

## TWENTIETH CENTURY INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN YORUBALAND: A RETROSPECTIVE AND PERSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

### INTRODUCTION: DEFINING YORUBA LAND

The region between the River Volta in modern Ghana and the Niger in Nigeria can be taken as a cultural region. Within this region, it is possible to identify different ethnic groups such as the Edo, Nupe, Borgu, Aja and Yoruba.

The Yoruba occupy almost two-thirds of this region. Delimiting the boundaries of Yoruba land, Samuel Johnson wrote;

To the immediate west of River Niger (below the confluence) and South Quorra i.e., (the western branch of the same River above the confluence), having Dahomey on the west and Bight of Benin to the south. It is roughly speaking between latitude 6° and 9° north, and longitude 2° 30" and 6°30" east<sup>1</sup>.

However, for a proper understanding of the complex situation of inter-group relation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Yoruba land, this study shall not limit Yoruba land to Samuel Johnson's description which limits the Yoruba people to the dwellers of western part of Yoruba land. The Yoruba include the peoples of northeastern Yoruba land and they occupy nearly one quarter of the Yoruba land area. It is an ethnic frontier zone. It shares borders with the Edo, Epira, Nupe and is a medley of cultures which nevertheless retains itself to the description of a fundamental Yoruba cultural bedrock.<sup>2</sup>

The Yoruba comprise groups of kingdoms closely associated by traditions of migration, language and a claim of common decent from Oduduwa the culture-hero. The traditions of origin have many different and sometimes conflicting versions. There are both traditions of creations<sup>3</sup> and of migration<sup>4</sup>.

According to the tradition of creation, Ile-Ife was not only the cradle of Yoruba people but also the very place where man himself was created. It was here that Oduduwa traditionally regarded as the progenitor of the Yoruba, was said to have descended from heaven on the primordial waters and created the solid earth. The migration tradition on the other hand,

relates that the Yoruba migrated overland from a northeastern direction to Ile-Ife. There existed no agreement on where they migrated from. Various places mentioned include Mecca and Egypt<sup>5</sup>. Other traditions present a fusion of creation and migration stories<sup>6</sup>. These differing versions all point to the possibilities that the Yoruba are a fusion of migrant traditions belonging to the migrants' elements while the creation stories may be credited to the aborigines. The migrants might have assimilated and imposed their culture on the indigenous people or have themselves being assimilated; whichever took place, a starting point for speculations that Yoruba have a language which is widely understood and recognizably the same despite its many dialects.<sup>7</sup>

Almost all the traditions agree on the primacy of the Ile-Ife in Yoruba land and on Oduduwa as the common ancestor of the Yoruba<sup>8</sup>. Ile-Ife seems to have been the centre of diffusion from where the Yoruba spread out to settle in different groups known as: the Yagba, Owo, Akoko, Ekiti, Igbomina, Ijesa, Ife, Ilaje and Ondo in the east; the Oyo, Egba, Owu, Egbado, Awori and Ijebu in the centre and the Sabe, Ketu, Anago, Idaisa, Manigri, Isa and Ana in the west.<sup>9</sup>

These groups formed kingdoms of varying sizes and degrees of autonomy. They were the "state actors" in the Yoruba political system<sup>10</sup>. The most successful of these kingdoms in the period before 19<sup>th</sup> century was Oyo. Headed by the Alafin, it expanded over most of the northern and western Yoruba land as well as over parts of the territories of the non Yoruba kingdoms of Nupe, Ibariba and the Aja of Dahomey.

These kingdoms were highly decentralized. Each operated a monarchical system of government just like most European nations before the French Revolution of 1789. Of the monarchs could trace the origin of each town and other instruments of office to Ile-Ife. This claim placed Ife in a very significant position. Though weak and land locked, it must be kept sacrosanct. In a political system described as Ebi-commonwealth<sup>11</sup>, all the kings of the various kingdoms believed that, the person occupying the throne of the original ancestor should be regarded as **FATHER** of all other kings and all other kings regarded one another as brothers<sup>12</sup>. According to Akinjogbin, Ebi concept contained three provisions that were central to the relations among these monarchs:

First the feeling of belonging together was not imposed by any force of arms, but by a common acceptance of having been related by blood.... Secondly, precedence among the princes depended on their natural order of birth and not on their circumstances after birth.

Thus, irrespective of acquired wealth and military power, the older claimed privileges before the younger, and the privileges of the individual princes were inherited by their subjects. Third, it is part of their filial duties to protect their common father and by extension his territory... to report occasionally back to, and seek consent of, the father on important occasions.<sup>13</sup>

Though the Ebi concept had been antagonized by some historians, it becomes less controversial if treated as a theory of social interaction.<sup>14</sup> The immediate effect of this system was that, the entire Yoruba land was stable except for occasional wars<sup>15</sup> before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, some scholars tend to confuse this state of stability with staticism. The Ebi system was dynamic. Political developments, constitutional amendments and re-interpretations could occur within an already generally accepted standard without necessarily upsetting such standards. In other words, it is not compulsory to have a complete destruction of the old before the new can commence.

The system does not indicate that the political system worked perfectly as no political system could ever be perfect. However, these people operated within certain rules and regulations that if broken could incur a general censure. Other than static conditions, it was stability that prevailed within the political structure until the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the very binding forces of traditional beliefs that held the system together were being questioned. The greatness and sacredness of the royalty could not be sustained and this led to the events of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that was terminated by colonialism but which impacted greatly on the 20<sup>th</sup> century Yoruba land especially as regards socio-political activities within the larger Nigerian setting.

### INSIGHT INTO THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY YORUBALAND

Events in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Yorubaland have continued to engage the attention of historians because of the devastating effects of the wars and availability of written records which was enabled by the existence then of educated elite, missionaries and British administration based in Lagos. Much attention has been devoted to the causes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century wars and a great number of predisposing factors have been adduced. It was concluded by various scholars that fundamentally, there seems to have been a breakdown of the elaborate system of constitutional balance at the centre. This paper shall however not do a recap of either the causes or the details of the war. It shall examine the wars and the issues involved from

the point of view of the various alliances that existed during the period. This analysis it is believed, will enable us understand inter-group relations in Yoruba land especially during the closing decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the manner of European nations before the First World War, the Yoruba towns and kingdoms hardly fought wars alone<sup>16</sup>. Wars to them were an occasion for the formation of new alliances and renewal of old ones. Military alliances were either for defence and offensive purposes or protection of common cause. The most elaborate of the alliances in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Yorubaland was the Ife-Ijebu alliances against Owu in 1821, the Ijaye-Egba alliance in 1860 and the Ekiti parapo grand alliance against Ibadan in 1878. More often, the allied forces had common objectives but different motives. For instance, both Ife and Ijebu had specific grievances against Owu. The Ijebu wanted to avenge the death of their traders at the Aponmu market. The Ifes on their own wanted to chastise Owu for attacking some towns in their territory. An attack which the Ooni considered as an affront to his sovereignty and territorial integrity. Secondly, they wanted to retrieve their military pride lost during the first punitive military expedition against Owu. Above all, the kingdoms wanted Owu destroyed because they wanted a direct control of the Aponmu market which had been seized by Owu. The market was an important commercial centre for Ife, Oyo Ijebu, Owu and other Yoruba people from the interior<sup>17</sup>. In the course of Ife-Ijebu operation against Owu, they were joined by Oyo refugee soldiers fleeing from war torn areas of the tottering old Oyo Empire. The motive of these soldiers was totally different from those of the original allies. They were homeless rabble-rousers who made their living through wars. For them, Owu war offered means of livelihood.

The common objective of the Ijaye-Egba alliance was the defeat of Ibadan. However they both had specific motives. Ijaye and Ibadan rose out of the ruins of the old Oyo Empire. In their cause of expansion, both had a substantial number of subordinate towns in and outside Yoruba land. Ijaye had strongholds in the west and north-west while Ibadan held political sway in the eastern and north-eastern Yorubaland. The two towns were struggling for political supremacy.<sup>18</sup>

Their wars involved participation of many Oyo-Yoruba towns. While Ijaye drew support mainly from the towns in the upper-Ogun area, Ibadan relied mostly on almost all towns all over Oyo – Yorubaland. The number of Oyo-Yoruba towns which aided Ibadan was estimated as between 140 and 143.<sup>19</sup> In spite of this, they still sought allies from other Yoruba towns. Ibadan got the support of Ife, and Ijebu-Remo while Ijaye

was backed by Ilorin, Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta. Of all the non-Oyo Yoruba people who supported Ijaye it was only Egba of Abeokuta that followed her to the battlefield. This Egba move was guided by four reasons. First, they were motivated by the desire to forestall Ibadan's attack on their town. Secondly, they saw Ibadan as a colossus aiming at bringing the whole Yoruba land under its political control if it was allowed to subdue Ijaye. Thirdly, the Egbas wanted to seize the opportunity of the war between Ibadan and Ijaye to recover their old domains where they had been driven by the Oyo refugees during the Owu war and perhaps most importantly, the Egbas entered the alliance to block Ibadan's access to the coast. Between 1859 and 1860, Ibadan had struggled to have direct access to the coast. In the process, the Ibadan traders had reached Imeko and established an agency there in 1859<sup>20</sup>. They had also established bases in Isaga and Isala, both towns in Egbado territory. The Egba saw the advance of Ibadan towards the coast especially through the Egbado area as a threat to their political and economic interests. The presence of Ibadan in Egbado area threatened their political authority in that sphere. Also Ibadan's direct access to the coast would jeopardize Egba's middlemen role between the coastal traders and the Yorubas in the interior. It would also make Ibadan to have unlimited access to firearms<sup>21</sup>. However, despite its alignment with the Egbas' in 1862 Ijaye was destroyed.

After the defeat of the Fulani's in 1840, the defeat of Ijaye in 1862 thus confirmed the suzerainty of Ibadan over other Yoruba powers. She therefore embarked on imperialist war into eastern Yorubaland. By 1875, Ibadan was master of all the Ijesha, Ekiti, Akoko and most of Igbomina. It evolved an elaborate system of provincial administration known as the Ajele system. An Ajele on the spot saw to the daily government of each subordinate town, transmitting the tributes to Ibadan and ensuring the continued loyalty of the town to Ibadan<sup>22</sup>. It was an attempt to shake off the yoke of Banda imperialism because of the excess of the Ajele's that led to the formation of the Ekitiparapo grand alliance by Ekiti, Ijesa, Igbomina and Akoko kingdoms in 1878. However, as the war progressed, the Ekitiparapo grand alliance was joined by the Egba, Ijebu, Ilorin and Ife. Even the Alafin was supporting them secretly. The general objective of all the powers was to "clip the wings" of Ibadan which had subjugated most Yoruba kingdoms and threatened the sovereignty of those yet to be conquered.<sup>23</sup>

Hiding under this general objective were certain specific grievances. For instance, the Ijebu and Egbas were yet to be conquered by Ibadan but

they joined the alliance to forestall being conquered and weaken Ibadan, so that it would not be strong enough to push its way towards the coast.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike the Ijebu and the Egbas, the sovereignty of the Ilorin emirate was not threatened but war had become an avenue of acquiring wealth and influence this was why they in 1848 and 1875 joined Ibadan in destroying Ekiti and Akoto towns<sup>25</sup> and in 1877 they were ready to take part in Ibadan's raids on Egba farms<sup>26</sup>. Perhaps more importantly, participation in Ekitiparapo alliance was seen by Ilorin as an opportunity to re-impose their political control over Igbomina their former vassal and bring Ekiti towns under the control of the Emirate. Their intention was subtly expressed in their message to Aare Latosa the ruler of Ibadan in 1878;

If a man's wife deserted him and afterwards repented and came back to him, is not the husband justified in receiving her back.<sup>27</sup>

Secondly, they had not forgotten that the Ibadan had robbed them of the fruits of their 1835 victory which led to the collapse of the old Oyo Empire. Their subsequent advance southwards to conquer the rest of Yorubaland had been checkmated at Osogbo in 1840 by Ibadan which also drove them from the Igbomina and Ekiti territories. Consequently, they always sought opportunities to weaken Ibadan so that it might be easy for them to extend their political authority to all Yorubaland. The empire of Ilorin had said during the Ijaye war... "we should combine against this Ibadan which had often baulked us of our prey; we may yet carry the Koran to the seas."<sup>28</sup>

All these diversified motives which could be described as national interest of the various allies made the Ekitiparapo war very complex to resolve until the issues were overtaken European colonialism. It is important to note that while the northern and western Yorubaland was restive, similar clouds were gathering around the North/Eastern Yorubaland. A Nupe/Fulani dynasty had rose with its new base at Bida. Its rulers Masaba and Majigi between 1840s and 1870s subjected the entire northeastern Yoruba land, the home of Yagba, Owe, Oworo and Akoko by force of arms.<sup>29</sup> These communities remained under Nupe/Fulani domination till the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The wars greatly modified the existing socio-political system in Yorubaland. In particular, it brought about alterations in the existing settlement pattern, which in turn brought about cultural diffusion and assimilation that would later have great impact on inter-group relations in Yoruba land in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The general; demographic picture of Yoruba land towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a comparative emptiness at large areas of north west and north which Ilorin/Fulani armies had ceaselessly attacked and from where refugees had moved into accretion settlements like, Ife, Osogbo, Iwo, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Ede and Ejigbo. Also the northeastern area as well as parts of Ekiti, which the Nupe/Fulani and the Ilorin/Fulani had raided, were relatively depopulated. Also parts of central and Western Ekiti, Igbomina and Ijesha communities where the Ibadan troops operated were scantily populated. Early in 1850's according to Bowen, the population of Abeokuta was 60,000, Ibadan 70,000 and Ilorin 70,000<sup>30</sup>. Also in 1890, Governor Moloney of Lagos estimated the population of Ijebu-Ode, Ejigbo, Iwo and Osogbo at 60,000 each, Oyo 80,000 and Ilorin 100,000<sup>31</sup>. These figures even though not accurate appears relatively correct if compared with the figures of Rev. Charles Philips of 1880s which put the population of Ode-Ondo at 1,500, Ijebu Ode at between 6,000 and 8,000 and Imesi-Ipole and Ikoro Ekiti at between 5,000 and 6,000<sup>32</sup>. In 1890's Bishop Philips visited parts of Ekiti and Akoko and estimated the population of Igbara-Odo at about 10,000, Iyin 15,000 and then declared that Ado-Ekiti was one of the largest towns in Ekiti<sup>33</sup>. According to the first population Census conducted by the British in parts of Nigeria including Yoruba land in 1911, the population of Ibadan was put at 175,000, Lagos 73,766, Ogbomoso 80,000, Osogbo, 59,821, Ile-Ife 36,231, Iwo 60,000, Abeokuta 51,255, Oyo, 45,000, Iseyin 33,362, Ede 26,577 and Ilorin 36,342<sup>34</sup>. The figures for Yoruba towns in the Eastern part were not made available however using the 1952 census figures; it shows that 120 out of 36 urban centers with a population of 5,000 or more lay in the western half of Yoruba land. This shows that only 16 of such towns existed in the eastern part<sup>35</sup>. It is important to note that, each Yoruba community consisted of a core of "aboriginal" population often referred to as earliest settlers.<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, one can say that the population of each Yoruba group was nearly homogenous before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yoruba land is replete of a great deal of internal migration over the centuries but the 19<sup>th</sup> century migration was unprecedented. The fall of Oyo empire earlier identified blazed the trail for series of chaos and war most of which were never concluded because of colonialism. These wars led to destruction of many towns in all parts of Yoruba land thereby creating refugee problems that led to large-scale migrations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. These movements greatly modified the existing pattern of settlement and inter group relations in the 20th century Yoruba socio-political environ.

## INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

By the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Yoruba land had been stable. Towns such as Ibadan, Osogbo, Ogbomoso, Iwo, Saki, Okeho, Iganna, Ile-Ife and Ikere-Ekiti which in one way or the other satisfied the requirements of the refuges such as, safe geographical location, kingship ties, and capability of the hosts to guarantee protection had been inundated with refugees. For instance, so great was the influx of Oyo refugees to Osogbo that they outstripped the indigenous population. In fact by 1840, Osogbo that was originally an Ijesha town had been taken over by the Oyos<sup>37</sup>.

There were three categories of refugees they comprised those who fled as individuals or groups of families. They often put themselves under the protection of powerful quarter or war chiefs in the host community. For example, the Offa refugees in Iwo put themselves under Jagun, a chief of Offa who had earlier migrated to Iwo. In Ile-Ife the refugees freely put themselves under the protection of quarter chiefs. The second groups were those who fled as royal families, towns or sections of towns. They often settle in different parts of the host towns. With each groups naming its settlement after its original homestead. After a long time of integration, these settlements became quarters of the host towns. For example, Pamo quarter in Okeho was founded by refugees who fled from Pamo after the battles of 1830.<sup>38</sup> Ende in Osogbo, Illua in Saki, Igbon in Ogbomos and Agbado in Ikere Ekiti were all founded by refugees from Eko, Ende, Illua, Igbon and Agbado Ekiti respectively.

The resettlements of people in Northeastern Yoruba land at the foot or close to hills are a direct consequence of the 19<sup>th</sup> century debacle. Examples are towns such as Iffe, Isanlu, Mopa, Egbe, Ogidi, Ikoyi, Osokosoko all in Yagba land and Akoko town of Oka, Isua, Ikare, Oke Agbe, Ifira, Ipesi and Idoani. Substantial number of people from okun and Akoko are known to be residing in Bida, Ilorin, Ado-Ekiti, Aiyede and Omlo. In fact there are evidence of some lineages in Aginmi, Ohi-Iffe and Ohun who are now extinct. It is claimed that they constitute a district in the present day Bassa-Nge<sup>39</sup>. Also Ita Tapa, a quarter in Arigidi-Akoko was said to be peopled by remnants of Nupe/Fulani warriors. Another source claims that they were descendants of slaves, captured during the Nupe wars. In fact the mother of the present traditional ruler of Arigidi Akoko was a Nupe woman and the title of the traditional ruler **Zaki**, is Hausa word for Lion.<sup>40</sup> Also to be found in some towns upto present day is a substantial population of Oyo settlers. They live in quarters known as Ogbon-Oyo. Even though they have become mixed with their



hosts, some conservatives among them still make traditional Oyo facial marks on their children towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The last category consisted of a group whose towns had been devastated and rather than move into host towns, they established entirely new towns. Examples in this category include Abeokuta which was created by refugees from about 154 Egba villages destroyed during the Owu war<sup>41</sup> and Ibadan<sup>42</sup>. The refugees settled separately according to their townships, each naming its new settlement after its original home stead.

The major problem faced by these refugees/settlers in their various settlements was political integration. The need for security more than any other factor has forced the various Egba villages that formed Abeokuta to integrate. Using the old Egba political system as a base, they evolved a confederal state system with the Alake of Egbaland, the civil ruler of Ake as the most senior recognized by all. The first Alake was appointed in 1854. The refugees in Ibadan evolved a republican system of government and societal norm which made it possible for any hardworking man especially warriors to rise from the lowest ebb of the society to the highest pinnacle not minding his place of circumstance of birth. The Ibadan socio-political system was so accommodating that, there is a Yoruba saying describing the Ibadan society as; **Ibadan gba ole o gba ole** (Ibadan will accommodate thieves and the indolent). It could be described as a land of great opportunity; a melting point of some sort and that perhaps explains the huge population of Ibadan till date.

The first category of refugees i.e. those who fled as individuals or groups of families were easily integrated into the host community. Their leaders were in some cases given chieftaincy titles to afford them opportunity for political articulation. For instance, the ruler of Iwo gave junior royal chieftaincy titles to such families<sup>43</sup>. Those in the second category were also properly integrated. Each refugee town became a quarter or ward of the host town. The most senior of the chiefs of the refugee towns was made quarter chiefs in the host town. In order to absorb them into the mainstream government of the host town, the administration of such host towns was restructured to make the refugees relevant<sup>44</sup>. It was a situation like that that made the refugees of Okeho, Iganna, Saki, Ogbomoso and Ikere-Eki to be thoroughly integrated.

Okeagbe Akoko in the northeastern part of Yoruba land is a town of four quarters, each quarter was migrant towns who took refuge at Okeagbe because of the topography. Each quarter has its own crowned Oba and they operate a republican system<sup>45</sup>. Ajowa is also an example of towns

that had moved together and integrated for common purpose. It is important to note that Ajowa town was created in 1957. Towns that had ran into hill tops during the Nupe/Fulani raids of the 19<sup>th</sup> century under the leadership of some educated elites of the towns moved together to form Ajowa. The name literally means, "We came together". The towns are, Akunu, Daja, Ojo, Gedegede, Ora and Uro. Each of these towns are quarters of Ajowa with crowned Obas except Akunu whose Oba remained at the original location of the town with some people.<sup>46</sup> They also operate a republican system of some sort.

However, it was not as if the process of integration was very smooth. In some places, it was with serious strains. For instance, it took the introduction of Ogboni cult an arm of government that was peculiar with the Egbas by the Soun of Ogbomoso for him to have his authority strengthened and accepted by his guests. Some of these strains survived into the 20<sup>th</sup> century in some other towns and it became complicated by the complexities of modern day social-political situation in Nigeria.

A ready example is the Ife/Modakeke situation. Of all the towns that hosted refugees, Ile-Ife experienced and perhaps still experiencing very serious problem of integration. Before the Gbanamu war, relations between the refugees and their host were cordial. The Gbanamu war and the defeat suffered by Ife was considered political humiliation and because the Modakeke people were Oyo refugees who were considered kith and kin of the Ibadan Oyo refugees, the Ifes did not hesitate to transfer and meet their frustration on the Modakekes.<sup>47</sup>

Ever since, the Ife/Modakeke problem had gone through various phases. Various styles of conflict resolution management had been applied to no avail.<sup>48</sup> It is not within the jurisdiction of this article to go into the details of the Ife/Modakeke problem but it is important to mention that the Modakeke people initially were demanding recognition as a town, later they demanded economic independence as represented by their struggle against the payment of land rent known as **Ishakole** to their Ife landlords this was resolved by the Land Use Decree of 1978. This was followed by a demand for separate local government council since the First Republic. In the April 17<sup>th</sup> 1958 edition of Daily Times, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Premier of Western Region responded to the demand for a local government council by the Modakeke's thus:

"Ife town was one town and the request for a separate local government council for Madakeke amounted to an attempt to divide a single town".<sup>49</sup>

The Ife/Modakeke conflict came in very handy for politicians during the second republic to such an extent that it takes a careful insight into the issues at stake for a scholar to actually remember the fundamental issues. Ile-Ife was turned to battleground by the UPN and the NPN who were working on the emotions of the Modakeke people to gain foothold in the southwest. The political history of Nigeria since 1983 is such that issues as Ife/Madakeke crisis provided necessary ground for the breeding of ethnic militia. However, it is important to note that the last in the series of the crisis in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had another dimension. The youths, who have constituted themselves into ethnic militia during the 1997 crisis claimed to be fighting for creation of Modakeke local government so that more jobs would be available in their community and they would have their own share of the national cake. They also argued that a separate local government would earn them representation at the federal level and prevent a further marginalization of their people. Marginalization is a "new" diction in the Nigerian context.

## CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, this article had been able to further establish that the various Nigerian peoples had been in contact through trade, wars, diplomatic activities inter alia. Therefore, it can be considered erroneous for some people to regard the 1914 amalgamation as an accident of history. If the collapse of Oyo Empire and the attendant events could have such a tremendous impact on every part of Yoruba land and beyond in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when globalization and global village was not in the diction of man, then the persistent clamor for sovereign national conference should be examined thoroughly and put in proper perspective. Secondly, the article also establish that it was the demographic situation caused by the one century turmoil in Yoruba land that led to re-grouping of people a situation that was directly responsible for integration problem in some parts of Yorubaland in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This article is of the opinion that, with good government that guarantee equity and fair play integration problem could be solved. It is important to note that as at 1997, the Modakeke youths viewed their struggle as a struggle for job creation and indirectly partaking in the proverbial "national cake". This is a dramatic departure from the original cause of the Ife/Modakeke problem. This goes to justify the view that if there is equity, justice and fair play in the society, there will be less cries of marginalization and call for National Conference.

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