



ETHNO-CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS AS SHADOW STATES: THE CASE OF IJEBU PROVINCE IN WESTERN NIGERIA, 1900-1960

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ABSTRACT: *Extant scholarly works on ethno-cultural associations (ECAs) have done little to provide a robust historical perspective on their roles in community development of British colonies in continental Africa. Thus, this paper is an attempt to fill the gap in the body of knowledge on ethno-cultural associations in colonial Africa with specific reference to Ijebu province in Western Nigeria. The study is aimed at providing a critical historical discourse on the social, economic and political roles of ethno-cultural associations in colonial Ijebu province of Western Nigeria. The study utilises primary and secondary sources. While archival materials and oral interviews provide the primary data in this discourse, books, journal articles and newspaper reports are explored as secondary data. The study found out that the efforts made by the ECAs through several strategies in colonial Ijebuland brought about meaningful development at the community level. We also found out that the ECAs represented indigenous organizational structures developed by the Ijebu people and functioned as community-wide forums for problem identification and prioritization, social and financial resource mobilization and development project implementation at the community level in colonial Ijebu province of Western Nigeria. The study concludes among other things that the ECAs were more or less shadow states and that their efforts must be seen against the background of the failure of the colonial state and the Ijebu Native Administration between 1900 and 1960.*

KEYWORDS: Ethno-Cultural Associations, Colonial State, shadow state, Community Development



INTRODUCTION

Ethno-cultural Associations (ECAs) occupied a prominent position in the development agenda of various societies around the world at different times. They originated in various parts of the world at different times and their existence in Europe dates back to the medieval period (Kwando, 2002:20). Indeed, communal associations have a long history in many European countries, dating back to medieval times. They flourished in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century as they organized themselves into groups and employed communal resources to provide physical improvement and functional facilities in their respective localities (Kwando, 2002:19).

In pre-colonial African societies, a number of community-based associations and cultural groups existed at different levels of operation. Such community-based groups were of diverse origins and forms and were directed at the transformation and development of various aspects of community life. They were an intricate part of the performance and efforts of community leadership or traditional authorities (Obateru, 2003:344). Indeed, community associations existed in traditional African communities playing specific roles. These groups took care of religious, social and economic issues in the community (Kwando, 2002:19).

Associations and communal groups were not an exclusive attribute of African society. They were found in other parts of the world at different times and their existence in Europe dates back to medieval times. There were principally two types of associations that were membership-based in pre-colonial African society. One was economic-focused and the other was founded on age. Appiagyei-Atua contends that these groups cut across kinship lines. The age-set associations dominated the political life of most traditional African communities and were a popular concept among the universal segmented and the ritually stratified segmented systems (Kwando, 2002:21). Examples include the Poro and Sande societies which were exclusive men and women clubs respectively in the pre-colonial Akan community of Gold Coast. The third type was economic in orientation and was devoted to promoting the economic interests of its members basically in the area of farming, hunting and fishing. For example, Ashanti farmers had what they called *Nnobo* groups. In the same vein, these associations emerged and developed in various Nigerian societies. For instance, age-grade societies occupied a prominent position in the political, social and economic life of Igbo communities.

Just like the ECAs, community development is an age long social activity in African society. Even before the advent of the colonial administration, people had at different times in history organized themselves into groups and had employed communal resources to provide physical improvement and functional facilities in their respective localities. Significantly, in Nigeria, the concept of community development lies deep in the past. Historical records indicate that prior to the advent of colonialism, the various communities, in what later culminated into the present-day Nigeria nation, mobilized their resources with the aim of developing their localities or communities. Indeed, the pre-colonial era in Nigeria witnessed a community development approach that emphasized self-help to improve health and community welfare.

In lieu of this, this paper examines the roles of ethno-cultural associations on the socio-economic and educational landscapes of colonial Ijebu province from 1900 up to 1960. This paper is structured into three segments or sections. The first section is the introduction which provides the historical background of ECAs at the global and local levels. The second



segment provides the conceptual framework of the key concepts in this study as the meanings of ethno-cultural associations and community development are operationalised. The third segment critically examines the roles of ECAs in the advancement of educational development of colonial Ijebu communities. The fourth section of this paper provides robust historical analyses on the socio-economic impact of the ECAs in colonial Ijebu communities. The fifth section is the conclusion.

Roles of Ethno-Cultural Associations in Educational Development of Ijebu Communities (1900-1960)

It must be stated unequivocally that the history of education in Ijebu land is incomplete without an attempt at establishing the role played by communal associations in its development process. Put differently, any historical account or analysis of educational development in Ijebu province under colonial rule that fails to recognize the voluntary efforts made by communal associations and religious institutions is deficient and inadequate, at least, considering our various findings in the course of this study. Of course, education is an integral component of the community development process as it is a major template for launching capacity-building and human capital development. Indeed, our findings indicate that education played a very significant role in improving the wellbeing of the communities in Provincial Ijebu land as it represented a major instrument of economic and social change through which communities experienced transformation. However, the social, economic and political transformation experienced by Ijebu communities during our period of study was possible due to the commendable efforts made by indigenous ECAs. Indeed, the period between 1945 and 1960 marked the era of educational growth and development in Ijebu communities for it was an era of unprecedented proliferation of educational institutions, particularly post-primary schools. For the first time, communal associations began to emphasize and appreciate the value of secondary school education.

But the role of ECAs in educational development in colonial Ijebu province can be properly understood and appreciated within the context of colonial administrative policy on education in the province. The administrative policy of the provincial government on education was such that it reflected the exploitative instinct of that institution (British colonial government). The colonial state did not regard education as primary in the way the people regarded it, and therefore did not propose a comprehensive education policy that would satisfy the hopes and yearnings of community members. Based on available records, colonial political officers (except P.A. Talbot) in the province were uninterested in education as they discouraged the establishment of more post-primary education institutions. In fact, the Provincial Resident in Ijebu land in 1937 was so hostile to the growth of the only secondary school in the province – Ijebu-Ode Grammar School in the 1930s that he had to be called to order by the Secretary of the southern Provinces (IjeProf, 1276:4). Perhaps, the economic implication of establishing more post-primary institutions coupled with the political situation and sub-ethnic politics that characterized Ijebu land during this period contributed to the Resident's indifference and lukewarm disposition towards the establishment of more secondary schools (IjeProf, 1276:4). Of course, primary educational institutions were already accessible to most communities in Ijebu land in the thirties. As a matter of fact, by 1944, statistics revealed the huge success recorded by the Ijebu in the area of primary education as more than 25% of children in the division had access to primary school education (IjeProf, J.640:8). But this was largely due to the efforts made by Christian agencies or missions.

Fig.1: Epe Grammar School founded in 1954 (The EDU raised part of the funds used in the construction of this secondary school in 1954)



Source: *Author's Fieldwork, 2017*

The bottom line, however, is that while there were many primary schools in the province during our period of study, the only post-primary education was Ijebu-Ode Grammar school which was located in the city of Ijebu-Ode (Ayandele, 1992:132). The implication of this was that even those who desired access to post-primary education outside the capital could not do so except they travelled many kilometers to the city before they could access post-primary education in the province. This situation was considered unpleasant by a good number of Ijebus, particularly those outside the city of Ijebu-ode and some prominent members of communal associations who had developed an insatiable appetite for western education.

To this end, some indigenous ECAs felt concerned that the lack of post-primary educational institutions was an indication of educational inequality between Ijebu-Ode and other communities such as Remo, Ijebu-Igbo and Epe. Indeed, these communal associations argued that their communities were marginalized in terms of development on the educational landscape and that lack of access to post-primary education by communities outside of Ijebu-Ode would create differences in the educational success of community members and ultimately suppress social and economic mobility. Thus, these associations continued to mount pressure on the colonial political officers in the province to consider the establishment of post-primary institutions in their communities through a series of correspondences and meetings. However, the efforts made by the ECAs and community leadership did not yield positive results as the colonial government argued that the province was relatively saturated with mission schools and therefore did not deserve to have more institutions in terms of government schools (IjeProf, 1102: 15). Thus, having realized that the colonial government was more or less heaven that would only help those who helped themselves first, these associations had no choice but to swing into action by making pragmatic steps towards the realization of the educational needs of community members.



One major ECA that demonstrated this strident voice for the establishment of a post-primary institution in colonial Ijebu Province was Epe Descendant Union (Ijebu Ode Branch). From 1940 to 1950, Epe Descendant Union was preoccupied with various efforts at convincing the colonial officers in charge of the administration of the province to give the community a post-primary educational institution. The agitations for the establishment of secondary school in Epe was not just championed by the union but also supported by the leadership of the community. According to Chief Olufowobi, who was one of the pioneering members of EDU and a resident of Ijebu Ode, the series of demands made to the colonial officer in charge of the administration of Epe district did not yield result until 1954, when the first post-secondary institution in Epe land was established. The newly established secondary school was named Epe Grammar School. Indeed, the EDU as an association of Epe indigenes made tremendous efforts – the school that produced a new set of educated elites was established. It should be stressed that while the colonial government eventually supported the establishment of the school, the EDU did not relent in making financial or monetary contributions to the building of the school in that year. As a matter of fact, the association contributed £15 to support the laying of the foundation of Epe Grammar School in 1954. The money raised by the association was contributed by its members. Undoubtedly, Epe Grammar School, which is still in existence till today, has produced men and women of great caliber who have raised the development level of the community in so many ways.

Apart from the EDU, the Old Boys Union of Remo (OBUR) championed the struggle and agitation for the establishment of a post-primary school in Remo land. The OBUR was an umbrella of Remo indigenes and became an associational platform that pushed severally for the educational advancement of Remo country. In the 1940s, the OBUR forwarded several requests to the government calling for the founding of a secondary school. It should be stressed that the efforts made by this body and other community members were politically motivated. In other words, the agitation for the establishment of a secondary educational institution for Remo was part of the secessionist agenda of the group. Perhaps, the OBUR was a subsidiary of Remo Union (RU). The point of emphasis here is that Remo was not significantly far from the Ijebu-Ode Grammar School and so Remo indigenes could gain access to the school at Ijebu-Ode but still insisted on having a separate post-primary school for their community. However, citing lack of funds as an excuse, the colonial government refused to grant this request. In spite of the initial lukewarm attitude of the government towards its establishment, Remo Secondary School came into being in October 1945. It should be noted that the approval for the establishment of this great institution should not be considered as a product of the sole effort made by the OBUR; community members and one W.F. Mellor, who was a white missionary, made tremendous contributions towards the establishment of the school.

Fig. 2: Remo Secondary School, Sagamu founded in 1945

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017

Another ECA in Ijebu province whose contribution to the educational development of its community can never be overemphasized was the Ijebu-Igbo Patriotic Society (IPS). The IPS became a formidable associational platform in Ijebu-Igbo and did not only concern itself with the autonomy of that entity but also its educational growth and development. Like the EDU and OBUR, the IPS adopted diplomacy in its effort to give the community a functional post-primary educational institution. Of course, the expected did happen as the colonial government rejected the bid to establish in the community a government secondary school. This lukewarm disposition of the colonial state towards the educational plight of community members and the IPS was hinged on the logic of proximity between Ijebu-Ode and Ijebu-Igbo. Their line of contention was that Ijebu-Igbo was not far from Ijebu Ode and as such those interested in secondary education should patronize the government school at Ijebu-Ode (IjeProf, 2538:7). This position was conveyed to the community by the Senior Education officer on 3rd July, 1942, in response to the series of demand made in favour of the establishment of this institution (IjeProf, 2538:6) The Senior Education officer stated further: "I do not think there is a case for a secondary school for this area..." As far as the IPS and community members were concerned, this was nothing but a callous excuse aimed at denying Ijebu-Igbo people access to secondary education. Thus, the IPS motivated community members to make voluntary contributions towards the actualization of this dream. Apart from the financial input of the IPS towards this project, community members were enjoined to contribute 2 shillings and this collective effort yielded result in 1949 as the birth of Orimolusi College was registered. Hence, like the RSS, Orimolusi College emerged as another politically fashioned post-primary educational institution since its evolution was not unconnected with the struggle by the IPS and other stakeholders for the autonomy of Ijebu-



Igbo. Indeed, Orimolusi College rose to prominence in terms of infrastructure and human resource due to the efforts of Ijebu-Igbo Patriotic Society (IPS). This remarkable fit achieved by the IPS in the development of Molusi College (MC) attracted a kind of eulogy from an Education Inspector in the province in 1951. The inspector had said:

The community school has made rapid strides in the last year, and in many ways is a credit to its sponsors and the principal...consolidation, step by step, should precede further development, and it is essential that the initial drive behind the start of the school should not be allowed to slacken. It is, however, rare in this country to find such an amount of actual work being done... (IjeProf, 2538:11).

Roles of Ethno-Cultural Associations in Social and Economic Development of Ijebu Communities (1900-1960)

From the records that have survived, the score card of the ECAs in terms of socio-economic development of their communities is not just readily readable but also commendable. But before we attempt an interrogation of the developmental efforts made by the ECAs towards the social and economic progress of their communities during the colonial period, it is pertinent to x-ray the score card of the colonial government in the rural development agenda. This will increase our understanding of the role of these indigenous organizations in the community development process. It is disheartening and regrettable to observe that in the area of government provision of amenities in colonial Ijebu province, Ijebu-Ode, being an urban area, was more favoured than the rural Ijebu communities such as Ikenne, Imodi, Ishiwo, Epe, Ijebu-Ife, Ijebu-Igbo, Oru and Ago-Iwoye, among others. In colonial Ijebu province, the beneficiaries of government expenditure on education, health, water supply, electricity, and road construction were mainly urban dwellers of Ijebu-Ode. This suggests that the percentage of colonial government development expenditure designed for the benefit of rural communities was significantly low. Put differently, the colonial government committed more funds to the development of Ijebu-Ode as the capital while rural communities were given little or no development attention. In spite of the importance and potentialities of the rural Ijebu communities in terms of their financial contribution (taxation) to the Ijebu native administration treasury, these communities were undoubtedly short-changed in terms of government expenditure on infrastructural amenities.

The net effect of the above analysis is that the rural communities in colonial Ijebu land were greatly neglected in various spheres of development. They lacked the basic infrastructural needs for decent communal existence; they were deprived and exploited, and hence, community development in the province had remained a mirage, at least considering the lukewarm attitude of the colonial state towards it (Ayandele, 1992:134). The bottom line, however, is that communities resorted to a self-help approach to community development and it was within the framework of this volunteerism that the ECAs put up development projects that would improve the social and economic needs of communal members. Thus, since the colonial office did not see the need to execute reasonable development projects in the communities outside of Ijebu-Ode, the ECAs assumed that role and became the “real state” as far as developmental projects were concerned.

To this end, markets constituted one major socio-economic facility built or provided by the ECAs in the study area. Indeed, the ECAs built so many markets that facilitated economic activities and social development in colonial Ijebu province. A prominent example of this



was the *Oja Itale* built in Ijebu-Ishiwo through the efforts of Ishiwo Progressive Union (IPU). This market was situated on six acres of land and comprised several stalls built with bamboo and roofed with palm fronds and banana leaves. The presence of *Oja Itale* in Ijebu-Ishiwo was fast turning it into an emporium of trade and the commercial nerve centre of the villages around the eastern side of Ijebu Ode. Being aware of the compelling need to increase the transaction profile and economic activities of the Ishiwo community, the IPU had expanded both *Oja Itale* by the construction of more shops and road networks within the market area to aid buying and selling. People from neighbouring villages like Igara, Ladenusi and Oke Moyin came to this market on every market day.

The significance of this market to Ishiwo and those three communities cannot be overemphasized as it played a very vital role in the economic life of the people. As a business institution, *Oja Itale* had given a large measure of economic opportunity and social security to Ishiwo women, who formed the bulk of the traders. *Oja Itale* was also essential in the chain of commodity distribution and strengthened the economic base of the Ishiwo village; it also sustained the tax base of the Local Authority. Thus, *Oja Itale* was central to the socio-economic development of the Ishiwo community. The strategic socio-economic benefits the people derived from this market was possible due to the effort made by the IPU which established it. Mojoda market and Egiri market in the waterside areas of Ijebuland were also established through the efforts of communal associations.

Apart from building community market stalls, some the ECAs were actively involved in the clearing and construction of footpaths and feeder roads which also had tremendous socio-economic benefits on communities in the province. The realisation of the immense benefits of road infrastructure informed the huge voluntary efforts in feeder road network development by the ECAs. Realising that rural roads formed the basis for transformation and communication between neighbouring towns and villages, some communal associations made it a point of duty to construct footpaths and feeder roads in their communities. Indeed, the contributions of these feeder roads and bridges to the socio-economic development of Ijebu communities during our period of study cannot be overlooked as they helped in facilitating a more efficient distribution of goods and services from different locations. The construction of feeder roads by these associations fostered inter-communal and inter-group relations. For instance, the IPU was highly instrumental in the construction of the feeder road that linked Ijebu-Ishiwo with Mojoda and Itamapako villages. The road built by the IPU helped in promoting inter-group relations between Ishiwo and the people of Itamapako and Mojoda. The IPU was also responsible for the clearing of bushes along the feeder road that connected Ijebu-Ishiwo with Ejinrin market in the eastern part of Ijebu land. This effort was also of immense socio-economic importance as far as the development of the village was concerned.

The role of *Egbe Omo Ijebu-Ode* in the infrastructural development of the city must also be mentioned here. *Egbe Omo Ijebu-Ode* was another indigenous institution that also took active part in the construction of drainage systems and feeder roads in the Ijebu-Ode area. For instance, Odo Ikala (Ikala canal) in the Oyingbo area of the town was filled with sand by this association. This canal was a big threat and obstruction to human movement as well as goods and services in the Oyingbo area of the town. With the efforts of this association, this community project was executed with ease. Through collaborative effort with the Ijebu Native Administration, the *Egbe* spearheaded the construction of the road that was adjacent to Ijalupe in Itaajana area of Ijebu-Ode. The route that linked Remo with Ijebu-Ode was also



constructed, at least in a pre-modern way, by some associations in Ogere and Iperu communities. Some of the ECAs were also instrumental in the building and repair of traditional palaces and community halls. Such was the case of *Egbe Omo Ijebu-Ode* in the 1950s.

Generally, the ECAs had the capacity to identify projects, allocate resources, and implement community development projects. Their identification process may not have met the criteria of a development scheme at the communal level, but given the high demand for assistance, the identified project represented an important step in community improvement. Put differently, our findings indicate that there were essentially three very important aspects of capacity building among ethno-cultural associations, which included their ability to identify projects, allocate resources and plan for the implementation of such projects in their communities. From all indications, the ECAs allocated resources under specific circumstances and generally implemented community projects with the assistance of local intermediation. They did not just focus on support of the community's infrastructural and social goals but also engaged in wealth generation projects that helped in building either an economic infrastructure or an economic base for communities. Even the key members of the migrant associations interviewed (i.e., Ijebu-Ode branch of the EDU and the Ibadan branch of *Egbe Omo Ijebu-Ode*) noted that their efforts involved helping their hometowns in a variety of projects that reflected a philanthropic interest in strengthening their social and economic base in the community. These projects include support for the community (or town beautification), offering basic assistance in health and education, and constructing and improving public infrastructure. The contribution of these donations is not measured only in the volume raised but in its proportion to the community's necessities and to other social and public expenditures.

Indeed, the effect that these associations had on their communities was varied and significant. As far as these associations were concerned, the key to development was the improvement of quality of life in a community or a society, which was achieved by providing social and/or collective goods. Within that context, ECAs were having a direct impact on the community by providing goods that benefitted the collective needs in health, education and economic infrastructure of community members. Infrastructural activities championed by the ECAs, in particular, had a positive socio-economic impact on neglected and marginalized communities, by expanding access to services to "underserved populations."

Still on the social impact of ECAs on communities in colonial Ijebu Province, these institutions served as instruments of social control and social order of the society in some Ijebu communities. Of course, social order is an essential component of any meaningful development and some of these indigenous institutions performed that role. In clear terms, these associations in some cases substituted for traditional agencies of social control and social order as they had regulations that guided the moral conducts of members in communities. Not only were positive injunctions to friendly, fraternal and communal conduct embodied in the constitution by which members agreed to bind themselves, many ECAs had rules that proscribed particular misdemeanors and what they regarded as antisocial behavioral tendencies and conducts. In this respect, the frequent inclusion of sexual offenses, such as the seduction of the wife or the daughter of a fellow member, is very significant. Some ECAs also set moral standards in an attempt to control the personal conduct of their members in a number of ways.

The role of ECAs in colonial Ijebu province was not limited to the ones discussed above. From a social perspective, these organizations performed other social roles that helped their communities to maintain unity and oneness. The involvement of some of these associations in cultural and social events, especially festivals, had tremendous socio-economic benefits on community development processes. Among the innumerable festivals that were facilitated by indigenous ECAs in colonial Ijebu land and some of which are still celebrated today include: *Obirinjuwa, Obanta, Magbo and Isemo, Odun Sere, Odun Obeju, Odun Imuni-si-ona, Odun Igbe, Odun Igbesu Osu, Odun Erinna, Odun Ejibi, Odun Ogun, Odun Ijasa, Odun Oro, Odun Agemo, Eluku and Okosi*. Others are: *Agbo, Kayo-kayo and Ebi festivals*.

Of all the festivals, this study concentrated (through participatory observation) on the role of ECAs in the organisation and coordination of *Okosi* festival in the water-side community of Iwopin. *Okosi* was and is still a prominent festival celebrated by Ijebu water-side communities, especially Iwopin. The festival was and is still observed annually with the aim of appeasing the gods and goddesses of the river and community members from all sorts of water mishaps. It is meant to propitiate the river gods and goddesses and guide against misfortunes, accidents and mishaps on water (Seriki, 2011). From our findings, *Okosi* was institutionalized as a communal festival in the Iwopin community in the 1930s. As a socio-cultural event in the Iwopin community, *Okosi* is organized annually by communal associations which were formed in the thirties. These associations were called *Egbe Okosi*. *Egbe Okosi* played pivotal roles in funding, organizing and coordinating this important festival. There existed in colonial Ijebu province different *Egbe Okosi*. For instance, in the water-side area of Ijebu province, particularly Iwopin, *Egbe Arobadade Egbe Tobalase, Egbe Oju Ina, Egbe Atobatele, and Egbe Abobagunte* organized the *Okosi* festival.

Fig. 3: *Okosi Festival* organized by the *Egbe Okoshi*





Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017 (I personally attended this cultural event at the water-side community in Ijebuland where I was told that *Egbe Arobadade*, *Egbe Tobalase*, *Egbe Oju Ina*, *Egbe Atobatele*, and *Egbe Abobagunte* were the organizers of the festival. It should be noted that the origin of this festival could be traced to colonial times.)

The bottom line is that the socio-economic importance of various festivals organized by these ECAs in colonial Ijebu province cannot be disputed. The festivals overtime had proved to be veritable agents of social mobilization, unity and development in Ijebu communities (Seriki, 2011: 34). Moreover, these festivals served as catalysts for commercial activities as their celebration attracted people from far and wide, who ultimately got involved in fanfare and merrymaking. For instance, *Okosi* festival enhanced fundamental economic progress through its tourism potential. Thus, through the instrumentality of festivals, the ECAs contributed to the social and economic development communities in colonial Ijebu land. In addition, the *Egbe Ojugba* in Ijebu-Ode funded and organized *Ojude Oba* festivals and this also impacted positively on the community development process. Through the patriotic efforts of the *Egbe Ojugba*, the *Ojude Oba* festival has brought about healthy rivalry, competition, unity, loyalty, development, religious harmony, social-cultural cohesion, tolerance, beauty, glamour, glitz and fashion in Ijebu-Ode. Indeed, social cohesion and integration was also promoted by these associations through their support for festivals. This had enabled virtues, values and roles that built bridges across class, social, cultural and identity divides among Ijebu communities. They facilitated the development of common sentiments, bonds and attachments and fostered social cohesion, communal solidarity and unity among Ijebu people.

CONCLUSION

From the research findings, historical evidence abounds on the crucial roles played by ethno-cultural associations in the areas of educational, cultural, social and economic development of communities in Ijebu land between 1900 and 1960. Our findings indicate that ethno-cultural associations (ECAs) have a comparatively long history in Ijebu land, reaching back over 100 years. We found out that the ECAs were instrumental agents for bringing the trappings of development and modernity to communities in colonial Ijebu province. In most communities studied, the ECAs did not only entrench sustainable development in the areas of education, social and economic life of their communities, they also promoted the cultural values. As seen in our analysis above, these indigenous institutions engineered a series of socio-economic ideas and projects which had tremendous positive impacts on community development in colonial Ijebu province.

It is pertinent to state that in some cases where they were dominated by the educated elites, the ECAs became instruments of the elite class rather than organizations looking after the welfare of community members and development. Apart from those formed by Ijebu citizens, migrant ECAs did surface in response to certain social and economic forces. In this case, such migrant ECAs acted as a means of maintaining an indigene's sense of cultural identity with the place of origin.

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