

**HUNGER-INDUCED ETHNIC DOMINATION
AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION IN
WUKARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA,
TARABA STATE, NIGERIA**



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Abstract

The recent upsurge in hunger-induced ethnic domination conflict in Nigeria (Taraba State inclusive) and Wukari in particular has created enormous uncertainty in the security of lives and property of individuals and social stability in Nigeria. Incidents of social disorganization such as crimes, ethnic conflicts, poverty and ineffective social control have been on the increase in recent years and these tend to have overwhelmed governments at all levels. This study examines the influence of hunger-induced ethnic domination and how this has caused social disorganization in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State. Data for the study emerged through a systematic review of secondary sources. Findings revealed that social disorganization in Wukari Local Government Area manifest in ethnic tension among dominant ethnic groups and this predominantly motivated by hunger and the quest for self-preservation. Evidently, social and cultural resources such as land, chiefdoms and political positions are unequally distributed among the dominant ethnic groups in Wukari Local Government Area. The study concludes that ethnic domination motivated by hunger is the prime trigger of social disorder in Wukari Local Government Area. The paper recommends that the Federal Government of Nigeria needs to entrench minority and settlers' rights into the Constitution, so that minority groups or settlers can be secured from discrimination and hegemonic domination. Also, political power in Wukari Local Government Area should be shared or rotated among the dominant ethnic groups in the area.

Keywords: Conflicts, hunger, ethnicity, resource control, food security, settlers' right

Introduction

Historically, hunger-induced ethnic domination has occurred in several societies because of possession and control of natural resources. Similarly, ethnic domination through resource control was common in Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries (Klare, 2001). The conflicts in Angola, Chechnya, Congo, Indonesia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia and the Sudan as well as the Gulf Region were largely resource driven where competition over the control of critical resources for food security were the major driving motives behind them (Bisong & Eremi, 2018). Conflicts continue to remain a major feature of global insecurity because such conflicts are becoming more frequent and pronounced in various parts of the globe as demand for food and other resources intensifies (Ingwe, Agba, & Ndum, 2014).

In France for example, “visible minorities” are segregated into public housing complexes in the suburban communities, known as *banlieues* (suburbs that surround French (Tissot, 2007). The *banlieues* are geographically isolated and ethnically distinct from the surrounding communities. Many public housing complexes in the *banlieues* are neglected and physically deteriorating. Poverty, substandard schools, low-levels of educational attainment, crime, and unemployment are common features of these neighborhoods. Young *banlieusard* (Bertagnini, 2013, p. 10) (banlieue residents) are stereotyped as gang members, criminals, and potential terrorists. They are etherized as “immigrants” even though many of them are second and third generation citizens born in France (Tissot, 2007). Banlieusards are routinely targeted by police who abuse and harass them using the pretext of identity checks (Gilbert, 2009). These discriminatory practices treat the young men as second-class citizens and impinge on their rights to freedoms of movement and privacy. Police brutality inflicted on banlieusards provoked large-scale riots in 1983, the 1990s, and 2005 (Quentin, 2011). Within this ethnic groups appear to be a rising feeling of sub-nationalism, of a need and desire for the group to take their own fate into their hands. This has led to social disorganisation which has increased criminal activities in France (Lelevrier, 2008).

Ethnic domination has deepened the conflicts in Africa, owing to the contestations over ethnic dichotomy. This has contributed to the discriminatory practices and exclusionism in the management of communally owned resources. The result of various conflicts across the world is the tendency for social disorganization of different dimensions to emerge. Rwanda, Kenya, Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone, all these African countries are noted for the violent ethnic domination conflicts that have become part of their most recent history (Yahaya, 2020). For instance, Adekoya (2019) argued that discrimination based on ethnic identity is problematic because it is directly tied to individual or group access to societal resources, including food and political opportunities.

In the last two decades, Nigeria experienced various ethnic domination conflicts across the country. Ethnic conflict in Bulumkutu in 1982, Tiv and Jukun conflict of 1970s, 1990s, and early 2020, Ekiti state clash in 2017, Nasarawa conflict of 2013; most of these conflicts were ethnically motivated with great human casualties (Ali & Yahaya, 2019). The recent upsurge in violent ethnic conflicts in Nigeria (Taraba inclusive) has created enormous uncertainty in the security of lives and properties in Nigeria. The incidents of traditional crimes, poverty, ineffective social control, high rate of displaced persons and ethnic conflicts are examples of the most serious social disorder which have been on the increase in recent past, having emerged in great dimensions as a result of ethnic domination aggravated by hunger. It is against this background that this paper discusses hunger-induced domination and social disorganization in Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba State, Nigeria.

Conceptualizing Hunger-Induced Ethnic Domination in Nigeria

Hunger-induced ethnic domination refers to the phenomenon where scarcity of resources leads to social tensions and conflicts among different ethnic groups. This often results in one group asserting dominance over others, exacerbating inequalities and fostering resentment. Ethnic domination is commonly used to refer to an ethnic group that is defined along racial, national, religious, cultural or tribal lines and that holds a disproportionate amount of power and wealth compare to the rest of the population. It implies

disorder that arises as one ethnic group tries to control another by having unrestricted access to power, access to economic resources and leadership position.

Nkyase and Egberi (2015) defined ethnic domination as the sense of peoplehood held by members of a group, sharing a common culture and history within the society or as a community of people who are convinced that they have a common identity and based on issues of origin, kinship ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language, thereby controlling other ethnic group denying them access to power, economic and leadership positions. Babawale (2001) defined ethnic domination as a highly inclusive group identity based on some notion of common origin, recruited commonly primarily from kinship and typically manifesting some measure of cultural distinctions. It involves the practice of ethnic ideology which enables a group to exploit natural differences in nationality for specific purposes.

Igwe (2002) defined ethnic domination as an outward-looking chauvinistic attitude towards one's nationality and cultural group with a correspondingly suspicious and hostile attitude towards others, especially those held to be in competition with one's own ethnic group. Ethnicity manifests in the political, economic and cultural processes of a country and is propagated by the family, economic groups, and political groups in the labour process (Akwara & Charles, 2014). It is determined by the size of a linguistic group, location of the group, strength and cohesion of its leadership, the nature and leadership of under-privileged classes, foreign influences and dominant ideology. Crops and livestock production is the main economic activity of rural wukari local government area. Ethnic conflict has a negative consequence on agricultural production. During ethnic conflicts, warring ethnic groups tend to resort to manipulating access to agricultural production leading hunger and subsequent domination of one ethnic group by another. Thus, communal conflict tends to affect food security (Messer, Cohen & Marchione, 2004). The Food and Agriculture organization (2004) maintain that ethnic conflicts in the last 40 years have cost Africa more than 120 billion Dollars in Agriculture produce. Ethnic conflicts have

the propensity to limit food production and deny people access to food supply.

Jelilov, Ayinde, Tetick, Celik and Olali (2018) posited that the level of violent conflicts in Nigeria has led to the collapse of socio-economic activities in Nigeria and has reduced agricultural production. The authors further noted that due to violent conflict, large hectares of farmland have been destroyed, markets have been burnt down, emigration of people from the affected area meant for cultivation of farmland, animal rearing as well as fishing has been abandoned, and the imposition of curfew for days meant the restriction of business activities and the closing of international frontiers within the region limited cross border trade. This has forced many into communities where they struggle for survival with the indigenes. The study also showed that as a result of the conflict in the region food insecurity is evident through reduced production of food and reduced income. Ethnic conflicts have significantly disrupted markets, storage, sales of harvested crops, and transportation.

The continuous reoccurrence of ethnic conflict in communities have had devastating consequences on food security. Ethnic conflicts can severely constrain farming by interrupting production, destroying crops and diverting resources meant for production to use for other crisis issues. Adeyemi (2006) argued that one significant implication of continuous ethnic conflict is the insecurity and loss of lives and properties, which hinders people from conducting their business activities. Saheed and Egwaikhide (2012) investigated the effect of conflict on the efficient use of natural and human resources to develop the economy. The descriptive analysis revealed that ethnic conflict hinders and clogs business activities and economic growth in Nigeria. Collier and Hoeffler (1998) assert that one of the most obvious implications of conflict is the disruption in the smooth running of farming activities. This is because disputes reduce the economy's taxability since businesses tend to be disrupted when conflicts happen.

In the United States, an estimated 30 million people cannot afford to buy enough food to maintain good health. One of every five children lives in poverty and sometimes goes hungry. More than 10 percent of the population depends on food stamps for part of their diet. Many people go hungry because of discrimination or neglect, on the

basis of race and ethnicity. Discrimination can seize your job, beat you up, and steal your meal. It determines who suffers the most; who is allowed to survive; who may share food at the world's table (John, 1993).

Hunger is widespread and getting worse in sub-Saharan Africa. Long-term economic decline, international debt, low commodity prices, poor results from the structural adjustment policies supported by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and civil strife all contributed to growing poverty and hunger in Africa in the 1980s. In 1993-1994, the devastating combination of war, mass migration, and poor weather again left millions of East Africans facing a food crisis. Violence in Rwanda may have left 1 million people dead and nearly 5 million displaced out of a total population of 8 million. The civil strife in Angola, Liberia, Sudan, and Burundi disrupted local food systems. The cases illustrate well the connection between hunger and ethnic domination. Most people live in rural areas, but 10 percent of the population owns 90 percent of the land. Politically prominent families and ethnic groups own huge plantations, living minority groups to invest in smaller farms. Meanwhile, 70 percent of rural people earn too little to afford an adequate diet. Two-thirds of them are landless or sharecroppers. This unjust pattern has fueled reoccurring ethnic conflicts in Nigeria and Wukari Local Government (Snyder, 1994).

Social Disorganization Nigeria

Life is a process of continuous adjustment and readjustment. The social organism is constantly changing and these changes causes adjustment of its different parts. When the various parts of society are properly adjusted, we have social order and a well-organised society. However, when they fail to adjust to the changing conditions, the result is social disequilibrium or disorganization, leading to social problems. Since social disorganization puts society out of order, it has been an essential subject of study in sociology.

Social Disorganization is defined as 'a state of society characterized by the breakdown of effective social control resulting in a lack of functional integration between groups, conflicting social

attitudes, and personal maladjustment (Haralambos, Holborn & Heald, 2004).

Emile Durkheim considers social disorganization as a state of disequilibrium and a lack of social solidarity or consensus among the members of society (Haralambos., Holborn, & Heald, 2004).

Ogburn and Nimkoff have said that “when the harmonious relationship between the various parts of the culture is distorted, social disorganisation ensues” (Haralambos., Holborn,& Heald, 2004).

Robert Eolofaires states that "Social disorganisation is a disturbance in the patterns and mechanism of human relation. (Haralambos., Holborn, & Heald, 2004). According to Elliot and Merrill, “social disorganization represents a breakdown in the equilibrium of forces, decay in the social structure, so that old habits and forms of social control no longer function effectively” (Haralambos., Holborn, & Heald, 2004).

Thus, social disorganization implies a breakdown in relationships, coordination, teamwork, and morale among interrelated persons so much that it affects the function of society. These social disorders are resultant effects of ethnic domination which have implications on criminality, food security, and national security, infrastructural and economic development of Nigeria. Nigeria is in danger; the country is to be torn apart by twin forces of hunger-induced ethnic domination and social disorganization yet there seems to be no solution in sight. The current ethnic domination conflicts which have so far claimed innumerable lives and properties are fast becoming an issue for which every Nigerian should be concerned (Innocent & Okechukwu, 2015). Toyin and Aminur (2012) in their work towards ethnic conflict management in Nigeria through the adoption of the multi-party democracy asserted that managing conflict in multi- ethnic state of Nigeria, multi-party democratic system offers prospect for the sustainability of the country. This assertion also neglects the fact that democracy favours the majority while the minorities who hardly access key political and economic positions resolve to violence conflict.

The distinction between majority and minority in ethnic dominance communities often dictates the allocation of resources and opportunities. It is therefore an effort to engender politics that

attributes benefits and privileges to some (major ethnic) groups in the community while attempting to deny these to others (minority). This divide sows social exclusion for some groups in community life, constraining their participation in it, and reducing their citizenship. For Yenshu (2001) this dichotomy, especially in urban space, is a consequence of modernisation and social differentiation, beginning during the colonial periods of plantation agriculture, which required the displacements of people who were once 'indigenes' from some communities, to work as labourers in these plantation areas, by means of which they have become 'settlers', living permanently in these new areas. This process has altered the socio-economic pattern of these plantation or coastal areas, establishing socio-economic hierarchies in most areas, which tended to favour the 'settlers' (Nyamjoh & Konings 2000). This phenomenon, commonly observed in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State, is presently affecting the distribution of resources between the 'indigenes' and 'settler' groups. The redistribution process displays a struggle which pervades the entire social interaction process, and which has become almost an open confrontation between the two groups. In ethnic conflict affected areas in many countries, there is a growing trend of hunger, criminal actors, armed groups and state actors competing with one another for governance. This arises from the increasingly strategic nature of these different ethnic groups, but particularly criminal and armed groups with economic and political motives that evolve over time.

Most times, conflicts arise among people contesting ownership of natural resources such as land. Such resource-driven conflicts are even more accentuated in countries with high degrees of ethnic diversity and where resources are located in areas dominated by a major ethnic group. Collier (2010), argued that resources that are easily assessed, like certain diamond deposits are used to finance wars and conflicts. In communities where natural resources exist (land, water, timber, minerals, metals, oil.) are important for people's material existence, their food security, their income and a source of influence for countries and societies. When these resources are inadequately managed or not equitably distributed, or when government policies are made and/or implemented in respect of these resources without due consideration for the communities and for societal context, they

could bring about tensions and can contribute in escalating social conflict in an already existing conflict dynamics. Problems of population growth as well as environmental degradation enhance struggle and competition over scarce resources such as land. The land question in many communities is conceived in terms of its distribution between 'indigenes' and 'settlers'. The former, commonly referred to as 'autochthones' or "sons of the soils", hold strongly to the notion that being indigenes gives them exclusive rights or access to the land, and that they should dominate in every other major aspect of community life. For the 'settlers' – called 'come no go' to mean 'permanent settlers' (Sasha, 2017) the acquisition of land in their 'host' communities is vital for their survival there, as well as a strong determinant of their ability to invite their kin back home to join them in their new sites of struggle for a livelihood. What ensues is a tussle over the physical space in the communities, which is often on the brink of ushering in a pattern of social disorder in such communities.

Domination, marginalization and social deprivation expressed by some ethnic groups of the Nigerian States has led to social disorganisation (Ikyase & Egberi, 2015). The complaint against official negligence, environment degradation, hunger and denial of access to resources by the South-south, the cries of marginalisation, alienation and discrimination by the South-East, and the North since the demise of Yar Adua, the lamentation of injustice, political harassment and domination by the South-West are issues responsible for the emergence social disorganisation in Nigeria. Driven by frustrations as a result of the use of official violence against ethnic group's demands, these ethnic militia groups resort to armed reaction ostensibly for self-defence and counter measure against the state leaving the Nation in the state of comma. It is eminent that during ethnic conflict one ethnic group unleashes terror on another ethnic group all with the view of trying to subdue or overrun that particular ethnic group, while the other ethnic group is on the defensive making sure that they resist any form of oppression. Empirical studies carried out by Abrifor, Oludele, and Soetan, (2018) looked at conflict in the country at large but failed to examine how hunger-induced ethnic domination and how it leads to social disorganisation. It is on this basis that the study differs from their study.

In recent times, social disorganisation has manifested in areas such as; the hard economic times coupled with deteriorating standard of education and lack of specific training in areas relevant for sustaining both the agricultural and industrial sector have all contributed massively for the worsening insecurity and violence in the country. Also many youths went astray and incessant unpredictable political atmosphere, lack of progressive management of the economy led to galloping inflation and concentration of wealth in the hands of the few who were in positions of public authority (Ukpong-Umo, 2016). This situation fueled sense of hopelessness and depression among the masses. It is significant that all the indices for social disorganisation were prevalent in the country which included food insecurity, high population explosion with its attendant unemployment, corruption, gross indiscipline among politicians, kidnapping, trans-border crime, poor wages, poor living conditions, urban culture shocks and poor quality of management which manifested in crisis in the health care delivery, transportation, housing and employment. Hence, normlessness pervades the society leading to social disorganisation. With the emergence of social disorganisation and the deep divides between the various ethnic groups, ethnic intolerance has become more violent and bloody with more devastating results using the ethnic militias as the executors of ethnic agenda (Tersoo & Ejue, 2015). The fact that there is a recent increase in social disorder in the country makes it a relevant issue of discussion in the contemporary Nigeria and lesson for other nation in the world that are multi-ethnic in their composition. Also because of the violent nature of ethnic domination, which often takes the form of, struggle for scarce resource, leadership tussle conflict, ethnic identity conflict and political tussles in Nigeria, they no doubt have implications on social disorganisation activities of the country and thus making it an important issue for discussion. While much research on ethnic mobilisation into armed groups has focused primarily on insurgents, many scholars point to how this applies to recruitment into militia forces as much as it does to anti-state rebels (Magid & Schon, 2018; Agbu et al, 2020). Nevertheless, inadequate empirical researches exist on ethnic domination in the study area, therefore the need to

interrogate the relationship between ethnic domination and social disorganisation in the study area.

Theoretical Framework

The social disorganisation theory and the relative deprivation theory were used to explain hunger induced ethnic domination and social disorganization in Wukari Local Government area, Taraba State, Nigeria. The origins of social disorganisation theory date back to the early 1900s. In 1929, two researchers from the University of Chicago, Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay, began a series of studies using official records which showed that in the city of Chicago, rates of delinquency, criminality, and commitment to correctional institutions varied markedly by area.

A fundamental part of their explanation involved the concept of social disorganisation. Social disorganisation refers to the inability of a community to realize the common values of its members and maintain effective social controls. The theory states that a person's physical and social environments are primarily responsible for the behavioral choice that a person makes.

Social disorganisation theory advanced the following assumptions:

1. The collapse of community based controls and people living in these disadvantaged neighbourhoods and how they are responding to the conditions.
2. The rapid growth of immigration in urban disadvantaged neighbourhoods.
3. Business located closely to the disadvantaged neighbourhoods that are influenced by competition and dominance.
4. Disadvantage urban neighbourhoods lead to the development of criminal values that replace normal societal values.

Kornhauser (1978) explains that social disorganization occurs when a community's structure and culture cannot reflect and support the values of its residents. According to this theory, one common value among neighbourhood residents is the desire for a crime-free environment. In socially disorganized neighbourhoods, this desire is not effectively upheld, leading to higher crime rates. The theory posits a linear relationship between social disorganisation and crime, linking factors such as hunger induced ethnic domination, inequality, and

concentrated economic disadvantage to increased crime and ethnic conflicts. This framework helps explain why ethnic groups in socially disorganized neighbourhoods, such as the Jukun and Tiv in the Wukari Local Government Area, may struggle to combat crime effectively.

Relative Deprivation theory

This theory was developed by Radzinowicz and Kings in 1997. Relative deprivation refers to a feeling of deprivation which a group or an individual experience when their/ his expectations are not met or when group or person feels deprived in comparison to other similar groups or persons. The basic tenets of the theory are that people who are deprived of things they deem valuable either land, position, money, justice, status or opportunities and privileges in society may join social movement with hope of redressing their grievances. Relative deprivation theory refers to the ideas that feelings of deprivation and discontent are related to a desired point of reference (reference groups). The theory is generally considered to be the central variable in the explanation of social movements and is used to explain the quest for social change that inspires social movement. Social movements such as ethnic groups, therefore emerge from collective feelings of relative deprivation. Lee & Young (1994) opined that deprived ethnic groups are usually pushed to the edges in any given society. In response to their social, monetary and political deprivations, greater numbers of ethnic groups have momentarily entered the world of violence and created violence sub-culture, hence the formation of militias groups, ethnic groups etc.

Gurr (1970) maintained that the perception of deprivation, marginalisation and persecution of individuals in a given community may lead to frustration and anger. However, he argued that the intensity of relative deprivation varies strongly in terms of the average degree of perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities. Therefore, people are more likely to revolt when they lose hope of attaining their societal values. The assumptions of relative deprivation theory are relevant to the understanding of ethnic domination and social disorganisation in Nigeria and Wukari Local government in particular. From the theory, it can be argued that ethnic

groups who felt deprived of what they supposed to have land ownership, political and traditional offices may resort to violence through conflict and criminal activities leading to social disorder.

This highlights the conflict between the Tiv and Jukun in the Wukari Local Government Area, where the Jukun are perceived to be using state mechanisms to dominate the traditional leadership of the region, a position the Tiv believe they should hold. The Jukun feel threatened by the ever increasing population of the Tiv and their expansionist tendencies. The struggle over land left the two ethnic groups with no option other than to take up arms against each other. If one takes a careful diagnosis of the conflict, most ethnic groups feel marginalised and so have to fight against oppression, marginalisation, domination and subjugation. More so, the theory has also explained why ethnic groups engage in conflict which indicates that aggrieved and marginalised groups will act in a violent pattern. Within the context of this work therefore, it means a society free from marginalisation and deprivation will experience limited or no social disorganisation. This therefore means the control of ethnic crises partly depend on addressing the issue of marginalisation and deprivation.

Research Methodology

The study area was Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State, Nigeria. The town has been in existence as early as the 16th century. Wukari federation has been in existence since 1976 under the defunct Benue- Plateau province and later became a Local Government in 1991 after the creation of Taraba State. It is among the sixteen (16) Local Government Areas in the State. Wukari is a commercial town with large businesses most of which are owned by both Jukuns and other tribe. Wukari Local Government Area is made up of the following political wards; Akwana, Avyi, Bantaje, Rafin-Kada, Chonku, Hospital, Jibu, Kente, Puje, and Tsokundi. Wukari Local Government Area has a total population of two hundred and forty-one thousand, five hundred and forty- six (241,546), people (NPC, 2006), while the projected population has a total of three hundred and fifteen thousand, one hundred and sixty three (315, 163) in 2021. It has a total land mass of 1,752,780km. Data for this paper

emerged through a systematic review of secondary sources like published books, journals, web based newspaper and internet materials on hunger-induced ethnic domination and social disorganisation.

Ethnic Domination and Social Disorganisation in Wukari Local Government Area

Taraba state, particularly Wukari has experienced the problem of ethnic domination especially between the Tivs and Jukuns dating back to 1950s. The Jukuns were disappointed by the political prowess of the Tiv people which contributed to the outbreak of the Tivs riot of 1959-1960, and again in 1964 (Idyorough, 2017). Between October 2001 and January 2002 dispute between the Jukuns and the Tivs culminated into a total breakdown of law and order. Most recently, between 2019 and 2021, the Tivs and Jukuns have continued to fight over land space and the resources available consequently degenerate into social disorganisation. The issue of traditional stool is also a key factor to the incessant crises between the Tivs and the Jukuns.

One of the factors that gave rise to social disorganisation such as violent conflicts, poverty, corruption, crime and collective violence according to Ikyase and Egberi (2015) in Nigeria is fear of domination, marginalisation and social deprivation expressed by some sections of the Nigerian State. The complaint against official negligence, environment degradation and denial of access to resources by the South-south, the cries of marginalization, alienation and discrimination by the South-East, and the North since the demise of Yar Adua, the lamentation of injustice, political harassment and domination by the South-West are issues responsible for the emergence ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. Driven by frustrations as a result of the use of official violence against ethnic group's demands, these ethnic militia groups resort to armed reaction ostensibly for self-defense and counter measure against the state leaving the Nation in the state of disorder. It is eminent that during social disorder, one ethnic group unleashes terror on another ethnic group all with the view of trying to subdue or overrun that particular ethnic group, while the other ethnic group is on the defensive making sure that they resist any form of oppression.

The origin and history of ethnic conflict (societal wars and violence) can be traced from internal state rivalry to external (physical). And its root cause is not very far from power competition and decision making over economic resources and other important human factor, like position. For instance, the refusal by the Jukun to grant the minority ethnic groups demand for a place in the Wukari Traditional Council, on the ground that the Jukun traditional council is a forum to propagate Jukun language and cultural heritage, both of which differed from the Tiv (Adamu, 2002), and that just as it is unreasonable for the Igbo in Gboko to demand membership in the Tiv traditional council, or the Igbo in Kano to demand representation in Kano Emirate Council, so also is the settlers demand for a place in the Wukari Traditional Council similarly unreasonable.

The Jukun allegation that the Tiv were engaged in land grabbing without following due process nor paying respect to the Jukun paramount ruler. The persistent demand by the Tiv for recognition as indigenes, with all rights and privileges as the Jukun rather than as settlers with limited rights, The Tiv proclivity for domination of Jukun land and viewing wherever they settled as part of Tiv land, and with the Tor Tiv regarding himself as the leader of the Tiv Worldwide thereby seeking to control Tiv people everywhere. The persistent allegation by the Jukun of the Tiv elite from Benue State consistently seeking to influence and tele-guide affairs in Taraba State and elsewhere in support of 'Great Tiv land's thereby stirring trouble in the process in Taraba State. The persistent allegation by the Tiv of the determination by the Jukun to marginalize them politically through always precipitating crisis in order to disperse them before elections, as placing Tiv villages under Jukun villages even when the former are much larger. The allegation by the Tiv that the desire by the Jukun to hold them in perpetual bondage, thereby blocking any move for the creation of an additional Local Government Areas out of Wukari LGA because of the fear that this would lead to loss of control over most of this vast area to the Tiv. This study therefore, is based on the premise that ethnic domination has remained recurrent decimals in Nigeria leading to social disorganisation. Against this background, this study examines some ethnic domination that has taken place in Wukari

Local Government area with particular interest on the implications of these on social organisation and unity.

Hunger-Induced Ethnic Domination and Social Disorganisation

Scarce economic resources play important role in originating, escalating and sustaining social inequality and ethnic domination. Resources like oil, land are more likely to enhance conflicts because it offers a source of primitive accumulation through rent seeking and corruption (Bouchat, 2013). Nigeria is endowed with vast economic resources including large reserves of oil and gas, which is the country's major foreign exchange earner. This is in addition to vast expanse of arable land with great potential for agriculture as well as a huge human capital base for production. These much-endowed natural resources have however continued to plague the country as it allows for massive corruption, degradation of the environment, persistent conflict and political turmoil. The country has thus experienced consistent political instability with numerous military interventions in its political history. The country has also experienced several internal conflicts including a civil war with the latest being the indigene/settle conflict and clashes involving pastoralists and farmers in some parts of Nigeria. Such conflicts, and many other security challenges, have hindered economic, social, human and political development in the country (Akombo, 2016).

In Nigeria, natural resources bring about conflict mostly because of the structural peculiarity of the country. Structurally, Nigeria depicts an environment with limited resources, decreasing political and economic opportunities which bring people together in bands along ethnic, religious or other groups in order to gain economic or political advantage. These differences create an enabling environment for the politicization of resources by ethnic groups, often manipulating these groups into associations which are no different from 'pawns on the chess board of the political elites' (Falola, 1999, p. 91). Even though control over resources within the communities may be the ultimate goal for division and social disorder in the country, these divisions occur along easily identifiable fault lines over political power and distribution of economic resources leading to conflicts which have become rampant from the 1980s. These conflicts

have forced ethnic group out of their geographical locations to become refugees in other communities. They become subjected to the indigents for food and shelter thereby leading to ethnic domination.

The existence of abundant natural resources around minority enclaves in Nigeria which creates an avenue for the majority contesting to have access to these resources while the minority aims at protecting it for themselves leads to persistent ethnic conflict. For example, in the North, arable land, viable for agricultural purposes are found around minority settlements. The Fulanis who are pastoralist require this arable land as pasture for cattle while the minority farmers need the same arable land for farming which results into the persistent Fulani- farmers clashes around Nigeria. Prominent resources such as land were also found around minority communities in the north, attracting a vast majority of non-indigenous migrants. This explains one of the reasons for the persistent crises in Wukari, Taraba State in the North East. Lack of access to the economic benefits by these minorities is also one of the reasons for the persistent conflicts and militancy in the region. The politicization of these resources by the elites has brought about protracted agitations and conflicts (Akpan & Nnorom, 2019).

According to Agbu, Zhema and Useini (2019), they have attempted to itemize some of the issues that led to crisis to include suspicion by the Tiv, of Jukun allying with the Fulani in attacking their settlements. However, the trigger incident for the outbreak was the chasing away of Tiv women from Kente market by one Solomon Ihom (Tiv). The incident led to a fight which eventually escalated into violence. However, Fwaje, Paul and Tino (2020) summarize the causes of the conflict to include dispute arising from the use of land resources, agitation for traditional and political recognition, and claim of land ownership. Between 2019 and 2021 (violence still on-going), hundreds of people have lost their lives, thousands displaced and several settlements and communities destroyed by both Tiv and Jukun. It is even understatement to say that the crisis has exacerbated hunger and criminality in the study area. More so, Atando, Shishi and Agbu (2020) argued that hunger induced ethnic domination between Tiv and Jukun is a ploy by the Jukun to perpetually hold Tiv people in

bondage especially in their efforts of blocking any move of creating an additional Local Government Area in Wukari.

People are poor and hungry because they lack the power to be otherwise, in part because they are dominated by others who are more powerful. Power can be used for good or ill. It is good to have some control over one's life and environment, to be protected from the whims of nature and other people, to express and develop one's own potential. But people often use power to dehumanize others and destroy nature. The struggle for power can foster a culture of violence, manifested in hunger, rape, and child abuse, murder on street corners, ethnic conflict, militarism, and war. It also fosters acceptance of the idea that problems are solved by attacking and destroying rather than supporting and nurturing. In Africa, leadership in political and traditional sector carved up boundaries that divided territories inhabited by indigenous societies and brought together a diversity of ethnic communities within unitary administrative structures. In Nigeria, between 1914 and 1915, British colonial administrators created the three regional territories that explain “ethno-genesis” and later “ethno-tensions” Osaghae (2002). The Northern region was occupied by Hausa/Fulani, the Eastern region inhabited by the Igbos and the Western region by the Yorubas. Within this divisive colonial structure, ethnic tensions emerged between these unequally developed groups primarily in the 1950s. The colonial division of Nigeria prevented a Nigerian nationalistic movement, manipulating geographical boundaries to reinforce separation between ethnic groups and transforming ethnicity into an identity by which to gain political power; this structure along with other administrative decisions emphasized ethnic nationalism and regional politics, resulting from significant uneven development within each region. The colonial division of Nigeria that reinforced ethnic groups, the rise of ethno-political consciousness, and the development of ethnic/regional political parties demonstrated that the British administration intentionally prevented the rise and success of Nigerian nationalism, instead promoting ethnic nationalism as a means to gain political power. As ethnic consciousness motivated the majority ethnic groups to develop regional political parties which stimulated inter-ethnic tensions, ethnic politics inevitably became the main

deterrent to Nigerian nationalism Ebegbulem, (2010). In each region, a party dominated by members of the majority ethnic group obtained office and provided services and patronage for the group (Cooper, 2002).

According to Thomson (2007), ethnic mobilization can often be found at the heart of political competition. As with all social cleavages; fault lines within societies form along these identities, creating opposing interests. These differences of interest, in turn, offer themselves to potential or occasionally social disorder. Ethnic domination conflict has been rightly defined as one of the greatest obstacles to meaningful development in Africa (Courier, 1993). In Nigeria, this sort of competition and rivalry among various ethnic groups is seen as a product of colonial contact. The ethnic factor, however, did not diminish with the advent of independence; rather, it became a yardstick for measuring contribution to the national development effort and especially for allocating and distributing power and national resources. Political and traditional leaders ensure that scarce resources i.e. human and material resources are effectively and judiciously galvanized, utilized and sustained to ensure the development of their areas and ethnic groups (Kayode, 2014). Since the late eighties, the minority ethnic groups have started to redefine the ethnic terrain of Nigeria. What emerges from this is that even after the bitter civil war, the ethnic question remains a crucial one in the development scheme of the nation. In this context of ethnicity, feelings of marginalisation arise and become strong among a given group. Politicized ethnicity has been detrimental to national unity and socio-economic wellbeing. It is important to note that most of these ethnic conflicts were caused by colonialism, which compounded inter-ethnic conflict by capitalizing on the isolation of ethnic groups. The “divide-and-rule” method was used by the British to pitch ethnic groups against each other, thus keeping the people from rising against the colonizers. Distributions of political offices are often skewed to favour a particular group, pushing marginalised groups to use their ethnicity to mobilize for equality. These are the seeds of conflict (Abrifor, Oludele & Soetan, 2018).

There is a unified understanding of culture around the globe, unlike globalisation. Culture is seen as a way of life. Fatile and

Adejuwon (2013) noted that culture is the unifying force in the diverse Nigerian society. They observe that culture constitutes "the totality of people's way of life, including the ways they live, eat, dress, traditional norms, the way they are born, the way they bury the dead' and the fabric for social interaction (Sa Lucia & Aixel, 2013). Culture is the identity of individuals and groups that constitute a given society. This is to say that each society ought to have its own distinct cultural identity. Daramola (2013) noted that cultural diversity presupposes a society of various ethnic, linguistic, social, customs, and religious differences. It demands a positive approach to tolerance. Such ethnic diversity obliges recognition, tolerance, and respect of the modes of behaviour and customs of each ethnic group. Cultural diversity poses a major challenge to nation-building. Nation-building aims to unify people within the state to remain politically stable and viable through fostering social harmony, economic growth, military conscription, and national content mass schooling (Dunmoye, 2012).

According to Fatile and Adejuwon (2013), ethnic and cultural diversity has been an obstacle to Africa's overall political and economic development. He stressed further that ethnicity is the most definitive cause of the social crisis, injustice, inequality, religio-political instability, fears, and tension across the polity. Therefore social disorganisation in Nigeria and Wukari local Government area of Taraba State can be attributed to ethnic and cultural diverse groups seeking to dominate one another. In multi-cultural and multi ethnic complex communities of Nigeria, ethnic groups violently compete for scarce resources, property, jobs, education, social amenities and political power because political power is an instrument acquiring quick wealth, domination and revenge. Nnoli (1995:15) stated that "the working of economic forces warrants for tension between and among different ethnic groups with unhealthy competing vested interest".

In ethnic dominated communities in Wukari Local government, unequal opportunities in both cultural and access to social amenities bred suspicion and lack of mutual understanding owing to the fact that proper understanding between Jukuns and other ethnic groups have not been effectively addressed, hence, it has often led to violent conflicts and social disorganisation. As a result, some cities in Wukari

local government today, especially in the villages, both social amenities, social and cultural activities have been disorganized and destroyed. For example, Wukari is divided into two, with indigenes leaving separate from settlers. As such, peaceful coexistence, national security and purposeful development are undermined.

This study also examined ethnic domination conflict and Social disorganisation in Wukari LGA. The findings of the study showed ethnic domination conflict has resulted to social disorganization such as crimes, ethnic crises, poverty, corruption, reduction in agriculture production/farming activities in Wukari Local Government Area, it led to reduction in inter-ethnic relationship and unity in Wukari LGA, discouraged socio-economic investment like financial institutions; reduction in manpower through killing or relocation and heightened tension, suspicion and marginalisation among ethnic groups thereby leading just to mention a few. The findings showed that there are issues of ethnic dominance and social disorder in the study area.

These findings are similar to previous findings that stated that ethnic domination conflict usually lead to destruction of farm land, lives, and properties and affect food security. Agricultural activities that are engaged by farmers are on a limited scale due to the fact that people are gripped by fear and cannot comfortably stay on their farms to work; their houses are also destroyed, making it impossible for them to comfortably provide shelter for themselves, wherefrom they can go to their farms. The situation often leads also to inflation in the prices of seedlings, making it capital intensive for the farmers to procure and for planting on their farms, this leads unavoidably to lower production and output on the long run which generally affects agricultural production within and not just the local government but the state in general.

This revelation is similar to the study of Esan (2005), who sought to establish the relationship between farmers/herdsmen conflict and agricultural output. His study indicated a strong correlation between farmers/herdsmen conflict and agricultural output. It can be deduced from the above that farmers/herdsmen conflict affects significantly agricultural productivity. Findings of this study agreed with Thomson (2007), Courier (1993) and Kayode (2014) who stated the causes of conflict from different perspectives to include political issues,

(political participation in, and control of, Wukari Local Government Council as well as political appointments and other resources); there was also the membership of the Wukari Traditional Council, precisely the desire by the Tiv to be part of the Council.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, this study agreed that ethnic domination is one of the most dangerous sources of increase in social disorder such as ethnic conflicts, crime, and poverty, in Nigeria and Wukari local government in particular leading heavy loss of lives, properties and displacement of people. In Nigeria people generally perceive themselves as more “ethnic” and less “national”, the study observed with keen interest that ethnic domination is one of the sources of ethnic violent conflict, to address this problem, there is need for the government at all level to entrench “Minority” rights and “Settler” issue into the constitution, so that “Minority” or “Settlers” can be secured from discrimination and hegemonic domination, power should be “shared” or “rotate” between and among the ethnic groups. Political leaders, Traditional rulers and religious bodies should device means to keep the youth busy by providing skills acquisition in order to make them have access to livelihood activities to reduce their involvement in criminal activities.

Those seeking for leadership positions should device judicious means of acquiring their aspiration rather than using youths as thugs who later turn to commit crime in the study area. Ethnic groups in Wukari should always go into dialogue and negotiation whenever there is need in order to prevent them from getting into conflict which would latter linger into social disorder. Finally, the study concludes that, unhealthy rivalry, competition for power and resources among ethnic groups resulted to violent ethnic conflict and the government failed in its responsibility to give adequate protection to its citizens and huge amount of money was wasted as a security to manage the conflict but still persisted due to the fact that the perpetrators were not punished. The interplay of diverse forces has given rise to serious ethnic tension and conflicts. The hope for mutual trust and love among ethnic groups will not just happen overnight, it will require a gradual process. The ethnic domination tends to affect inter-ethnic relations

among people that have been built overtime. Places of worship, markets and activities that bring people together are no longer seems to be the way they were. It was clear that there is a strong link between ethnic domination and the upsurge of social disorganisation in Wukari Local Government Area.

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