

## POST CONFLICT AGRICULTURAL LAND SHARING BETWEEN THE IFE AND THE MODAKEKE, NIGERIA

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### Abstract

*The paper assessed post conflict agricultural land sharing between the Ife and the Modakeke. The broad objective of the study to assess post conflict agricultural land sharing between the two groups of the respondents. Specifically, the study describes the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents, identifies the causes and outcomes of conflicts in the past between the two sets of land users, examines conflict resolution methods adopted by the two parties to settle past conflicts, evaluates the respondents' perceived benefits of Land Use Act of 1978, and analyses the land rental systems adopted in the study area. The assessment revealed that the respondents were predominantly male, the majority of the tenant farmers were relatively young and in their active years compared to the landowners. The analysis further revealed that the major cause of conflict between the landowners and tenants in the study area is the non-payment of land rent (isakole). Past land conflicts were settled and/or resolved mainly by community leaders without any recourse to government courts. Both categories of respondents perceived the LUA of 1978 as non-beneficial to the South Western agricultural communities in Nigeria. Assessment of the agricultural land sharing and rental payment revealed that two rental regimes exist both before and after the conflict. Before and after the conflict, rental payment was by crop. Landowners collected only 10% of total annual cocoa harvested as rent from the tenants before conflict, but now collect 20% after the conflict. Land rental agreement before the conflict ranged between 5 to 20 years before the conflict, but now it has been reduced to between 5 to 10 years.*

**Key words:** post conflict, agricultural land sharing, Ife, Modakeke

### INTRODUCTION

The importance of agriculture for developing countries and for an adequate functioning of the world economy cannot be denied. First, although declining over time, primary agriculture still represents important percentages of developing countries' overall domestic production, exports, and employment. If agro-industrial, transportation, commercial, and other related activities are also counted, then the economic and social importance of agriculture-based sectors increases significantly. Furthermore, large numbers of the world's poor still live in rural areas and work in agriculture. Through the links via production, trade, employment, and prices, agricultural production is also crucial for national food security. Second, it has been shown that agriculture in developing countries has important growth and employment multipliers for the rest of the economy, and

agriculture seems to have larger positive effects in reducing poverty than growth in other sectors. Third, agriculture is not only important for individual developing countries, but it has global significance, considering the large presence of developing countries in world agricultural production and the increasing participation in international trade of those products.

From a global perspective, agriculture provides livelihoods for more people than any other industry and it is the main source of livelihoods for the majority of rural people in developing countries. Growth in agricultural production and productivity is needed to raise rural incomes, to support the increasing numbers dependent on the industry and to meet the food and raw material needs of the faster growing urban population. Researches have shown that agriculture is the foundation of economic growth, development, poverty eradication, and prosperity of many

developing countries of the world. The fight for consistent economic growth can only be lost or won by investing in the agricultural sector [12]. It was also asserted that close to 75% of the world's poor people live in rural areas and many of them depend on agriculture with its related activities. Given its overbearing roles, the world's economic growth process, poverty eradication, and environmental sustainability must, one way or the other, involve agriculture [15]. As an important sector of the world's economy, agriculture is critical in achieving global poverty reduction targets. It is the most single important productive sector in most low-income countries in terms of its share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and of the number of people it employs [8]. A larger percentage of the poor people reside in rural areas and are dependent on the returns of agriculture to live a stable life. In Nigeria as the case in most Africa countries, agriculture plays a critical role in reducing poverty as over 40% of Nigeria's GDP comes from the agricultural sector while employing about 60% of the working population [13].

Agricultural production in any country requires an enabling environment to reach its maximum potential, and sustainable development in it, among other things, demands a peaceful co-habitation of producer communities. Agricultural operations such as crop production, animal husbandry, fishery, and forestry demand the use of land resources (land/soil and water). Land is a resource that has a primary consequence on any nation's economy. It is a highly symbolic and fundamental resource that has a special value in an African society and economy. It is a basic and productive resource to the African people and serves as a major avenue for survival for many, particularly the people in the rural communities of the South Western part of Nigeria [1]. Land and its associated resources provide the basic means of livelihood to members of these communities. As a result of the important role it plays in the life of the people in the developing world, there is a very complex relationship between an individual, a family and/or compound, a larger community on one hand, and land on

the other hand which requires proper functioning. Smooth relationship of these units is basic to healthy inter-personal, intra- and inter family, and intra- and inter group stability, and for political stability and unhampered economic growth in the developing world. For a unique position land holds in the life of the people of Africa, it is increasingly becoming a major source of conflicts in Sub-Saharan region, where land access has traditionally been characterized as relatively egalitarian [16].

From the beginning of man creation, the land use by man was mainly for agriculture, and till now, agriculture is still the most important use to which land is put in West Africa sub-region. In the context of agricultural economics, agricultural land can be divided into land use for growing food crops or tree crops; land use for growing livestock food and for grazing livestock; land left fallow as part of the shifting agricultural system; and land use for forest reserves, where trees are grown for commercial purposes. Land possession means access to many other important resources like minerals, timber, and animals. These possessions give land a high economic value. Some communities do have symbolic and strong emotional attachments to a land including the resources on it. This clearly shows why a valuable land control is very competitive, including government regulation and authority that causes continuous conflicts. Traditionally, a lot of wars occurred over the ownership of land.

Currently in Nigeria, agricultural production is facing many constraints of which the problem of land tenure is a major one. Generally, the situation of land tenure in Africa has been described as conflict-ridden and confusing [5]. According to [4], limitations and constraints that relate to land tenure insecurity have been discouraging many Africans that want to invest in the agricultural sector. Achievement of food security and sustainable rural development in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular are closely tied to access and rights to land. Access and rights to land are the basic building blocks for the livelihood and sustenance of individuals, families and

communities, especially in agrarian societies. In order to achieve sustainable rural development and food security, access and rights to land must be given priority. Poverty increases as a result of insecure and limited access to land, which in turn has provided the ideal circumstances for conflicts [7]. Lack of assurance of rights to land over a long period of time and unequal land distribution hinder development in agriculture by limiting land access to many needy Africans. This condition has relegated many land users (particularly farmers) to the status of land tenants and therefore opening the door to conflict among people (landowners and tenant farmers). Although these problems exist in many parts of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, the need for growth in agriculture, food security and poverty reduction requires that indigenous landowners in the country should embrace the reality of sharing their lands with the landless group for the betterment of all and sundry.

#### **Land Tenure and Land Related Conflicts in Nigeria**

The land tenure system in Nigeria is based on the Land Use Act (LUA) of 1978. LUA is the principal Nigerian land policy with regards to all land which was, to a great extent unified the laws relating to land in Nigeria. The Act reflects the idea that it is in the public interest that the rights of all Nigerians to the land of Nigeria be asserted and preserved by law. The decree's objectives are: to facilitate the rapid economic and social transformation of the country through a rationalization of land use, to enable state governments to bring about proper control and administration of land for the benefit of their people, to remove a main cause of social and economic inequality, and to provide an incentive to development by providing easy access to land for the state and the people. According to [10], the Land Use Act of 1978 was enacted to usher in a new land reform in the country that would promote greater access and rights to land for the benefits of Nigerians, the Act soon became a clog in the wheel of development over the years. The objectives of the decree remain largely unfulfilled several years after its enactment, and titles to land appear to be

more insecure now than ever before. Consequently, land is less available to the ordinary Nigerian today than it was prior to the Decree, thereby relegating most citizens to an inevitable state of perpetual tenancy.

The promulgation of the national land policy as contained in the Land Use Act of 1978 brought disequilibrium into the former balance of rights and privileges enjoyed by landowners and tenants (as is the case between the Ife and the Modakeke). The Act also led to the non-recognition of indigenous bodies for conflict resolution in most agrarian communities in the country. It failed to recognize the continued existence of customary tenancy, both a key feature of customary land tenure and a *de facto* recognition of the ownership rights of landlords by the tenant farmers. The decree transferred landownership in Nigeria from the compound/family to the government without any regard for peculiar local circumstances that pattern the relationship between landowners and tenants in different communities. The resultant and seemingly unending conflicts that result from the failure of the Decree have negatively affected the performance of the agricultural sector in most parts of Nigeria, particularly in South-western Nigeria.

Inconsistency in the land tenure system in Nigeria has severally resulted into conflicts among land users and landowners in many parts of the country. According to [9], land related conflicts in Nigeria are the most evident social manifestations of land insecurity with its nature undefined. Some underlying factors, such as population pressure, agricultural commercialization, the introduction of Land Use Act of 1978 which led to the violation of land tenancy agreement between landowners and tenants, and urbanization helped to increase the number of conflicts arising on lands in several part of the country. These incessant land conflicts have led to several inter-group clashes where lives and properties have been lost and the benefits of peaceful cohabitation of agricultural communities being gradually eroded. Such conflicts are common in most parts of Northern Nigeria between the indigenous crop

farmers (landowner group) and nomadic pastoralists (landless group) over the competing use of land for cropping and grazing and between the indigenous landowners and migrant farmers (tenant farmers) in the Southwestern part of the country (e.g. conflicts between the Ife and the Modakeke) over land ownership rights. Conflicts between croppers and herders keep escalating in Sub-Saharan Africa where large-scale, medium and small conflicts have degenerated into serious violence. According to [3], one central aspect of the national question within the discourse in Nigeria concerns the conflicts and disputes historically driven by struggles over land-based resources. Unless this situation is urgently addressed, the national policy of government to diversify the economy of the country from that of oil dependent to agricultural dependent would be a mirage.

#### **Conflicts between the Ife and the Modakeke**

In Ife land, the Ife and the Modakeke communities have engaged in protracted intra-communal conflicts relating to land issues over a long period of time. [3] and [14] asserted that so far, there had been seven major wars between the Ifes and Modakekes, the first was between 1835-1849 while the last was in year 2000. The conflict between the two appears to be the oldest intra-ethnic conflict in Nigeria. Since its first outbreak in 1835, there have been a number of causes which have overtime varied or consolidated and culminated into open violent conflict that has on a number of occasions pit both Yoruba sub-groups against one another. The causes are partly economic and partly political and identity issues revolving around landownership, non-payment of land rent (*isakole*), status of Modakeke community, local government creation and location of local government headquarters. The conflict however is depicted as a conflict between landowners (the Ife) and the tenants (the Modakeke). These land conflicts have negatively affected the economy of the two communities, particularly the agricultural communities under the geographical boundary of Ile-Ife. One important aspect of conflicts

between the Ife and the Modakeke that is often overlooked is the issue of “non-recognition” of the landowners (the Ife) by the tenants (the Modakeke) as a result of the misinterpretation of the Land Use Act of 1978 (popularly known as Land Use Decree) with its ambiguities that both vested landownership in the government and at the same recognizes compound claim to landownership.

Although land conflicts appear to have pitched the two communities, a sizeable proportion of the population of the people still cohabit peacefully both in town and in the rural areas and they go about with their businesses without any form of molestation to the mutual benefits of the two sides. Factors that lead to the peaceful cohabitation of these two important groups in Ife land form the trust of this study. The landowners (the Ife) still share their agricultural lands with the tenants (the Modakeke) despite the long experiences of conflict. There has been limited research work in terms of agricultural land sharing between these groups of resource users after a protracted period of conflict, hence this study.

#### **Acquisition of land by migrant farmers in South Western Nigeria.**

The acquiring of land is one of the most important steps taken by a beginning farmer. The established farmer may have to add land to his farm business several times during his farming career. The way in which a land is acquired and its characteristics will shape many subsequent farming decisions. If the farmer decides to buy land, the price paid and the size of the mortgage will influence his capital position and hence the type of farming organization he can develop. If he decides to rent, the kind of leasing arrangement developed will affect the enterprises selected and the way his labor, capital, and management will be used. In Southwestern Nigeria, the common form of land acquisition by migrant farmers is a rental form which is commonly based on payment of rent to the landowners. This rental arrangement is found in Ife land, the study area. The rent is referred to as ‘*isakole*’. Agricultural land is not sold to migrant farmers in Southwestern Nigeria in general and in the study area in particular.

### **Objectives of the study**

The broad objective of this study is to assess post conflict agricultural land sharing between the Ife and the Modakeke in Ife land. Specifically, the study describes the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents, identifies the causes and outcomes of conflicts between the two parties in the past, examines conflict resolution methods adopted by the parties, evaluates the respondents' perceived benefits of LUA of 1978, and analyses the rental systems in the study area.

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

### **Study Area**

The study was conducted in six purposively selected agricultural communities under the geographical boundary of Ife land. Ife land is made up of four Local Government Areas (LGAs): Ife Central, Ife East, Ife South and Ife North. Two of these, Ife Central and Ife East are located within Ile-Ife Township. Ile-Ife is located between latitudes  $7^{\circ} 28' N$  and  $7^{\circ} 45' N$  and longitudes  $4^{\circ} 30' E$  and  $4^{\circ} 34' E$ . Ile-Ife is surrounded by rural settlements where agriculture is the major occupation.

The climate is tropical with a rainfall of about 1,600mm per year. The rainy season starts April through October while dry season lasts October to March. The soil in Ife land is rich in fertility and suitable for cultivation of tree/cash crops such as cocoa and kola-nut, palm tree. As a result of this, many non-indigenes (including people from Modakeke, Origbo, Ikirun, Iragbiji, and many more) have migrated to the area primarily for farming.

The selected communities for the study include Aba Olodo, Owa village in Ife Central LGA; Ajebamidele Omoniyi, Area 4, Ife South LGA; Esuyare village, Ife East LGA and Ajebamidele Fadehan, Area 4, Ife South LGA. These communities are populated by a large number of migrant farmers, including the Modakekes who migrated to the locations for the purpose of farming as major occupation. The Ife (landowners) either live in the villages or in town, but all of them have tenant farmers operating on their lands. The

target population for the study includes only the Ife and Modakeke.

### **Sampling Techniques**

In each community, 25 respondents (10 Ife household heads and 15 Modakeke household heads) were randomly selected for interview via questionnaire guides. The reason is that the number of tenants in each of the villages is usually more than double that of the landowners. In all, a total of 100 respondents were interviewed. To gather relevant information, other people interviewed include village heads/chiefs, landowners living in the villages, absentee landowners and tenants.

Before the commencement of the study, visits were made to the Aafin of the Ooni of Ife and the Aafin Ogunsua of Modakeke, compound heads (Baale and Bale) of notable compounds that own villages where tenants are accommodated, and periodic meetings of the selected farming communities to gather relevant information regarding the operation of tenancy agreement after the settlement of past land conflicts. The data collected were analyzed through the use of descriptive statistics and inferential statistics such as t-test of significance between two means.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Respondents**

Socioeconomic characteristics are important attributes of farmers. They help to shape the entrepreneurial abilities of farmers in rational decision making, particularly those relating to agricultural enterprises [6].

Results in Table 1 show that the respondents were predominantly male (90% landowners and 92% tenants). This is usually the picture of most agricultural communities in Africa. However, the very few female tenants in the study area reported that they hired laborers to work on their farm plots. The majority (79.6%) of the landowners were above age 60 years while the majority (72.6%) of the tenants were in between the age bracket (41-60). These age distributions imply that most of the landowners were relatively old while most of the tenants were relatively young and in their active years. Most of the tenant

farmers are the second generation of the original migrants. This was also the observation of [9].

Table 1. Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Respondents

Variable	Landowners Percent	Tenants Percent
<b>Sex</b>		
Male	90.0	92.0
Female	10.0	18.0
<b>Age (Years)</b>		
41-50	8.0	28.2
51-60	12.4	44.4
61-70	27.4	18.2
>70	52.2	9.2
Mean	66	48
<b>Farm Size (Ha)</b>		
1-4	72.4	12.6
5-8	18.2	24.8
>9	9.4	62.6
Mean	3.8	6.2
<b>Farming Experience (Years)</b>		
1-10	24.6	12.4
11-20	36.2	24.8
>20	29.2	62.6
<b>Primary Occupation</b>		
Farming	32.2	98.0
Others	67.8	2.0
<b>Household Size</b>		
3-6	44.8	12.2
7-10	32.4	24.6
>10	22.8	63.2
Mean	4	8
<b>Residency in the Area (Yrs)</b>		
1-10	N/A	12.2
11-20	N/A	18.6
21-30	N/A	42.2
>30	N/A	27.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

The Table 1 further shows that the average farm size of the landowners is 3.4 ha have farm while the mean farm size of the tenants is 6.2 ha. This implies that the tenant farmers in the study area are medium-scale farmers while the landowners are small-scale farmers. This scenario equally suggests that the landowners rely on the periodic rents from their tenants, and hence the reason for them to keep lesser plot of farmlands. From the Table, the majority (98%) of the tenants were full-time farmers while only (32%) of the landowners were full-time farmers. This suggests that the tenant farmers in the study area would be more tolerable to live in peace

with their hosts in order to keep the source of their livelihood. Though Focus Group Discussion, the researchers gathered that although the landowners cultivate cocoa, most of their farm plots are devoted to cultivation of food crops like maize, cassava, yam, cocoyam and vegetables. They also have their farm plots very close to the tenant farmers to monitor the performances of their cocoa farms with a view to ascertain payment of rent. Majority (63%) of the tenant farmers have large family sizes. In the traditional agricultural production, family labour plays a significant role in the farm labour supply. An average farmer first uses all sources of labour in his family before hiring labour in order to reduce the cost of production [11]. The Table further shows that majority (69%) of the tenant farmers have been resident in the study area for over twenty years. This implies that they are thoroughly integrated in the communities. Some of the respondent tenants claimed to have been born in the area while some claimed that they took over the management of their farm plots from their parents, but still recognize that the land belongs to their hosts (the Ife).

#### Causes of conflicts in the past

Although the Ife and the Modakeke had engaged in several communal conflicts for many years and for many reasons, the introduction of the Land Use Act of 1978 marked the beginning of another form of conflict that was primarily based on non-payment of rents by the migrant tenants (the Modakeke) to the landowners (the Ife). Before the introduction of the Land Use Act, there had been agreement and/or negotiation between the two communities over the use of agricultural lands. The negotiation was that the Modakeke farmers would be allowed to work the farmlands belonging to the Ife for agricultural purposes in return for regular payment of rents (*isakole*) payable to the individual landowners and landowning families/compounds. That agreement was in practice until the promulgation of the Land Use Act of 1978 when the Modakeke farmers operating on the farmlands belonging to the Ife decided to stop the payment of rent to their landlords as previously agreed by relying on

the premise of the decree that all land belongs to government. Between 1978 and 2000, there had been series of conflicts between the two communities which resulted into monumental loss of lives and properties. The major cause of these series of conflicts advanced by the respondents is non-payment of rents by the tenant farmers. Results from Table 2 show that majority of the two categories of the respondents (92% and 90%) claimed that non-payment of rents was the major cause of conflict. This finding is in consonant with the finding of [17] who opined that the strong resistance by the people of Ife to the Modakeke's ownership claims to their settlement and farmlands has been the major cause of the conflict between the two groups.

Table 2. Causes of conflicts in the past

Cause	Landowners	Tenants
	Percent	Percent
Non-payment of rent	92.0	90.0
Other reasons	8.0	10.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

### Effects of conflicts

The year 2000 conflict between the Ife and the Modakeke was particularly intense with enormous negative effects that are still felt in the two communities till date. All the Modakeke farmers in the study area reported that their farm plots and buildings were destroyed during the conflict and they were completely displaced from the communities. The results are shown in Table 3. The results of this work are in consonant with the findings of [2]. However, some 34% of the landowners also reported that their farm plots and buildings were destroyed during the conflict. All the tenant farmers (the Modakeke) claimed that they were completely displaced from the villages.

Table 3. Effects of conflicts

Effects	Landowners	Tenants
	Percent	Percent
Destruction of farm plots and buildings	34.0	100.0
Displacement from farm land	0.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

### Settlement/resolution of last conflict

In times of conflicts between the two communities, the Modakeke farmers who had worked the farmlands in Ife land were completely forbidden by the Ife from entering all the villages where conflicts had taken place. The conflicts of 1981, 1983, 1997 and 2000 were clear evidences of the breakdown of the indigenous institutions for conflict resolution due to the ambiguities in the Land Use Act of 1978. The decree vested landownership in the government and at the same recognizes compound claim to landownership. That development worsened the strain in the relationship between the two communities, eroded the benefits of mutual interaction and peaceful cohabitation of the affected agricultural communities. Indeed, the economy of the entire study area was badly affected.

However, with a view to revamping the economy of the area and restore the mutual relationship between the two communities, the researchers were informed that some prominent elders, chiefs and community leaders came together to find solution to the problem mitigating against the peaceful cohabitations of people of both sides in towns and villages of the affected areas. According to the people interviewed, efforts were made to renegotiate on the issue of agricultural land use by the Modakeke farmers based on regular payment of rents which was the bone of contention in all the fights. Renegotiation began from the palaces of the two communities with the involvement of community leaders, chiefs and Obas. Table 4 shows the means through which the misunderstandings/conflicts were resolved. All the respondents interviewed (both landowners and tenants) reported that they resolved their conflicts through community leaders interventions without recourse to any government courts.

Table 4. Conflict resolution method

Method	Landowner	Tenant
Settlement by community leaders	100.0	100.0
Govt. courts	0.0	0.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

### Period of Hostility

Further enquiry was made to know the length of hostility between the two communities after the conflict of 2000 and the results are shown in Table 5. From the Table, majority (86% and 88%) of the two categories of respondents respectively reported that it took them a minimum of about four years before their differences were resolved. However, underground settlements were going on through connections of palace chiefs and community leaders in the two communities.

Table 5. Period of Hostility

Length of Time (Years)	Landowner	Tenant
	Percent	Percent
1 – 3	14.0	12.0
4 – 6	76.0	72.0
>6	10.0	16.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

### Other interactions (social, economic and cultural) between the Ife and the Modakeke after the year 2000 conflict

Since the settlement of the year 2000 conflict between the Ife and the Modakeke, there have been further interactions (social, economic and cultural) among the people in the study area. From the people interviewed, intermarriages have taken place between the two communities since the coming together of the two groups. Before the conflict, intermarriage was a common social interaction between the Ife and the Modakeke. Almost all compounds in Ife have women from Modakeke as wives. The same is the case in almost all Modakeke compounds. Local traders and people from both sides now buy and sell in local markets in both Ife and Modakeke without any form of molestation. Also, people from Modakeke now freely participate in certain annual festivals (such as “Olojo, Edi, Odun Ifa”) taking place in Ife while people from Ife freely go to watch “Egungun” festival in Modakeke

### Respondent’s perceived benefits of Land Use Act 1978

One of the reasons for promulgating the Land Use Act of 1978 is to make land easily accessible to farmers in all the parts of Nigeria. In view of this belief, the respondent

landowner and tenant groups in the study area were asked to express their view of the benefits of the Act to the agricultural communities and the results are shown in Table 6. Majority (88% and 77%) of landowners and tenants respectively specified that the Land Use Act of 1978 is grossly not beneficial to the South-west agricultural communities. This finding is in line with the submission of [10]. According him, although the Land Use Act of 1978 was meant to usher in a new land reform in Nigeria, it soon became a clog in the wheel of development over the years.

Table 6. Benefits of Land Use Act 1978 to Agricultural Communities

Benefit	Landowners	Tenants
	Percent	Percent
Highly Beneficial	0.0	8.0
Fairly Beneficial	12.0	15.0
Not Beneficial	88.0	77.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

### Agricultural land sharing and rental regime in the Study Area

Two-rental regime arrangement exists between the Ife (landowners) and the migrant farmers, the Modakeke (tenants) over agricultural land sharing for agricultural purposes. The first regime starts from the first year a tenant is allotted plot of land mainly for farming purposes until the fifth year when the cultivated cash crop (usually cocoa) is matured to produce fruit. Cocoa is the most cash crop that forms the basis of rent in the study area. Other crops such as kola-nut, orange tree, cashew, and many others may be planted by the migrant farmers. Another important cash crop, palm trees in the study area are usually the wild groove which are assumed to have been planted by the landowners or their parents. In the first regime, a tenant farmer only pays a lump sum for a measured plot of land. The second regime begins after five years by which time the major cash crop (cocoa) is matured to yield fruit. These two regimes are still in operation, but with slight adjustment after the last communal conflict of year 2000. In the second regime, often a share of the crop or a fixed cash sum is paid as rent.



According to the respondents, a tenant farmer only paid ₦2,500/2ha to the landowner to gain access to land. After this once-and-for-all payment, a tenant would only be expected to be of good conduct in the community while doing his farming business. However, he could be generous by giving some proceeds from his farm plots such as cocoyam, plantain, sweet potato and other crops to his landlord with a view to smoothing the relationship.

#### Land rental before conflict

The results of the second regime of rental system before conflict are shown in Table 7. The majority (66.4%) of the respondents reported that payment for the use of land was in crop while only (33.6%) payment was in cash. Cash rent has certain advantages and disadvantages both to the landlord and the tenant. Paying cash for land rent represents a fixed cost to the tenant which he must meet regardless of the yield or the price of his crop. The tenant therefore bears the risk of these fluctuations. The owner may, because of his guaranteed income, be willing to accept a lower rent than he would if he were receiving a share of the crop and bearing more risk. The tenant who pays cash rent usually has more freedom in making farm management decisions than the crop share renter. The rent is fixed in advance in the form of verbal agreement between landlord and tenant. This method of rent payment is mutually beneficial for both landlord and tenant. Payment is made on an annual basis. The system of payment of cash for land in the study area before the conflict was that a tenant paid ₦2,000/ha/year. The crop share lease was the predominant type of lease in the study area from the tenant's stand point its major advantage is that he does not bear the entire risk of price and yield fluctuations. This suggests its main advantage and disadvantage to the owner. It permits him to share in any extremely good years that occur, but he must also bear some of the risk. This was also the findings of Robertson (1987) and Alarima *et al.*, (2012). Because he shares in the product, the owner usually has something to say about the management of the farm. He may be unwilling to permit the planting of some crops

or the use of certain chemicals unless they will eventually result in more harvest or unless he receives cash rent in addition to his share of the crop. The volume of the crop accepted as rent was some 10% of the total annual yield from the planted field. To ascertain the total annual yield, the landowners were usually very frequent in the village during the period of harvest. This is for the purpose of monitoring of the tenants with a view to know the performance of the planted field. The option for crop as rent is based on the fact that high prices are usually anticipated for cocoa in the international market. In times of favorable prices in the international market, the landowners benefit. The tenancy agreement is usually verbal and the tenancy could be altered to suit the parties involved or completely revoked should the tenant fail to fulfill his/her obligation. Before the terrible conflict of year 2000, the duration of the agreement ranges from 5 to 20 years, but payment is made on an annual basis.

**Table 7: Rental system before conflict**

Type of Rent	%	Cost	Contract	Tenancy
Cash	33.6	₦2,000/1 ha/year	Verbal	Revocable
Crop (cocoa)	66.4	10% of total annual yield	-ditto-	-ditto-

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

#### Land rental after conflict

The results of the land rental after the last conflict of year 2000 between the Ife and the Modakeke are shown in Table 8. Majority (72.2%) of the rental agreements are under the payment of crop as rent. In this payment pattern, a tenant farmer pays 20% of the total annual yield of his cocoa to the landowner as against 10% of the annual yield of cocoa in the period before the conflict. A landowner would go for this arrangement because of the usual high price anticipated for cocoa in the international market. Both the landlord and the tenant share both the benefits and risks involved in the use of the land. This finding is in consonant with the finding of Robertson (1987). From the same Table, 27.8% of the rental agreement is under the payment of cash

only as rent. Under this arrangement, a tenant farmer will pay ₦5,000/ha/year to the landlord for the use of his land as against ₦2,000/ha/year in the period before conflict. Rent is usually fixed in advance in contractual written form between the landlord and tenant as against the verbal agreement in the period before conflict. Under the two forms of arrangements, both landowners and tenants benefit because there is peace in the farming communities and everybody can move freely to go about his business. The period of agreement after the conflict is between 5 to 10 years.

Table 8. Second Rental System after conflict

Type of Rent	%	Cost	Contract	Tenancy
Cash	27.8	₦5,000/1 ha/year	Written	Revocable
Crop (cocoa)	72.2	20% of total annual yield	-ditto-	-ditto-

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

The result of this finding suggests that the recent land rent system (*isakole*) in the affected agricultural communities is based on two important considerations:

- (i) the landowners' sensitivity to the tenant farmers' eagerness to have access to land and their willingness to pay any cost to keep the land, and
- (ii) local knowledge of land supply/demand interactions over time and experiences with the production cost and return structure among the people in Ife land. These considerations are germane and aftermath of several land conflicts between the Ife and Modakeke.

## CONCLUSIONS

Although land related conflicts had separated the people Ife and Modakeke for a time, some proportions of the population of the two communities who had lived and worked together in some villages have returned to their old ways of mutual and peaceful cohabitation as is found in the study area. The major findings of this study are one, the major cause of conflicts between the two

communities is non-payment of land rent (*isakole*) by the tenants (the Modakeke farmers) to the landowners (the Ife people); two, land related conflicts between the two sets of people were resolved/settled through the efforts of community leaders from the two sides without a recourse to government courts; three, the respondents believed that the Land Use Act of 1978 is thoroughly non-beneficial to the agrarian communities in the South Western Nigeria; four, there is reduction in the tenancy agreement between the landowners and tenants from between 5 to 20 years to between 5 to 10 years; and five, there is a general preference for payment of land rent by cash crop as against payment by cash. The results of the study can therefore be used in agricultural policy formulation aiming at enhancing rights and access to land by the Nigerian existing and prospective farmers through amendment of the Nigeria land policy (Land Use Act of 1978).

The Federal government is hereby advised to give room for the recognition of landowners (individuals and family/compound) in the LUA that will allow them have little claims over the usage of land in their possession. This will reduce tension and conflicts between landowners and migrant farmers over payment of land rents. The Federal government should, as a matter of urgency, call for a national conference to address the anomalies in the LUA of 1978 in order to prevent incessant conflicts between landowners and migrant farmers (existing and prospective) and to be able to make land accessible to users for agricultural purposes in all parts of the country.

Since the study area is just a part of the large expanse of agricultural land in Ife, other inhabitants in the two communities who are landowners and tenants should learn from the experience of the people in the study area. The respondents have come together by settling their conflicts through the help of community leaders. Such experience can be copied in other villages and farm communities in Ife. Aside from restoring peace in the community, there will be general improvement in agricultural production in the whole area.

Rental payment before and after conflict was majorly based on payment by crop. The commonly planted cash crop is cocoa in the study area which is a permanent crop. This is a form of contradiction in the rental arrangement because the landowners have complete rights over their land. The rental agreement can be revoked at will by the landlord at any time. This puts the tenants at disadvantage. This calls for a new round of institutional arrangement to ensuring more secure rights and longer tenancies on land for tenants particularly where permanent crops are planted, and which would allow for growth and investment in land.

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