

Identity issues in urban ethno-communal conflict in Africa: an empirical study of Ife-Modakeke crisis in Nigeria

Raimi Abidemi Asiyانبola PhD

*Department of Geography and Regional Planning,
Faculty of the Social Sciences, Olabisi Onabanjo University,
Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria
E-mail: siyrami@yahoo.com or demisyra@hotmail.com*

Abstract:

The paper examines identity issues in urban ethno-communal conflict focusing on the case of Ife-Modakeke in Nigeria. The data used in the study is from a larger survey carried out by the author in Ife and Modakeke communities. The data collected was analysed using simple frequencies, percentages and correlation statistical technique. Given the circumstance that led to the birth of Modakeke; the status of Modakeke and that of its people has always been a source of dispute and conflict. First, is the issue of landlord/tenant relationship and second, is the issue of indigene/non-indigene status and by extension the problem of citizenship. In both communities ethnic attachment is high, and, inter-personal relationship among the people in the two communities is not that very cordial. Significant negative relationship is found between inter-personal relationship and age, age of the youngest child, and if most important organization belonged to is ethnic organization. Significant positive relationship is found between inter-personal relationship and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke). The result of the correlation analysis between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities though found not to be significant shows a negative relationship. This result suggests that for sustainable peace to be attained there is the need to pursue policies that encourages social integration, as well as policies that discourage strong ethnic attachment and the spread of ethnically related organizations in the two communities.

Keywords: *Identity; Ethnicity; Conflict; Sustainable peace; Nigeria*

Sub-theme: *Indigenes, 'Strangers', and Citizenship: the problem of Belonging*

Introduction

Identity is defined as a flexible and manipulative force employed by individuals to gain recognition over others in a particular space. It is a powerful force constructed by

individuals or group of people based on the consciousness of what they are as against what others are. Identities are constructed on the basis of various traits and experiences. Many of those characteristics are open to different interpretations. Collective identity is derived from belonging to or affiliation with precise categories such as social groups, socio-professional categories, ethnic groups, religion, nationals etc, with which individuals identify themselves and which generate a group of internal attributions and external attributions that define the make up of this identity.

The constituents of identity include ethnic consciousness and traditional customs attached to individuals and group of individuals. Ethnicity refers to a group of people with a common socio/cultural identity such as language, common worldview, religion and common cultural traits (Boaten, 2000). Thus ethnic groups are social formations distinguished by the communal character (i.e language and culture) of their boundaries (Nnoli, 1980). In other words, ethnic groups represent categories of people characterized by cultural criteria symbols including language, value systems and normative behaviour, and whose members are anchored in a particular part of the new state territory (Otite, 1990). Actually, the word ethnic is derived from the Greek word *ethnos* which means a group of people who share a common and distinctive culture. In its classical meaning, ethnic relates to a member of a particular *ethnos* (Imobighe, 2003). Hence ethnicity according to Imobighe should be seen as the feeling of belonging to a distinctive cultural or linguistic group, or a manifestation of ethnic consciousness in relation to other groups.

Conflicts arise from the pursuit of divergent interests, goals and aspirations by individuals and or groups in defined social and physical environments (Otite, 1999). As observed in the literature, ethnic conflict derives their rationale and configuration from perceived socio/cultural differences. In fact, Otite (1990) presents a picture of ethnicity as the contextual discrimination by members of one group against others on the basis of differentiated system of socio-cultural symbols. He affirms that ethnicity has the properties of common group consciousness and identity and also group exclusiveness on the basis of which social discriminations are made. This in most cases, as Nigerian experience have shown, results to violent intractable conflicts.

Nigeria is a large multi-ethnic country where ethnic cleavages remain a critical problem and ethnic violence has erupted periodically. In recent years, Nigeria has witnessed the outbreak of several violent communal or ethnic conflicts, while some old ones have gained additional potency (Imobighe, 2003). Among the prominent recent ones are: Yoruba-Hausa community in Shagamu, Ogun State; Eleme-Okrika in Rivers State; the intermittent clashes in Kano, Kano State; Zango-Kataf in Kaduna State; Tiv-Jukun in Wukari, Taraba State; Ogoni-Adoni in Rivers State; Chamba-Kuteb in Taraba State; Itsekiri-Ijaw/Urhobo in Delta State; Aguleri-Umuleri in Anambra State; Ijaw-Ilaje conflict in Ondo State; Basa-Egbura in Nassarawa State; Hausa/Fulani-Sawaya in Bauchi State; Fulani-Irigwe and Yelwa-Shendam, both in Plateau State; Hausa-Yoruba clashes in Idi-Araba in Lagos State, and Ife-Modakeke in Osun State (Ubi, 2001;

Imobighe, 2003; Omotayo, 2005).

The oldest intra-ethnic conflict in Nigeria, however, is Ife-Modakeke crisis. It has been going on for more than a century (Aguda, 1994; Albert, 1999; Agbe, 2001; Toriola, 2001). The conflict has become its own *raison d'être*, its own self-empowered, and self-fulfilling, as it had since detached from its original cause (Augsburger, 1992; Omotayo, 2005).

Ife-Modakeke crisis – a brief account

Ife-Modakeke, is situated in Osun State in the South – West Zone of Nigeria. The south – West Zone is made up of six States, namely, Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo States. The Zone is traditionally inhabited by one of Nigeria's three largest ethnic groups, the Yoruba. Historical accounts have it that Ifes and Modakekes are sons and daughters of the same parents. As Yorubas, their ancestry is traced to Oduduwa the progenitor of Yoruba race. It was the collapse of Old Oyo Empire in the 19th century which caused a flood of refugees down south. Most of these refugees headed towards Ile-Ife. They must have been attracted to Ile-Ife by the historic image of the city as the aboriginal home of the Yoruba people [*Orisun Yoruba*] (Albert, 1999:143). The Ooni gladly welcomed the refugees as they relocated to Ile-Ife (Akinjogbin, 1992) and subsequently formed a community known today as Modakeke on a separate settlement created for them. The relationship between the Ifes and these Oyo refugees was very cordial at the initial stage. The Ooni and his Chiefs found them to be good allies in moments of warfare and good hands in farm work. The Oyos provided military support to the Ifes during the Owu War of 1825 and various Ijesha invasions (Albert, 1999:144). This encouraged Ife Chiefs to throw their doors open to more Oyo refugees as they came in greater numbers. Land was given to them and several of them worked for Ife farmers.

The first Ife-Modakeke crisis occurred in 1835 to 1849 (Albert, 1999; Oladoyin, 2001). This marked the beginning of an age-long communal violence between the Modakeke and the aboriginal communities in Ile-Ife. Historical account of the first, and, origin of Ife-Modakeke crisis as stated by Albert, (1999:144-145) is that an Ife Chief, Okunade, the *Maye*, who was the leader of the Yoruba warriors and settled in Ibadan in the early nineteenth century was a brave warrior, and was an autocrat. He wielded so much influence in Ibadan politics that the Ifes started to see Ibadan as an extension town. In 1835, Okunade's autocracy was challenged by some Oyo citizens in Ibadan; he was consequently expelled from the town. He attempted to recapture the city during the Gbanamu battle. He was killed and the Oyos thus took over the political leadership of Ibadan to the utter exclusion of their Ife allies. The Ifes responded by venting their anger on the Oyo refugees in their town (Akitoye 1970; Ajayi and Akintoye 1980). The refugees therefore were getting ill-treated and were sold into slavery. Around this

same 1835 when the Ife hostility commenced against the Oyo refugees in their midst, rumours were circulating that the Fulani jihadists were preparing to invade some parts of Yorubaland from their Ilorin base. The surrounding Ife territories of Ikire, Iwata, Gbongan, Ipetumodu and Origbo became evacuated and the refugees came to settle in Ile-Ife. But the attitude of the Ifes to strangers had changed. Ooni Abeweila, who ascended the throne in 1839, had to send some of the refugees back to Ipetumodu, Gbongan and Ikire in 1847 following the defeat of the Fulani invaders at Osogbo in 1840. By the same year, the Ooni created a separate settlement from those Oyo refugees who had no home to return to. The settlement was named Modakeke after the cry of a nest of storks on a large tree near the site. The leader of the Oyo refugees was given the title Ogunsua (Johnson 1973; Akinjogbin 1992).

To date, there had been seven major wars – 1835-1849, 1882-1909, 1946-1949, 1981, 1983, 1997-1998 and 2000. The conflict is depicted as a conflict between the Ife “landlords” and the Modakeke “strangers/tenants”. The recent crisis has caused over 2000 deaths and several more injuries. Several hundreds of people were shot, slaughtered or lynched; several houses and properties were destroyed.

Various studies have examined Ife-Modakeke crisis. Such studies include Albert (1999), Aguda, (2001); Oladoyin (2001), Agbe (2001), Toriola (2001), and Babajimi (2003). These studies have examined the history, causes and consequences of Ife-Modakeke crisis. The causes of the conflicts between Ifes and Modakekes are many and varied and are partly economic and partly political and identity issues revolving around landownership issues, payment of land rent (*Isakole*), status of Modakeke community, local government creation and location of local government headquarters. In addition, the crisis, since the post-colonial period, has been a veritable weapon in the hands of those interested in creating political tensions in Yoruba land.

Although there have been various studies on African peace and conflict which have provided novel theoretical perspectives and to a larger degree manages to capture the core issues explaining turmoil and violence in the continent. However, when assessed jointly, the publications are relatively weak in terms of systematically providing empirical evidence to substantiate its claims. The literature does not consist of any statistical study trying to substantiate claims of general patterns. In the present study, I intend to present a preliminary report on identity issues on urban ethno-communal conflict with a view to having a better understanding of the challenges facing local peoples and those on the outside who seek to interact through business, humanitarian/development interests and in political spheres. Among the issues that are examined are the construction of identity, and inter-personal relationship among the people of the two communities. The research questions that the study addresses are: How is identity constructed? How is ethnic consciousness intensified? How is ethnic attachment among the people of the two communities? How is the inter-personal relationship among the people of the two communities? Is there relationship between socio-economic characteristics and

the inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities? Is there relationship between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities? The null hypotheses tested in the study are that (i) there is no relationship between the inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities and their socio-economic characteristics; and (ii) there is no relationship between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities.

Methodology

The data base for the study was obtained from a larger household survey funded by the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), University of Oxford on "Gender and urban ethno-communal conflicts: a study of women's perception, aspiration and role in the case of Ife-Modakeke in Nigeria". The household survey was implemented using the method of face-to-face interviews. The questionnaire was designed to collect information on the role of women and men in sustaining, or mitigating Ife-Modakeke conflict, women's and men's perception of the conflict, attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons, recollection of past violence conflict, and the socio-demographic characteristics information such as income, age, marital status, educational qualification, occupation, etc

In the two communities a total of 390 households were interviewed. Exact population figures of the two communities was not known as at the time of the field survey. The result of National Population census conducted in March 2006 was not yet released as at the time of the field survey. Therefore, in Ife community 195 households were interviewed, and in Modakeke community 195 households were interviewed. The choice of the sample size is based on the considerations of many factors including (De Vaus, 1996:73) cost, time, accuracy, and the fact that information relating to ethno-communal conflict is still very sensitive in the two communities.

Comprehensive list of households/dwellings in Ife and Modakeke communities is not available. Therefore, with the aid of an updated map of the two communities, Ife community is divided into 28 localities and Modakeke community is divided into 15 localities after blocking off localities that are badly affected by the conflict. By locality, I mean population clusters grouped together based on the local name of the area and the presence of notable boundaries such as stream or road. All the accessible 15 localities in Modakeke community were selected, while in Ife, table of random number was used to select 15 localities. Thirteen (13) questionnaires each were administered in each of the localities selected. The households were randomly selected. Heads of households who were above 30 years of age and/or the spouse, preferably first wife in a polygamous household were interviewed. In order to ensure equal representation of women and men

in the survey, the interview was conducted in alternate manner as survey proceeds, male/female head of household or wife preferably first wife in a polygamous household.

The survey was carried out in July/August, 2006. For some reasons including security and safety, 20 field assistants were employed – 10 field assistants who are familiar with Ife community for Ife community survey, and 10 field assistants who are familiar with Modakeke community for Modakeke community survey. The field assistants are students of Obafemi Awolowo University. Training programme was conducted for these 20 field assistants on 1st July, 2006, at the Department of Geography, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. I also engaged the service of a colleague Lecturer in the Department of Geography at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife in the training programme and the field work.

The secondary sources of data that were used include literature – published and unpublished materials, technical reports, and publications. The data collected was analysed using simple frequencies, and percentages. Correlation statistical technique was used to test the stated hypothesis.

Construction of identity in the study area

As stated earlier, identity (socio/cultural identity) refers to that part of the self-concept which derives from one's knowledge of one's membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. As such it is derived from belonging to or affiliation to precise categories such as ethnic groups with which individuals identify themselves and which generate a group of internal attributions and external attributions that define the make up of this identity. As observed in the literature, social identities are neither merely subjective self-images, nor fixed objective entities. They are inter-subjective processes and are constantly being re-constructed, contested and negotiated through discourses and practices.

Although the Yoruba claim to have all descended from Oduduwa with Ile-Ife as their spiritual home, hitherto, Ife and Modakeke people sees themselves as a different social group. The major factors that have helped in the construction of different social identity are their historical background and Yoruba language pronunciation.

Historical evidence show that the Modakekes are Oyo refugees who migrated at one point in time or the other to Ile-Ife from different locations of Yoruba Kingdom at the end of the Yoruba inter-tribal wars. They took refuge in Ile-Ife. They were initially well received by their Ife hosts. Given the circumstance that led to the birth of Modakeke, and despite the fact that Ile-Ife city has the historic image as the aboriginal home of the Yoruba people, the status of Modakeke and that of its people has always been a source of dispute and conflict. First, is the issue of landlord/tenant relationship and second, is the issue of indigene/non-indigene status and by extension the problem of

citizenship. The first point to note is the fact that both the Ifes and Modakekes are Yorubas who claim a common lineage from Oduduwa. In other words, as Olunloyo rightly points out, they are kith, kin and kindred (Olunloyo, 1997). But, ife being the cradle of the Yorubas is older. Modakeke being a creation of the many wars the Yorubas waged amongst themselves in the 19th Century is, therefore, much younger (Babajimi, 2003:155). However, as Chief Awolowo explains in his autobiography, “the Yorubas paid lip-service to a spiritual union and affinity in a common ancestor Oduduwa. But in all their long history they had waged wars against one another...the mutual hatred and acerbity which was attendant upon them lingered...” (Olunloyo, 1997:18). Robert Smith corroborates this when he wrote that Yoruba land: “never constituted single political entity; their very name was one not used originally by themselves but by their Hausa neighbours with reference to the northern group among them, the Oyo (from whose name it perhaps derives), and then given wider applications by the Christian missionaries in the 19th century” (Babajimi, 2003:155).

Traditional customs of the two communities are similar, though, not exactly the same. For instance, traditional religion is practiced in the two communities. However, while in Ife community, almost everyday of the year sacrifices are made to one deity or the other, this is not so in Modakeke community. Even though, traditional customs are similar, their Yoruba language pronunciation is clearly different. From the way Yoruba language is spoken, one can clearly demarcate the Ifes from the Modakekes.

Intensification of ethnic consciousness in the study area

Intensification of ethnic consciousness is examined through the aspect of the recollection of past violence crisis in the study area. The question answered in this section is how is past violence crisis recollected and passed on to the next generation? In other words, in this section, I try to examine inter-generational transfer of knowledge of Ife-Modakekes crisis which of course deepened ethnic consciousness which is a constituent of socio/cultural identity.

In the survey, various questions relating to the recollection of past violence were asked. These are shown in Box 1. The result of the frequency analysis is shown in Table 1. The Table shows that majority of the respondents (90.3%) witnessed Ife-Modakeke violent conflict. Majority of the respondents (86.4%) witnessed between one to four Ife-Modakeke violent conflicts. Also, majority of the respondents (85.6%), including majority of their spouses (69.7%) and their families (77.4%) were living within the community of residence, that is, Ife community or Modakeke community, during the recent violent conflict in Ife-Modakeke. Most of the respondents said that they first heard the story of Ife-Modakeke crisis during their childhood days (38.7%), followed by those who said that they first heard during their adolescence period (22.1%) and those

who said that they first heard during their youthful period (18.7%). This result shows that majority (79.5%) have heard the story before their adulthood. This implies that before adulthood majority of the people are already conscious of the relationship, similarity, dissimilarity and crisis between the two communities. Most of the respondents (58.5%) said that their parent told them the story of Ife-Modakeke crisis. While 32.6% said that both parents told them, 14.6% and 11.3% said that their father and mother respectively told them. However, 23.6% of the respondents said that their father told them first while 9.0% said that their mother first told them. Most (55.6%) said that they heard the story from their parents before their adulthood, i.e. during their childhood period (29.5%), during their adolescence period (18.2%), and during their youthful period (7.9%). Most of the respondents (47.2%) said that they have also related the story to their children. Most of the respondents told the story to their children during their childhood (28.7%), followed by those who told their children during their adolescence (12.3%), and during their youthful age (4.9%).

Table 1: Showing the response to the questions on the recollection of past violence that were asked

| Question | Response | Ife (n = 195) % | Modakeke (n = 195) % | Total (n = 390) % |
|---|--|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Did you witness any of the Ife/Modakeke violent conflicts? | Yes | 90.7 | 89.8 | 90.3 |
| | No | 9.2 | 10.3 | 9.7 |
| If yes, how many? | 1 | 13.8 | 9.2 | 11.5 |
| | 2 | 22.1 | 19.5 | 20.8 |
| | 3 | 27.2 | 23.1 | 25.1 |
| | 4 | 24.6 | 33.3 | 29.0 |
| | 5 | 3.1 | 4.1 | 3.6 |
| | >5 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.3 |
| Where were you during the recent violent crisis? | 1. Within the community of residence | 88.7 | 82.6 | 85.6 |
| | 2. Neighboring rural areas to the community within the state | 2.1 | 2.6 | 2.3 |
| | 3. Neighboring community within the state | 2.6 | 4.6 | 3.6 |
| | 4. Outside the state | 5.1 | 7.7 | 6.4 |
| Where was your spouse and during the recent violent crisis? | 1. Within the community of residence | 73.8 | 65.6 | 69.7 |
| | 2. Neighboring rural areas to the community within the state | 5.6 | 3.1 | 4.4 |
| | 3. Neighboring community within the state | 2.6 | 5.6 | 4.1 |
| | 4. Outside the state | 6.7 | 7.2 | 6.9 |
| Where was your family during the recent violent crisis? | 1. Within the community of residence | 82.1 | 72.8 | 77.4 |
| | 2. Neighboring rural areas to the community within the state | 2.6 | 2.6 | 2.6 |
| | 3. Neighboring community within the state | 5.6 | 6.7 | 6.4 |
| | 4. Outside the state | 4.1 | 8.7 | 7.4 |

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|------|------|------|
| When did you first hear the story of Ife/ Modakeke crisis? | 1. During childhood | 34.9 | 42.6 | 38.7 |
| | 2. During adolescence | 21.5 | 22.6 | 22.1 |
| | 3. During the youthful age | 21.5 | 15.9 | 18.7 |
| | 4. During adulthood | 22.1 | 19.0 | 2.5 |
| Did your parents ever tell you the story of Ife/ Modakeke conflict? | Yes | 52.3 | 64.6 | 58.5 |
| | No | 43.1 | 32.3 | 37.7 |
| If yes, which of them told you? | Father | 14.9 | 14.3 | 14.6 |
| | Mother | 15.9 | 6.7 | 11.3 |
| | Both | 21.5 | 46.6 | 32.6 |
| If both, which of them first told you? | Father | 15.4 | 31.8 | 23.6 |
| | Mother | 6.2 | 11.8 | 9.0 |
| When did you hear the story from your parents? | 1. During childhood | 26.1 | 32.8 | 29.5 |
| | 2. During adolescence | 16.5 | 20.0 | 18.2 |
| | 3. During the youthful age | 5.2 | 10.7 | 7.9 |
| | 4. During adulthood | 2.5 | 3.1 | 2.8 |
| Have you also told/ related the story to your children? | Yes | 44.7 | 49.8 | 47.2 |
| | No | 55.4 | 50.3 | 52.6 |
| If yes, when did you first tell your children? | 1. During childhood | 26.1 | 31.2 | 28.7 |
| | 2. During adolescence | 10.8 | 13.9 | 12.3 |
| | 3. During the youthful age | 5.7 | 4.2 | 4.9 |
| | 4. During adulthood | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.3 |

Field survey, 2006

Ethnic attachment in the study area

Ethnic attachment or patriotism in the study area is examined in this section. Ethnic attachment or patriotism is viewed in the paper from the perspective of the attitudes of the people towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. In the survey various questions relating to attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons were asked. Table 2 shows indicators of attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons which are asked in the questionnaire forms administered.

Table 2: Attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons

| S/N | Attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons |
|-----|--|
| 1 | If respondent is opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons |
| 2 | If respondent would encourages others to carry weapons and fight |
| 3 | If respondent think that violence is the best way of expressing dissatisfaction |
| 4 | If respondent think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary |
| 5 | If respondent is making financial contributions to the community |
| 6 | If respondent encouraged their children to make financial contributions to the community |

| | |
|----|--|
| 7 | If respondent encouraged their spouse to make financial contributions to the community |
| 8 | If respondent encouraged their relative to make financial contributions to the community |
| 9 | If respondent encouraged women to make financial contributions to the community |
| 10 | If respondent attends community meetings |
| 11 | If respondent encouraged their spouse to attend community meetings |
| 12 | If respondent encouraged their children to attend community meetings |
| 13 | If respondent encouraged their female children to attend community meetings |
| 14 | If respondent encouraged other women to attend community meetings |

The result of the frequency analysis is shown in Table 3. The Table shows that 36.7% of the respondents said that they are not opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons, 12.3% said that they would encourage others to carry weapons and fight, 9.2% said that they think that violence is the best way of expressing dissatisfaction, while 11.8% said that they think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary. In the two communities, organized violence is usually planned through community group meetings. Those who have flare for violence/conflicts/use of weapons will not miss community group meetings and will also make contributions to the community. Thus community group meetings attendance and making contributions to the community is used as an indicator of attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. Therefore, questions relating to community group meetings attendance and making contributions to the community are asked in the questionnaire. Most of the respondents (51.5%) said that they make financial contributions to the community, 28.7%, 39.7%, 45.1%, and 46.9% said that they encouraged their children, spouse, relatives and other women to make financial contribution to the community respectively. Also, most of the respondents (53.8%) said that they attend community meetings, 48.5%, 33.1%, 28.5%, and 46.7% said that they encourage their spouse, children, female children, and other women to attend community meetings.

Table 3: Attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons

| S/N | Attitude towards violence/ conflict/use of weapons | Response | Ife % (n = 195) | Modakeke % (n = 195) | Total % (n = 390) |
|-----|---|----------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | If respondent is opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons | Yes | 64.1 | 60.6 | 62.3 |
| | | No | 35.4 | 37.9 | 36.7 |
| 2 | If respondent would encourages others to carry weapons and fight | Yes | 8.7 | 16.9 | 12.3 |
| | | No | 90.8 | 81.1 | 85.9 |
| 3 | If respondent think that violence is the best way of expressing dissatisfaction | Yes | 6.2 | 12.3 | 9.2 |
| | | No | 92.9 | 86.2 | 89.5 |

| | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 4 | If respondent think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary | Yes No | 8.8 89.8 | 14.9 82.1 | 11.8 85.9 |
| 5 | If respondent is making financial contributions to the community | Yes No | 46.7 51.8 | 56.4 43.7 | 51.5 47.7 |
| 6 | If respondent encouraged their children to make financial contributions to the community | Yes No | 26.2 69.7 | 31.3 57.5 | 28.7 63.6 |
| 7 | If respondent encouraged their spouse to make financial contributions to the community | Yes No | 37.5 56.5 | 42.0 46.7 | 39.7 51.5 |
| 8 | If respondent encouraged their relative to make financial contributions to the community | Yes No | 42.1 54.9 | 48.2 51.8 | 45.1 53.3 |
| 9 | If respondent encouraged women to make financial contributions to the community | Yes No | 42.6 57.4 | 51.3 48.7 | 46.9 53.1 |
| 10 | If respondent attends community meetings | Yes No | 54.9 45.1 | 52.8 47.2 | 53.8 45.4 |
| 11 | If respondent encouraged their spouse to attend community meetings | Yes No | 47.7 52.3 | 49.2 50.8 | 48.5 42.3 |
| 12 | If respondent encouraged their children to attend community meetings | Yes No | 28.7 71.3 | 37.4 62.6 | 33.1 66.9 |
| 13 | If respondent encouraged their female children to attend community meetings | Yes No | 27.2 72.8 | 29.7 70.3 | 28.5 71.5 |
| 14 | If respondent encouraged other women to attend community meetings | Yes No | 40.5 59.5 | 52.8 47.2 | 46.7 51.8 |

Field survey, 2006

Inter-personal relationship among the two communities

This section examines inter-personal relationship among the people in the two communities as a reflection of social interaction in the study area. The indicators of inter-personal relationship among the people in the two communities used in the analysis are the views of the people about inter-marriage among the people in the two communities. In the survey, various questions relating to the views of the people about inter-marriage among the people in the two communities were asked. This is shown in Box 2.

Box 2: Showing various questions relating to inter-personal relationship among the

two communities that were asked

- Do people in this community marry from Ife/Modakeke community?
- How do you see women from Ife/Modakeke that are married to the people of this community?
- Can you encourage your children to marry from Ife/Modakeke community?
- Can you encourage your relations to marry from Ife/Modakeke community?
- Can you as a person marry Ife/Modakeke person?
- How do you see the children of the women from Ife/Modakeke that are married to the people of this community?

The result of the frequency analysis is shown in Table 4. Majority of the respondents (92.3%) said that there are inter-marriages among the people in the two communities. While 63.3% sees women that are married to the other community as kinsmen, 2.1% sees them as strangers, 12.6% sees them as enemy and 12.6% are indifferent. Also, while 63.8% said that they can encourage their children to marry from the other community, 36.2% said that they cannot encourage their children to marry from the other community. The result of the analysis also shows that 62.8% said that they can encourage their relations to marry from the other community, while 34.4% said that they cannot encourage their relations to marry from the other community. As a person, 54.4% of the respondents said that they can marry from the other community, while 40.3% said that they cannot marry from the other community. The result further reveals that children of women married to the people of the other community are seen as kinsmen (60.0%), strangers (3.3%), enemy (13.6%), while 21.3% of the respondents said that they are indifferent. This result suggests that women that are married to the other community and particularly their children have identity crisis in the sense that some see them as strangers and enemy, although quite a percentage of the respondents see them as kinsmen.

Table 4: Showing the response to the questions on inter-personal relationship among the two communities that were asked

| S/N | Questions | Response | Ife % (n = 195) | Modakeke % (n = 195) | Total % (n = 390) |
|-----|--|---|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Do people in this community marry from Ife/Modakeke community? | Yes No | 89.2 10.8 | 96.4 3.1 | 92.8 7.0 |
| 2 | How do you see women from Ife/Modakeke that are married to the people of this community? | (1) Kinsmen (2) Stranger (3) Enemy (4) Indifferent | 56.4 3.1 17.4 22.6 | 70.3 1.0 7.7 20.5 | 63.3 2.1 12.6 21.5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3 | Can you encourage your children to marry from Ife/ Modakeke community? | Yes No | 53.8 46.2 | 73.8 26.2 | 63.8 36.2 |
| 4 | Can you encourage your relations to marry from Ife/ Modakeke community? | Yes No | 51.8 44.1 | 73.8 24.6 | 62.8 34.4 |
| 5 | Can you as a person marry Ife/ Modakeke person? | Yes No | 46.2 47.7 | 62.6 32.8 | 54.4 40.3 |
| 6 | How do you see the children of the women from Ife/ Modakeke that are married to the people of this community? | (1) Kinsmen (2) Stranger (3) Enemy (4) Indifferent | 55.4 4.1 16.9 21.5 | 64.6 2.6 10.3 21.0 | 60.0 3.3 13.6 21.3 |

Field survey, 2006

Test of hypotheses

The null hypotheses tested in the study are that (i) there is no relationship between the inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities and their socio-economic characteristics; and (ii) there is no relationship between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities. Correlation statistical technique is used to test these hypotheses. Table 5 shows how inter-personal relationships indicators are measured. Table 6 shows how the socio-economic variables are measured and Table 7 shows how ethnic attachment as reflected by the attitudes of people towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons is measured.

Table 5: How Inter-personal relationship indicators are measured

| Inter-personal relationship indicators | How measured |
|--|--|
| If people in this community marry from Ife/ Modakeke community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| The way women from Ife/Modakeke that are married to the people of this community are seen | 1 if they are seen as kinsmen, 0 otherwise |
| If you encourage your children to marry from Ife/ Modakeke community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| If you encourage your relations to marry from Ife/ Modakeke community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| If you as a person marry Ife/Modakeke person | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| The way children of the women from Ife/ Modakeke that are married to the people of this community are seen | 1 if they are seen as kinsmen, 0 otherwise |

Table 6: How Socio-economic characteristic variables are measured

| Socio-economic characteristics variables | How measured |
|--|---|
| Age | Total number in years |
| Marital status | 1 if married, 0 otherwise |
| Educational level | 1 if post secondary education, 0 otherwise |
| Employment status | 1 if employed or self employed , 0 otherwise |
| Location of place of work | 1 if within the community of residence, 0 otherwise |
| Income | Total in Naira |
| Household size | Total in numbers |
| Number of children in the household | Total in numbers |
| Age of the youngest child | Total in years |
| Land ownership | 1 if having plot(s) of land, 0 otherwise |
| Most important organization belonged to | 1 if most important organization belonged to is ethnic organization |
| Length of stay in the community | Total in years |
| Having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke) | 1 if having relative in the other community, 0 otherwise |

Table 7: Measure of ethnic attachment as reflected from peoples' attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons

| S/N | Attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons | How measured |
|-----|--|-----------------------|
| 1 | If respondent is opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons | 1 if No, 0 otherwise |
| 2 | If respondent would encourage others to carry weapons and fight | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 3 | If respondent think that violence is the best way of expressing dissatisfaction | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 4 | If respondent think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 5 | If respondent is making financial contributions to the community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 6 | If respondent encouraged their children to make financial contributions to the community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 7 | If respondent encouraged their spouse to make financial contributions to the community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 8 | If respondent encouraged their relative to make financial contributions to the community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 9 | If respondent encouraged women to make financial contributions to the community | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 10 | If respondent attends community meetings | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 11 | If respondent encouraged their spouse to attend community meetings | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |

| | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| 12 | If respondent encouraged their children to attend community meetings | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 13 | If respondent encouraged their female children to attend community meetings | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |
| 14 | If respondent encouraged other women to attend community meetings | 1 if yes, 0 otherwise |

The result of the correlation analysis between the inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities and their socio-economic characteristics is shown in Table 8. The Table shows that there is significant relationship between inter-personal relationship among Ife and Modakeke people and age, employment status, age of the youngest child, most important organization belonged to, and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke). Also, the result shows a negative relationship between interpersonal relationships among Ife and Modakeke people and age, educational level, employment status, location of the place of work, income, age of the youngest child, most important organization belonged to and length of stay in the community. This result implies that inter-personal relationship decreases with increasing age, educational level, employment status, income, age of the youngest child and length of stay in the community. Also, the result implies that inter-personal relationship decreases with increase in location of the place of work within the community of residence and increase in belonging to ethnic organization.

The result of the correlation analysis between inter-personal relationship and age which shows negative relationship implies that there is less inter-personal relationship among the people of the two communities as people grow older. This result underscored the importance of the role of the elderly and the leaders of the two communities who of course are elderly people in the construction of different identities. This is in line with the observation in the literature that ethnic leaders help in the creation of ethnic identities (Short, 1996:367).

The result of the correlation analysis between inter-personal relationship and location of the place of work and length of stay in the community which shows negative relationship implies that the more people stay in their community of residence, the less is their involvement in inter-personal relationship with the people of the other community. This result suggests that segregated residence of Ife and Modakeke communities facilitates the construction of different identity. Observation from the literature shows that segregation hardly solves the problem of a plural society; it rather compounds it (Albert, 1999). According to Albert (1999:168), had the Modakekes been allowed to integrate into the Ife society rather than be segregated in a particular settlement, they would have by now mixed so much with the Ife population that it would be difficult for them to lay claims to any separatist identity. The ownership of buildings in the city would have been mixed in the area that now constitutes “Ife” or “Modakeke”; and more

Ifes and Modakekes would have been inter-married. Albert cited the example of Ibadan as a typical example of a Yoruba city in which all migrant groups, including those from Ife and Oyo, have now integrated. The physical development of the city, as well as, its traditional political system left no room for any group to allege discrimination against it.

The result further shows a positive relationship between interpersonal relationships among Ife and Modakeke people and marital status, household size, number of children in the household, land ownership and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke). This result implies that inter-personal relationship among Ife and Modakeke people increases with increasing number of married people, household size, number of children in the household, land ownership, and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke).

Table 8: Result of the correlation analysis between socio-economic characteristics and inter-personal relationship among Ife-Modakeke people

| Socio-economic characteristics | Inter-personal relationship among Ife-Modakeke people (Spearman Correlation) 'r' | Inter-personal relationship among Ife-Modakeke people (Pearson Correlation) 'r' |
|--|--|---|
| Age | -.122* | -.109* |
| Marital status | .004 | .013 |
| Educational level | -.041 | -.041 |
| Employment status | -.050 | -.049 |
| Location of place of work | -.019 | -.024 |
| Income | -.077 | -.049 |
| Household size | .011 | .011 |
| Number of children in the household Age of the youngest child | .014 | .063 |
| Age of the youngest child | -.123* | -.099* |
| Land ownership | .050 | .059 |
| Most important organization belonged to | -.157** | -.162** |
| Length of stay in the community | -.049 | -.070 |
| Having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke) | .118* | .100* |

*Significant at $p < .05$

**Significant at $p < .01$

Field survey, 2006

The result of the correlation analysis between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities is shown in Table 9. From the Table the result of the correlation analysis though found not to be significant shows a negative relationship between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities. This result implies that the more there is ethnic attachment, the less is interpersonal relationship among the people of the two communities.

Table 9: Result of the correlation analysis between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities

| | Ethnic attachment | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| | Ife-Modakeke (Spearman correlation) 'r' | Ife-Modakeke (Pearson correlation) 'r' |
| Inter-personal relationship | -.091 | -.082 |

*Significant at $p < .05$

**Significant at $p < .01$

Field survey, 2006

Summary, policy implications and conclusion

The paper presents a preliminary report on identity issues in urban ethno-communal conflict focusing on the case of Ife-Modakeke in Nigeria. Historical accounts have it that Ifes and Modakekes are sons and daughters of the same parents. As Yorubas, their ancestry is traced to Oduduwa the progenitor of Yoruba race nevertheless, Ife and Modakeke people sees themselves as different social group. The major factors that have helped in the construction of different social identity are their historical background and the Yoruba language pronunciation. Given the circumstance that led to the birth of Modakeke, and despite the fact that Ile-Ife city has the historic image as the aboriginal home of the Yoruba people, the status of Modakeke and that of its people has always been a source of dispute and conflict. First, is the issue of landlord/tenant relationship and second, is the issue of indigene/non-indigene status and by extension the problem of citizenship.

The study reveals that ethnic attachment is high and inter-personal relationship among the people in the two communities is not that very cordial. The result suggest that women that are married to the other community and particularly their children

have identity crisis in the sense that some see them as strangers and enemies, although quite a percentage of the respondents see them as kinsmen.

The result of the correlation analysis shows that there is significant relationship between inter-personal relationship among Ife and Modakeke people and age, age of the youngest child, most important organization belonged to, and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke). The result also shows a negative relationship between interpersonal relationships among Ife and Modakeke people and age, educational level, employment status, location of the place of work, income, age of the youngest child, most important organization belonged to and length of stay in the community. This implies that inter-personal relationship decreases with increasing age, educational level, employment status, income, age of the youngest child and length of stay in the community. Also, the result implies that inter-personal relationship decreases with increase in location of the place of work within the community of residence and increase in belonging to ethnic organization. The result further shows a positive relationship between interpersonal relationships among Ife and Modakeke people and marital status, household size, number of children in the household, land ownership and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke). This implies that inter-personal relationship among Ife and Modakeke people increases with increasing number of married people, household size, number of children in the household, land ownership, and having relative in the other community (Ife or Modakeke).

The result of the correlation analysis between inter-personal relationship and age which shows negative relationship implies that there is less inter-personal relationship among the people of the two communities as people grow older. This result underscored the importance of the elderly in the construction of different identities.

The result of the correlation analysis between inter-personal relationship and location of the place of work and length of stay in the community which shows negative relationship implies that the more people stay in their community of residence, the less is their involvement in inter-personal relationship with the people of the other community. This result suggests that segregated residence of Ife and Modakeke communities facilitates the construction of different identities.

The result of the correlation analysis between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities though found not to be significant shows a negative relationship between ethnic attachment and inter-personal relationships among the people of the two communities. This result implies that the more there is ethnic attachment, the less is interpersonal relationship among the people of the two communities.

This result suggest that for sustainable peace to be attained there is the need to pursue policies that encourage social integration, as well as policies that discourage strong ethnic attachment and the spread of ethnically related organizations in the two communities. As observed in the literature and as suggested by P. van den Berghe (1987:353-354) that

the government is best which pays least attention to ethnicity. Also Oladoyin (2001:203) notes that nationalism will crumble if ethnicity is promoted as a virtue, over the national interest. However, in order to discourage strong ethnic attachment, much work has to be done in area of psycho-social work which aims at both psycho-social healing and psychological transformation.

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