CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES ON COMMUNITY-DRIVEN PROJECTS IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC HOUSING ESTATES IN LAGOS STATE, NIGERIA.

BY
BOLANLE WAHAB[1] AND OLAYINKA ADETUNJI[2]

[1]*Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.*
[2]*Hany-k International Limited, Ogodu Road, Ojota, Lagos State, Nigeria.*
[1]***Corresponding Author:*** *Bolanle Wahab (bolanle_wahab @yahoo.com)*

ABSTRACT
This study examined the cause of conflict and resolution strategies employed in the management of community-driven projects (CDPs) in selected public and private estates in Lagos State. Primary and secondary data were used. Primary data were collected through a structured questionnaire, in-depth interviews with key informants and personal observation. A structured questionnaire was randomly administered to 25% of landlords/heads of households in both the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) Ijaye-Ogba Estate in Agege Local Government Area (LGA) and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan Estate in Kosofe LGA. Four in-depth interviews (IDIs) were also conducted with the executives of the Residents' Associations and Youths Association in each estate. Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data collected. The study revealed that in both public and private estates, the provision and maintenance of community-based facilities generated conflicts in the forms of quarrel, fight, clashes, and murmuring. Communication, mediation, negotiation and reconciliation were the major strategies used by community elders and leaders of associations to resolve conflicts internally among residents in the housing estates. The study concluded that conflicts were likely to always arise in the provision, use and management of CDPs, but the ability to resolve such conflicts would always bring about peaceful co-existence in housing areas. The study recommended timely publicity, transparency, accountability and regular presentation of stewardship reports between the management committee of CDPs and residents/users in reducing and resolving conflicts over community-based projects.

Keywords: Community-driven facilities, Community elders, Conflict resolution strategies, Housing estates, Residents association

INTRODUCTION
The significance of housing in the socio-economic well-being of nations and their people has been well documented in the literature. Housing is a stimulant of the national economy (Onibokun, 1983) and has both sociological and psychological effects on the productivity and social well-being of humans (Agbola *et al.*, 2007). It is a physical structure that humans use for shelter plus the environment of that structure including equipment and devices required to meet the physical, mental, health and social needs of households (Olatubara, 2007). However, housing as a structure alone cannot and may not adequately serve its basic objectives without the basic infrastructural facilities needed to provide accessibility, comfort and convenience. In most Nigerian cities, however, associated infrastructural facilities such as water, electricity, waste disposal, access roads and drainages are generally inadequate to service the available housing units. As housing reflects the cultural, social and economic values of a society, therefore, co-habitation and social relation and co-sharing of limited housing facilities among household members, relatives, tenants and community at large cannot be avoided.

The inadequacy of housing facilities makes it imperative for residents of housing estates to jointly use or share and maintain the limited common facilities that are available and also provide and maintain by communal efforts the non-available ones. The communal provision, use and maintenance of facilities make such facilities to become potential sources of quarrel, in-fighting, scolding, abuses and other forms of conflict among and between residents in housing estates. Conflicts are observed to arise among the estate residents at any stage of the communal facility or project cycle: location, design, construction, use, management and maintenance. This

is irrespective of whether the estate is publicly or privately owned. In the process of undertaking the project activities (planning, mobilisation, implementation and management) various conflicts have ensued. Occurrence of conflict is only minimised where residents are able to exercise a high level of tolerance, sacrifice, avoidance and cooperation at every stage of community-driven project development.

In the world today, the twin issues of peace and conflict have assumed a global perspective owing to the fact that they are parts of the conditions that define and shape human existence and well-being in the present world (Shedrack, 2006). Literature abound on types and nature of conflict: community, ethnic, political, religious, territorial and class conflicts and tenancy disputes (Albert *et al.* 1995; Otite & Albert, 1999; Albert, 2001, 2003; Faleti, 2006; Shedrack 2006; Abdul-Jelil, 2008; Dzurgba, 2010); boundary disputes (Agbese, 1998; Ajayi, 2014); environmental and land dispute (Olokesusi, 1997; Egunjobi, 2005; Abdul-Jelili, 2008; Ikporukpo, 2014); land use planning regulation and development conflict (FRN, 1992; Adeyeye, 2010; Egunjobi and Adams 2015), land tenure and ownership conflict (Amman and Duraiappah, 2011), domestic conflict and violence (Oyediran & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2005; Aihie, 2009; Dzugba, 2010; Wahab and Odetokun, 2014) and hosts/indigene–settlers or citizenship conflict (Abdul-Jelili, 2008).

There is also literature on conflict resolution methods such as: mediation (Clark, 1989; Liu and Palermo, 2009); environmental mediation (Olokesusi, 1997); Jirga (an informal mechanism in Afghanistan (Carter and Connor, 1989;); indigenous mechanism (Baxi and Gallanter, 1979; Albert *et al.,* 1995; Castro and Ettenger, 1996; Brock-Utne, 2001; Guleid, 2007; Wahab and Odetokun, 2014); peaceful negotiation or arbitration (Oyesola, 2005); force (Oyesola, 2005); cross-examination (Oyesola, 2005), and legal approach (Brock-Utne, 2001). However, there is hardly any documentation of conflicts triggered by the provision, use, and management of community-driven facilities (CDFs) in housing estates and how such conflicts are resolved. In his study of conflict in landlord-tenant and tenant-tenant relationship in Ifako Ijaye local government area of Lagos state, Awodiran (2008) identified the causes of conflict but did not examine how conflicts were resolved.

Adeyemo (2008) examined role and effectiveness of landlords-tenants associations in the maintenance of housing facilities in Ibadan north local government area of Oyo state but did not cover the conflicts arising from their activities. Similarly, Olusola (2009) in his study of conflict between landlords and tenants in multi-tenanted buildings in Ajegunle area of Lagos state, only identified the causes of conflict but left out how the conflicts were resolved. In the same vein, Kolugo (2010) studied tenant-landlord behaviour in rental housing in metropolitan Lagos and identified the major causes of conflict but failed to include how the conflicts were resolved while Kehinde (2010) only examined the management of conflicts between landlords and tenants in Lagos State of Nigeria. Similarly, Shodayo (2011) only examined the mediatory role of stakeholders in conflicts between landlords and tenants and between tenants in Eti-Osa LGA of Lagos state, Nigeria. Wahab and Odetokun (2014) examined the application of indigenous approaches the management of domestic conflict arising from struggles among occupants in a given house for the use of bathroom, kitchen, toilets and electricity in Ondo city, Nigeria.

Most of the studies reported here that examined conflict in residential areas did not include the aspect of conflict resolution. The few that did were on facilities in individual houses and not on community-based infrastructural facilities in either public or private estates or both. This paper is out to fill this gap by identifying the various CDPs in the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation's (LSDPC) (public) and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan (private) housing estates in Lagos State, examining the conflicts that ensued during planning, implementation and management of the projects, and the resolution strategies used by the communities. The findings from the study is intended to serve as a lesson of experience and best practice which can be adopted and popularised in similar residential estates in Nigeria and beyond. The paper is structured into five

sections. The introduction is followed by section two which discusses the concepts of conflict and conflict resolution, housing, and community-driven development. The third section highlights the study methodology while the fourth section discusses the nature of community-driven projects in housing estates, the associated conflicts and methods of resolving them. The last section presents recommendations that could minimise the occurrence of conflicts, achieve amicable resolution of disputes, and foster peaceful co-habitation among residents in public and private housing areas.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL DISCOURSES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The Concept and Theory of Conflict
Etymologically, the term 'conflict' is coined from a Latin word- '*confligere*' meaning 'to strike together.' (Aluko, 2014). Egunjobi and Adams (2015:207) describes the term with such words as; "strife, struggle, fight, clash, quarrel or disagreement between or among two or more persons, parties, groups, societies over issues of their contradictory interests". According to Albert (2003) the term 'conflict' means to clash or engage in a fight, or a confrontation between individuals or groups. It is generally characterised by a breach of peace or understanding among parties involved (Okoye *et al.,* 2010). Conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable part of human existence (David, 2007) and an opposition among social entities directed against one another (Wright, 1990). Ropers (2002) explain that conflicts are phenomenon associated with inevitable corollary of co-existence and social change in all societies. Swickel (2001) identifies two types of conflicts; substantive (which picks up when there is dispute over content) and personal conflict which includes emotional component, personalities and values, word choice and non-verbals. Thus, sources of conflict include economic resources, power, leadership, human nature, religion, ideology, prejudice, environmental degradation, competitive production, and science and technology (Dzurgba, 2010).

Fisher *et al.* (2000) identify five stages of conflict: pre-conflict-, confrontation-, crisis-, out-come-, and post-conflict stages. Conflict can further be explained from the point of view of antagonistic interest positions between individuals or groups and relationship between two or more parties having incompatible or uncomfortable goals or interest (Aluko, 2014) . Conflict in its ordinary usage, connotes a negative phenomenon having no positive undertone and should, therefore, be avoided (Aluko, 2014). Conflict has also been described as a dysfunctional phenomenon ranging from discord, fighting (Heinz-Jurgen *et al.*, 2006), prolonged battle, struggle, clash or disputes between individuals and groups to wars between communities and nation states (Libiszewski, 1991; Wahab and Odetokun 2014). However, there is a positive side to conflict as, according to Aluko (2014), it could be an integrative and constructive tool. Abdul-Jelil (2008) also asserts that conflict generates resources, options and energy but the problem is how to channel the energy and resources constructively.

Conflict theory is a social theory which emphasises a person or group's ability to exercise influence and control over others, thereby affecting social groups' struggle to maximise their benefits and inevitably contribute to social changes such as innovations in politics and contrasts ideologies such as capitalism and socialism (Öztürk, 2004; Obaro, 2013). Karl Marx is credited with the development of the Conflict Theory whose basic insight is that human beings are sociable but conflict-prone-animals (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). The theory has its roots in the radical structural theory of Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) and the conflict structuralism (the Weberian or interpretive sociology) of Max Weber (1864 – 1920) (Agbola and Kassim, 2007).

The radical structural theory of conflict is represented by the Marxist dialectical school comprising the likes of Marx, Engel and Lenin who sees incompatible interests based on competition for resources which, in most cases, are assumed to be scarce, as being responsible

for social conflict (Collier, 2000, cited in Faleti, 2006). The liberal structuralists include Ross (1993), Scarborough (1998), and Galtung (1990). Structuralists maintain that conflicts occur because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies and the imbalance in the structure of social system in a given locale (Faleti, 2006). Conflict theorists stress the importance of interests over the importance of values (material and ideological) and norms and also advocate that conflict should be seen as normal aspect of social life (Dzurgba, 2010).

Galtung (1996:70) categorises conflict theory into two: one is the dispute theory of conflict formation in which two persons or actors are pursuing the same scarce goal; and the other is the dilemma type of conflict in which one person or actor is seeking two incompatible goals. Galtung (1996:76) further identifies what he calls "actor conflicts" which are conscious, and "structural conflicts" which are not, but both of which can be of the dilemma or dispute types. Abdul-Jelili (2008:22) presents the community relations theory of conflict, which assumes that conflict is caused by the continued polarisation, mistrust and hostility between different groups within a community, and the principled negotiation theory of conflict which suggests that conflict is caused by incompatible positions and a fixed-sum or zero-sum view of conflict by the parties. Fisher *et al.*, (2000) presents inter cultural miscommunication theory of conflict which he explains from the point of view of incompatibilities between different cultural communication styles.

Conflict theory can be used to explain non-economic conflicts within a society as between two children struggling for attention of their parents, fun-seekers competing for limited parking space in a relaxation area, or between landlords contesting election into the executive committee of their estate residents' association. Conflict theory offers explanation on the kind of relationship and hostility between and among people living in the same or different housing estates in a city and can also be applied to property such as housing (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). Property is an issue of conflict between property owners and renters, capitalists or employers and their workers (Boswell and Dixon, 1993). The constant struggles for the use of limited and poor quality housing facilities and services breed conflicts between and among residents within same housing unit, such as between landlords and tenants or tenants and tenants, and also among residents in different housing units in a residential estate in different parts of Nigeria (Kehinde, 2010; Shodayo, 2011; Wahab and Odetokun, 2014).

As disagreements and clash are common between occupants of a house over the use of common facilities such as water, electricity, kitchen, bathroom, toilets, stairs and laundry within the house (Ellingsen, 2000; Wahab and Odetokun, 2014) so are conflict of interest, ideas and principles found among residents of housing estates who have to jointly provide, use, manage and maintain infrastructural and social facilities for healthy living. This housing-induced domestic conflict (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014) within residential estates could involve abuse, scolding, yelling, booing, and sometimes physical assault (Oyediran & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2005; Aihie, 2009) or murmuring and quarrel between house-owners or between members of different households within a housing block or different housing blocks.

Housing and its relationship with Conflict

There is a strong relationship between housing and conflict (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). Adequate housing is fundamental to the socio-psychological, economic and physical well-being of people if they must be protected from conflict or violence. Conflicts do arise from interpersonal relationships between tenants (Agbola and Kassim, 2007; Awodiran, 2008; Wahab and Odetokun, 2014); between landlords and tenants (Olusola, 2009; Kehinde, 2010; Kolugo, 2010; Shodayo, 2011), and even between landlords and landlords. There are also conflicts between professionals in the housing industry (Agbola and Kassim, 2007). Each stage of the housing development process generate conflict between the craftsmen/artisans and the developer. Conflict arise in the management and use of construction materials, theft of materials, time of completion, deployment

of personnel, and non-compliance with approved architectural design among others (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014).

Housing plays major roles in day-to-day inter-relationships between and among its occupiers. It commonly provides shelter, safety, health, and psychological fulfillment (Egunjobi, 1998) and also facilitates unity and brotherhood. It also provides avenue for breeding social friction between families when housing facilities increasingly become inadequate either in quality or in quantity (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). One main cause of frictions which often lead to strained relationships between landlords and tenants is lack of maintenance of buildings and the non- or inadequate provision of basic facilities by both the landlord and/or tenants. Environmental conflict is experienced among estate residents over clearing of blocked drains and canals, maintenance of communal waste dump, repair of broken culverts, and mending of collector roads and local streets. Housing-induced conflict will occur less between and among residents when a housing estate is provided with adequate basic infrastructural facilities. As Agbola and Kassim (2007) observe, when people are adequately housed, they are protected from conflict.

Conflict and Community-driven Development Projects

Conflict is relatively new in the field of physical and community development. In recent times, however, conflict studies are being gradually introduced into development researches (Macartan and Ashutosh, 2004). Faleti (2006) observed that conflict is usually built from the ways the communities are structured along socio-economic divide and organised towards community development. Those in the upper echelon would like to dominate in decision-making. Local organizations are also into unhealthy competition and rivalry for recognition.

Development should be seen as an adequate process to be determined by the locale (Webster, 1990 cited in Dipholo, 2002). Any housing development project that excludes the beneficiaries is bound to fail. Participatory community-based process is an approach that ensures the success, acceptability and sustainability of community-based facilities where the providers (government, private sector, individual) and end-users are involved in a collaborative manner at every stage of a project (Wahab, 2006). The strategy involves inclusive participation of the local population, end users and, at times external stake-holders who come together in the creation of a programme or building of a facility designed to change their lives (Jennings, 2000).

Community development (CD) has been variously defined in the literature (Frank and Smith (1999:10) describe CD as "a process whereby community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems". Pat (2004) defines CD as the level of control that communities have to plan, develop, implement, and maintain effective community programmes which impact on their individual and collective social and economic futures. Community development is a social movement, a process, a method, and a programme which concerns all the people of a community and through which the community attempts to improve its social, economic and cultural situation (Wahab, 2006). People in residential communities are, therefore, organised into voluntary associations or mutual interest groups such as community development association, residents associations, landlord associations, landlords-tenants association, tenants associations, residential unit areas, and residential zones to carry out community-driven development projects such as road rehabilitation and repairs, construction and repair of drainages, boreholes, public toilets, clinics, meeting halls, installation of security gates and posts, and communal building rehabilitations.

Community development associations provided and maintained electricity transformers, boreholes, toilets and police post and grade access roads every dry season in Moniya and Orogun residential communities in Ibadan. However, project committees were in conflict with community members for their inadequate participation in project maintenance and non-payment of maintenance levies while residents complained of inadequate information and bias in siting of

projects by project committees (Onaolapo, 2014).The World Bank (2007) describes community-driven development (CDD) projects as an approach that empowers local community groups, including local governments, by giving direct control to the community over planning decisions and investment resources through a process that emphasises participatory planning and accountability. In the contemporary societies globally, CDD is increasingly used to help build bridges between the state and its citizens, employers and employees, and also used to strengthen social cohesion between residents of housing estates where individuals and social groups are divided. To effectively achieve its objectives, therefore, CDD needs community building or community organising, through which individuals and groups of people are provided with the skills they need to effect change in their own communities (World Bank 2007).

The success of a CDD programme depends on leadership, consensus and planning. Planning serves to help direct change towards public goals and presents a comprehensive process for community developers to follow (Lapping *et al.* 1989). Sustainable CDD process requires 3 levels of practical progress: the development project beneficiaries need to be more involved at the design stage; local knowledge needs to be better utilised in the design and implementation programmes, and the people need to build their capacity to access social impacts of policies and investments (Serageldin, 1993). The non-involvement of community members in some or all the stages of project development often triggers conflict which must be resolved amicably for peaceful co-habitation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Mack and Snyder (1957) describe conflict as referring to a range of phenomena that can be identified or characterised by four conditions: (i) the existence of two or more parties; (ii) a situation of resource scarcity; (iii) the presence of behaviour that hurts and injures another, and (iv) mutually opposed goals. Thomas and Kilmann (2010) describe the concerned parties' behaviours as either: (i) assertive; the extent to which the parties attempt to satisfy their interests, or (ii) cooperative; the extent to which the parties attempt to satisfy other parties' interests. This implies that conflicts in real terms are much more cognitive rather than the behavioural state of mind. Attitudes during conflicts include hostility, emotional orientation, perpetual conditions and other psychological processes that are behavioural rather than cognitive in nature. Conflict is a situation in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future position; hence the parties do not necessarily engage in behaviours which are mutually compatible (Phattraporn and Ranjith, 2014).

Causes and Effects of Conflict

Various factors have been identified as causes of conflicts. Conflict has both structural and proximate causes which trigger with evident presence of action (Obegi and Nyamboga, 2008). Namande (2008) asserts that any factor that creates dissatisfaction can increase the chances of conflicts among people and this may include struggle for resources, egocentrism, ethnocentrism, bigotry, assertion, struggle for recognition, ignorance, pride and fear. Albert (2005) summarises factors causing conflict to include competition for inadequate resources. They are: contradicting value systems, religious beliefs, ideological positions and general worldview of the interacting parties; psychological needs of individuals and groups, and manipulation of information (Albert, 2005:4-5 cited in Aluko, 2014:335-336). In their discussion of environmental conflict, Egunjobi and Adams (2015:208) identified the following causes: territoriality of natural resources; resource depletion; resource use and resource sharing; relative inaccessibility, and natural and/or human-induced disasters.

Internet-Mediator (2009) classifies conflict and their cause into five categories which are relationship, data, interest, structural and value conflicts each of which has its peculiar causes.

Relationship conflicts occur because of the presence of strong negative emotions, stereotypes, poor communication or miscommunication, or repetitive negative behaviours. Data conflicts occur when people lack information necessary to make wise decisions, are misinformed, disagree on which data is relevant, interpret information differently, or have competing assessment procedures. Interest conflicts are caused by competition over perceived incompatible needs while conflicts of interest result when one or more of the parties believe that in order to satisfy his or her needs, the needs and interests of an opponent must be sacrificed. Structural conflicts are caused by forces external to the people in dispute while value conflicts are caused by perceived or actual incompatible belief system (Wikipedia, 2009). Structural disparity can also trigger conflicts such as the gap between the rich and the poor, urban bias and poor governance (Andreas and Claude, 2000). In development policy debate, there is tendency to identify structural factor as key causes of conflicts (Ropers, 2002).

While Okoye *et al.* (2010) argue that conflicts are desirable in shaping human ideologies and relationships. They contend that conflict never occurs without negative consequences which often constitute serious threats to humanity and undermine particular human development objectives. These threats may be in form of diseases, hunger, poverty, high death toll and destruction of property. Domestic conflict in residential communities of Ondo, Nigeria affected the house occupants psychologically, generated noisy environment, affected hearing, created distractions, and resulted in unclean environment (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014:42). However, it is interesting to note some opinions expressed by people during informal discussions that conflict is not wholly negative as it brings with it some benefits. One elderly male said: "*bi ako ba ja, aki ndo're otito*" meaning: if we don't quarrel or fight we cannot become true friends. Another elderly female retorted: "*ara ija ni oore wa*", meaning: there is good or reward in quarrel or that something good or beneficial can come out of a quarrel or fight. Bigdon and Benedikt (2004) do not see conflicts as problems to be resolved or managed; rather, they argue that it offers opportunities for growth, adaptation and learning. Conflicts lead all parties to clarify for themselves their needs and values and also help them to better understand that conflict provides an opportunity for mutual transformation, empowerment and development (Bigdon and Benedikt, 2004 cited in Bush and Folger, 1994).

Awodiran (2008) identifies the causes of conflict in landlord-tenant and tenant-tenant relationship in Ifako Ijaye local government area of Lagos state as: inadequate facilities; non-payment of utility bills, security and development levies; maintenance issues; domestic scuffle, and misunderstanding among residents. Also, Olusola (2009) in his study of conflict between landlords and tenants in multi-tenanted buildings in Ajegunle area of Lagos state, attributes the causes of conflict to lack of maintenance of buildings and their facilities by the landlords, improper use of housing infrastructure by tenants culminating in blocked drains, damaged electric poles, broken entrance gate, and unwillingness of tenants to participate in any repair or maintenance work. Similarly, in his study of conflicts between landlords and tenants in Lagos State, Nigeria, Kehinde (2010) notes that conflicts were caused by house renovation (16.0%), refusal to pay for utility bill (5.3%), intolerance (5.3%), parking space (1.3%), use of generating set (1.3%) among others. In the same vein, Kolugo (2010) studied tenant-landlord behaviour in rental housing in metropolitan Lagos and identified the major causes of conflict between the two parties as irregular or non-payment of rental fees by the tenants and the financial handicap of landlords to undertake proper maintenance of the housing environment.

Biobaku (2010) informs us that the conflict between landlords and tenants in multi-tenanted buildings in Amuwo-Odofin area of Lagos was majorly caused by social factors (78%) (domestic scuffle, stealing, maltreatment, clash of personal interest) followed by economic factors (22%) (house rent, electricity bill and monetary measures). Shodayo (2011) finds the causes of conflict between landlords and tenants in Eti-Osa LGA of Lagos state, to include: default in

payment of rent (21.1%); delay in payment of rent (10.7%); coming home late (17.6%); misunderstanding (6.8%); house being control by agent (7.3%), and other causes (36.6%) (stealing, snatching of another person's wife, adultery, backbiting, assault, jealousy, noisy generator and carelessness in maintenance). Wahab and Odetokun (2014) in their study of housing-induced domestic conflict in Ondo city, Nigeria, observe that conflicts arose from housing difficulties, unsanitary residential environments, and as a result of co-sharing of facilities and amenities. Conflicts were caused by lack of basic facilities (56.7%), uncooperative attitude of some occupants (29.1%), unhealthy condition of houses (14.2%). There were also disagreements over payment of electricity bills (44.6%), sharing of bathroom facilities (60.2%), the use of kitchen facilities within building (72.5%), and cooking within the corridors/passage (78.9%).

Conflict Resolution Methods

Given its frequent occurrence in everyday life, conflict appears to have become a permanent feature of human life which we have come to live and cope with and resolve from time to time. Since its presence cannot be terminated in human existence, scholars such as Namande (2008); Obegi and Nyamboga (2008), have theorised and conceptualised conflicts and their modes of resolution rather than termination. Therefore, when and whenever any conflict arises, it should be resolved amicably so that parties involved could be at peace with themselves. Conflicts well-managed and resolved can bring about peace and development in cities and their constituent parts especially the residential areas. However, where peaceful measures fail to achieve desired results, aggrieved parties take to violent means as in the case of the Niger Delta Militants who organised protest marches, civil disobedience and armed struggle to pursue a cause of economic and environmental justice in the Niger delta Region (Ikporukpo, 2014).

Conflict is a very dynamic phenomenon which requires a deep knowledge and understanding of how to handle or resolve it in a constructive rather than destructive way (Maiese, 2005). Maiese (2005) identifies two types of knowledge systems: i) expert or *explicit knowledge,* grounded in skills of comprehension, analysis, and application and which results from study, reading, research, training, and focused experience; ii) folk or *implicit* knowledge which refers to everyday commonsense understandings, intuition, and personal experience (Osamba (2001). While contributing to conflict resolution discourse, Robinson (2009:145) states that "conflict is the mother of creativity and creativity is a process of conflict resolution" meaning that conflict enables individuals or groups to think out of the box by creating peaceful solution to a conflicting issue.

Conflict resolution (CR), which is the basis for this research, focuses on ending a conflict without any external intervention. It is a variety of approaches used in managing conflicts through the constructive solving of problems distinct from management or transformation of conflict. CR is preferred to conflict prevention which seeks to prevent a violent escalation of conflicts, but not the conflicts themselves. Putting an end to a conflict, as noted by Andreas and Claude (2000) means achieving a workable compromise and/or balance of opposing interests. Deutsch (1973), identifies the nature of the dispute and the goals each party aims at as two critical factors in conflict resolution that determine the kind of orientation (either competitive or cooperative) a party would bring to the negotiating table. Cooperative disposition of parties would evoke an atmosphere of trust and eventually lead to mutually beneficial options for settlement. On the other hand, competitive approach, which is generally considered destructive, leads to win-lose outcomes but is likely to intensify animosity and distrust between parties (Deutsch, 1973). Thomas and Kilmann (2010) expanded Deutsch's work in what is termed "The Thomas Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument"- a five conflict management model for handling conflict along two basic dimensions of assertiveness and cooperation consisting: accommodating (through a high level of cooperation); avoiding the issue by not being assertive; collaborating with the other party to

achieve "win-win" situation; competing (by being very assertive but leading to "win-lose" approach), and compromising (a "lose-lose" scenario which requires a moderate level of assertiveness and cooperation) (https://www.cpp.com/pdfs/smp248248.pdf)

For conflict resolution to succeed, it needs to involve reflexive dialogue in which parties to the conflict speak openly about their needs and values in the presence of their adversaries (Bigdon and Benedikt, 2004). American Management Association (2014) identifies five steps to CR which a mediator must handle diligently for any CR exercise to be successful and they are as follows: i**dentify the source of the conflict; look beyond the incident;** r**equest solutions from disputants; identify solutions which the disputants can support; getting the disputing parties to agree to the prescribed solution(s).** Conflict resolution efforts will also be successful if all parties equally benefit (i.e., win-win) but extremely difficult when gains for one party occur at the detriment of to another (i.e., win-loos). However, parties may be motivated for win-win solutions when there is either a desire to cooperate on common interests or to get a fair share of the resources (Thomas and Kilman, 2010).

Methods in CR could involve integrative bargaining or interactive problem solving. Ronald (1997) explains integrative bargaining process as involving negotiation in which the focus is on the merits of the issues. Integrative bargaining involves concession making and searching for mutually profitable solutions (Jack *et al.*, 1998). Shedrack (2006) cited in Miller (2003), asserts that different resolution strategies are used in different context and referred to the African Traditional Dispute Resolution (ATDR) and the Western Alternative Dispute Resolution (WADR). In resolving environmental and or physical planning-induced conflict, Egunjobi and Adams (2015) suggested the application of planning instruments such as lay-out designs, space standards, development (master) plans, land use and development control regulations as environmental conflict prevention methods. In Oyo State, Nigeria, the Ministry of Environment mediates in an environmental conflict triggered by illegal siting of a mechanic workshop in Challenge area of Ibadan by issuing abatement and enforcement notices to the offending parties, while the Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development issues stop work and quit notices to address conflicts arising from land encroachment and blocking of access roads by developers in different parts of Ibadan.

In Africa, a diversity of cultural and religious practices influences the approaches to dispute and conflict resolution in the traditional setting. Indigenous knowledge and practices are applied in resolving all forms of conflict and achieving long-term reconciliation (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). The approaches identified by Shedrack (2007) include: grassroots community-based activities, collaboration, good governance, communication, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, adjudication and crisis management. Dzurgba (2010) adds persuasion, dialogue, workshop and seminar. Bruner (1990) presents the "narrative mode" of thought as a method of CR emphasising that storytelling among enemies may help parties make attempts at reconciliation to heal wounds and transform conflict. Egunjobi and Adams (2015) identify facilitation, dialoguing, cooperation, partnership (especially in the area of land use and community development), early-neutral evaluation, ombudsman and litigation as other methods of CR. However, because of the costs of litigations and to achieve amicable settlement some disputants opt for non-litigious procedures in dispute management process through the adoption cooperative, confidential and non-coersive process. Bush and Folger (1994) emphasis mediation as an effective and satisfactory dispute resolution because it employs collaborative and integrative approaches to reach win-win solutions that satisfy the needs of all parties. They identify the benefits of mediation as flexibility, informality, consensuality, reduction of economic and emotional   costs   as   benefits   of   mediation (http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/transform/bushbook.htm).
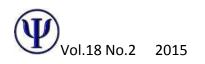
The literature confirms the variety of mechanisms for resolving conflicts which   are deeply rooted in the culture and history of every society (Wardak, 2005) and their indigenous knowledge systems and practices. As Baron (1998) points out, culture affects the way that people understand conflict and shapes their views about how best to intervene. Ungerleider (1999) discusses the role of music and poetry in conflict transformation efforts in Cyprus while Dunn (2008) explores the potential for music use with adults in mediation through role playing by mediators. Wahab and Jimoh (2013) in their study of traditional musicological dimension to conflict management among the Akoko people of south-western Nigeria reports the use of Ajagbo traditional music, dance and performance as a non-violent approach to resolve conflicts during the annual *Ajagbo* and '*ogun*' (god of iron) festival in Ikare-Akoko land.

As observed by Bush and Folger (1994), informal traditional institutions starting from family led by the elders, and village square headed by tested and respected honest persons, titled holders and native doctors, are involved in conflict regulation in their domains. Shodayo (2011) notes that Africans utilise the services of traditional institutions (TIs) such as the council of elders, age grades, masquerades and women organisations as instrument of conflict resolution. Over time, these traditional institutions have expanded their community development activities to include peace-making as they routinely undertake resolution of conflict between and among members of their communities. Examples of the TI are the Panchayat in India (Baxi and Gallanter, 1979; Moore 1985) and Mediation Communities in China (Clark, 1989; Liu and Palermo, 2009).

Public involvement and environmental mediation are used in Nigeria as alternative dispute resolution technique in Nigeria's petroleum industry (Olokesusi, 1997). Traditional Mediation (TM) is effective in resolving interpersonal and or group conflicts among housing residents (Umbreit 1988). The TM techniques (Humphries, 2002) make use of traditional institutions (such as the Council of Elders) and community-based organisations (such as residents' association, landlord/tenants association) which make TM cost and time-saving (Toolbox, 2012) to resolve, enforce and sustain the result of disputes (Guleid 2007). Tenants who were in conflict with their landlords in Lagos considered litigation as cumbersome (10.7%), time-wasting (37.3%), and ineffective (12.0%) (Kehinde, 2010).

Indigenous participatory techniques were used to resolve conflicts internally among occupants of dwellers in Ondo city, Nigeria, by elders including landlords and mediators made up of members of the executive committee of landlords' association, community leaders (*Baale* or Ward Chief) and opinion leaders (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). Over time, these traditional institutions have expanded the scope of their community development activities to include peace-making as they routinely undertake resolution of conflict between and among members of their communities. Shodayo (2011) appraises the mediatory role of stakeholders in conflicts between landlords and tenants in multi-tenanted houses in Eti-Osa LGA of Lagos State, and finds mediation as the major strategy (44.4%) used by the following stakeholders in resolving conflicts; the landlord association (42.9%), elders in the community (3.4%), Estate Surveyors/Managers/Agents (35.1%), the law court (12.7%), the police (2.4%) and local government/town planning authority (3.9%).

Using indigenous participatory approach, housing-induced conflicts among residents in Ondo, Nigeria, were resolved internally by elders (68.5%), resolved jointly by elders and mediators within the community (24.8%), reported to police (6.0%) or had no resolution (0.7%) (Wahab and Odetokun, 2014). However, in some housing areas in Lagos when tenants are in conflict with their landlords, the landlords report to police (20%), take legal action (24%), eject (4%) or appeal to the tenants (4%) while some tenants may also appeal to their landlords (53.3%), report to appropriate agencies (18.7%), report to relevant estate managers (21.3%), or resort to litigation (6.7%) (Kehinde, 2010).

THE STUDY AREA
The two case studies, Lagos State Development and Property Corporation estate in Ijaiye-Ogba and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan housing estate, are situated within Lagos State of Nigeria. Lagos State is one of the 36 States of the federation having 17.5 million population as at 2006 (Lagos Bureau of Statistics 2012). With 3.2% population growth rate, the population is projected to increase to 22.5 million people in 2014 (Lagos Bureau of Statistics 2012). The state serves as the commercial hub of the federation and has a number of private and public housing estates. Lagos state comprises of 20 Local Government Areas and 37 Local Council Development Areas.

The LSDPC Housing Estate
        The LSDPC housing estate is a public housing estate located in Agege Local Government Area (LGA) of Lagos State. The estate spans on 1202.78 hectares of land in the northern part of Agege LGA. It is bounded in the south by Dideolu Estate and Iju road, in the west by Ibari road, in the northern part by Agoro road, while the famous Agege Pen Cinema roundabout about 1km away is located on Northwest border. The estate was established in 1981 and accommodates both low and middle-income earners. It is considered one of the fairly large LSDPC housing estates in Lagos State having 796 housing units at an average of 6 people per unit and estimated design population of 4,776. Three housing prototypes (2-, 3-, and 4-bedroom) were designed for LSDPC housing estate. The 2- and 3- bedroom flats were in blocks of six flats while the 4-bedroom flats comprise of blocks of four flats. All flats were allocated to allottees on owner-occupier basis. The LSDPC provided its estate with a network of tarred roads with sidewalks and drainages, one electricity transformer and a playground. There is pipe-borne water facility with supplies from the State Water Corporation which residents complement with private borehole water facilities. Waste collection and disposal service is provided by the Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA).
        Right from the inception of house allocation, a maintenance plan was drawn up by the management of the LSDPC to be implemented by the residents. The letter of offer of housing units to allottees stipulates certain conditions to be met including: the use of the unit for residential purpose only; no erection of any structure on land space surrounding the unit; no alteration to the house plan; no transfer of unit without LSDPC's written consent; each allottee has strict liability for continuous maintenance of his/her unit.

Rufus Lanre-Laniyan Housing Estate
        Rufus Lanre-Laniyan housing estate is purely a private residential estate situated in Owode-Ajegunle, along Ikorodu Road in Kosofe LGA of Lagos State. It spans over 16.19 hectares of land and bounded in the north by Owode-Onirin Community, in the west by Ikorodu expressway while in the south by Irawo community. The estate was established in 1998 by Chief Rufus Lanre Laniyan with a layout plan prepared for only 200 plots to accommodate residential housing units. Interested individuals were provided the option of buying plots of land and building houses designed to suit their own tastes. Block of flats and duplexes are the two house types developed in the estate. As at the time of this study, only 124 (62%) plots out of the available 200 plots were fully developed into habitable housing units, with 78 duplexes and 42 blocks of flats. The designed population of the 124 units at six (6) persons per housing unit is 744 residents.
        Housing arrangement follows the normal linear arrangement of houses along the streets with back to back plot system. Each plot is easily accessible by road. The residents, through

communal efforts, provided all the infrastructural facilities in the estate including networks of earth roads and drainages, electricity transformer, the estate entrance gate, waste disposal collection points, football playground, and security guards.

METHODOLOGY

This study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected through questionnaire administration to household heads and in-depth interviews held with key individuals and groups in the two estates. Information were collected on community development projects embarked upon by residents associations; the approaches adopted towards project planning, mobilization, implementation and management, conflicts ensuing from different stages of projects, and the strategies used in resolving the conflicts. The sample frame for the study was the 920 housing units in the two estates consisting 796 units in LSDPC and 124 fully occupied housing units in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates. A 25% of the housing units were sampled giving 199 and 31 respondents from LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates respectively. Questionnaire survey and field observation were adopted for the study. Copies of a structured questionnaire were administered randomly to household heads or in their absence, their wives or husbands who were willing to be interviewed. In-depth interviews were also held with members of the executives of the Residents' Association and Youths Association, in each estate. Secondary data was obtained from extracts from the internet, textbooks, journals articles, seminar papers, newspapers, government reports, gazettes and policy documents. Background information on LSDPC's estate were obtained from Lagos State Development and Property Corporation, while the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development provided maps and layout plans. Data collected was analysed using descriptive statistics.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The information collected on the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents revealed that all (100%) the respondents in LSDPC estate were above voting age (20 to 49 years) while in Lanre Laniyan estate, respondents were older being 100% above 40 years. Also, about three-fifths (57.8%) of the respondents in LSDPC had secondary school, 31.2% primary and 11.1% tertiary education compared with Rufus Lanre-Laniyan's case where 54.8% had tertiary, 32.2% secondary and 13.0% primary education. LSDPC estate accommodated 47.7% civil servants, 47.2% self-employed and 5.0% unemployed as against Rufus Lanre-Laniyan with over two-thirds (67.7%) private sector workers, one-third (32.3%) unemployed and no civil servants. It is not surprising that LSDPC estate was dominated by civil servants because LSDPC is a state government agency and the staff could have influenced housing allocation to their colleagues who also most probably influenced the provision of basic facilities found in the estate.

Similarly, over one-half (54.8%) of the housing units in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate were owned by private companies and 45.2% by private individuals. However, it is surprising that three-fifths (60.8%) of the housing units in LSDPC estate were owned by private companies and only one-fifth (24.1%) owned by private individuals, whereas, 47.7% of residents claimed to be civil servants. Considering the level of monthly income, two-fifth (38.7%) of residents in LSDPC estate earned N20,000-N30,000; 29.6% earned N30,100-N50,000 while the least (12.1%) earned above N50,000. In Rufus Lanre-Laniyan Estate, over one-half (51.6%) earned N30, 100 – 50, 000 while the remaining 48.4% earned between N20,000 and 30,000. Income level for majority of the residents appears similar in the two estates.

Experience has shown that in any residential community where the required basic infrastructure and or facility, were not provided from the inception of the estate by the owner (government or private individual or group), the residents of such community often constitute

themselves into associations such as residents' associations, landlords' associations, landlords-tenants associations, and youth associations among others, to initiate community-driven projects to cater for their missing welfare and basic needs. This was the case in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan housing estates in Lagos. As stated earlier, the LSDPC provided basic infrastructural facilities in its estate and left the maintenance of the facilities to the allottees/residents of the housing units. The residents, therefore, jointly and cooperatively undertook the maintenance of the existing facilities and the provision of additional ones as community projects. They undertook the following projects: (i) evacuation of dirt from the drainages to facilitate free-flow of water and prevent street flooding; (ii) beautification of the estate; (iii) maintenance of estate roads to make them motorable; (iv) provision of water to augment the irregular supply from Adiyan water works; (v) provision of two additional electricity transformers and maintenance of the two provided by LSDPC; (vi) maintenance of 12 waste collection points; (vii) recruitment and sustenance of eight private security guards; (viii) maintenance of street lights, and (ix) provision of sports field and a relaxation centre where meetings are held.

In like manner, residents of Rufus Lanre-Laniyan also undertook the following community-driven projects: (i) construction and regular rehabilitation of estate roads; (ii) drainage construction and routing clearing, (iii) installation and maintenance of electricity transformers, (iv) partial maintenance of 8 waste collection points, (v) employment of 8 security guards, (vi) construction and regular beautification of entrance gate and gate house, (vii) construction and maintenance of a sport field, (viii) construction of a relaxation centre where residents' association executives hold monthly meetings and resolve conflicts, and (ix) street naming project.

The planning of the community-based projects in LSPDC were considered by one-half of the residents as efficient (49.7%) and partially efficient (50.3%), while in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan, it was described as very efficient by over one-half (54.8%), efficient (38.7%) and partially efficient (6.5%). No one in the two estates considered project planning as inefficient. Project implementation in LSDPC was rated as partially efficient by about two-thirds (64.3%) and efficient by one-third (35.7%) implying that two-third of the residents had some reservations. In contrast, nine-tenth (90.3%) of the residents in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan adjudged project implementation as very efficient, 3.2% efficient and 6.5% partially efficient.

The implementation of community-based projects in the two estates followed similar approaches as they were executed either through direct labour or contract. Electricity transformer installation and maintenance projects in both estates were executed by direct labour and contracting to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) officials for proper and safe handling. Waste disposal in LSDPC was fully (100%) contracted to LAWMA while in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate, about three-fifth (58.1%) of residents contracted waste management to LAWMA, and slightly over two-fifth (41.9%) of the residents disposed their waste individually through burning, burying and indiscriminate dumping within and around the estate.

Road rehabilitation and maintenance in LSDPC estate was done by direct labour while in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan it was by group (58.1%) and individual efforts (41.9%). Sometimes, some individuals could not wait for the time the residents' association would undertake road repair work and such individuals engaged in mending the bad portion of the road in front of their houses. Drainage projects was all by direct labour in LSDPC estate whereas in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan it was a mixture of direct labour (35.5%), contract to hired labour (32.3%) and by individuals themselves (32.3%). Provision of securities in LSDPC was contracted fully to private security outfits to maintain surveillance in the whole estate. The situation was different in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate where about one-third (32.3%) of the residents jointly contracted to private security companies and over two-third (67.7%) individual landlords or tenants employed their own security guards and/or used trained security dogs to secure their apartments. The entrance gate to Rufus

Lanre-Laniyan estate was constructed through direct labour (45.2%), partially contracted out (41.9%) and through contributions from individuals and the owner of the estate (12.9%).

The physical and financial participation of the youth and adult residents in the community-based projects was investigated. In Lanre-Laniyan estate, residents' physical and financial participation in the provision and management of communal facilities was made compulsory by the residents' association and any resident that failed to participate was not only fined financially but also summoned to the monthly meeting of the association held on sanitation Saturdays and warned. Enforcement of this rule was low in LSDPC estate. Findings showed the level of male youths' financial and physical participation to be low (45.7%) and very low (54.3%) in LSDPC estate as against very high (58.1%) and high (41.9%) respectively in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate (Table 2). Similarly, female youths had low (44.2%) and very low (55.8%) financial and physical involvement in community projects in LSDPC as against high (64.5%) financial and moderate (29.0%) physical participation in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate. The Youth Association in Lanre-Laniyan estate was more organised and active one that of LSDPC. This implies that there is a low level of mobilisation of the youth for communal work in the estate.

Furthermore, perhaps the youth were not sufficiently sensitised about the benefits of participation in CD which provides opportunity for skill acquisition, community education and exposition to project development cycle. From the discussions held with some youths in the estates, they had these to say: "development works do not appeal to many of us", "we have little interest"; "we are not used to it"; "no time for physical development activities because they are energy-sapping and time-consuming". Profoundly, however, male adults' level of financial and physical participation in community projects was very high (50.3%) and high (49.7%) in LSDPC and high (38.7%) and moderate (61.3%) in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates. This could be attributed to the level of experience, maturity, financial commitment and understanding of the benefits of the projects on the part of the adults. Discussions held with some adults in the estates revealed that the adults were the ones spearheading the provision and management of projects while the youths were merely supporting the adults. The financial and physical participation of almost two-thirds (62.8%) of female adults was moderate and high for one-fifth (23.6%) in LSDPC while it was low (45.2%) and very low (45.2%) in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates. This implies that women were not as active in CD projects as their male counterparts perhaps because the projects were not the ones that naturally interest women such as water and market/commercial facility.

Types, Causes and Actors involved in Conflict at Different Phases of Community-Driven Project

Findings revealed that conflicts occurred when residents attempted to put in place facilities not provided for at the inception of the estate, and to replace or maintain those that were provided but were either inadequate or not durable and sustainable. Conflicts occurred during project planning and implementation more in LSDPC (50.8%) than in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate (41.9%). A member of project committee interviewed said: "don't mind them (residents), some people are never satisfied with what other people do once they are not in charge". The types of conflicts associated with different projects are presented in Table 1. It is not surprising that the location of waste collection and disposal facilities and mode of disposal generated the highest quarrel out of all the facilities among residents in both LSDPC (87.9%) and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan (87.1%) estates. People will normally resist any plan to locate waste disposal facilities in their back-yard on environmental health grounds. There were occasional clashes (12.1%) in LSDPC and both murmuring (9.7%) and clashes (3.2%) in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate. Electricity transformer location, installation and rationing of supply in LSDPC had triggered 61.3% clashes, 22.6% fights, and 16.1% quarrel among residents. In Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate, murmuring was highest (45.2%) followed by clashes (32.3%), quarrel (12.9%), and fights (9.7%).

Drainage construction and maintenance projects caused 70.9% murmuring, 21.1% quarrels and 8.0% fights amidst residents in LSDPC while it accounted for 61.3%, 29.0%, and 9.7% clashes, quarrel, and fights respectively in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate. The types and pattern of conflicts arising from waste disposal, electricity and drainage projects were similar in both estates in the form of clash, fight, murmuring and quarrel. Road construction and maintenance projects triggered 61.3% and 38.7% fights and clashes respectively in LSDPC compared to Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate with 90.3% quarrel and 9.7% fight. The entrance gate was an important facility and major source of conflict in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate in form of quarrel (41.9%), fights (38.7%) and murmuring (19.4 %). Security services also generated quarrels (87.1%) and fights (12.9%) in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate.

Table 1: Types of Conflicts identified with Community-Driven Projects.

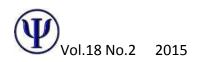| Projects	Types of Conflicts	LSDPC		Lanre-Laniyan	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Waste Disposal	Quarrel	175	87.9	27	87.1
	Clash	25	12.1	1	3.2
	Murmuring	-	-	3	9.7
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Electric Transformer	Quarrel	32	16.1	4	12.9
	Fight	45	22.6	3	9.7
	Clashes	122	61.3	10	32.3
	Murmuring	-	-	14	45.2
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Drainage	Quarrel	42	21.1	9	29.0
	Fight	16	8.0	3	9.7
	Clashes	-	-	13	61.3
	Murmuring	141	70.9	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Security Guards	Quarrel	-	-	27	87.1
	Fight	-	-	4	12.9
	Clashes	-	-	-	-
	Total	**-**	**-**	**31**	**100.0**
Roads	Quarrel	-	-	28	90.3
	Fight	122	61.3	3	9.7
	Clashes	77	38.7	-	-
	Murmuring	-	-	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Entry Gate	Quarrel	-	-	13	41.9
	Fight	-	-	12	38.7
	Murmuring	-	-	6	19.4
	Total	**-**	**-**	**31**	**100.0**

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2009

Plate 1: Earth road with water-filled pot-holes, waste disposal collection point and a duplex building within Lanre-Laniyan Estate.

Source: The Authors

Plate 2: A new transformer provided by the residents of the LSDPC estate

Source: The Authors

The causes of conflicts associated with community-driven projects in both estates were: project financing; prioritisation and project selection; lack of or inadequate planning, community consultation, sensitisation and mobilisation; inadequate and or inappropriate information on project, time of commencement and commissioning of the project, and lack of proper maintenance of facilities during operational stages. Finance was a major cause of conflict associated with the community-based projects as claimed by 47.2% and 41.9% of residents of LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates respectively (Table 2). Mobilising funds for community projects was a serious issue even in LSDPC estate which has fewer community driven-projects because some of the residents still expected LSDPC to provide and maintain the facilities initially provided. How much to contribute on a project was always the basic problem; one time some people suggested N10,000.00 to repair a faulty transformer while others suggested N5,000 and N3,000. Prompt payment of development levies was an issue too; while some residents paid their own levies promptly, others had to be chased about by project committees before their contributions could be collected.

There were occasional complaints on mis-appropriation and embezzlement of funds, inflation of cost of project, poor accountability and lack of transparency against project committee. Prioritisation of project was indicated as another cause of conflict by 16.6% and 19.4% of respondents in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates respectively. Project location, lack of proper project planning and execution and poor or inadequate information from project committees to residents caused conflicts as claimed by 15.1% and 16.1% of residents in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates respectively. An adult male resident had this to say: "the association executives don't always inform us before they site a project, who would execute it and for how much and so there is always arguments and sometimes exchange of harsh words between some residents and committee members".

Residents sometimes engaged in fighting whenever the mending of damaged portions of their access roads was either delayed, not done well, or not given the required solution by project committee of the residents' association. Similarly, nomination of members to execute a project or election of officers of the resident association often created conflict and could span two to three meetings to resolve. Deliberation at meetings was found to be a source of conflict and there were instances when, in the words of a resident, "few members stayed away from the communal activities because their suggestions on some issues were not accepted".

The choice of security guards also caused conflicts as revealed by 11.1% and 10.0% of residents in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates. Misunderstanding often arose from the stipulation of hours for opening and closing of entrance gate to residents and visitors. People who usually kept late nights often resisted any decision to lock them out at whatever hour whereas other residents who placed priority on security of lives and property would like to stipulate and enforce hours of opening and closing of the entry and exit gates by the gate men. Complaints sometimes arose on punctuality, absenteeism, and mode of patrol of the security personnel employed. The experience of the authors in Apete community in Ido LGA of Ibadan, revealed that members of Ifesowapo Landlords' Association argued, shouted at and bullied one another over the regularity, punctuality and efficiency of hired night guards and whether the guards should beat gongs or blow whistle or fire gunshots into the air to signify their presence in the community at mid-night.

Table 2: Causes of Conflicts in LSDPC and Lanre-Laniyan estates

Causes of Conflicts	LSDPC		LANRE-LANIYAN	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Location of Project	20	10.0	3	09.7
Priority of project type	33	16.6	6	19.4
Finance of Project	94	47.2	20	64.5
Lack of planning	30	15.1	5	16.1
Choice of security	22	11.1	4	12.9
Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2009

Investigation on category of individuals involved in conflicts in the two estates as shown in Table 3, revealed that male youths' involvement in conflicts was high (62.3%), and very high (51.6%) in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan respectively. Also, female youths were moderately (75.9%) and highly (93.5%) involved in conflicts in LSDPC, and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates respectively. Male adults in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan (92.0%) and (93.5%) respectively were moderately involved while the rest were highly involved in conflict generation within the estates. One reason for the posture of the male adults could be their financial and physical involvement in project execution and maintenance. It could also be that some male adults were hot-tempered, easily provoked and would not like to be cheated.

Over two-thirds (67.3%) of adult females from LSDPC hardly got involved in conflict generation while nine-tenth (90.3%) in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate were moderately involved. It is inferred that the male youths had the highest involvement in conflict generation much more than any other groups in both estates. This might have to do with the common restiveness and low resistance to anger of male youths or be attributed to idleness and joblessness presently confronting many Nigerian youths.

Table 3: Gender and Level of involvement in Conflict Generation

Individual	Category / Level of Participation	LSDPC		Lanre-Laniyan	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Male Youth	Very high	49	24.6	16	51.6
	High	124	62.3	13	41.9
	Moderate	26	13.1	2	6.5
	low	-	-	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Female Youth	Very high	-	-	2	6.5
	High	-	-	29	93.5
	Moderate	151	75.9	-	-
	Low	48	24.1	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Male Adult	Very high	-	-	-	-
	High	16	8.0	1	3.2
	Moderate	183	92.0	29	93.5
	Low	-	-	1	3.2
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Female Adult	Very high	-	-	2	6.5
	High	46	23.1	1	3.2
	Moderate	19	9.5	28	90.3
	Low	134	67.3	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2009

Conflict Resolution Strategies

Table 4 presents the conflict resolution strategies operated in the estates. The resolution strategy adopted on any conflict resolution exercise depended on the type, cause and extent of the conflict. This is similar to what Wahab and Odetokun (2014) reported on the resolution of domestic conflicts among residents of individual houses by elders and mediators in Ondo, Nigeria. Respected elders, Executive members of the Residents' Association and Youth Association, made up of male and female house owners or landlords, and Project Planning and Implementation Committee handled resolution of conflicts using mediation, negotiation, and reconciliation strategies and encouraging inter-personal communication among parties. In Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate, the association executives plus some selected elders and youth leaders held meetings monthly at the community relaxation centre in the estate during the environmental sanitation hours when most residents were sure to be available or as often as necessary to resolve conflicts between residents.

At the LSDPC estate, conflict resolution meetings were held during the same period in an open space near the estate gate. The challenges identified in conflict resolution in the two estates included the difficulty in bringing together the aggrieved parties involved in the conflict, the display of superiority or class differences by feuding parties, and differences in the level of education and socio-economic status.

Mediation was rated as very effective by over two-thirds (70.4%) and more than nine-tenth (93.5%) of respondents in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan respectively. Mediation was not a simple matter. While it took the mediators an hour to resolve a dispute, it took three to four meetings to resolve a few other disputes especially where one or both parties refused to shift grounds. The elders and youth leaders most of the time had to display their power of oration and depth of experience, tell stories, render proverbs and sing '*orikis*' (praise poetry) to calm down disputing parties and make them accept the terms of resolution. Similarly, nine-tenth (90.5%) of

respondents LSDPC rated reconciliation as an effective strategy of conflict resolution while over one-half (54.8%) also considered it to be very effective in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate. In reconciling disputing parties, some peace-makers made use of their personal relationships with both parties to strengthen the reconciliatory efforts. A committee member said that after a reconciliatory meeting, he personally ensured that two disputing residents attended and sat together at a social event held within the LSDPC estate.

The study further revealed that proper communication with all stakeholders by project committee during project implementation was a very effective means to avert conflicts over community projects. Project committee members and residents' association executives made use of written notices, telephone calls, text messages and direct personal contacts to pass across vital information to residents. Where conflicts already broke out, inter-personal communication among parties was found to be 100% and 67.7% effective as a conflict resolution strategy in LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates respectively. At social events, sport field and relaxation centre, members discussed community development projects and other welfare issues and, in the process, explanations were offered on unclear issues and minor conflicts resolved. A female resident stated that she often obtained information and explanations on some issues from other female members whenever they met at the estate market or their children's school in the estate. Over nine-tenth (93.0%) of respondents in LSDPC also found negotiation effective while more than one-half (54.8%) in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate considered negotiation a very effective strategy. For instance, negotiation was used to resolve conflicts that arose between some residents and security guards over the hours of opening and closing of the entrance gates. The executive members of the residents' association resolved the conflict by shifting the closing time from 10pm to 11pm on week-days to satisfy those residents who worked in distant places and were usually held up in traffic logjams.

Table 4: Perception of Respondents on Conflict Resolution Strategies and Effectiveness

Conflict Resolution Strategy	Category of Effectiveness	LSDPC		LANRE-LANIYAN	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Mediation	Very effective	59	29.6	2	6.5
	Effective	140	70.4	29	93.5
	Not effective	-	-	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Reconciliation	Very effective	19	9.5	17	54.8
	Effective	180	90.5	14	45.2
	Not effective	-	-	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Communication with one another	Very effective	-	-	10	32.3
	Effective	199	100.0	21	67.7
	Not effective	-	-	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**
Negotiation	Very effective	14	7.0	17	54.8
	Effective	188	93.0	14	45.2
	Not effective	-	-	-	-
	Total	**199**	**100.0**	**31**	**100.0**

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2009

Conclusion and Recommendations

Residents of LSDPC (public) and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan (private) estates in Lagos State, embarked on the provision and maintenance of basic infrastructural facilities such as water, road, electricity, drainage, security, waste disposal and environmental beautification as community-driven projects owing to the fact that the facilities were not provided at the inception of the estates

(as in Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estate), while some of the provided facilities in LSDPC estate were not adequate and in some cases, required replacement, improvement or periodic maintenance.

The study concluded that the non-provision of and inadequate basic infrastructure in the two housing estates made the residents to embark on community-self-help to meet their basic needs and enhance their quality of life in the estates. In the process of planning, executing, managing, utilising, and maintaining the community-financed facilities, disputes and conflicts arose in the forms of clashes, fights, murmuring, and quarrels. These conflicts were internally resolved by elders and residents' association executives without recourse to external assistance. The conflict resolution strategies of mediation, reconciliation, communication and negotiation adopted were found to be very effective in both the private and public housing estates. Elders and leaders of associations and committees deployed their experiences, time, energy and personal resources in resolving any form of conflicts among residents at least cost. The study further concluded that conflicts are likely to always arise in the provision, use and management of CDPs, but the ability to resolve such conflicts would always bring about peaceful co-existence in housing areas.

Recommendations

In public and private housing estates, attention should be paid to the issue of adequate conflict resolution strategies, not only to preserve public peace and order and promote good social relations among residents, but also to address the quantitative housing problems. As a matter of routine, any form of conflict among residents, even when it is not related to community projects, must be promptly resolved by neighbours and, if they are unable, by the elders before such conflict degenerate to violence.

Residents should strive hard to establish mutually beneficial relationship, genuine goodwill, understanding, tolerance and respect in their daily dealings with one another irrespective of age, level of education, wealth, ethnicity and religion. The Yoruba of Nigeria have one saying "*owo omode ko to pepe, t'agbalagba ko wo akerengbe*" literally translated as; a child's hand cannot reach an eye-level wall shelve in the same way that an adults' hand cannot enter a gourd. The import of this statement is that everyone in the community matters and has values, wisdom, and resources (tangible and intangible) that others can gain from in the process of their interactions and living together. A gardener's experience may turn out to be the means to resolve an intractable dispute.

In order to achieve a sustainable and peaceful housing environment, conflict arising from community driven projects should be minimised. The entire residents must be fully informed, adequately communicated and regularly briefed of progress at each stage of the project cycle by project committees. Decisions on where to locate a facility, amount to be contributed by residents, and constitution of project committee require wide consultation and input of residents. Project committees should organise periodic community meetings on days and time suitable to the majority of residents. Minutes of such meetings should be circulated to members electronically or by printed copy. Financial report should be included in the minutes.

Furthermore, in order to secure the moral and financial support of residents, blocks of houses should have representatives on the project committee. This will facilitate easy, timely and adequate dissemination of information on the progress made on the project and challenges being experienced. It might turn out that minor misunderstanding and misconceptions and disputes could be easily resolved by these representatives without a larger group of mediators' involvement.

It is not enough for any private individual, company or public agency to secure planning approval to develop a residential estate. The developer must openup the lay-out roads and walk-ways, construct drainages and install electricity, water and other infrastructural facilities before

asking plot allottees to move in. Otherwise, a grossly deficient, unwholesome and conflict-prone community would have been established. Basic infrastructure should be provided at the inception of any residential estate by the owners and this should be monitored by the State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development to ensure compliance. In the case of LSDPC and Rufus Lanre-Laniyan estates, the Lagos State Physical Planning and Development Authority should monitor the establishment of any project being undertaken by the estate residents for compliance with planning standards and housing regulations and compatibility of uses. This will address possible conflicts in the citing and operations of facilities.

Team spirit, mutual love and respect, trust, healthy relationships and justice are important in conflict prevention and resolution in any setting. Robinson (2009:140) asserts that when people are working as a team to create what they all need, they probably don't even name the event a conflict. In any residential neighbourhood, therefore, where people work as a team to provide, use and maintain infrastructural facilities which they all need for their comfort and improved quality of life, they will most probably not view or think of community development works a conflict either of interest, need or aspiration.
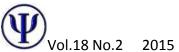
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