

Urban-ethno communal conflict in Africa: Nigeria

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Abstract:

Observation from literature shows that the role of ethnicity as a mobilizing agent is among the most important questions of this century as conflicts linked to ethnicity have led to significant loss of life and injuries in many countries, and become major elements in impoverishment, undermining human security and sustainable development. Hitherto, literature on this issue in Africa is relatively weak in terms of systematically providing empirical evidence to substantiate its claims. The paper presents a preliminary report of an empirical study on urban ethno-communal conflict in Nigeria: the case of Ife-Modakeke. Among the issues examined are the perception of the conflict, how past violence conflict is recollected, and attitude of people towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons, social interaction among the people of the two communities. Also examined is the relationship between perception of the conflict; social interaction; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. The data used is from a larger household survey carried out by the author in Ife-Modakeke community. The result of the correlation analysis shows a negative relationship between perception of the conflict and social interaction. This implies that the more people perceive the conflict, the less is social interaction with the people of the other community. The result also shows a positive relationship between perception of the conflict and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This implies that the more people perceive the conflict, the more their attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. Furthermore, the result shows a negative relationship between social interaction and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This implies that the more there is social interaction among the people of the two communities, the less is the attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This result suggests that policies that encourage social integration, psycho-social healing and psychological transformation could enhance the attainment of sustainable peace among the people of the two communities.

Keywords: Ethnicity; Conflict; Sustainable peace; Africa; Nigeria

1.0 Introduction

Various part of Africa has experienced dangerous scenes of incessant dysfunctional conflicts, which have occurred between communities, ethnic groups and religious groups. Observation from the literature shows that the role of ethnicity as a mobilizing agent is among the most important questions of this century as conflicts linked to ethnicity have

led to significant loss of life and injuries in many countries, and become major elements in impoverishment, undermining human security and sustainable development.

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) present 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 case as experienced in most African countries and in Nigeria in particular has resulted to violent intractable conflicts.

Nigeria is a large multiethnic country where ethnic cleavages remain a critical problem and ethnic violence has erupted periodically. Within the past four decades, Nigeria has experienced dangerous scenes of incessant dysfunctional conflicts, which have occurred between communities, ethnic groups and religious groups. It is noteworthy that these conflicts are not confined to any specific geo-political region of the country. The situation has become extremely worrisome since the beginning of the new democratic dispensation that is, Nigeria's Fourth Republic, which was enthroned on May 29, 1999. Within the first three years of the country's return to democratic rule, Nigeria had witnessed the outbreak of several violent communal or ethnic conflicts, while some old ones had gained additional potency. Examples of conflicts in Nigeria in recent time include 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). While the causes of the crisis are many and varied, these causes are cultural

identity, economic and politics. These causes have been identified in the literature as important elements in ethnic conflicts.

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 present study intends to contribute along this identified gap. In the paper, I present a preliminary report of an empirical study carried out in 2006 on urban ethno-communal conflict in Nigeria focusing on the case of Ife-Modakeke.

Among the research questions which the study addresses are: What is the perception of the conflict? How is past violence conflict recollected? What is the attitude of people towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons? How is inter-personal relationship among the people of the two communities? Is there relationship between perception of the conflict; social interaction among the people of the two communities; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons? The null hypothesis tested in the paper are that there is no significant relationship between perception of the conflict; social interaction among the people of the two communities; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons

2.0 Methodology

The data base for the paper is derived from both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data used in the paper is from a larger household survey carried out by the author in Ife and Modakeke communities in 2006. The household survey was implemented using the method of face-to-face interviews. The questionnaire was designed to collect information among others on the perception of the conflict, attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons, recollection of past violence conflict, recollection of past violence conflicts and social interaction indicators, 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 in age and/or the spouse, preferably first wife in a polygamous household were interview. 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.

3.0 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 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 and their Oyo kinsmen. Back home, 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. 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 that settled in Ibadan in the early nineteenth century; though a brave warrior, 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 rerun 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 party 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.

4.0 Perception of the conflict

In the survey various questions relating to perception of the conflicts were asked. Table 1 below shows the indicators of perception of the conflict which are asked in the questionnaire form administered.

Table 1: Indicators of perception of the conflict

S/N	Perception of the conflict
1	If ever heard of any conflict between the two communities
2	Number of crisis aware of
3	If think that the conflict is resolved
4	If still expect crisis again between the two communities

The result of the frequency analysis is shown in Table 2. The Table shows that majority of the respondents (97.4%) have heard of the crisis between Ife and Modakeke community. Also, most of the respondents (58.2%) are aware of 3-4 numbers of Ife-Modakeke crises, followed by 30.0% who said that they are aware of 1-2 numbers of Ife-Modakeke crisis, and 8.5% who said that they are aware of 5-6 numbers of Ife-Modakeke crisis. Thus, about 96.7% of the respondents are aware of between 1-6 numbers of Ife-Modakeke crises. In response to the question as to if think that the conflict is resolved, and if still expect crisis again between the two communities; 34.4% said that the conflict is not resolved, while 22.1% said that they still expect crisis again between the two communities.

Table 2: Perception of the conflict

S/N	Perception of the conflict	Response	Ife % (n = 195)	Modakeke % (n = 195)	Total % (n = 390)
1	If ever heard of any conflict between the two communities	Yes	98.5	96.4	97.4
		No	1.5	3.6	2.6
2	Number of crisis aware of	1-2	28.2	29.8	30.0
		3-4	62.1	54.4	58.2
		5-6	5.1	11.8	8.5
		>6	3.1	0.0	1.5
3	If think that the conflict is resolved	Yes	57.9	66.7	62.3
		No	37.9	30.8	34.4
4	If still expect crisis again between the two communities	Yes	30.3	13.9	22.1
		No	68.2	81.0	74.6

Field survey, 2006

5.0 Attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons

In the survey various questions relating to attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons were asked. Table 3 shows indicators attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons which are asked in the questionnaire form administered.

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

S/N	Attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons
1	If opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons
2	If would encourage others to carry weapons and fight
3	If think that violence is the best way of expressing dissatisfaction
4	If think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary
5	If making financial contribution to the community
6	If the respondent encouraged their children to make financial contribution to the community
7	If the respondent encouraged their spouse to make financial contribution to the community
8	If the respondent encouraged their relative to make financial contribution to the community
9	If the respondent encouraged women to make financial contribution to the community
10	If attend 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 4. 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 others to make financial contribution to the community. 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 others to attend community meetings.

Table 4: 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 opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons	Yes	64.1	60.6	62.3
		No	35.4	37.9	36.7
2	If would encourage others to carry weapons and fight	Yes	8.7	16.9	12.3
		No	90.8	81.1	85.9
3	If 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 think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary	Yes	8.8	14.9	11.8
		No	89.8	82.1	85.9
5	If making financial contribution to the community	Yes	46.7	56.4	51.5
		No	51.8	43.7	47.7
6	If the respondent encouraged their children to make financial contribution to the community	Yes	26.2	31.3	28.7
		No	69.7	57.5	63.6

7	If the respondent encouraged their spouse to make financial contribution to the community	Yes	37.5	42.0	39.7
		No	56.5	46.7	51.5
8	If the respondent encouraged their relative to make financial contribution to the community	Yes	42.1	48.2	45.1
		No	54.9	51.8	53.3
9	If the respondent encouraged women to make financial contribution to the community	Yes	42.6	51.3	46.9
		No	57.4	48.7	53.1
10	If attend community meetings	Yes	54.9	52.8	53.8
		No	45.1	47.2	45.4
11	If respondent encouraged their spouse to attend community meetings	Yes	47.7	49.2	48.5
		No	52.3	50.8	42.3
12	If respondent encouraged their children to attend community meetings	Yes	28.7	37.4	33.1
		No	71.3	62.6	66.9
13	If respondent encouraged their female children to attend community meetings	Yes	27.2	29.7	28.5
		No	72.8	70.3	71.5
14	If respondent encouraged other women to attend community meetings	Yes	40.5	52.8	46.7
		No	59.5	47.2	51.8

Field survey, 2006

6.0 Social interaction among the people of the two communities

This section examines social interaction among the people in the two communities as a reflection of social integration in the study area. The indicator of social interaction among the people in the two communities is 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 1.

Box 1: Showing various questions relating to social interaction among the two communities that were asked

1. Do people in this community marry from lfe/Modakeke community?
2. How do you see women from lfe/Modakeke that is married to the people of this community?
3. Can you encourage your children to marry from lfe/Modakeke community?
4. Can you encourage your relations to marry from lfe/Modakeke community?
5. Can you as a person marry lfe/Modakeke person?
6. How do you see the children of the women from lfe/Modakeke that are married to the people of this community?

The result of the frequency analysis is shown in Table 5. Majority of the respondents (92.3%) said that there is 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 suggest that women that are married to the other community and

particularly their children have identity crisis in the sense that some sees them as strangers and enemy, although quiet a percentage of the respondents sees them as kinsmen.

Table 5: Showing the response to the questions on social interaction 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 is 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	(1) Kinsmen	55.4	64.6	60.0

	that are married to the people of this community?	(2) Stranger	4.1	2.6	3.3
		(3) Enemy	16.9	10.3	13.6
		(4) Indifferent	21.5	21.0	21.3

Field survey, 2006

6.0 Recollection of past violence conflict

In the survey, various questions relating to the recollection of past violence were asked. These are shown in Box 2.

Box 2: Showing various questions relating to the recollection of past violence that were asked

1. Did you witness any of the Ife/Modakeke violent conflict?
2. If yes, how many?
3. Where were you, your spouse and your family during the recent violent crisis?
4. When did you first hear the story of Ife/Modakeke crisis?
5. Did your parents ever tell you the story of Ife/Modakeke conflict?
6. If yes, which of them told you?
7. If both, which of them first told you?
8. When did you hear the story from your parent?
9. Have you also told/related the story to your children?
10. If yes, when did you first tell your children?

The result of the frequency analysis is shown in Table 6. 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%) are 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 had the story of Ife-Modakeke crisis during their childhood age period (38.7%), followed by those who said that they first heard during their adolescent age period (22.1%) and those who said that they first heard during youthful age period (18.7%). This result shows that majority (79.5%) have heard the story before their adulthood age. This implies that before the adulthood age period majority of the people are already conscious of the relationship of similarity and dissimilarity/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 age - that is during their childhood age period (29.5%), during their adolescent age period (18.2%), and during youthful age 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 childhood age period (28.7%), followed by those who told their children during their adolescent age period (12.3%), and during youthful age period (4.9%).

Table 6: Showing the response to the questions on the recollection of past violence that were asked

S/N	Questions	Response	Ife % (n = 195)	Modakeke % (n = 195)	Total % (n = 390)
1	Did you witness any of the Ife/Modakeke violent conflict?	Yes No	90.8 9.2	89.7 10.3	90.3 9.7
2	If yes, how many?	1 2 3 4 5 >5	13.8 22.1 27.3 24.6 3.1 0.0	9.2 19.5 23.1 33.3 4.1 0.5	11.5 20.8 25.1 29.0 3.6 0.3
3A	Where were you during the recent violent crisis?	1. Within the community of residence 2. Neighboring rural areas to the community within the state 3. Neighboring community within the state 4. Outside the state	88.7 2.1 2.6 5.1	82.6 2.6 4.6 7.7	85.6 2.3 3.6 6.4
3B	Where was your spouse during the recent violent crisis?	1. Within the community of residence 2. Neighboring rural areas to the community within the state 3. Neighboring community within the state 4. Outside the state	73.8 5.6 2.6 6.7	65.6 3.1 5.6 7.2	69.7 4.4 4.1 6.9
3C	Where were your family during the recent violent crisis?	1. Within the community of residence 2. Neighboring rural areas to the community within the state 3. Neighboring	82.1 2.6	72.8 2.6	77.4 2.6

		community within the state	5.6	6.7	6.4
		4. Outside the state	4.1	8.7	7.4
4	When did you first hear the story of Ife/Modakeke crisis?	1. During childhood age period 2. During adolescent age period 3. During youthful age period 4. During adulthood age period	34.9 21.5 21.5 22.1	42.6 22.6 15.9 19.0	38.7 22.1 18.7 2.5
5	Did your parents ever tell you the story of Ife/Modakeke conflict?	Yes No	52.3 47.7	64.6 35.4	58.5 37.7
6	If yes, which of them told you?	Father Mother Both	14.9 15.9 21.5	14.4 6.7 43.6	14.6 11.3 32.6
7	If both, which of them first told you?	Father Mother	15.4 6.2	31.8 11.8	23.6 9.0
8	When did you hear the story from your parent?	1. During childhood age period 2. During adolescent age period 3. During youthful age period 4. During adulthood age period	26.2 16.4 5.1 2.6	32.8 20.0 10.8 3.1	29.5 18.2 7.9 2.8
9	Have you also told/related the story to your children?	Yes No	44.6 55.4	49.7 50.3	47.2 52.6
10	If yes, when did you first tell your children?	1. During childhood age period 2. During adolescent age period 3. During youthful age period 4. During adulthood age period	26.2 10.8 5.6 1.5	31.3 13.8 4.1 1.0	28.7 12.3 4.9 1.3

Field survey, 2006

7.0 Test of hypothesis

The null hypothesis tested is that there is no significant relationship between perception of the conflict; social interaction among the people of the two communities; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. Tables 7 – 9 shows the definition of variables used to measure perception of the conflict; social interaction among the people of the two communities; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons.

Table 7: Measure of perception of the conflict

S/N	Perception of the conflict	How measured
1	If ever heard of any conflict between the two communities	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
2	Number of crisis aware of	Total in numbers
3	If think that the conflict is resolved	1 if No, 0 otherwise
4	If still expect crisis again between the two communities	1 if yes, 0 otherwise

Table 8: How social interaction indicators are measured

Social interaction 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 9: Measure of attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons

S/N	Attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons	How measured
1	If opposed to the idea of people carrying weapons	1 if No, 0 otherwise
2	If would encourage others to carry weapons and fight	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
3	If think that violence is the best way of expressing dissatisfaction	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
4	If think that violent fighting between the two community is necessary	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
5	If making financial contribution to the community	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
6	If the respondent encouraged their children to make financial contribution to the community	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
7	If the respondent encouraged their spouse to make financial contribution to the community	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
8	If the respondent encouraged their relative to make financial contribution to the community	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
9	If the respondent encouraged women to make financial contribution to the community	1 if yes, 0 otherwise
10	If attend 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 perception of the conflict; social interaction among the people of the two communities; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons is shown in Table 10. From the Table, the result of the correlation analysis shows a negative relationship between perception of the conflict and social interaction. This implies that the more people perceive the conflict, the less is social interaction with the people of the other community. The result also shows a positive relationship between perception of the conflict and attitude towards

violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This implies that the more people perceive the conflict, the more their attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. Furthermore, the result shows a negative relationship between social interaction and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This implies that the more there is social interaction among the people of the two communities, the less is the attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons.

Table 10: Result of the correlation analysis between perception of the conflict; social interaction among the people of the two communities; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons

Community	Variable	Perception of the conflict 'r'	Social interaction 'r'	Attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons 'r'
Ife (Pearson correlation) (n = 195)	Perception of the conflict	1.00		
	Social interaction	-.068	1.00	
	Attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons	.128	-.006	1.00
Modakeke (Pearson correlation) (n = 195)	Perception of the conflict	1.00		
	Social interaction	-.118	1.00	
	Attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons	.198**	-.211**	1.00
Ife/Modakeke (Pearson correlation) (n = 390)	Perception of the conflict	1.00		
	Social interaction	-.107*	1.00	
	Attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons	.152**	-.082	1.00

Ife/Modakeke (Spearman Rank correlation) (n = 390)	Perception of the conflict	1.00		
	Social interaction	-.133**	1.00	
	Attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons	.172**	-.091	1.00

*Significant at $p < .05$

**Significant at $p < .01$

8.0 Summary, policy implication and conclusion

The paper present a preliminary report of an empirical study carried out in 2006 on urban ethno-communal conflict in Nigeria: the case of Ife-Modakeke. Among the issues examined are the perception of the conflict, how past violence conflict is recollected, and attitude of people towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons, social interaction among the people of the two communities. Also examined is the relationship between perception of the conflict; social interaction; and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. The result of the correlation analysis shows a negative relationship between perception of the conflict and social interaction. This implies that the more people perceive the conflict, the less is social interaction with the people of the other community. The result also shows a positive relationship between perception of the conflict and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This implies that the more people perceive the conflict, the more their attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. Furthermore, the result shows a negative relationship between social interaction and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. This implies that the

more there is social interaction among the people of the two communities, the less is the attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons.

This result suggests that policies that encourage social integration could enhance the attainment of sustainable peace among the people of the two communities. Towards this end, there is the need for the promotion of the following policies in the study area: (i) promotion of psycho-social work which aims at both psycho-social healing and psychological transformation towards peaceful co-existence in the two communities; (ii) promotion of peace education in school and the society that target both female and male of all age groups; (iii) promotion of non-violence means in the settling of land dispute issues; (iv) promotion of reconciliation of the Ifes and the Modakekes and trust building in the two communities; and, (v) encouragement of inter-marriage and cultural re-integration of the two communities.

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