he is more involved there, and she

thinks Olashore is influencing him in that direction. She also said that because of people emphasizing their connections to ilesa, some of the southern Ijesa communities are disappearing, that hardly anyone lives in them any more.

She also said that people in Iloko have been doing this type of community development activiity for a long time. She said that her maternal grandfather built a secondary school in Ijeda, and that was where her husband first taught, when he finished secondary school.

She briefly told her own biography -- that she was born somewhere in Ondo state, whre her father was teaching. Then he came home to try to do something there, so she mainly grew up in Iloko. But he also spent time in Offa, and other areas towards north, and she knows a lot of people from Kabba area (Kogi state).

She first knew Olashore when her father was teaching in Offa and they lived there, and Olashore was a student at Offa grammar school. He used to come to their house when he had time off from school, so she has known him since she was quite young. (It was clear if there are family connections, or if it was just the fact that they are from the same place that led him to spending time with her family in Offa).

She commented that she is always very happy when she goes to Ijeda and Iloko and spends a few days there, that she likes getting away from all the activity of Ibadan. She said that they have a house there, but it's just locked up, they just use it at Christmas. But that she would be happy to live there and eventually plans to do so. It's her husband who is keeping them in Ibadan; he prefers it there. She would like to set up some kind of small business there -- perhaps a sort of finishing school for children there, to expose them to the larger world, to the cities of Lagos and Ibadan. She thinks she would be very happy there, that you can basically have whatever you need there -- and she mentioned that you can get CNN, phone service there. She said that as there is more development there, she thinks more people will stay, or come home, and there will be less rural-urban migration. But she also said that it's individual preference, that she has a sister who lives in lagos, and who doesnt even like to come to Ibadan.

We talked about the importance of keeping connections at home. I asked if she thinks what is true for Iloko is true for Yoruba generally, and she said she thinks it is. But then Bodunde mentioned that in his area people are afraid to come home; she immediately knew what he was talking about, and said because they're afraid someone will kill them? She asked whether he goes home and he said no, but that his father didnt encourage them to do so. She dismissed the idea of people being killed (by witchcraft or other means) and said that they used to say that in Iloko area too. But just disregard this, that there is always some medical explanation for the deaths when there is a series of deaths. She added that of course it depends on your family too, and that in her own case they've been involved at home for a long time (this is

where she mentioned her maternal grandfather's school in Ijeda). And she said there are still these things happening -- and then talked about an accident in a well recently, and said that happened in Ijeda. Three young men died -- the first was overcome by something and the others when they tried to rescue the first. People believe it is some kind of spirit in the well. But she said that she is sure there is some sort of poisonous gas in the well. Then Bodunde referred to the case that he had told me about, about the young men being killed so spirits work on the farms. She had heard the radio program about that. She said that is really hard to explain, and that she doesnt discount that sometims there are spiritual things that happen. This led her to telling a story about an experience she had where she saw a vision of a baby being given to a woman who had not been able to conceive, and the woman became pregnant that month. Later the child almost died and she was able to revive it with adrenaline that she had gotten just that day (because one of her own children is asthmatic and she had a feeling she would need the adrenalin that day.)

She also pointed out that now the Nigerian constitution makes it even more important for people to have a base, in the grassroots -- that that is essentially mandated by the constitution. I asked what the implications were for children like hers, growing up on the international school grounds, do they see themselves as being from Ijeda. She said, and her husband agreed, that not one of her children would say they were an Ibadan person. She also noted the negative aspects of that, noting that it has implications for the country as a whole.

Earlier she had commented, when her 7 year old daughter walked thru the room, that the girl has told her that she wants to go with her to Iloko because she wants to interview the king there. Her daughter has not told her what she wants to ask him, but has said that she has to wait til she goes there to talk with him, that she's heard about "your king" and wants to go to talk with him, that she has some questions to ask him.

In talking about the development of Iloko, Mrs Faoye mentioned the new market place. She said that kabiyesi wants them to do it themselves, as they've done in the past, that each individual in the town should provide 10 cement blocks (worth about N400), and those who are better off can provide more -- 200 or 1000. But she is concerned that maybe they've been asking the community for too many donations, and they may feel that they're at a point where they can't do more. She thinks that they ought to ask the government for help. Apparnetly when the military administrator's wife was there, she said that if they sent her a proposal they could have N500,000 for the market. But that Olashore said you know those people and indicated he didnt want to do that. She (Mrs Faoye) has however prepared a proposal, and she thinks they should send it in; she said that she plans to phone kabiyesi to talk with him about this.

I left the Faoyes immediately after lunch, as I was supposed to be meeting Miriam Isoun at 4 PM.

fnjn9721

Monday June 23 1997, meeting with Dr. Lola Dare, CHESTRAD

I met with Dr. Dare at about 9:30 AM for about 1 1/2 hours. She is listed on her card as Executive Director and Coordinator, Research and Training for CHESTRAD (Centre for Health Sciences Training, Research and Development). Address is 29 Aare Ave,New Bodija; phone 02 8102401. She also gave me her home address, since I'm supposed to stop by there on Saturday on my way to Lagos (tho I may change this plan): 10 Oluyole Way, New Bodija (road that Favos is on). HOme phone 02 8103305. She also gave an email address: Idare@chednet.com; her card has another email address: Idare@usa.healthnet.org

She began by giving me copies of some information about CHESTRAD and the Better Health in Africa program (World Bank program) including a publication they did on Better Health in Africa, The Nigerian Perspective. Most of our conversation focused on the project they are beginning to implement in Iloko. As I understand it, the World Bank program is a health program only. But CHESTRAD's view is that doing health only does not work, that there needs to be community empowerment. So in addition to health, the project in Iloko will include education and economic activities, especially a microcredit program. And they have UNDP support for the non-health areas. The plan is to do this project, which is called the OriAde Initiative, in 12 communities around the country; it sounds like Iloko is either the first or one of the first to get going. In addition, other communities can join in,but must find their own sources of funding.

This project grew out of a seminar that was held in February, I think during the time that Prof Ransome-Kuti was in the country. At this seminar, she presented Iloko as a model community, focusing on the things that they are already doing there for themselves. Also in February, Prof Ransome-Kuti visited Iloko; she showed me photos from that visit, and mentioned that there is a video (in fact, I got that video from Olashore when I was here in April, but havent yet looked at it).

I asked her how she happened to focus on Iloko. She explained that she has known Olashore for a long time, since she is from Ilesa, and he knew her family, so she has known him since she was young. He asked her to help him with his Olashore Educational Foundation (which he has mentioned but really hasnt told me anything much about, except to say that he has a foundation). Then the World Bank asked her (CHESTRAD) to help them find a community where they could begin this project, and she thought that it would be a good fit. Then Ransome-Kuti visited in February and the project has taken off from there.

She said that during Ransome-Kuti's visit in February they held a community meeting at the town hall. All kinds of people spoke at this meeting, about perceived and felt needs in the

community -- young people, women, etc. She said that the youths expressed a need for a library. (I'll have to see if the meeting is on the video). From the needs expressed at the meeting, CHESTRAD has written up a project paper, outlining what people said. (She wanted to give me a copy of this, but the power was off, so wasn't able to). Now they are at the point of beginning to work in the community. They will be gathering data, including a simple survey to have baseline data. She wanted my opinion on whether they should try to do census of all households. We also discussed the content of the survey, and she was hoping to send a copy to me here, so that I could look it over and comment on it for her, but so far I havent gotten it (the fuel situation is probably the reason). In addition to the survey, they will be doing participatory methods to develop the activities in the community. She hopes to use data collected as the basis for a visual representation (map) of the community that can be presented to people there -- she showed me an example of such a map for a community in Zambia.

The project will include three components : health, education, including a library for youth and adult literacy, and economic activity-- microcredit scheme. She also talked of the need for community members to learn negotiation skills. She said that 10 people will be trained from the community. Among the activities planned is to develop credit based on esusu, with the idea of establishing a community bank. I asked her what Olashore thought of that idea, and she said that he likes it.

The meeting that I attended the other day was of the Development Committee.

We discussed some issues that arise from my perspective. For example, I asked about the non-resident community members. First she said that the concern in the baseline data and planning is for those resident in the community. But then she agreed that those outside have played an important role and that they have to be included in some way. I also mentioned people living in the town who are not from the town (nonindigenes) and again she agreed that they need to include such people in their discussions and activities.

She also mentioned that the road is probably going to be done by the PTF (I'm not sure which road this is).

The underlying idea of the whole project is that the community will help support whatever projects are undertaken there; the assistance from World Bank and UNDP is only supposed to come after community itself undertakes things. There seems to be some commitment of funds already, at least from UNDP; she showed me an outline of things they have committed to support. Again, she would have given me a copy if she could have. She also showed me an outline that UNDP had given, for baseline data questionnaire, but she is developing her own questionnaire. She said survey would only include people who had been living in household for at least 3 months, but then thought it worthwhile to add a question about family members outside.

She said that Iloko is supposed to become a model town.

She also said that there is an Operations Research component to the project, and showed me the relevant portion of the UNDP paper on this. I discussed my research and possibilities for continuing it; she seemed to be suggesting that one possibility would be to incorporate it into UNDP project, tho I have no idea at this point what kind of funds are actually available.

When I left, our plan was for her to send me copies of things and for me to stop by on the way to Lagos on Saturday, but I am not sure this is going to work out.

fnjn9801

June 8 1998 -- Lola Dare, Chestrad, Ibadan

I went to Ibadan and met with Lola Dare in the morning. I brought her a copy of the ALO-USAID proposal, and she was very interested in the idea of the virtual exchange and of training students, involving university students in community development actiivities. We discussed possibilities for other funding and decided that we would try to put together a short concept paper and then approach others, including trying to see Callahan at USIS and Felix Awantang at USAID. I told her that I already have an appointment with Hillary Renner for Mon the 29th (I havent found anyone yet who's impressed by her).

Lola also showed me her draft report of CHESTRAD's activities, and she told me that she was expecting a visit from Prof. Adetokunbo Lucas who is now working as a consultant for the World Bank.

I also mentioned that I was hoping to see Olashore, and she said that she was supposed to have seen him on Saturday but had not made it to Iloko. We put a call thru to his house in Iloko -- and got thru -- and she learned that he had left this morning for Lagos and that he is traveling out of the country at the end of the week. So I said I would try to phone him in Lagos.

We agreed to meet next Monday afternoon to work on the concept paper.

WE also discussed other funding possibilities a bit, including whether her funds include any research/monitoring activities.

She also asked me to write a paper for the next issue of the journal CHESTRAD publishes, and gave me the list of what others are writing. I suggested doing something on qualitative research in relation to community developmetn and empowerment, and she liked that idea.

Lola also told me a story that she thinks demonstrates the way in which the community is becoming empowered. She said that they have decided to have an eye clinic located in Ijeda, as there is a private practitioner there who is going to do this. Then kabiyesi said that he would give N4 million so they could also have an eye clinic in Iloko. But the community said no, why should they have one in both places, that they would rather use his N4 million for something else. Kabiyesi wasnt happy about this. She felt this was really significant because people were turning down N4 million, and that the potential existed for Olashore to just say they should stop working in Iloko. But instead, after some time, he agreed to allow the money to be used to improve the maternity center, that already exists in Iloko, and to have the eye clinic in Ijeda; she said this really increased her respect for him, as well as demonstrating the fact that the community is really becoming empowered. She also mentioned that she saw this

as an example of how qualitative data can help show what is happening in the community. She also mentioned, before telling me the story, that kabiyesi might not like having the story told. I mentioned that I thought it would be interesting if I could hear anything about it from him, tho probably he wont say anything. Also refered to Chambers book, on lowers and uppers, and she agreed that you cant ignore people like Olashore, that they can really affect ability to work in a community, but at same time, the people can also start making decisions for themselves. We talked about my using this story (disguised in some way) in article I write for her journal. (I can also use it if I do paper on participatory research for SEA).

fnjn9802

Mon June 8 1998, Mrs. Eso

I stopped at the Eso house on my way out of Ibadan. Justice Eso wasnt at home, but Mrs. Eso was -- not feeling well, it turned out. I visited with her for about half an hour, and said that I would see her at the Ifaturoti wedding.

fnjn9803

Tues June 9 1998 Ilesa -- Tinu Ifaturoti

I went to Ilesa in the morning; found Tinu at home, but Kunle had gone out for some family ceremony in another town. Tinu and I visited for a while. Got the details of the wedding plans for Simisola. The engagement/traditional ceremony is on Friday at 11 AM, at their house. The wedding is at Otapete Methodist Church on Saturday at 10. She also told me about the plans for their other children to come home for the wedding, including Fadeke who is coming from the US.

I said I would come back on Thursday to see Kunle; as it turned out I got a phone call from Lola Dare's office re coming there for an appointment with Prof Lucas. So I managed to call Ifaturotis and let them know I would come on Friday instead.

fnjn9804

Tuesday June 9 1998, Mobo Akinola, Ilesa

From Ifaturoti's house I went to Akinola. Mobo was at home and we visited for a while. Most of our attention was on the news of Abacha's death, and after a while she turned on the generator so that we could see if there was anything new on CNN, but didnt get anythingl She told me that CNN had had a long interview with Soyinka on Mon nite.

Mobo told me that her husband was in lagos, preparng to leave for Rotary meeting in US.

I later learned from someone else that he has been named the new Chairman of the brewery, replacing Eso (and there is an article in newspaper on this too). Also learned from Janet Crabtree that he is contesting for a chieftaincy title.

Mobo also asked me to give a message to Prof. Odebiyi (Tanwa) if I see her. She said that Tanwa has a book launching in Lagos next week, but that the card that was given to Mobo to deliver to Olashore was addressed wrong, and that he won't be happy with the way it's addressed. It is just addressed to HRH Oladele Olashore, whereas it should be Oba HRH Oladele Olashore, Ajagbusi Ekun of Iloko-ijesa, that he wants to have all his titles used.

fnjn9805

Thursday June 11, Tanwa Odebiyi, Ife

Tanwa is now Dean of Social Sciences. I went to her office and spent about half an hour talking with her about various things. She told me about her book launching scheduled for next week in Lagos, and that she had invited Olashore, but that he wont be able to attend because he is traveling. She said that they had gone to see him, and that he was very happy to be invited and had said he would be there, but then when the date finally got set, she found out that he had plans to travel. He is going to a wedding of a freind's daughter in London, she said. She wanted to know if I had been in touch with him, and said that she thought he is more or less my "host" when I am here, so that he will be disapointed to miss me. I told her that I had found out that he's traveling and that I've been trying to phone him in Lagos. I mentioned that if I had known, I would have tried to see him on Sunday.

She told me how she has gone about tracking him down. That he is usually in Iloko on weekends, unless he is out of the country. And that he always attends the early morning service at the chapel there, at 8 AM. So she went to the service herself, and then catches his attention immediately after the service, and then he invites her to the house, they have breakfast and can talk. She said that that is the best way to find him, and that shedid that several times in pursuing him re the book launching.

She mentioned others who will be at the launching, including Bolanle Awe; also Akwasi from Ford, and others of note. I said I might try to go (but didnt).

The book is on women and development; she later had her co-editor bring me a copy.

I think it was Tanwa who told me that Akin Akinola is the new chairman of the brewery. She said that he had been named Executive Chairman; she thought Eso was still there too but the newspaper article indicates that he is replacing Eso. She also said that the brewery's German partners apparently found Akin an easier person to work with.

fnjn9806

Thursday June 11, phone conversation with Olashore

I went to Ibadan to see Lola Dare and Professor Adetokunbo Lucas in the afternoon. As soon as Lola arrived in the office, she said that she had just come from Lagos and had just seen kabiyesi (Olashore), and that we should phone him. So we did, and I spoke with him for a few minutes. The conversation was mainly about his upcoming trip; he is planning to go to the US, with his wife, and wants suggestions on where they should go, preferably by train. I mentioned that I'd be in Massachusetts, and suggested possibly Boston, as well as other cities. He said that of course he would want to go to Washington. I asked about how things are in Iloko, but all he said is that everything is going well.

I also mentioned getting his letter about the postponement of his book launching; he didnt offer any explanation of why it had been postponed. He did say he would try to bring a copy of the book to the US for me.

Later, I mentioned to Lola that he wants suggestions for the US, and that I would be on Cape Cod. She said that since he will have his "young wife" with him they will probably want to be in places with lots of shopping!

fnjn9807

Thursday June 11, meeting with Lola Dare and Adetokunbo Lucas, Ibadan

I received a phone message WEd PM saying that I had an appointment with Prof Lucas for 3 PM. Apparently Lola had shown him the ALO-USAID proposal, and he is interested in training issues, so she thought it would be good for us to meet. And of course I had previously met him years ago thru Dad, in Woods HOle. We spoke fairly generally about varous things, including the recent major political events, as well as the ideas in the proposal. I asked if he had any suggestions about funding and he suggested Ford. He mentioned that Carnegie doesnt seem to have set any direction. Another suggestion was Rockefeller, given the new president there. We talked fairly generally about funding issues.

fnjn9808

Friday June 12, overall impressions

This has been quite a significant week. When I arrived the newspapers were full of articles saying that the military has to go, including quotes from people like Babangida and Buhari. There seemed to be much more intent to demonstrate and oppose Abacha than had been true a year ago. Then on Monday evening the news came that Abacha had died that morning. Lots of people didnt believe it at first. I heard about it when I got back from Ibadan; I was in the house talking with Folarin at about 6 PM when we heard shouting; I asked what that was, and he thought it must be some sports event. A few minutes later he came in from outside and said that a student at the shop had just told him that there was news confirmed that Abacha had died -- so that was what the shouting was about. First reactions were mixed -- many didnt really believe it, others were very happy, others felt one shouldnt celebrate someone's death even if the person was terrible, and others felt that it was best to wait to see what happens next before getting too happy. By the next morning it was announced that Gen Abubakar had been appointed, and his first speech didnt say much.

The general feeling was that people would give him a little time to see what happened next. So most people felt that nothing much would happen on June 12, and that was the case. The police were out in force in the cities; Mufu said that they were all over Oshogbo. And in Lagos there was a small demonstration and teargas and people were arrested. But generally nothing much happened. The university had been closed (by the Senate) and students sent home. I went to Ilesa in the afternoon.

fnjn9809

Friday June 12, impressions of economic situation and petrol

I've made two trips to Ibadan this week, and it is obvious that there is less traffic than in the past. Partly it's due to the problem of getting petrol, but I think it is more because of the price of petrol, and the overall economic situation, so fewer people are travelling, fewer are able to maintain their private cars. For example, Mufu said that his car has been parked for some time before I arrived, because he cant afford to spend money on maintaining it and buying petrol. And that he is spending N1000 a week on food (he has 3 children), and pays rent for the place he lives in in Oshogbo.

Petrol prices vary; in Lagos, Folarin got it at official price of N11. In Ife it has been N20 or N24. On the way back from ibadan they were charging N30 at one place we stopped.

Food prices are also high. Partly it's seasonal; it's early in rainy season and harvest isnt in yet. and several people have mentioned that the rains havent been very good yet, so there's not much available.

Overall feeling is of a pretty depressed economy, as much because of political situation as other reasons.

Exchange rate -- In Lagos it was N90; in Ife N88.

fnjn9810

Friday June 12, Ifaturoti, Ilesa

I went to Ilesa in the afternoon, and found Ifaturoti at home. Also there was Janet Crabtree, the woman who is a student from England, doing research in Ilesa. Another man was there, Chief Makinde, who turned out to be one of the chiefs Janet is interviewing; but I dont know whethere he came there with her, or just happened to be there. She stayed longer than he did, but then left after we'd set an appointment to meet at another time.

We talked fairly generally first about things -- the upcoming wedding of Simisola; the school (Kunle wants me to meet with him and others from the school to advise them about computers); the political events of the past week.

We also discussed what has been happening with Ijesa Solidarity Group. He first mentioned that, as I know, he had decided that it was time for someone else to replace him as Chairman, and that people had finally agreed on that. Idiapo-Obe (dont think that's right; should have it from last year's notes) became chairman. But the new executive hasnt been able to do much since then. They have decided that they need to go back to having a professional staff person (secretary). Originally they had someone, weren't happy with first person, got someone else and that didnt work out either (he used money raised for the historical research project to pay for the secretariat expenses). Then they've had a member serving as secretary, but he doesnt really have time to do the work. So they've now proposed that they need a professional person. But there should be a general meeting held about now, and it has not yet been scheduled.

In addition to the new chairman, there is also 2 vice presidents -- Arigbede (Ifaturoti's nephew) and Prof Odeyemi. Kunle said he thought that others like Akinola would do more, but that they havent. He is still on the executive, as past president, but of the others from the original group the only one who still has a strong interest is Chief Apara. He indicated that justice Eso is not active any more. He still seems to be optimistic that the organization will continue, and that the new leaders will be able to get things going. He also said that he has had a number of people come to him to find out more about the group, having heard about it, and he has directed them to the new president.

I thought it might be interesting to try to see Arigbede, but he is traveling next week to Geneva, his first trip in several years since his passport had been taken away. I wonder if I should try to find Odeyemi.

fnjn9811

Saturday June 13, Mrs. Adejola, Iloko

I went to Iloko Saturday morning; got there about 10:30. When we got to Mrs. Adejola's house, a young woman there said that she wasnt in, but that she was around. She went to get her. About half an hour went by before she came back to the house, saying that she had been in the farm.

WE visited for a while. I gave her the photos I took last year. Also mentioned the video, and she said she'd like a copy.She asked if I had seen kabiyesi (Olashore). I told her about seeing Lola Dare in Ibadan, but it wasnt clear that she knew who I was talking about, altho she seemed to know the name Lola. I didnt get the impression that she knew anything about what CHESTRAD is doing, but she just may not have known what I was referring to. She thought I was talking about Mrs. Faoye at first; I then asked ab out her, and she said that she hasnt seen her since March. She said that Mrs Faoye had been given a chieftaincy title when kabiyesi had the first aniversary of his installation, at the end of February. Then she brought me the program of the event which took place feb 27. He gave 11 chieftaincy titles, including titles to Bola Ige (Baba Oba); Mrs. Faoye (yeye something); Mrs. Omoniyi. Also someone named Odeyemi, but I'm not sure it was Prof Odeyemi, maybe another member of his family. Also to a husband and wife who I have not heard of before. And to Dr. Adigun (he was second in the list after Bola Ige). And the last on the list was I. Nwachukwu -- I think he was the foreign minister when Olashore was finance minister. I said that I hadnt been invited to the ceremony; will have to ask Olashore about that.

Then she took me to see the gari processing site, where they have now built a cement brick wall around the whole area. She said they also have an electric engine for grinding, so they want to install electricity on the site so they can use it. She said that the hired bricklayers to build the wall, but that the group also helped out, by carryng water and other things for them. I asked if they are still getting assistnce from ADON; her reply was that they are not.

I asked if there were any other new projects in the twon, and she told me about the new market place and took me to see it. She said that they are using it now, instead of the old one and that it is a 3 day market, and meets early in the morning. They are hoping to attract people from other towns like Ilesa to sell there too. There are 3 sets of cement open sheds that have built, and the foundation is there for another shed, which she said would have lockup stalls. And in the far corner is a VIP toilet commissioned by Mrs Obi, the wife of the governor; we didnt actually go all the way to the toilet as there wasnt a cleared path. Not clear if it is actually open for use.

I bought a sack of gari from her, for N400 for 20 congos, plus she dashed me 4 congos. I

said I'd try to stop back again before I leave, and she said then she could give me some corn from the farm.

fnjn9812

Monday June 15, Bolanle Awe and Janet Crabtree, Ibadan

I met with Bolanle Awe in her office in the morning. Janet was also there, hoping to see her, and the 3 of us ended up going to have lunch together.

Bolanle and I talked generally, catching up on news, and also discussing MacArthur Foundation directions. She said that the foundation has decidded not to continue funding reproductive health activities in Nigeria, because they think they arent influencing policy enough (or that is the official reason). In stead they are going to be doing work on security and civil society but she doesnt know what that is going to focus on. She said they had a meeting with human rights groups outside Nigeria, but hasnt yet seen the report on the outcome of that meeting. She isnt very happy with this cutback, and feels that it is because Leni hasnt been a strong advocate for the Nigerian program. AT one point a couple of years ago, they nearly closed the whole program here. She also showed me a statement in a newsletter, that refereed generaly, and broadly, to the issues of security and civil society, and from that it might seem as if my project would fit into what they're going to fund. She also doesnt know who is going to be responsible for these programs, but suggested contacting Carmen Baroso, rather than Leni. The other person there is Kennecht ? but she said she seems not to have much power in the foundation; she is the one who funded Jane and LaRay's project.

Later, when we went to lunch we talked more about Ilesa/Ijesaland, since Janet is doing research on chieftaincy and power. We talked a lot about the owa and how he is viewed. I mentioned not having seen the owa while doing my current research; Bolanle's comment was that I can be sure that he knows about me.

Janet had gone to the anniversary celebration of Olashore in Iloko. She said that the owa had attended that.

WE also talked about the various reports on chieftaincy problems, and I askd about the one I was supposed to get some years ago on the district chiefs and the owa. She thinks she has a copy. Bolanle told us that an Ijesa Year Book has been published and is to be launched in July; Prof Jegede (? of Jeje?) is the one who put it together. She offered to give me her copy; in the meantime Janet has borrowed it but I am suppposed to get it from her next week, as well as the chieftaincy report.

fnjn9813

Monday June 15, Lola Dare, Ibadan

Lola and I were supposed to get together to work on a brief concept paper. But I was late and she had other people there, so there realy wasnt time. Instead we decided to meet next week in Ife, and in the meantime we talked more generally re funding possibilities, including NSF collaborative programs.

WE also talked about what is happening with macarhur foundation funding. Her view is that Leni doesnt like Nigeria and doesnt like coming here. So she has gotten the reproductive health program cancelled, and is instead funding human rights activities thru a London-based human rights organization (Human "Rights watch?). That way she wont ever have to come to Nigeria. Lola understands that it is difficult to work in Nigeria but thinks that is even more reason to support efforts here.

fnjn9814

Thursday June 18 1998, Ilesa market place

I took a walk thru the market place this morning, because Tinu Ifaturoti had asked if I had seen the way the market place has expanded, in front of the post office and town hall. We parked the car across from the local government offices; that area hasnt changed. But the area in fron t of the town hall, used for the evening market has been enclosed with a fence; there are gates at either side, as well as gates that go into the area directly in front of the town hall. No one was in that market place, except for a few beggars and people walking thru, but there are tables and benches so I presume it is still the evening market. But on the other side, on the road that should be the main road in to the afin, the road is lined with stalls, and I doubt that it is possible for cars to pass thru there any more. On the road leading past the Post Office to the main market area, new lock-up stalls have been built, only some of which are occupied. At the same time, the sheds that were formerly along that road are still there, only they have moved forward, further into the road, so that it is effectively taken over by shops. (Later in the morning I saw Chief Lamikanra who complained about the lack of access to the Post Office now; he also said that the area inside the post office grounds also has new stalls, altho I didnt see these.)

Once we got into the main market, it doesnt seem to have changed much. In fact, there are still cloth sellers along the first line in, and there are yam sellers where they always were, altho other things are also being sold in the yam area. We walked the whole perimeter of the market, and there is still a large section with native medicine, again, where it always was. When we were walking in the area where people have pepper grinding machines, I caught sight of my old friend, Mrs. Adeola (need to confirm name), the woman with the pepper grinding shop. She saw me and recognized me immediately, told Mufu that it had been 8 years since she last saw me. We chatted briefly, I gave her my card with my address, and she asked me to come back next week. She suggested Tuesday because that is the market day, but I said I wasnt sure I could get there that day.

We then completed our circuit of the market, walking back on one of the streets that adjoins it, where there are still a few shops but not many. Most of the expansion seems to be in the Post Office-Town Hall- road leading to the afin area.

In driving around the roundabout I saw that the statue in the middle of the roundabout has lost its arm, and that it is propped up at the foot of the statue (Janet Crabtree mentioned this the other day and said she had told Owa about it, but he hasnt done anything about it. Of course, the statue was orginally put up by Rotary, not by palace).

fnjn9815

Thursday June 18 1998, Chief Lamikanra

When we got to Chief Lamikanra's house, he was standing by his gate. His first comment to me was that I'm a brave woman to come to Nigeria at this time. WE began talking about the political situations, in the US (he asked about Clinton) and mostly, in Nigeria. He said that the current change in the political situation here had been a big "relief" (and I commented that that had been my impression too). Then we talked about my work, and my book; I told him a bit about some of the things it will include, including the sections on the political/economic context, and how that has affected activities.

I asked him about how things are going with his organization. He said that there has been less activity because of the economic situation. For example, people need money to attend the meeting. If the meeting is held at the Sports Club (at beginning of Ijebu-jesa road) someone needs to take a taxi there, which could cost them N40 to get there and back. Not everyone can afford N40 for a taxi these days. And if they have their own car, they cant afford the cost of the petrol. He said that he asked someone to attend a meeting in Ijebu Ode, and the man said that he couldnt afford the N800 it would cost to go there. He himsef went to a meeting in Ibadan, that cost him N1500. So he could give the man the N800, but he too has limits on what he can spend. However, he said that he thinks things will pick up again, if there is a depression and things go down, eventually they go as far down as they can and they begin to start up again. He also commented several times that they are still here, still managing.

He then went on to say that his fear is that there is a brain drain. He said he knows people are concerned about the brain drain out of Nigeria. But his concern is with the brain drain out of Ilesa. He said that the younger people are not coming back to Ilesa; they go away and establish themselves in Lagos or Ibadan, and they dont come home; their children dont know this place. We debated whether this is the case or not. He said that he is not typical, that his children bring their children here, and all his grandchildren know Ilesa, but that is unusual. We talked about the history of mobility here, and the osomaalo tradition, but he still feels that the situation has changed now and that people are not coming home the way they did before.

I asked why he fears this. He said because that is the only that that development is going to occur in Ilesa. The government isnt going to do anything here-- look at the Oshogbo Road. If the government does spend money on anything, it will develop the capital, not Ilesa. So development has to be done by those from here. I mentioned the market expansion as an example of some development that has taken place, and he agreed, altho then complained about difficulty of reaching the Post Office. He feels that if people from here dont come home, then there wont be any development here.

On the economic situation, he also mentioned a friend who is a pensioner who goes to the tax office, near the post office, to collect his check. His friend says that in the past when he went there were maybe 100 cars there. But now, he is embarrassed to go in his car, because there are only about five cars there.

I told Lamikanra about the reserch Janet Crabtree is doing, and that led to a little discussion of the Owa. He said that the Owa wants to be like an 18th century oba. And of course the result is that no one wants to go there, or respect him. He gave the example that he was doing somehing that he had been askd to do at the palace, and the Owa called to him and told him to remove his shoes. His response (to himself) was that he wasnt going to remove his shoes, and hence he stopped going there to help. I talked about the fact that I havent seen the Owa about my research. He didnt seem to think it was a big problem, but did say that if I want to set an appointment he could help me to do so, that either he can contact him, or else thru one of his "lackeys". We agreed that there isnt time on this visit, however.

I left after buying some honey from him (N250 for a jar).

fnjn9816

Thursday June 18 1998, Tina Fatiregun, Ijebu-jesa

I got to Ijebu-jesa around 2 PM and stayed about an hour, visiting with Tina Fatiregun. Mainly pretty general conversation. But we did talk a little about Iloko and Olashore. I mentioned Olashore's request for info for a US trip, and said that I really dont know what they want to do especialy since I dont know the wife. Tina said that she is a "simple" person, very loving, very caring, she's young and pretty. I said then that that means that Olashore made a good selection, and she responded that "we" made a good selection. I asked what she meant, and she said that she was involved in the selection of the right person to be his second wife. I asked her about this, becaue I recalled her being pretty negative about his taking a second wife. She said that once he was going to become oba, he had to take another wife, someone to help him out, to entertain, etc. The wife is a lawyer; she has just finished her studies. I asked if she is staying in Iloko, and she said that she is. She also said that Olashore goes to Lagos sometimes during the week, but is at home on weekends.

I askd how he is doing, and she said that she thinks he is doing well. She commented that she loves him, and that the people love him. Again, I questioned her because at one time it seemed that she was annoyed with him. She said, yes they quarrelled, or that actualy it was her, that she was annoyed with him. She felt that he was too rigid, too short with people. That she didnt think he could be like that as an oba. And that she spoke to him about it (implying that she and others did this together). She thinks he has changed now. She commented that it is harder to be an oba in a small town like Iloko than in a place like Ibadan. In a place like Iloko, everyone, the riffraff, can come to you, you have to accept everyone.

She thinks he is doing very well, he is "putting Iloko on the map". (she didnt give any specifics to support this statment).

I asked her if she has met Lola Dare or heard of CHESTRAD. She does not know of her, or of the organization. She first thought I was referring to ADON and she said that she met Mrs Faoye at a training program, where they were being trained as trainers for work in adolescent fertility. I gave her Lola's name and address, as well as Bolanle Awe's, since Tina seems to be trying to get more involved in research and other work that would get her out of the college of education. (She's on sabbatical at Ife now, and would like to move there; she said that she has spoken with Olashore about this and that he has said he would speak to the vice chancellor.)

fnjn9817

Friday June 19 1998, engagement ceremony of Sinmisola Ifaturoti

According to what I had been told in advance, the ceremony was scheduled for 11 AM, at Ifaturoti's house. When I got there just before 11, hardly anyone was around; a couple of women were sitting in the sittin room, and that was about it. Then I saw Tinu, dressed in a house dress, and she told me that they had had to reschedule for 1 PM, because the mother-in-law had said they couldn't get to Ilesa from Lagos before 1. So I said I would wait there; a little later I saw Kunle, and again was told to just stay around. (Also got medical consultation while waiting, from Kunle and later Adebisi and Fadeke; had also stopped to see doctor at Alpha since my stomach has still been bothering me.).

During the first hour or so, there was a trickle of people arriving, people who had not heard about the change in time. MOst were fairly elderly, both men and women. I didnt know any of them. Some sat in the sitting room; others went on thru to the area behind the house, near the garage, where chairs were set up for the ceremony. Members of the family came in and out of the sitting room; quite a few of the grandchildren were around, including Fadeke's children from the US (who were obviously from the US). I saw and spoke with Adebisi, and also saw Kike later on, as well as Fadeke. The other sister, Toun, is away on a course out of the country. I did not see the son, Gbola, until the next day, but I did meet his wife; I don't know if he was around, but if so, he certainly wasnt visible. Sinmisola herself came thru at one point. During all this time, no one was dressed up yet.

After a while, Tinu's sister, Mrs. Thompson, arrived; and she greeted me, and then we sat together in the sitting room and chatted while waiting. She had her grandson, about2 years old, with her, and also a granddaughter; they live with her while their parents are in London (She told me that all her children are either in England or the US, one in Atlanta and one in San Diego). At about 12:30, she said that she was going to change her clothes. By that time quite a few more people had arrived, and people started to go sit outside. Also around that time Chief Apara arrived and we greeted each other. Also, Chief Makinde, the man who I had met the other day at Ifaturoti's. He told me that there is going to be an Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting, of the Executive Council, after the wedding Saturday afternoon, at 2 PM. He said that Ifaturoti said he would be attending, that they expect the wedding to be over by then. I asked if I could attend, and he said that I could, that it is going to be at the home of Chief (Justice) Ibidapo-Obe, and that he would let the latter know that I would be attending.

Just about 1 PM, Kunle Ifaturoti came and told everyone in the sitting room that we should all go outside to sit (presumably things were going to start soon after). Chief Makinde seemed to take on a key role, shepherding people outside, getting them seated, arranging for more chairs to be brought out. The chairs that were set up were all metal ones; then some plastic chairs,

that tend to be more comfortable were set up in front of those. The chairs were arranged in 2 groups, facing each other with space in the middle. Several upholstered chairs were also brought out from the sitting room, for the bride and groom to use, and for Kunle and Tinu. A table was also set up with a bouquet of flowers, that were already starting to wilt (later someone changed them). A band was playing; they were located in the garage. They were playing Christian songs, with a juju type of beat.

All of us that were there at that time took seats on one side, the bride's side. Around this time a group of about 20 women dressed in aso ebi-- white iro and buba and the same color aso oke head tie and wrappers-- arrived. Someone said they were from the church, and later on Mobo Akinola arrived (as did others) dressed the same way, who joined them. One of the women dressed this way was the one who was the spokesperson for the bride's family when the ceremony finally got under way later. The women from the church sat together, and they were immediately served food and drink. I took a seat with some old women toward the middle. But when Tinu's sister came out, I joined her in the front row on one of the plastic chairs. Later, Chief Apara came and sat with us as well.

There was no sign of the man's family yet. At around 1:30 food was served to all of us sitting out there. Tinu and Kunle had come out by this time, and they ate as well. The band stopped and led a prayer. Then when still nothing had happened, they put on some canned music, while everyone sat around and waited. We were still outside when Justice Eso arrived; I think it was after 2 by then, maybe even 2:30. I greeted him; he told me that his wife was inside. After a while, Kunle and Tinu went back inside, and other people were wandering around. Some went inside, while others stayed outside. (Fortunately there was a tent over us, and a bit of a breeze, but it was still quite hot). I talked some with Chief Apara; we discused what is happening in the country, and what may happen. He also told me that he had been in Chicago last year, visiting a niece, and that he has 3 daughters in New York.

I went inside for a while later on, and there was quite a large number of people there -- Apara, Eso, other men, all sitting together, talking. Others were scattered around the room. I talked briefly with Eso, arranging to meet with him Saturday after the church wedding ceremony. I also talked briefly with Mrs. Eso. Then I went back outside, tho I came back in just before 5 PM. By this time a large crowd was around the tv set, watching the soccer match. Tinu and her sister were in the other part of the room. Eso was there, and when a car drove in with Adebisi, he said that they were coming -- aparently Adebisi had gone to check and to come back and let people know. Eso was also telling people that they should just do the prayers and get the ceremony over with quickly. So we were all sent outside again, and people were told to stop watching football.

I saw Mobo Akinola again around this time; she had left to go to another function and said that she thought this one would be underway before she got back.

Finally at about 5:15 the man's family arrived. First a group, primarily women dressed in aso ebi, arrived. There was a woman leading the event from each family's side, with those frm Ifaturoti welcoming the others, the others responding and so on. While that was going on, women began bringing in the gifts -- yams, baskets of other things, a suitcase, etc -- and putting them on the side, by the garage. I had decided that I had to leave by 6:15, because it would be getting dark. So I was able to see the arrival of the groom, who was with a group of young men; they all prostrated in front of Kunle and Tinu, with some lying on top of the others. Then the bride was brought out, covered in a head cloth and surrounded by young women. She knelt before her parents, they embraced her. Prayers were said throughout the whole thing. Also introductions of who the people were. (all was in Yoruba;so far as I could tell, it wasnt humorous, as it sometimes is).

I left after the bride came out. Later I found out that I had been introduced when all of the bride's family and friends were introduced (Mobo Akinola told me this the next day at the wedding).

fnjn9818

Saturday June 20 1998, wedding of Sinmisola Ifaturoti, Ilesa

The wedding ceremony was held at Otapete Methodist Church. It was scheduled for 10 AM; I got there later, at about 10:10, and the ceremony was already underway.. I had to wait outside a few minutes until we were all allowed into the church. I saw Chief Makinde sitting in the second to last row, and he pointed to room behind him, where I sat. The ceremony took 2 hours, and ended just about at 12. From where I was sitting, I could see Mr. Fatiregun, sitting in the back; later I greeted him. During the period when everyone went around to give donations, I got to see others who were there, including Prof Wale Omole, Ife vice chancellor, and Prof Odeyemi. Both stopped to ask when I arrived, and I talkd briefly with both of them. I saw them both later on, too -- Omole at the reception, and Odeyemi at the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting.

When I went around myself, I was able to greet Kunle and Tinu. Also Adebisi stopped to ask how I was feeling.

The reception was held at the Ilesa Social Elite Club, so I went there right away. When I got there, Chief Makinde found me and told me that the meeting of the Solidarity group would start at 2 and that I should sit somewhere where I could leave to go to the meeting. He also took me outside to show me how to get to Chief Ibidapo-Obe's house, which was close by. However, I ended up not sitting where he suggested but instead sat further towards the front, next to Chief Apara. Mobo Akinola sat in the row in front of me. The rows further towards the front were reserved for family members.

I saw Wale Omole and talked with him briefly. We agreed that I would try to see him Monday morning on campus. He said that he is thinking that on one of his trips to the US he should come to visit Parkside.

The large room of the Ilesa Social Elite club was set up with rows of metal chairs, all facing the front. Eveyone came in and took seats in these chairs. At the front of the room was the high table, with two large wicker chairs for the bride and groom and other chairs for the rest of the key family members who were asked to sit there. A large wedding cake was displayed to one side.

Today, women members of the Ifaturoti family were wearing aso oke head ties that were in a pyschedelic yellow and blue color -- very bright. Kunle and his son, Gbola, were wearing dark aso -- it looked like etu-- that was beautifully embroidered; they looked like old agbada. Simi was of course wearing a white wedding gown, and the groom was in a suit.

Food was distributed in plastic containers to everyone, except those at the high table got their food on plates. The reception included a speech by the chairman, Omole, a toast by a friend of the couple, a reply by the husband, and at the end a thank you by Gbola Ifaturoti. The toast told a little of how the couple met at Ife; the young man giving the toast told a story about asking Simi what was going on, and then explained that he asked her, rather than the man, because he and Simi are "both Ijesa" and "I cared about her".

ABout midway thru the program people were told they could bring their gifts in; this was also the point at which the couple danced and people got up and sprayed them.

The reception ended at about 2:45, tho some people left before then. I stayed around, and said good by to Apara, Tinu's sister, and others before I left. Photos were being taken of Simi with all the kids.

The same band was performing that had played on Friday. At about 1 PM, or sometime thereafter, the master of ceremonies began the program, by calling people to the high table and introducing them, including the chairman of the event, Wale Omole.

fnjn9819

Saturday June 20 1998, meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group

Chief Makinde, who I met last week at Ifaturoti's, told me that there would be a meeting of Ijesa Solidarity Group this afternoon, starting at 2 PM. It was a meeting of the Executive Council, but he said that it would be all right for me to go. At the wedding reception he gave me directions to Justice Ibidapo-Obe's house; Ibidapo-Obe is the new president of ISG. His house is at Isokun; to get there, we turned right at the first junction after Ilesa Social Elite club, then first left, and his house is along the road there -- a two story, rather ordinary looking building. It is about a block before a very fancy new house.

When I got there, the meeting was already in progress, but there were only about 5 people there; more arrived later, and eventually there were ten people there. The meeting was held in an upstairs sitting room that seemed to be the main sitting room of the house; adjoining it was a bar, and a hall led off from the back of the room, to what seemed to be a kitchen, as I could smell food and hear sounds of food preparation. As soon as I walked in to the room, the discussion that was taking place stopped, and after I greeted Justice Ibidapo-Obe and took a seat, Ibidapo-Obe asked the secretary, Dr. Omole (another Dr Omole) to introduce me, which he did quite effectively, describing a little about my research here. He then introduced the others that were there -- Chief Makinde, and the other three men who were there at that point -- whose names I didnt get. One of them was described as "still in the service", meaning the Civil Service; it appears he works for Osun State. Another was quite outspoken later on in supporting the position taken by Seinde ARigbede in the paper he presented to them (more on that below). The third was sitting next to Chief Makinde. Then Ibidapo-Obe asked if I would like to make a brief reply, and I said I would. Just as I started, another man arrived, and shortly after that, a woman, Mrs. Oginni. A little later Prof. Odeyemi arrived with another man, also named Odeyemi. As each person came in they were introduced to me, and me to them. The first man to arrive was introduced as the Provost of the College of Education (didnt get his name). Then Mrs. Oginni, who remembered meeting me before at Ifaturoti's; then Prof Odeyemi, and the other Odeyemi, who was referred to as the one politician in the group. Those who arrived late such as Mrs Oginni explained that they wree coming from the wedding.

Of the whole group, Chief Makinde seems to be the oldest, more in the Ifaturoti generation, whereas the others appear younger, altho Ibidapo-Obe mentioned that he is retired. Odeyemi must be in his fifties, and that is probably the age range of most of the others, tho Mrs. Oginni is probably younger. She was the only woman there. Her husband came in with her, and greeted people and was invited to stay, but he said he had other things to attend to and left.

AS the discussion resumed, Dr. Omole brought me a copy of the new constittution. He was

then asked to report on the formation of a Council of Elders. He said that 13 people had been invited to form a Council of Elders for ISG; he read off the names. They included Eso, Apara, Chief Fatodu, Ajayi (from Ibokun). He said that letters had been sent to all, but that he isnt heard back from most of them yet. There was some discussion with the fact that 13 had been invited, instead of 12 as the constitution specifies, but Omole said that was because they wanted to include Ajayi. There seemed to be general agreement with the process and no big objection to 13 instead of 12. Those who were not at the last meeting agreed to what had been done.

They then discussed having a meeting outside Ilesa, as has been done in the past. Omole reported that he had spoken to the oba of Ipole, and that they are ready to host ISG, that all they have to do is set a date. Ipole is in Atakumosa local government. He raised the issue of whether it's ok to meet in a place other than Osu (which is lg headquarters) but no one seemed to think that a problem. Someone did raise the issue of whether there was anyone active in ISG who is from Ipole, and Omole said that there was someone who had done all the legwork, and that they'll be received well there. One of the other men there mentioned that his own hometown is nearby, and mentioned the name. Then someone asked sort of jokingly where that is located; this was followed by Mrs. Oginni asking seriously where it's located. She said that when she was smal her father never took her places outside Ilesa, so she doesnt know the outlying towns. Someone said they would tell her later, that it isnt relevant to the present discussion. Omole also mentioned that the road is tarred to Ipole from the Express road.

There was consensus that it's important to meet outside Ilesa. Ibidapo-Obe said that when he was president of Ilesa Social Elite one of the criticisms was that it was for Ilesa only. He and others said that even if there arent members from there now, this would be a way to let people know about them and to get members from there.

They then discussed the date, and chose a date in August, checking first with the man identified as a politician about elections; he said that if there are elections they'll be first of August. They also discussed when they would hold the next Annual General Meeting, which is supposed to be held inMarch, or soon thereafter, and agreed that that would be after the Ipole meeting.

The next item of business was the paper submitted by Dr. Arigbede; I looked at Prof Odeyemi's copy during the discussion. It was a fairly lengthy document about future of IsG, and essentially proposed the transformation of ISG into a development organization that would seek external funding to carry out develop;ment in Ijesaland. There were also recommendations about structure of the organization. There seemed to be reluctance to discuss it without Arigbede there, and Ibidapo-Obe talked for a while about the fact that he expected him there, that he has been at their other meetings, and he had not heard from him that he wouldnt be there (I knew that Arigbede has gone to Europe but decided not to say

anything). Several people also mentioned that it looked like not everyone had read it, and that it is really an importatn document. One man spoke at some length about it, saying he had worked with ARgibede on the ideas and that he thinks it is very important that ISG get involved in appropriate interventions for the economic development of Ijesaland. He suggested that ARigbede should be asked to present it to the next meeting of the Executive Council. Others, including Odeyemi, proposed that it should be discussed at the Ipole meeting, but others felt it wasnt appropriate for a larger meeting, and that executive council should discuss it first. There was also reference to the earlier paper that Odeyemi had prepared, on Ijesa unity, and the fact that very few people were at the meeting in Ijebu-jesa where it was discussed. Other than the one man who spoke on the importance of the issues there was no discussion of the ideas in the paper, but rather just discussion of whether and when to discuss it. Finally they decided to discuss it at the next Executive Council meeting and to ask Arigbede to present it there.

Then the President, Ibidapo-Obe, brought up other issues -- one was his term of office, and when it is supposed to end. This led to a discussion not just of that, but much more generally about what ISG should be doing. Ibidapo-Obe said that when they are doing something, like the IPole meeting, they should do more to publicize it, that no one knows what ISG is doing. He said that one member said that "he knows ISG is dead" altho he would pay his dues anyway. Prof Odeyemi then talked at some length, saying that maybe people are right who say ISG is dead, because it really isnt addressing some of the issues that need to be addressed. He said that when he goes to Oshogbo people there (in state govt) say that they never hear anything from Ijesas, that they dont get any pressure to do things, such as the Oshogbo-Ilesa road. He said that maybe we need to redirect the focus of ISG some, to focus more on putting pressure on governemtn to get the things we need, to address situations that develop. Later, he added that there should always be 2 or 3 people ready to go to Oshogbo to address any situation that arises, or even to Abuja if necessary, that they shouldnt have to wait for a meeting. He also referred to what hapened in the College of Technology (where he is, or was Provost; I saw in the paper that there had been some problem there). He said that ISG is becoming an organization that just meets and doesnt do anything else.

The man who supported ARigbede's paper then said that ISG really has to be concerned with the grassroots and ordinary people, that these are issues that mainly just concern the elites, and shouldnt be the main focus of the organization. But his view didnt seem to be shared by others. The Provost of the College of Education spoke, agreeing with Odeyemi and said that they can't wait to have total unity among Ijesas before they fight for their cause, that they need to make major effort to pressure governemtn, eg about the Oshogbo Road.

The other Odeyemi, the politician, said that there is no unity in IJesaland. He said that ISG has to function as a pressure group, for example, regarding what is happening in the civil service, that Ijesas have become marginalized. They need a new strategy, for example,

perhaps to opt out of Osun STate. He referred to another situation (Efon Alaye) where a locale had refused to be part of the area to which it was assigned. He also said that an individual can do a lot, and gave the example of Oba Olashore, when he was Minister of Finance. He asked some people for a list of the things that would help Ijesaland that could be done in 8 months, and then went ahead to do some of these things. He also referred to Ijesaland as an "Empire" saying, as did one other person, "after all, we are an empire". He also agreed with Odeyemi about fact that people in Oshogbo say they never hear anything from Ijesas.

Then Mrs Oginni spoke at length; she in fact seemed to be making a speech, and seemed to be referring to a list of points that she had on a piece of paper (tho I don't know if they were actually written down). She started out by sayinng that when she was young, Ijesas were always seen as agressive, as getting things for their area. She asked why they have now been relegated to nothing? why have we been marginalized? She said there used to be good water pressure in Ilesa, there used to be street lights, there used to be good roads, and that we need to do something to improve these again. She asked whether it was the local governement or state government that takes care of the roads, and somone said the state govt; she said that they should be putting pressure on the state govt to do something. She said that this is the best governemtn we'll get, for responding to pressure; that when the politicians are there, everything will go to Osun area. She also referred to other towns and the problem of unity, referring specifically to Iloko, then apologizing to Odeyemi who is from there, saying that people from Ilesa need to not see themselves as superior to others, but also seeming to imply that those other towns need to work with Ilesa. Her list also included discussion of the need for a university and how they should begin working to get that located in Ilesa, since Osun people wont want that to happen, but that they (Ijesas) are the ones involved in education.

She also discussed the president's term, saying that even tho president was elected in Nov 1996, there was no executive council and he couldnt really funciton til executive council was appointed, which apparently happened in late 1997. And that this is the first executive council meeting that is really well attended, so the president needs to continue for a while. Others seemed to feel this way as well, indicating that they are just getting going with things. Someone said that the former president (Ifaturoti) had refused to continue, and that it was more or less an emergency situation,but that the new president hadnt been able to function.

Mrs. Oginni also referred to herself in Warri (where she lives) saying that she doesnt always know what is going on here in Ilesa and in Osun State, but that people who are here should be acting more than they are.

By this time it was 5 PM and I decided that I had to leave if I was going to see Justice Eso and get back to Ife. So I said goodby to everyone, thanked them; they insisted on my having a soft drink, and then I left. I also spoke breifly with Odeyemi about trying to see him this

coming week, probably Thursday afternoon. (we had already discussed this breifly when I saw him at the wedding).

Comment: it is my impression that ISG may be changing direction. There seemed to be a lot of emphasis on being a pressure group on governemtn, and less interest in the ideas Arigbede has; it looks like a potential split among those who are currently active. too bad Arigbede wasnt there as it would have been interesting to hear what he had to say about the idea of pressuring govt (and of course the really cant function that way if they become an ngo of the sort he is proposing).

fnjn9820

Saturday June 20 1998, Justice Eso, after Ifaturoti wedding

I had seen Justice Eso at the engagement on Friday afternoon, and spoke to him about getting together today. (Altho everyone was just sitting around waiting for something to happen, that didnt seem like a good time to talk with him, becaues people were also anxious about why the groom's family hadnt arrived yet). He said that he would be at home after the wedding today. I didnt get to his house until 5 PM, because I went to the Ijesa Solidarity Group meeting, and that was still going on when I left; I also hadnt had anything to eat all afternoon. So when I got to Eso's house I explained the situation, and also that I still had to drive back to Ife before dark. So we had about an hour, during which time I also got some food.

We talked about the general situation in the country, as well as about my work, and various other topics. I told him about where things are on the book, and the chapters that remain, including the ones on the relationship between local activities and the overall political and economic situation. I described how it seemed to me that in 1991-92 there was a sort of optimism about the future, change in political situation anticipated for 1993, etc. He agreed. I then commnented on what has happened since, and used the term "depression". He took off from that comment, saying, yes, that there has been both political and pyschological depression, as well as economic depression. He said that "it has never been as bad as it is now," certainly never as bad politically and pyschologically. And the economic situation is also bad. We agreed that there seems to be some movement in a better direction, but he feels that you really can't tell yet, and that they need to move quickly; that it has now been two weeks since Abacha's death, and there needs to be some statement of what the program is, of what direction things are going. He said that he doesnt trust any of them, and that after all the new man was also in Abacha's government, in a high level position.

(Comment: this notion of political, economic, pyschological depression may be something I want to use in discussion in those chapters -- noting situation by 6/98, or even as part of postcript that brings things up to date, whatever the later situation)

We also talked a little about Ijesa Solidarity Group. I asked if he is still active. He said that he is still a member, still pays his dues, but that he is no longer an active member, that the other group (those I saw at the meeting) are the ones handling the activities now. He still supports what they are doing, but is no longer directly involved, has too many other things to do. He also said that he really isnt current on what they are doing now.

Regarding the Ifaturoti wedding, he told me what had happened yesterday, with the late arrival of the groom's family and how he had finally acted to resolve the situation. He said that Kunle was getting really frustrated and agitated over the situation, and that he (Eso) was

getting concerned about his health. He said that he was the one who insisted that Kunle and Tinu go back into the house, rather than sitting outside waiting for them. Then he himself went to the place, not far away, where they were gathering, to find out what the problem really was. He said that most of the people were there,and that the young man had in fact arrived two days before in Ilesa. But they were waiting for the bus that had all the gifts; it had not arrived from Lagos. And they felt embarassed to come without the required gifts. So he told them that they had to get the ceremony under way anyway, and that when it came to the point, he would figure out some way around it; he would say that the gifts had already been delivered, or something like that. When he told Tinu, she said that her daughter would be seriously disappointed (if they didnt have the gifts), but he said that they really had to go ahead; he was really worried about Kunle's health. It was after this that they finally came to the house, and even then they didnt want to come in without the gifts. In the end, the bus with the gifts finally arrived, just after the ceremony started. He felt that someone from the groom's family should have taken care of the situation much earlier, that they could have sent another vehicle to collect the gifts; perhaps the problem was that the father is in the diplomatic service and is in Kuala Lumpur, and the mother is a step-mother, and apparently those standing in for the father didnt really do anything to solve the problem. Eso said that Chief Apara also could have done something, but that he doesnt have the patience, he would just abuse people and not be helpful. So that he felt that he had to step in. And Apara told him today that he saved the day yesterday. Eso had come to Ifaturoti's house directly from Ibadan, where his wife had a doctor's appointment that AM. And since his wife hasnt been well, he felt that perhaps he shouldnt have come at all. In the end, he said that he and his wife left at about 6:30, just after the groom's side was being introduced.

And today he only showed up briefly at the reception, but didnt stay.

He commented that it would have been very bad if the ceremony yesterday hadnt gone off well. And said that when his own daughter got married, Kunle Ifaturoti was in charge and had everything plotted out, all the times when things were to happen, and everything went without a hitch. So that was another reason why he had to get involved in resolving what happened yesterday.

I left Eso's house at about 6:15; it then started to rain before we got out of Ilesa, and the rain followed us to Ife, so didnt get back til 7:30.

fnjn9821

Tuesday June 23 1998, Ifaturoti house

I stopped by Ifaturoti's house at about 11 AM. Tinu was there, and Kunle arrived back shortly after. Tinu said they were still exhausted from the wedding, and we talked about what happened on Friday with the engagement. She said first they were worried, then annoyed, then they were able to smile and be happy when it finally took place. She said the problem was that one of the vehicles broke down. And the step-mother of the groom is very young and didnt know what to do -- that she was crying. She is younger than Ifaturoti's daughter Toun. When Kunle came in, he said that he was very frustrated and very annoyed, but then the subject was dropped.

There was an elderly woman in the sitting room. She was given a yam. Tinu explained that all the gifts are divided between the two sides of the family -- her own family and the Ifaturoti family. Everyone is given something, that that yam for example may still be divided to go to more people. They do this with all the gifts but not the dowry; that goes to the bride. I asked what the dowry is, and she said money. That in some families, the money is divided too, but not in the Ifaturoti family. They dont look at it, it goes directly to the bride. They say that "we are not selling our daughter". Some men were inside, in the courtyard area, and they called to Kunle; he said that they were in the process of dividing things up, and that they wanted him to help. So he went back there for a few minutes.

I also met Bayo, their son-in-law (Toun's husband), and when he left he also took a yam as well as a box of a fruit juice drink. Fadeke and her children were also around. She said that the children are getting bored and want to go back to Lagos to be with their cousins.

Kunle mentioned that the brewery is closed; I hadnt heard about this previously. Apparently the workers went on strike a week ago Monday, and then the senior staff was also threatening to strike. So the management closed it down, and there were mobile police who chased the workers away last Monday, using tear gas. This led to conversation about what has been happening at the brewery. He said that the board had been sacked by the shareholders this year, that he and the others had been thrown out. Justice Eso is no longer the chairman, he was thrown out at the same time as the rest of them. They had reported a N50 million loss. He said that the problem was that the former managing director had stolen a lot of the money. That the processing plant that was put in in 1978 should have been depreciated and replaced, as well s the one put in later on, but that hadnt been done, so the plants are working right, and there isnt money to replace them. That when they needed parts, the managing director would go to Europe and buy cheaper ones himself, then pocket the difference. He also had several companies that were supplying things to the brewery. There is a new managing dirctor, Makinde, but Kunle said he is the same type of person, only people will be watching him more

closely.

Their technical partners wanted a new board, and since they have more shares, they were able to get rid of all of the previous board. They have put together a new smaller board, of 10 people rather than 15, but some of the previous members have been put back on. The new chairman is Akinola. But Kunle said that they warned Akinola not to take it. He feels there will be an even bigger loss next time around, and that Akinola is then going to be caught trying to explain that. He explained that when the board was removed, they proposed that they appoint the next chairman. The other group of shareholders, with more shares, said that the suggested name would have to be acceptable to them. They wanted to appoint Akinmokun, since he is a successful businessman with his own industry in Ibadan. But the others said that they dont know him. Then when they eventually agreed to Akinmokun, the latter was insulted and refused the position. Kunle's group then recommended someone else (he didnt say who) who the others rejected. And then they appointed Akinola.

I commented that it is too bad, given that the brewery has been the one success story in Ilesa. Kunle agreed, but said that management has always been a problem, starting with Akinola himself.

Before I left, I gave Kunle and Tinu a gift of N2000 for the wedding; I think they were surprised but pleased.

fnjn9822

Thursday June 25 1998, Ifaturoti

We had made an appointment for me to meet with teachers at Ifaturoti's school to talk about computers, so I got to the house shortly after 11 AM and from there Kunle and I went to the school, which is still located in its temporary quarters near the palace. (He says they'll move back to the main location when the government finishes the Oshogbo Road). On the way to the school, I mentioned that Chief Makinde had invited me t the ISG meeting and that I wanted to thank him. So we branched back to go to a courthouse, where he sits as a judge, but Makinde wasnt there. I left a note there for him.

Kunle and I talked a little about the meeting. He said that he had had to intervene in something that had happened, that had been in the minutes. I said I had missed that part of the meeting. It appears that there had been some sort of altercation or insult between the ISG president and another man, a member of ISG who was appointed Secretary of the State Goverment. Back when the man was appointed, Ibidapo-Obe, ISG president, had gone to greet him and congratulate him on behalf of the organization. He sat and waited a long time, and never got to see the man. When he reported that back, an attempt was made to talk with the man, to find out what had happened. Ifaturoti had talked with the man about it, and the man had said that he would telephone Ibidapo-Obe, but that didnt happen. Then at the ISG meeting the other day, it was decided that Prof Odeyemi would talk with the man. Kunle said he doesnt know what was said. But on Monday, he (Kunle) received a phone call from the man's office, in which the secretary said that the man wanted Ibidapo-Obe's phone number. Kunle gave the number. Apparnetly the man then called Ibidapo-Obe and abused him, saying he was going around spreading false stories about him. So now, Kunle has written a letter to the man, copied to Ibidapo-Obe and someone else, who was also involved in this.(The other person was the other man at the meeting who was referred to as being in the civil service). When we got to the school he showed me the letter, which he had written this morning. It was a pretty strong letter, saying that he shouldnt have called to get the phone number in order to go and insult the president of ISG.

I mentioned to Kunle that the man who is in the civil service was one person at the meeting who seemed to particular support the position Arigbede had taken. Kunle said yes, that he would support it. I said that I had seen a copy of the paper; Kunle's only comment was that he thinks that thta is the way to go (ie the proposal made by Arigbede, by which I think he is referrng more to organizational issues such as having professional staff). He also said that he doesnt think it is something to be discussed at a general meeting, which seems to be what seem people want.

I left the school at about 1 after talking with the teachers about using computers and

demonstrating mine.

fnjn9823

Thursday June 25 1998, Ilesa market, Mrs. Adeola

From Ifaturoti's school I went to the market to see the woman I ran into the other day, who has a pepper grinding shop in the market, Mrs Adeola. We found her in her shop and visited there for a few minutes. She had saved two coconuts to give me; later she also gave me a small Hausa basket, an old one, which I ended up not taking with me. She gave me her address-- F85 Odo-Oro Street. Mostly she talked (in Yoruba) about how terrible Abacha had been for the country. After a while she asked if we wanted to go to her house, which she said wasnt far away. That seemed like a good idea since I've never known where it is. It turns out that it is right on the main road as you come into Ilesa, before getting to the roundabout, on the left handside. There are shops all along there in the front, but when you go thru the door you come into a compound with a number of buildings. She said that this was her brother's house, and that he has a tailor business; there were several young women sitting and sewing, outside the house but facing the courtyard rather than the street side of the building. We went into a room where she served us soft drinks. She asked where we were going from there, and when Mufu said Iloko she said that Olashore had helped her a lot, that he is a good person (but did not say how, or how she knows him). She seemed like she wanted to take a ride with us there, but in the end did not.

She also talked about how difficult things have been. And also ab out the new market stalls near the Post Office. She said they were put up by NIPOST, not by the local government, and that they are charging high rent for them. And they want the people who have the other shops in the area (now in front of these new stalls) to leave. Apparently the owa is supposed to be doing something about the situation, but it didnt sound like anything much was happening. She also told Mufu that market people were meeting with the Owa today, but didnt indicate if it was on this, or somehing else, or even if she knew the purpose of the meeting.

fnjn9824

Thursday June 25, 1998, Iloko

FRom Ilesa I went to Iloko, and went to the house of Mrs. Adejola, the woman with the gari processing center. Her husband said that she was still at school (it was about 2 PM). At the school they said thatshe had gone to the farm, but she appeared a couple of minutes later. We went back to her house where she served us soft drinks and took out some photos -- one of Prof Ransome-Kuti when CHESTRAD visited (Lola Dare was also in the photo); others in the photo included Olashore, the regent, Mrs. Adejola. It turns out that she does know Lola, as Dr Lola. She brought me information to tell me what CHESTRAD is doing; she basicaly knew about the health aspects of its activities. It wasnt clear whether she'd actually been involved in anything they've done. The other photo was of another group of women; she then told me that there is an adult education group, where they are doing literacy training and also various craft activities. Her friend, the younger woman who helped out with gari procesing last year appeared at the house then, and apparently she is inovlved in the adult edcation group. She said they meet MOn-Thursday at 4 PM; it was then about 3:15, but she said she could tell the women that I was around. She left, came back a little later and said the were waiting for me. We then set off with Mrs. Adejola, driving by a back road to the community hall. No one was there. Mrs. Adejola disappeared to look for them. Eventually about 6 women appeared on the road. It turned out that they no longer meet at the community hall; the FIISU has removed them because they want that room to become a library. So now they meet at the house of one of the women, near the palace. In the end, w met in the room at the community hall and they showed me some of the things they are doing -- mats and baskets out of plastic strips; batik; knit caps. Different women teach the skills. They sell some of the things, and also display them, for example at Iloko Day. I promised to come bac sometime in future when they are actually working on things.

That led to my asking about Iloko Day and I learned that there was one in October, and another is planned for this October. They said it was mainly for people from the town, altho they invited friends.

When we were at the primary school, Mufu asked about the big house that we could see; Mrs Adejola referred to them as estates. She said there are two -- the one owned by the man who lives in Oshogbo (Adewusi??), and the other by the brother of Prof. Odeyemi.

fnjn9825

Thursday June 25 1998, Odeyemi

I tried to see Prof Odeyemi on my way home from Iloko. But he hadnt arrived back home yet. Just left a note for him. It looks like he has several fish ponds at his house now, as well as other farm things.

fnjn9826

Friday June 26, conversation with Bisi Aina, Ife

At dinner at Bisi's, she talked a bit about what has happened with obas under the military. She feels that the obas have really discredited themselves, running to the military to pay homage to them. That it has destroyd the institution of obaship. She also talked about elites and the role they have played vis a vis rural communities, mainly a negative one in her view.

fnjn9827

Tuesday June 30, conversation with Jeri Ozah, Lagos

I met Jeri thru NIna MBa; Jeri has 2 children at Olashore International School. She is very happy with the school and thinks Burgess does a really good job. Also noted that Olashore stays out of therunning of the school, doesnt try to influence decisions, eg admittance.

We talked about the impact of the school on Iloko -- the fact that the people working there are from Iloko and Ijebu-Jesa, andthings like catering for special events is done by local people. Also that there are 2 houses rented in town for housing single teachers. Also talked about the one student from Iloko who is attending the school. We agreed that it would be interesting to look at the impact of the school, as well as other development efforts.

She also mentioned some of the additions that are being planned or are in progress. She said that the school is building a sports stadium; in fact, I have seen a huge cleared area , just past Olashore's house across the road from the school, which I had assumed to be the beginning of a stadium. She also said that there are plans to build a motel, to have a place for parents and other visitors to the school to stay. She thought that all these things would really make a difference in Iloko.

She also talked about the first time they visited the school, to see if it would be an appropriate place for her daughter. She said they were sure there was nothing there, as the road got worse and worse, and then seeing the school from a distance was like a mirage rising on the landscape; they couldnt believe there would be something like that there.

fnjn9828

Monday June 29, Lola Dare re Chestrad activities in Iloko

Lola and I met in Lagos to discuss proposal ideas. In the course of discussion, she told me that they have gotten 16 million (?) naira for Iloko, to carry out a variety of projects, which she ennumerated, including health and economic activities. This is for Iloko and the neighboring communities. She said that the project is written up and being printed by UNDP so has promised me a copy.

As with Olashore Intl School, this might form basis of proposal on impact of local development efforts.

fnjn9829

Tues June 30 conversation with Nike's cousin/uncle? in Lagos

(written up 7/31/98)

When in Lagos, Nike's cousin (uncle?) came to see me -- the one who gave me the poetry books last year. I was about to go out to have lunch with Nina when he arrived, but he waited for me, and we talked for a while in the afternoon when I got back. He is interested in the history and archeology of his area, and seems to be looking for someone who is interested in working on that, and also for a way he could help in research. We also talked about his connections with his (and Nike's) hometown, Ogidi.

He said that he was the first person to build a house at home and that he has encouraged others to do so, including Nike. He told a story about a man (in the military I think): he said he went to him and asked to borrow money. At first the man didnt want to lend it to him, but eventually he did. He took that money and bought cement with it. Then called the man, and told him that the cement was for him, to build a house in thier hometown with it. ie the man didnt have any choice; the implication was that otherwise he wouldnt have built there. He said he has also told others to build there and now many of them have.

He is retired now; worked for Portland Cement. Nike says his house in Ogidi is really beautiful, much better than his house in Lagos, but he continues to live in Lagos and just go home to visit. She thinks he'd like to live there -- he is a chief there-- but his wife isnt ready to go there to live yet.

I asked about reluctance to go home because of fear; he said,yes, that that has been an issue, that people told him that something would happen to him if he went home because people there would be jealous of his success. but he didnt believe that, and he went ahead and built and nothing happened to him. So now that has helped to convince others that nothing will happen if they go home.

We also talked about my visiting Ogidi sometime; he said that Christmas is a good time to go there, in the dry season.

fnot9901

Saturday Oct 9 1999 visit to Iloko
I went to Iloko Saturday morning, getting there about 10:30 or 11. Olashore was in, along with his wife; this is really the first time I've spoken with her. We chatted about various things -- their trip to US last spring, when I was last here, etc. While I was there they were dealing with some contractors who they were unhappy with, who had paid a fee to the man who is their :"manager" -- towards the end of the visit, the three men involved came in and explained what had happened, and were berated by both Olashore and his wife. Other than that, things were quiet, there weren't other visitors.

We talked some about what has been happening in Iloko. Olashore said that things are moving along. That the market is taking off (it meets in the morning, he said). That they have always done things for their own self-development, and thatis what they are continung to do. He said that there are just two things they need from government -- the road, and water. (The road thru Iwaraja is in bad shape); He is expecting that the road will be improved soon but did not elaborate on that). Otherwise, they can do things for themselves. They want to have employment generating activities so that young people will stay here rather than leave the area. In this context he referred to the man called "manager" and said that he is hired to oversee agricultural projects (but did not elaborate on what projects). The man looked to be fairly young, was dressed in shorts, and just stood aside and listened during the discussion with the contractors). Olashore also said that his wife is involved in working with the women.

I asked about CHESTRAD. He said that has packed up, because of lack of cooperation with the other communities. I said you mean like Iwaraja? And he said yes but especally Ijebu-Jesa, that they have experienced a lot of hostility from Ijebu-Jesa, from the oba there. Again he did not elaborate.

I also asked about the gari-processing activities. His wife answered on this, saying that she is trying to get help from government to expand it more, something about packing it in sacks so that can be distributed elsewhere. But the help has not come (this seems to contradict his statement re not getting help from govt).

I offered to talk with her more about ideas of things that might help women, lessons from elsewhere. And said I'd come back to see both of them again soon.

Olashore and I also discussed his book (the autobiography) and I asked if he is writing anything else now. He said that he wants to write about events since becoming oba, following certain themes. One of the themes would be politics. In this context, he said that one of the things that has happened is that they were successful in getting an Ijesa North Traditional Council, that includes Ibokun and Ori Ade local governments.

He also mentioned that they will have Iloko Day this year in December, and now it will be called Ibalogun Day (need to check the name) in honor of an important ancestor/warrior, and that will help townspeople know that if they do something worthwhile for the town they can be

commemorated like this sometime in future. He said they had Iloko Day last year, and that they have changed it somewhat, so that it is more like a festival for the children, so that the children will see value in coming home.

Fnot9902
Saturday Oct. 9, visit with Ifaturoti's in Ilesa

Stopped at Ifaturoti's after leaving Iloko; Kunle was home, and Tinu came back a few minutes later. They told me that they were in the US for 3 months last winter, visiting their daughter, who had another child. They now have 16 grandchildren altogether.

I asked Kunle how things are with Ijesa Solidarity and whether he is still involved. He indicated that he is involved as past president. But pointed out that after serving a term as pro tem president and then another term as president he said that someone else had to take over, because the constitution limited him to two terms. But unfortunately Idiapo Obe took over, and he hasn't done anything. And that people come to him to complian, but he says they have to do something themselves-- there is a deputy and he should take over if the president isn't functioning. I askd whether anything had happened with Arigbede's paper, that was supposed to be discussed at the last meeting I attended. He said that they haven't done anything, that they wanted the membership to have a seminar on it, whereas his view was that it was something presented to the council for them to decide on.

He said that there was a meeting, that he arrived on time as did one other person. That there wasn't a quorum so they decided to have informal discussion. People began talking about how they should do something about the new Ijesa North traditional council. But he told them that they need to be in solidarity with one another, that one of the reasons they wanted their own traditional council is that the existing traditional council hadn't met in 17 years. So that ISG should congratulate them on their success at getting their own traditional council. This statement got back to the owa, who sent message to him to say that how can someone who calls himself Prince of this town say that. His reply to the owa was to say that he has a right to call himself prince (and the implication was that owa doesnt) but that when the oppportunity was there he wasnt interested in the position. He said he had not heard a rejoinder to that yet.

Kunle and Tinu told me that Akinola will have a 60th birthday celebration on Sunday, that his birthday is on Monday but will have chapel service at Lawrence Omole's chapel on Sunday. (Later I learned from Folarin's niece, Bolanle, who is a friend of Omole's daughter and who spent past week in Ilesa, that the service took place on Monday. And that it celebrated Omole's 84th birthday as well, altho it was primarily for Akinola. After the service there was a party at Akinola's, but Bolanle didn't go to that.

Fnot9903

Visit with Kayode Eso Thurs Oct 14, Ibadan

We had an appointment for 11, and I got there about 11:15. Another man was there, introduced as Kolawole, who is from Ibokun. There was brief conversation about my work and he wanted to know if I had included Ibokun in it. Then we talked about a variety of topics, including problems with the Ford Foundation office. After he left, Eso and I talked about my book; I wanted to let him know where I am with it. I also asked him for suggestions re co-publishing and he suggested Spectrum, then called Joop Berkhout, and we made an appointment for Mon Oct 25.

I also mentioned the chapter I'm working on now, and we talked a little about the chieftaincy issues in Ijesaland. He said that he knows there is now an Ijesa North Traditional Council, but that he doesnt know much about it. He mentioned the committe he was on several years ago (the one chaired by Lawrence Omole) and asked if I had seen the report. He said that he has been told that what they have done follows the committee report but he doesnt think that is really the case. That what the committee was proposing was something that would bring them together in a kind of federalist structure. Whereas what has happened is divisive, in his opinion. I said that this is the topic that I have the hardest time understanding, in terms of why it is so important. And he said that there are so many issues that get brought together -- history and politics, current personalities etc. In his view, tho what is happening is a "mutilation of history." He said that people use money and influence to get things the way they want to, and refered specifically to the case of Iloko, where money and influence was used. He said that he himself probably cannot be objective about these issues and suggested that I'm more likely to be able to be objective.

Fnot9904

Meeting with Lola Dare Thursday Oct 14, Ibadan

I called Lola from Eso's house, and fortunately she was in the office, so I went there when I finished at Eso's. We mainly talked about the proposal for a virtual exchange, and ideas to pursue to see if we can get anywhere with that. But we also talked a little about what is happening with the Ori Ade initiative. She said that they (Chestrad) have had to step back a bit because there was a power struggle going on, and they had to wait til that was resolved. She thinks it has been resolved now and that they will be able to get going again, and that she plans to go to Iloko on Sunday. I asked about the power struggle. She said it's been between the obas of Iloko and Ijebu-Jesa, that the latter thinks that Ijebu-Jesa should be the center, because it is bigger. The chairman of the council for the program was from Ijebu-jesa but the headquarters was in Iloko, and the oba from Ijebu-Jesa didnt like that, so stopped the chairman from going to Iloko to attend meetings. Now they have decided to separate out the 7 communities, with each one having its own secretariat. I asked if that would work for Chestrad and she said that she didnt see why not. She added that it was the World Bank that insisted that the 7 communities had to come together for the project. She thinks that Chestrad should now be able to go back in.

In this context Lola mentioned her population estimates of a couple of the towns. She said that Iloko has a population of about 2000 and Ijebu-Jesa is the largest with about 10,000.

She said that they are also working in Ekiti state, Aramako was the community mentioned I think, and that they actually need more help there, gettng understanding of the community structure.

One issue they are confronting is how to do participatory development in a hierarchical system.

Fnot9905

Sunday Oct 17 1999, Iloko

I went to Iloko and Ijebu-Jesa with the intention of seeing people after they got out of church. We went to Iloko first, and when we got near the palace we could see that there were a lot of cars parked in the area. So we stopped and asked the guard at the palace if kabiyesi was around; he said that he was in the church, and indicated that his sons were there so I should check with them. Bimbo Olashore was just geting into a car, so I got out and greeted him, and he told me that they were opening the new Methodist Church, and that his father would probably be there for another hour still, and then would be hosting people for lunch. I said I would come back to the house later, and go see some other people first. I also said somthing about seeing that the church had been completed, and Bimbo commented something to the effect that their town is coming up. I also greeted Bimbo's brother, the one I saw in Lagos when I stopped to see Nike Afolabi.

I didn't get back to Iloko til around 4:30, and when I got to Olashore's house, a lot of cars were just beginning to leave the compound -- clearly people connected with the church event. After they had all left, I was told I could go in. Olashore came to greet me almost as soon as I entered the house, and then called his wife to ask her to get some food for me. I said that I hadn't known about the church event, and had I known might have attended. He said that it was the church not him that was in charge so he hadn't invited people -- for example just one other oba came, because he knew about it, but he didnt invite the others. He said that everyone had come back to the house for lunch after the service and they had all just left. Then he said that he was also expecting the Deputy Governor. I tried to discuss a possible time to see him before the Deputy Governor arrived, but b efore were were able to do that, we heard sirens and someone came to see that he had arrived. He came in with two other men, all three of them young, probably in their thirties. One was a commissioner, and the other seemed to be som sort of aide.

Olashore suggested that we all go in to eat together, which we did. Mainly he talked with the Deupty Governor, mainly in Yoruba. The other two men said little, and I said nothing much at all. They seemed to mainly discuss the roads -- clearly, Olashore wants to get the road to Iloko fixed, and they seemed to be discussing whent he contract was going to be given for that. It wasn't clear if they are fixing the one thru Iwaraja or building a new one because he was talking about a road starting from the Sazo petrol station. The Deputy Governor also talked about the Ilesa-Oshogbo Road, and twice Olashore said that he doesnt want the two contracts to be linked. He also talked about his recent meeting with Obasanjo, and that seemed to concern roads as well. He talked about getting the dualization of the Ife-Ibadan road when he was Finance Minister and how he got Babangida to sign the paper. Also referred to the dualization of the Ife-Ilesa road, which may actually be in the works now (they seem to be working on it but I don't know if they're just improving the shoulders or actually widening it). Olashore also talked about the period when he was Minister, and how he knew that Babangida respected him. He mentioned that Babangida wanted to come when Olashore's mother died (ie for the funeral) but that he (Olashore) had not encouraged it -- presumably because of security and related issues. I think he also said that he wanted to come for the coronation.

The Deputy Governor stayd til after 6 PM; I wanted to leave but couldn't, then finally left just about the same time he did. I said that I would come again on Tues the 26th -- Olashore will be in Lagos part of this week tho should be back by Thurs or Fri, but I wasnt sure of my plans so the following week seemed better.

Fnot9906

Sunday Oct 17 1999, visit with Tina Fatiregun

When I found that Olashore was in church I went to Ijebu-Jesa thinking I would find Tina Fatiregun, but she too was still in church -- something was going on at the Anglican church in Ijebu-jesa. There were a couple of people around --Mr. Fatiregun's sons I think and another young man as well. They said that Tina would be back soon and suggested I wait. I said I would go check on someone else first and then come back. So I went to Chief Fatodu's house, where someone told me that he has travelled out of the country. I then went back to Fatiregun's and waited for nearly an hour. I was about to leave a note when Mr Fatiregun came back and said that Tina had gone to kabiyesi's -- the oba of Ijebu-Jesa. He suggested that I go there to meet her and then offered to lead me there. So we drove to the other end of town, to the oba's personal house, which is in the area just across from the grammar school (must be quite near Olashore's brother's house). Tina was there with another woman, a friend of hers who I have previously met but whose name I forget. They were sitting on a balcony upstairs overlooking the street, so someone took me up there. They were with the oba, who was introduced to me (but not by name). I breifly explained that I've been doing research here, and then they continued with thier conversation. This seemed to be about some conflict regarding chieftaincy, and Tina and her friend were telling the oba that he shouldn't worry about what others were doing, or saying. At first I thought it might have to do with the conflict with Olashore. But later I asked Tina and she said that it was about chieftaincy matters in the town. She didnt say much but from what she did say it seemed that there was someone the oba wants to give a title to, but that others in the town don't like the idea. Their conversation was fairly brief. Tina asked if I wanted to ask the oba anything and I said that perhaps I could make an appointment with him to tell him about my work; he said that he wouldn't be free during the next two weeks, so I said that it would then probably be best to see him when I come back in January-February. He agreed that that would be best, and I left with Tina and her friend. I was going to go on to Iloko from there, but Tina asked if I had had lunch (I hadn't) so I went back to her house to eat. We then set an appointment for Thursday and I went to Iloko.

Fnot9907

Thursday Oct 21 1999, visit with Tina Fatiregun, Ijebu-Jesa

I went to Ijebu-Jesa after first trying to see Akinola's, Ifaturotis, and Lamikanra. The first two were out, and I met Lamikanra on his way out, and we agreed that I would come back on Tuesday. He told me that his wife died in February.

When I got to Fatiregun's I was told that Tina was in her shop, and her husband led us there. She has a shop on the main road a little bit beyond the market area. She is selling things like vegetable oil, some provisions, greeting cards, and also things like rice in bags. She told me later that she tried to get a loan from Firstbank for N200000 but they said she didn't have collateral. I asked about the community bank and she said that they gave her a loan but won't give more than N100000, and that she needs more than that to buy things like rice to sell for the holiday season. She also implied that she got the shop for her children -- her daughter (not sure if realy her daughter) and young man, her son? But since the lecturers and other state civil servants are on strike and havent been paid salary in a while, I wonder if that's the case.

Along with talking about her work, her desire to transfer to the university, an desire to go to the US, we also talked a little about Iloko and Ijebu-Jesa. I asked if Olashore seems to be happy with being oba. She said that she didnt know, that she didnt like the idea to begin wtih, but since he wanted it, what could she say. That if it were her she wouldnt be happy, but she doesnt know about him. She feels that his freedom is restricted, he can't go where he wants when he wants. And we talked about whether he might have had some national, or international appointment, in the current government. She said that now he won't be appointed to anything except things dealing with traditional things.

In talking about her work, I asked if she'd met Lola Dare. She said that she'd met Grace Faoye (tho didnt remember her name or name of organization), but had seen Dare, but not met her. I explained about CHESTRAD working in several local communities, and also about the problem that's occurred, involving Iloko and Ijebu-Jesa. She clearly knew a bout the problem between the two obas, saying that she's been caught in the middle of it. She said that people in Ijebu-Jesa were accusing her of going to Iloko to tell them there what was going on in Ijebu-Jesa. She said that she went to kabiyesi in Ijebu-Jesa to say that she knows about traditional things (her father was a traditional ruler in Benin) and that she would not do anything like that. She said that the oba in Ijebu-Jesa is the oba of the town she lives in, while Olashore is her brother-in-law. So she can't stop going to Iloko. She said that she would only stop going there if her husband told her to stop going there. She said that the oba of Ijebu-jesa says that he and Olashore are brothers, and they can't really be against one another. In her view, it is just traditional things (she didnt specify what) that make them be in opposition to one another, that they are brothers. She added that kabiyesi Aloko (Olashore) can be a difficult person.

She does not seem to know anything about CHESTRAD activities in the area, although she did say that she went to an eye clinic they ran, but the glasses they prescribed for her werent any good. I suggested that she talk with Lola about her interests, but didnt get the impression she

planned to do so. She said that maybe when she sees her in Ijebu-Jesa sometime she will, but didnt seem inclined to go to Ibadan to see her. Yet she said that she couldnt talk with her in Iloko, because kabiyesi (Olashore) would see that as infringing on his territory.

Fnot9908

Thursday Oct. 21 1999, visit with Mobo Akinola

I tried to see Mobo in the morning, but she had gone out. I said I would come back in the afternoon, which I did after seeing Tina Fatiregun. It was the first time we'd seen each other in a couple of years, so much of the conversation was fairly general, catching up on news and the changes in Nigeria. She talked about the change in the petrol situation (which many people have remarked on), saying that during the petrol shortage she couldn't just sit in the house, she still had to get out and go places, and she was spending more than her actual salary just on petrol.

I said that I had heard about her husband's birthday celebration but hadn't known the actual day. She said that since his birthday is the same as Lawrence Omole, they did the celebraiton together. She had two photo albums of the photographs from the event, which I looked thru. She also mentioned that today is Dr. Fajemisin's birthday and that that was where she was this morning, to attend a small service for him and go to his house. He is also 60 (as is her husband). He will have a bigger party over the weekend.

Also on the weekend is the funeral service for someone named Ogundipe, who I have heard about from several people. Eso mentioned him as the person who commissioned his biography; he was a banker. Mobo said that her husband had gone to Lagos today, after seeing Fajemision, partly for work and partly to attend wake-keeping for Ogundipe in lagos, and then come back with them to Ilesa on Friday. I saw ads in the newspaper both about Ogundipe and about Fajemisin.

I asked Mobo about seeing her husband to talk about an introduction to the Owa, so she told me the best time to find him, either at the house or at the office. He is now chairman of the brewery. I said that I would try to find him next Tuesday and she said she'd let him know that I'm coming.

Fnot9909

Thursday Oct 21 1999, visit with Ifaturoti

By the time I finished seeing Tina Fatiregun and Mobo Akinola it was getting pretty later, but I wanted to stop to see Ifaturotis (they were also out in the morning when I first checked on them). I didn't stay very long, but they invited me for a meal next Thursday so I'll have more time then. I asked Kunle if he had a copy of the paper his nephew Dr. Arigbede wrote for Ijesa Solidarity Group. He went to look for it and came back with what he said was a preliminary version. He said that the final version was part of a file with his comments that he had passed on to Prof Odeyemi, who is the vice president of ISG. He commented that Odeyemi is "very good." I borrowed the preliminary paper, which is on setting up a compny under ISG, and said I would photocopy it and get it back to him.

More generally on ISG he said that Ibidapo-Obe (the president) is in court, something with regard to chieftaincy issues. And also that he misquoted him (Ifaturoti) to the Owa. Kunle said that ISG hasn't had a meeting in three years.

Fnot9910

Tuesday Oct. 26 1999, visit with Akin Akinola

I went first to see Akinola this morning and found him in his office at the brewery where he is now the chairman. (I had to go in the other entrnace and fill out a form, and wait about half an hour before seeing him, then walk back to the building where his office is). Mobo had apparently not told him that I was around, but in any case he seemed pleased to see me. After brief general conversation, I asked him about seeing the Owa, and he said that he would be able to arrange that I told him that I'll be back late Jan-early Feb, and will let him know as soon as I get back, so that he can make the arrangement. He said that he only needs about a week advance notice. He didnt seem to think it was a problem that I havent seen him all this time, or at least that it's better late than never.

When I entered the brewery building, I noticed a large portrait of Lawrence Omole, with the caption that he was Founder and Founding Chairman. Remi (my driver) had been asking me about that and I had said that there was a group who started the brewery, but he said that most people think that Omole started it, which this caption supports. But I still think the others were involved informally.

I asked Akinola how things are going at the brewery. He said they nearly went out of business but are now coming back. Implied a lot of financial mismanagement. He said that they had to really look into what had happened. And that the Germans have come back to help, that the Germans agreed to come back only if Akinola became the chairman so they could work with him again. The managing director is now German, as well as two other Germans who are here now. He said that by next year they should be back where they were before. When we went outside he pointed out the landscaping and said that it had all become bush when he got here, they had to clear everything, and that it makes a difference how things look and the impression it gives to others.

Akin asked if I'd been to Iloko and seen kabiyesi. I told him that I had, and that I was on my way there. He said he had been there on Sunday, that he attends the service at Olashore's chapel, but that Olashore wasn't home, so that I should give him his greetings.

Fnot9911

Tuesday Oct 26 1999, visit with Olashore, Iloko

I had told Olashore that I would come today but hadnt specified a time. I got there sometime after 12. We saw his car just before we got to his house, and found him out inspecting a building site. He said that it is going to be a"shopping mall" and bakery in the back. He said that he was on the way to the palace and that I should follow him there. We went there and talked til about 3 PM! I was a little surprised that he didnt invite me to have lunch, but perhaps it was because he had things he wanted to talk about that he didnt want to talk about in the house.

WE started off talking about situation in Nigeria, with him asking me what I thought and my turning the question back to him. He is worried that Obasanjo may be trying to do too much at once and stepping on too many toes. He likes what he is doing but thinks he should be going more slowly.

I told him about my conversation with Nina and the Australian university idea. He talked about his commitment to making Iloko a model of what can be done with community self-development, that he would like it to be a model for othe rcommunities. And he would like to get internaitonal assistance, would like my help in "selling" him and the town and all the things they are doing. He said that he went to to minister for water resources to show him plans they've got for damming one of the streams around, but the response made it clear that nothing would happen. He feels that the fact that the community has alredy gotten someoen to draw up plans should make others more interested in doing something there. He mentioned that this is what hapened with CHESTRAD, that they came and saw what they were doing and were so imppressed. He talked several times during the conversation about my helping them in letting others know about what they are doing. I tried to explain my own situation but indicated that I'd try to do something. (I told him about USAID but how I dont really want to go chasing consulting jobs -- his suggestion was just to write and tell them about myself and indicate my availability to help if they're interested, and to leave it at that, which is a good idea. He said that is what he does).

He talked about how he'd like to have things in the town that would keep young people there instead of going to the cities, that there are only old people there now. He also talked about how much people in the town have already done for themselves -- the palace, the road thru Iwaraja, electricity, etc. I asked if he had seen the article on Mabogunje in the paper yesterday, but he seemed skeptical, indiating that he didnt think much of Mabogunje or what he said (he was talking about rural development).

At one point during the conversation someone came in to see him about something going on at the church; when he said that he would go there for a minute, I said I'd go along and take some photos. He is helping to build a house for the vicar, because he doesnt have a place to live. But he siad that he doesnt want people to know about this, because townspeople are saying he should build them houses. When we did go there, he went to look at something with a couple of men while I took some photos. The women around the area all called greetings "kabiyesi" and a few came over to greet him. He carried a beaded blue and white staff and a man held a blue and white

umbrella to shade him. When we were walking back from the church he said that they've drawn up plans for the area in front of the palace to be a kind of plaza (at least that's what it sounded like) which would mean that the old buildings there would have to go. I asked about that and he said well they would have to be torn down and anyway they're not in good condition.

Much of the conversation was fairly personal. He began by making comments about polygamy and its value, but then continued by saying he is considering taking a third wife. I was surprised so this led to his confiding in me about probelms with the second one, basicall saying that she isnt meeting any of the criteria that he has, as a good hostess, cheerful, interested in him and his first wife and children, etc -- that she is "mannerless" and has said things to him that are completely disrepectful given his position, things that should never be said to an oba. And talking about his old girlfriends. That her expectations and his aren't meshing at all. I asked if she's around and h said yes, she's at the house, but that he wouldnt care if she packed out. And that he's considering one of his other old friends, who would be much more mature and better in the role, that he spoke with the woman on the phone recently and knows that she is still interested. But the problem is that she is much older than this one. He said that this other woman would also be better in terms of the things he wants to do in the town, with regard to rural development etc. That altho she is from Lagos, she has more interest in these things. He also told me how he got involved with his present (second wife), after someone else who he was interested but who he thought should go ahead and marry the fiancé she already had, and how he paid for her wedding; he then met this woman around that time, and she had a similar "configuration" and he wanted to move on quickly from the other woman. Also his friends were getting concerned that he wasnt finding someone to marry. He talked more about his first wife also, saying that he has come to appreciate all she's done more, since the present experience. And that if it weren't for her illness, he would basically be monogamous, but that she isn't able to do the necessary roles, such as being a hostess. And that since 1982 when she got sick, he was like a single parent because she really couldnt care for the children. So some of his girlfriends were also people who showed an interest and helped with the children. He also talked about how for him the imortant thing is companionship and also someoen to help take care of him now that he is getting older, that sex isnt realy the main thing.

We ended this topic when we went across to see the church, and after we came back, I filled him in on progress with my book. I said that I hope he will like it (interestingly when he mentioned the water tank as an example of something that was done in the town by a townsperson I said that I had taken photos of children getting water there, and it was clear that he would not be happy about such photos appearing in the book -- that I'm not going to show "naked women" -- I said,no, the pictures are of children. But what he would prefer is a picture of him at his coronation or a photo of the palace. When I said the photo of the palace should have a person in it like the oba, he did not take me up on that. (I said I had one from before he became oba).

When I was leaving, and had already stood up and was sayng goodby, he said that he is thinking that on his fifth anniversary, or maybe the tenth, but that might be too long, he would make me a chief. I mentioned people asking me about when I'm going to become a chief but that I dont want to be one, so he quickly asked about that, so I said maybe if it's a chief in Iloko it'd be ok. I also mentioned what happened with Jim in Ghana and said that I wasnt interested in being a chief in Ghana, only in Nigeria. So we'll have to see if I hear more about this in future.

I had planned to ask about events in Ijesa north, but did not do so, as it was really getting late.

I said that I'd be back in late January, early February. He said that he may travel sometime toward the end of February.

Fnot9912

Tuesday Oct 26 1999, visit with Chief Lamikanra

I got to Lamikanra's house around 3:30 and spent about 45 minutes there. Another man was there, from Port Harcourt, and also Lamikanra's son, who joined the conversation. A lot of it was pretty general, with them asking me about US politics for example.

When I asked Lamikanra about how things are going, he referred to developments in Ijesaland, saying it seems to him that they are going down, making a downward and sideways motion with his hand to indicate what he meant. That where they should be working together, they are now working against each other. It then became clear that he was referrng to the new Ijesa north traditional council, which he said that he is sure I've heard about. He didnt really offer a lot of information, saying that he didnt know much about it, tho I doubt that. He did indicate his opinion -- that this is the wrong direction to be going. He talked about how historically there was one apex, ie the owa -- there were 6 chiefs from other Ijesa towns who made up the council advising the owa. Two of these are from the north, Ibokun and Ijebu-Jesa. But how can these be part of that council now that there is a separate northern Ijesa council. And now there is no one head. He thinks that they must have a rotating chairmanship for this new council, but that that is not what was the case traditionally -- that the government has effectively destroyed what were the traditional insitutions by going along with this, and that it is our own people ("afte all we are still all Ijesas) that are doing this to ourselves. I asked if the traditional institutions were still functioning, and he said that you don't destroy something just because there is currently a weak leader, that he current one (owa) won't be there forever.

When I mentioned that I had just been in Iloko, he said that "he" (Olashore) was not the one who started this, but that he helped speed it along. But that he is sure they will have teething problems. I said I'd heard there were some problems but he said he doesnt know what they are. But he did say that the secretariat is in Iloko, the chair in another place, the secretary from soemwhere else. (Bolanle Awe referred to this also the other day, saying she had heard that the headquarters is in Iloko and that now Ijebu-Jesa is upset about that, so by headquarters she must have meant secretariat). I have to see if I can still find out more about this.

Lamikanra said that he won't talk with Olashore about this, because he'll just try to convince him, but that he will talk with others. He said that some people are saying it's a good thing (to have the new council) but he doesnt see how it can be considered good).

We also discussed my work and book briefly, and then I left so I wouldnt get back too late to Ife.

Fnot9913

Thursday Oct 28 1999, visit with Ifaturotis

Ifaturotis had invited me for lunch. When I got there at about 2 PM, Kunle's nephew Sehinde Arigbede and his wife were there. Since I've been wanting to see Arigbede, this was very good timing, and since he will be going to the retirement ceremony for Prof Awe on Saturday, we have agreed to meet there before it starts. In the meantime we had quite an interesting conversation today.

One of the topics he touched on was the role of the Ijesa elite in the divisions in Ijesaland. We got onto this because I gave Kunle information about Judy's work, and he briefly mentioned it to Arigbede, saying they need something like that for Ijesaland. Arigbede said he didnt think that kind of intervientionwas what would work in Ijesaland. His view is that it is the elite who are seeking access to scarce resources and therefore making more of the divisions, that ordinary people don't care about these divisions (eg between Ijesa north and Ilesa). Later I discussed this more with Kunle, and got a lot of historical background to the present divisions. Both Kunle and Arigbede agreed that what is going on has nothing to do with history. (Note: one thing to check further on is what Peel says about the divisions within the region). He also thinks that the sad state of affairs in Ijesaland, eg the roads, is due to the Ijesa elite and their lack of action to change things.

Arigbede also talked a bit about ngos in Nigeria and what is happening to them, how there is a lot of corruption. This led to talking about the donors and their role in encouraging corrupt practices, focusing on key individuals. Then he began talking about the Community Development Foundation, and I asked if this was the one begun by the Ford Foundation. IT is and he is on the board of it. He feels that it's been doing quite well, but is still too tied to the foundation and few other donors, and needs to develop its own base of support, which he would like it to do from the private capital market -- ie to get loans. The Foundation is supporting small organizations with things like microcredit, also capacity building. He thinks they need to develop their own model, a Nigerian approach, for these things, not just copy something from elswhere such as Grameen. He says the Ford Foundation isnt comfortable with that, nor are they happy about trying to develop a separate support base, even tho they talk about sustainability, but they still want to have control.

He also mentioned another effort he's involved in which will be a mechanism to bring government, civil society and formal private sector together on policy issues, and to ensure that governmnt hears people's views and becomes responsive to it. Also to get greater transparency at all levels, saying that the local government level is the most corrupt. I think he called the effort the Poverty Eradication Forum. (Some of what he was describing sounded much like what Larry Diamond said last nite was needed).

After Arigbede left, I asked Kunle if he agreed with the view that the problem is the Ijesa elite and their effort to get scarce resouces. He said that he does in part. Then he proceeded to start with a description of what happened starting back in the 1950's. He said that Awolowo and the Action Group put forth Aderemi, the Ooni of Ife, as the highest Yoruba oba. That the people of Ijesa,

and especially Ilesa, couldnt accept that. That in their view, it was the Alaafin who was highest, and then after that Owa, that Ooni was not anything special. But Alaafin was not a clear supporter of Action Group, -- tho not opponent either -- so they saw him as being against Awolowo, especially since some things happened that invovled people from Oyo, that were against AG. So Action Group turned for support to Aderemi. As a result Ijesa people turned against Action Group, and in all elections, Ilesa voted against AG. This then led AG to seek support among people in the district outside Ilesa, and the one where support was most likely was in the northern part of Ijesaland. This led to the creation of Ijesa north division and Ijesa south division (not exactly clear when this was, but this could be checked).

He said that Bola Ige had been instrumental in this, and later talked more about both Bola Ige and his brother, Dele Ige.

We started this conversation before lunch, but he didnt continue it during lunch, so after we ate, I brought up the subject again. He then talked more about what the traditional situation was for Ijesaland, that there was one paramount ruler, and that was Owa. Those in other towns were either lojas, or other kinds of positions. With regard to Iloko, he said that they have done away with the loja position there, and made the aloko more important. That traditionaly the aloko was an aworo, someone who can wear a crown in order to carry out certain ritual functions for the owa, but could not wear the crown in the owa's presence. That they've messed up the whole history, making itseem like Iloko was a place that had its own crown. He said that Olashore sent him the history he's had written of Iloko, but that none of it is the actual history. He said that there were many of these aworo positions in towns around the area.

After they got the division between Ijesa North and Ijesa South, Ilesa continued to be the capital of Ijesa South. But there was no capital for Ijesa North. Instead they picked a place in the bush between Ijeda and Erinmo, and built buildings there for the capital, buildings that have now disintegrated in the bush. Everyone working there had to go there from whatever place they lived in, there was no natural town there. He said that he went there once to see it.

According to him the people who spearheaded the division were Bola Ige and his brother Dele Ige. I asked who Dele Ige is, and he said that he is a millionaire. They were the ones behind creation of Ijesa north, and when Bola Ige was governor of Oyo State, he did things that would not favor Ijesalad, such as starting a new college of education in Ila, his mother's hometown. Kunle said that they never claim Esa Oke as their hometown, but always talk of their mother;s hometown being Iloko. That actually their father was from Ibokun, that he just went to Esa Oke to farm.

He said that "they" (Bola and Dele Ige) destroyed the Ijesa Planning Council. Then went on to explain that in the 1960's the Ijesa Planning Council decided to work together in both Ijesa north and Ijesa south. The government borrowed the idea from them, and said that any district that raised 10,000 pounds would get another 20,000 from the government. The north and south decided they would work together, to raise 20,000 from the two areas. But nearly all the money came from Ijesa South, ie from Ilesa, and only one donation (1 pound, or 1000??) came from Ijesa north. But Lawrence Omole and Ayeni decided to put in the money for Ijesa north, so they had

the 20,000. But once they had the money, they got no where. People from Ijesa north said that if there was an officer from Ilesa thn there had to be another one from Ijesa north. Lawrence Omole was chairman, and then there was someone else from Ijesa north who was chairman with him, and so on for other positions. But the person from Ijesa north would never agree with the one from Ilesa -- If Omole said a piece of paper was white the other man would say it was red. So they couldnt do anything. Then they decided to form a company, which was called the Ijesa Self Help Development Compnay (first he refered to it by acronym, ISHDC). He proposed that they make tiles (linoleum for floor) but others said that people dont use tiles in their houses, they make their houses of mud. Then they suggested nails. In the end, nothing ever happened. The company was launched in December 1968, just a few days after he returned home to live. They finally decided to give eveyrone their money back, including the government. This occurred fairly recently, in the early 1990's.

He went on to say that he agrees with his nephew to an extent, that the problem is with the elite, the Ijesa north elite. He said that he doesnt know what their grouse is with Ilesa. That they complain that Ilesa always dominates them. But his view is that they are all Ijesa. I asked about what happened when Ijesa Solidarity Group was formed, and that they got people from all areas of Ijesaland. I asked specifically about Olashore. He said that Olashore joined ISG, and was their first treasurer. But that he only attended one meeting of the ISG council, and he took up most of the meeting complaining about the treatment of people from other towns by those from Ilesa. An example was that the Ilesa Social Elite club house is called "Ilesa" not Ijesa. So Kunle had to go to them and ask why people from other towns couldnt use their facilities. They responded that they could, but that they werent going to change the name of the building.

Ifaturoti seemed to be saying that he doesnt understand why someone like Olashore takes the position he does. But on the other hand, he also made some positive comments. He said that Olashore always invites them when there is something happening at the school, and that they go. And he told of a time some years ago, when a person from Ijeda who was a relative of Olashore and also of Ifaturoti had bank loans that he couldn't pay back. He was going to lose his house in order to repay the loan. Olashore worked out a way for him to pay back, with Ifaturoti helping, and he paid part of the amount owed. Ifaturoti said that he was very grateful to Olashore for finding a way to work this out.

He said that he doesnt understand why people in Ijesa north feel the way they do, because they are all Ijesas, and they all have ties all over the area. For example, in his own case his grandmother on his mother's side was from Imo (which was a separate town then), grandmother on his father's side from Ijebu-Jesa, (not sure that these details are correct, but general idea was that people have relationships all over). He said that he has 80 acres in Ijebu-jesa because of the relationships there. And grandfather was loja in Iwoye. Also has connections in Ijeda. And his children are married to people from Ijebu-Jesa. The same is true for someone like Olashore -- not only his ties in Ijebu-Jesa and Iloko but also in Ilesa. Kunle said that lashore means someone connected to the Ogboni of Ilesa, but now Olashore has changed his name so that instead of that meaning it means someone who is generous (?).

So from his perspective the new traditional council for Ijesa north is an outgrowth of these earlier

divisions. He said that when he heard about it he said that it was good thing, because he figured that it would have problems, which is what is in fact happening. The headquarters was put Iloko but there is a rotating chairman. But of course the implication of having the headquarters there is that that is the center.

I asked Kunle if part of the problem was the current owa, and whether it would be different if a different person were in that position. He said yes, definitely, that things would be a lot different. The current owa actually wants to destroy the traditional institutions. For example he doesnt live in the palace.

Kunle also commented that so far as he was concerned, they could do away with all these traditional positions.

This discussion probably could have gone on, but it was about 4:30 and seemed to be a good time to leave, and also Tinu was going to something at the Methodist church, so we droppped her off there before going back to Ife.

Fnot9914

Friday October 29 1999, conversation with Richard Olaniyan about Ijesa divisions

I asked Richard if he knows much about what is happening with the new Ijesa north traditional council. He said tht he hasnt heard much, except that he heard about it when it was formed. And that he heard that it caused some commotion, mainly in Ilesa. I referred to my conversation with Ifaturoti yesterday, about the way he sees "history" and the views of those from Ijesa north. Richard's comment was that actually Ilesa is a relatively young town compared with some of the other town in the area. He gave the example of his friend who is oba of Ilowa, which is 8 miles from Oshogbo. He said that this is the first place where the title Owa was used, and that the Owa of Ilesa himelf wrote something in a book a few years ago referring to the oba of Ilowa as "his father" ie ancestor. That when his friend became oba there, he collected all the books about Ijesaland to see what people said about this, and that he decided that that was the case. With regard to the new traditional council, Richard is sure that Olashore had a fair amount to do with it. He also agreed that the Owa of Ilesa himself is not well liked, and that this is part of the problem.

Fnot9915

Saturday October 30, 1999 Retirement luncheon for Bolanle Awe, Ibadan

One part of the luncheon was the presentation of oriki by a professor of Yoruba from UI. In it he apparently only referred to her father's family, as being from Ibadan, and didn't say anything about her mother's family from Ilesa. So when she gave her own comments, she referred to that, saying "to the Ijesas among you, I don't know what Professor (Ishola?) was thinking." But I know that a bird can't fly without two wings, and that I had/have a mother as well as a father. And my mother was Ijesa. Her comments elicited some laughter. (From what she had told me the other day some of her relatives, from both mother and father's side, were present).

Fnot9916

Saturday Oct 30 1999, discussion with Sehinde Arigbede re Ijesa Solidarity Group

When I saw Arigbede at Ifaturoti's earlier in the week, we agreed to meet at noon at Bolanle Awe's retirement luncheon, before it started. I got there at about 12:25, but he wasn't there yet. He got there just around 1 PM, the time when the event was supposed to begin. It was rather noisy inside, from music being played, so we went outside to talk; I assumed that the event was going to start soon, so didnt want to take too long. (Although as it turned out it didnt start til 2, and he actually left before it started). I explained about wanting to get a copy of the paper he wrote for ISG, that was discussed in June 1998. I said that Kunle didnt have a copy any more and wondered if he had one. He said that he had it on the hard drive of his computer, and depending on the electricity, he could print it for me. We then discussed how I would get it and agreed that I would stop in Ode Omu where he lives, en route back from Ibadan to Ife.

This is what I did. I got to Ode Omu around 6 PM, because the program in Ibadan went quite late. He had the paper printed out, but said right away that he wasnt sure he could give it to me, because members of the executive council might think it was an unauthorized release of it, because they have never released it beyond the executive council, and he really didnt know what had happened at that meeting I attended. He asked me what had taken place at the meeting. So I told him that they hadnt discussed it much because he wasnt there; that they talked about other issues; that it seemed that some had not read it; and that I didnt have any sense that they were not talking about it because I was there. He said that in it he was quite critical of the organization, so they might not like it. I tried to explain why I wanted it and how I would use it, but it was pretty obvious that he wasnt going to give it to me. He indicated that he thought I should have approval from the president before he gave it to me.

We then went on to discuss ISG at some length, and he gave a fairly good indication verbally of what was in his paper. He said that he had proposed setting up a development arm of ISG, with a more professional staff, and that they should have staff in each local government area. That they would then be able to access resources for small scale development projects, for example from embassies. That as presntly constituted they dont really have the staff to make this possible, that the staff has never been very good or professional, perhaps because they werent able to pay them enough. I asked about people knowing what kinds of things would work, are feasible. He said that the first thing would be to do a needs assessment, to find out what the people want. He sid that because of the industriousness of the Ijesa people, a development effort would be successful, and that he doesnt think resources are a problem.

In Arigbede's view, his uncle (Ifaturoti) has a vision. He, Arigbede, feels that they should be larger than just Ijesaland, that his uncle is a leader of Nigeria not just of Ijesaland, and that people should try to further that vision. His view is that the organizaiton can do other things, such as history, but that a development arm should be more of a focus. Also that a lot of people do things because they see it as doing it for Kunle, whereas they should be doing it out of commitment to the goals of the organization, those that he has articulated.

He also siad that he thinks maybe one of the reasons the organization has had problems furthering its goals is because of his uncle's lack of experience with associative movements. That his uncle came out of government service, and retired home, and didnt have experience with associations.

He also talked of the many organizations in Ijesaland, and of the fact that they all want to do something separate, rather than working together. E.g, Egbe Atunluse, Solidarity and numerous others. They all compete with each other, and it is difficult to get them to do anything. He gave as an exmple the Egbe Atunuse, saying that he had gone to them about the interest of UNDP in working in communities in Osun State; UNDP has someone based in the state. But he didnt get anywhere with them.

I asked if he knows of any community where they have done the kind of thing he is refering to. He immediately referred to Awe, and I then pointed out the role of people likeAboyade and Mabogunje. He agreed and also said that from his viewpoint the Awe effort is a b it too elitist, building silos and things like that. And he doesnt knw if they may be having problems now that those who started it are getting old.

Arigbede also referred to Ijesa individualism as a basic source of the problem of getting Ijesas to do things togeher -- each one thinks he can do things on his own. He said that when he wrote the earlier paper, describing the idea of an investment company (whcih I do have a copy of), people liked that idea, they liked the idea of investing money rather than giving money.

He asked me about my work and its purpose and whether I was providing feeback to the members of ISG and others. His first idea seemed to be that I give ISG my written material to get their reaction. I explained that I have given some written material to a few key individuals, but thtat it would be more difficult to do that with the book, and that it is pretty far along. Then I saidthat I'd earlier offered to present my findings at a meeting, or in some way like that, and that that might be the way to proceed now. He seemed satisfied with that idea. So we left it that he would talk to the president about releasing his paper to me and at the same time make the offer for me to give them some of the results of my research. (When I'm back next time). Once he has done this, then he says he will send me a copy of his paper.

It was getting quite late (and dark) so we left things that way -- I'll see if I actualy hear from him.

Fnot0001

Fri Jan 28 2000

trip to Ilesa and Iloko

I went to Ilesa around 11:30 or noon, went first to Ifaturoti. Tinu was home, Kunle was at an Ilesa Grammar School meeting. We visited for a while, I learned she was expecting guests from Kaduna, who were coming for the wedding of Bola Ige's son. He is marrying a girl who is from Ilesa (Ige is from Esa Oke), her father is professor at Unilag. The engagement was at noon today, Tinu showed me the invitation and told me that the location of the engagement and the reception tomorrow is on the road past Wesley Guild Hospital. I told her that I had heard about itfrom someone in Lagos; we discussed my attending without being invited (she pointed out that people do that all the time).
A young man arrived, saying he was from Justice Eso. I learned from him that Eso was in town, and gave the man a note for him.

Then I left for Iloko, where I saw Olashore, and also his wife. It turned out that they were also expecting guests for the Ige wedding -- the Vice President's wife and some ministers (Ige is Minister of Power now). But although his wife seemed to be busy, Olashore himself seemed quite relaxed, except for rearranging various things (tchokes is the only word I can think of) on a set of shelves -- he did this a couple of times while I was there. We talked generally about things happening in Nigeria-- he told me that he had been to see Obasanjo recently, to give him advice. He also told me about upcoming events in Iloko during February -- the Founders Day celebration at the school is Friday Feb 18, and he'll be doing chieftaincy installation Feb 25-26.

He also began talking about my writing his biography. I'm not sure if this was something he'd been thinking about or if it just occurred to him as we were talking. I asked to think about it -- I'm not sure I can do what he wants (or if I'll have time). I said I'd talk with him some more. He said he'd be away most of next week, and again after the 9th, so I said I'd try to see him early that week.

As we were driving back from Ilesa to Ife, there was a lot of traffic, especially Mercedes -- and on set of vehicles that were official, with a pilot car and sirens -- maybe Ige, or the Vice President's wife.

Fnot0002

Saturday Jan 29, Ilesa -- Ige wedding

I decided not to actually attend the wedding of Bola Ige's son, which was taking place at St Johns Church Iloro. But did go to Ilesa in the afternoon and attempted to see both Charles Akinola, who I had seen in lagos on Monday nite at Judy's, and Justice Eso. Found Akinola's house -- past the Texaco Station on road to Ijebu-Jesa, then turn right on road that leads to Atlanta Hotel, past there on the right is a bungalow painted white with fence around it. A man there told me that Charles wasn't around, had gone to a ceremony. I left a note, then gave a lift to the man, who is a biology teacher at Olashore International School (don't know connection to Charles). Went then to Eso's house, he wasn't home either, also at a wedding.

Then decided to go to the reception for the Ige wedding, and drove out on the road that goes past Wesley Guild Hospital. Quite far out we came to a lot of cars, and saw Charles akinola's car, and his driver who helped me find Charles and his wife. Had to walk about a quarter mile to get to the house -- up and down a fairly steep hill, very dusty from all the cars trying to get thru. Big house, and land around it, the usual tents/canopies set up -- lots of cars, lots of people. Charles and his wife were just arriving (most people seemed to be there alredy) so I went with them to find seats, which were quite near the front. Things seemed to be just getting under way, with the MC introducing various dignataries, and then the Chairman. Several mentions made of the fact that they are Ijesa -- bride's father is Prof Abiola Ojo from Unilage (law professor, I was told). Olashore was introduced as the Father of the Day-- he was somewhere in the area with the high table but didnt actually see him. Did see his son. Also saw and greeted Prof Odeyemi and Wale Omole. Saw Tinu Ifaturoti when she was leaving. Never saw Eso, Charles wife said that he was at the church, but may not have come to the reception. But it was hard to see people -- realy quite spread out.

Sitting with Charles and his wife gave me a somewjat different perspective on things -- generally a younger crowd. He introdced me to his brother when I was leaving. Bimbo Olashore stopped to greet him, and others as well. This could be a good perspective for thinking about the "next generation" -- again, the elite sons of those men currently involved seem to be becoming more involved themselves -- these are men in their thirties and forties, I would guess. The other nite in Lagos, Charles mentioned that now that his father has died he is becoming more involved in things in Ilesa. His father is referred to as Venerable or Reverend Akinola -- he was I think the lead minister at St Johns Church Iloro. He also referred in passing to a family chieftaincy title, and yesterday he said something to me about researching a chieftaincy title for them. He has also told his mother about me; apparently she still lives in Ilesa, tho has been staying with him in Lagos recently, because of his father's death.

Charles and I did not make a specific appointment to meet again in Lagos, but I told him I would be there breifly next week, and expect to be there again around the 23rd. I would still like to talk with him more about Ilesa, his involvement in Ijesa Solidarity Group, and his organization, which spun off from Technoserve. On Monday nite in Lagos we talked a bit, but didn't have much time before Deirdre arrived for dinner, and that shifted focus of conversation. He did tell me that he

had talked with Ifaturoti and others about funding possibilities for projects, eg thru embassies, and also we talked a little about Arigbede, but not much. Apparently Arigbede is on the board of Charles' organization.

Fnja0003

Tuesday Feb. 8 2000 Akin Akinola

I went to the brewery and saw Akinola. He knew immediately that I was checking about seeing the Owa. Said he'd be seeing him that day, and that I should phone to check re appointment. But when I did I spoke to Mobo and she said that Owa had travelled, won't be back til Thurs, so to check again on Friday.

Fnja0004

Tuesday Feb. 8, Ilesa, conversation with Ifaturoti

I stopped to see Kunle Ifaturoti and spent about an hour and a half talking with him about various topics. This included some information on ISG, and also talked about what happened with Odua Peoples Congress(OPC) in Ilesa.

ISG: I mentioned havng met Charles Akinola, and said I understood he'd talked with ISG. Instead of responding about Charles (tho indictaing that he knows him) Kunle said that of course he (Kunle) isn't the one doing ISG things any more, there is a new group but they havent done anything. They havent even had a meeting in 2 years -- it sounds like the one I attended a couple of years ago is the last they held. They called an annual general meeting but only he and Apara showed up. He criticized them for the agenda they had sent out, saying that he wouldnt expect people to attend based on such an agenda.

Now, he says there is a much younger group which has called a meeting for April 3, a special meeting to revive the organization. He said he thinks they're feeling embaraseed that nothing has happened. When I asked what he meant by a younger group, he said people like Dr. Arigbede's son, who is about thirty. But he also said that if they are serious about the April meeting they need to get notices out about it, which they haven't done yet.

OPC: I knew that OPC had done something in Ilesa but didnt know any details. He told me a little more, that they had identified people who were supposed to have been criminals, and went to their houses, burned their cars. He made the point that I've made in talking with people, that it is simply someone's word that these are criminals, that they could identify him as being against them (or someone else could), as happened with politicians, if you weren't with them then you were against them. He said OPC also went to the College of Education and identified a student that was supposed to have been involved in fraudulent activities (419) and after he denied it, then his friends came out to attack the OPC people. The police came and ended the fight between the two groups. This also led to conversaton about what happened in Odi. Kunle said it was on television. Again, he understood what had happened in a way that it is not true of others I've talked with here.

Fnja0005

Tues Feb 8, 2000, visit with Olashore

I got to Olashore's a little before 1 PM, after my visit with Ifaturoti. He was at the house, and we talked til about 2:15. His wife came in while I was there, she had apparently been out. Olashore commented that he'd been away a lot recently and had gotten back on Saturday, and would be going away again the following day, back to Lagos for a board meeting and other meetings. He seemed a bit tired. I said that I had seen his picture in the papers -- he assumed I was referring to his position as Chairman of Standard Chartered Bank, which has just reentered Nigeria (altho he was also in the papers in connection with Ige's son's wedding). He also said that he would be traveling out of the country in early March, to South Africa and then to London and Paris, and maybe on to US. He said that he is thinking of changing the school principal, because he has "spoiled" this one, giving him a lot of things he has asked for.

He also complained that he has arthritis in his elbow, and I suggested various treatments, including seeing my physical therapist in Wisconsin!

When his wife came in, she asked about my car (which she saw outside) and was surprised I had come alone. She also asked how long I was staying this time, because she was hoping I'd still be here at Easter. They have a new club of women and are planning a program at Easter and she thought I could give a lecture. The club is called Iloko Unity Sisters (not sure I have it exactly right) and its focus is women's empowerment. It is new and includes women from Iloko -- at first I thought she said that it includes those who live outside but later she said, no, those residing in the town, so I'm not sure which -- nor did I really get much informaton on what it is going to do.

When Olashore said he might come to US by early April, I said that his friend Dr. Dare might visit Wisconsin around that time. He didnt seem particiularly interested, did not know that she is now in the US and said he hadnt seen her for a long time. I asked what happened and he said that they werent having much to do with her organization any more, because it hadnt done much for them (ie for Iloko).

I told him the topic of my planned talk in Ibdan, he immediately took off on the subject of migraiton, but from the point of view of how to keep people from migrating. He said there needs to be development in the rural areas and that the government needs to provide infrastrucutre, mentioning again the bad road to Iloko (and it has gotten really bad), saying that he cant be expected to do things like provide roads. I mentioned how many people in a town like Iloko have lived outside, but he didnt really hear what I said, seems to assume that most have never left the place -- I didnt question this tho, so we didnt really discuss it.

On the subject of development, I asked what the building is that is going up near his house. He said a shopping mall, and then the large building will be a bakery -- that he has had the equipment for a long time, this is something of his own. I said I hope it will make good bread, and he said there are some Ghanaians in Lagos he would like to bring because they make good bread. He hopes to distribute bread to Lagos.

He also told me that there is a shrine in the town, near the palace, which he wants to make into a museum, not just for things from Iloko but for other antiquities too -- and asked if that isnt a subject that I know about.

I asked about the chieftaincy installation on Feb 25-26; when I saw Mrs. Omoniyi in Lagos she said it would be at nite and I should plan to stay overnite. But he said it would be in the evening both days, probably between 4-6, but that he wasnt really sure, but that I should be able to go back and forth. This is an installation of traditional chiefs, he doesnt know how many but that there are a lot of vacancies and will probably be about 15 chiefs installed. He said my own would be on his fifth anniversary, in two years.

Also breifly talked some more about the idea of my doing his biography.

Fnja0006

March 7 2000, visit with Owa in Ilesa

I spok with Ifaturoti last week about my difficulty in seeing the Owa. He said he would talk with the new Lejoka, Fadhunsi (also suggested to me by Mobo Akinola) and get him to make appointment for me this morning. This is what happened; so I had appt for 11 AM this morning. Went right in to see him. We talked for about 20 minutes.

I told him about my earlier research; he asked for copies of it. I described my current work, without going into much detail. He asked where I'm from in US and told me he'd visited Chicago last year, as well as other places -- that he was going around to visit Ijesas in US. Later, I asked if they are interested in keeping in contact with home, he said they are, that they're interested in development of Ijesaland. He also said that he was talking about sister city relation with some places, including a "village" (his term) named Dalton outside Chicago. The mayor there gave him the key to the city; the mayor is also a senator (state senate I assume); name I think he said is Shaw or Short, something like that. Also talked with people in Harlem near NY -- mentioned a woman mayor in this connection??

He asked if I have connections with the US Embassy, that he wrote to ambassador for appointment and heard bac that he could meet with someone under the ambassador but hasnt heard anything further. I said I'd try to check with Jim Callahan, that maybe the DCM is the person to try to meet with.

It was a cordial, fairly formal meeting. I said I would see him again next time I'm around and he indicated I should do so, also that he may contact me when he comes to US, in order to get copies of my papers. Probably I should have gone to see him much earlier.