

EFFECT OF ETHNIC POLITICS ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH EAST, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The study explored the effect of ethnic politics on the socio-economic development of South East, Nigeria. The study employed primary and secondary data. The population of the study was 11641017. Taro Yamane formula was adopted in determining the sample size of 400. The study adopted the Stratified Sampling Technique or the Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling (STRS) technique. Tables, frequency distribution and Mean Scores were adopted in the analysis of data while Chi-square test analysis was used in testing the hypotheses. The findings revealed that Ethnic politics has an effect on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria, that Ethnic politics has an effect on industrialization of South East Nigeria and that there was a relationship between ethnic politics and insecurity in the South East Nigeria. The study concluded that ethnic politics affected socio-economic development of South East Nigeria. It is evident that the ethnic virus has been one of the most important causes of social crisis and political instability in Nigeria; and ethnicity has been perceived in general as a major obstacle to the overall politico-economic development of the country. The study recommended among others that recognizing the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian society, our leaders should look beyond ethnic differences and formulate unifying national goals which will hence, put ethnic sentiments as second place in terms of priority.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The main thrust of ethnic politics and national integration which in the long run lead to development is to create room for unity among various groups and subsequently transform them into a political community (Olawole, 2018). At the national level, the adoption of democratic rule provides the population with the ability to replace their government without blood with the purpose of fostering socioeconomic development. It empowers the people to effect critical choices and provides them with access to the political decision-making process and economic prosperity. With this, socioeconomic development can spread authority and democratic aspirations among a variety of people, thus fostering democracy (Ogundipe, 2017). Proper utilization of ethnic politics is seen as an imperative to socioeconomic development involving infrastructural development, industrialization, security of lives and properties, urbanization, high educational standards, and steady increase in the overall wealth of the society, is a basic condition sustaining democracy, it is a mark of efficiency of the total system. It could be inferred that socioeconomic development is made possible when ethnicities within a political entity achieve integration by consensus, in term of socio-political structures and functions in such political society that brings about social harmony and political order. In principle, ethnicity functions as an ideology whose focus and political implications are crucially influenced by the character of the individual which can be strengthened overtly or covertly by the state. Sriskandarajah (2005), opines that the multi-ethnic states of Malaysia, Mauritius, Trinidad & Tobago have been successful in achieving development and avoiding disharmony largely due to the pursuit of a hegemonic one nation strategy in the early decades following independence. Strategically, these countries lay emphasis on partnership between the major constituent ethnic groups and negotiated economic redistribution. Consequently, they were able to checkmate inter-ethnic inequality which is lacking in Nigeria polity within the light of state's influence upon power structure.

Debatably, ethnicity in Nigeria from the context of conflict theory; is a struggle over claims to socio-political and economic status in which the aims of the different parties are not only to gain appropriate political and economic values but also to disengage, or even destroy their rivals (other ethnic groups). Iyanga (2018) affirms that multi-ethnic states are often prone to conflictual and competitive relationships as different communities struggle to control political power and other economic resources of the state and this constitutes an impediment to political and socio-economic development. Therefore, ethnicity provides the platform whereby different individuals mobilize primarily to actualize economic goals. This explanation is relevant in the African context and Nigeria in particular where different groups cry about marginalization with regards to the distribution of national resources (Olayode, 2016). The Nigerian state has been weak in acting as an impartial actor in protecting the interests of its diverse population as equal citizens; ensuring equitable distribution of national resource; promoting national integration and unity and actualizing national development goals. Since Nigeria attained independence, several problems experienced in the state include those concerned with state creation; revenue allocation; lack of trust among constituent units; election rigging, restiveness/militancy, Boko Haram insurgency, ethno-religious violence, inter-ethnic violence, inability of some ethnic groups to attain certain political offices and political instability (Jiboku & Jiboku, 2018), these constitute an impediment to socio-economic development. Moreso, multi-party democracy which has been adopted in Nigeria at different periods in its history instead of alleviating its ethnic problems, have further

fuelled the political challenges of the state. The incessant struggle for power among these diverse ethnic groups is having far reaching impact on the corporate existence of the nation, that is the attendant conflicts and insecurity which has brought instability in the socio-economic development of this country.

The amalgamation which was brought about for administrative convenience was followed by protests from different peoples who were forced to live together without taking into consideration their differences in languages, culture, belief and tradition. Different nations that were fused together incongruously were the Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Efik, Igala, Tiv, Jukun, Nupe, Yoruba, Edo, Ibibio, and Ijaw. As a result of this, Nigeria is populated by over 300 ethnic groups, (Okotoni, 2006), out of which Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo were predominant. Ethnic politics therefore, is a threat to the socio-economic development of Nigeria. The interplay of ethnic politics has meant continual threat to political stability and socioeconomic development in Nigeria (Onwe, 2019). In South East, ethnics politics have denied the zone necessary public infrastructure, at federal level, railway infrastructure were initiated by previous government under President Mohammadu Buhari but Port Harcourt- Aba-Enugu-Otukpo rail line was not given any attention, Umuahia- (Akwa Ibom), Enugu-Nsukka-Otukpo road was not given attention, the Akanu Ibiam International Airport was not fully equipped to international level while in many other regions of the country got double-fold of public infrastructure as a result of ethnic politics. It is against this background that the study examines the effect of ethnic politics on the socio-economic development of South East, Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethnicity is one of the keys to understanding Nigeria's pluralistic society. It distinguishes groupings of peoples who for historical reasons have come to be seen as distinctive--by themselves and others--on the basis of locational origins and a series of other cultural markers. Nigeria is a multicultural society and ethnicity is at core of this multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is overtly and covertly sustained by strong charges of the several coexisting ethnic systems of symbols...’ Before political independence in 1960, colonial rulers were said to have employed ethnicity as a core administrative strategy in the governance of Nigeria. This therefore presupposes that ethnic politics is good as can be testified with experiences of Malaysia, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago etc. these countries lay emphasis on partnership between the major constituent ethnic groups and negotiated economic redistribution. Consequently they were able to checkmate inter-ethnic inequality which is lacking in Nigeria polity with the light of state's influence upon power structure.

Today, most of the political leaders and politician alike use ethnic politics and indeed ethnicity as an instrument of political advancement, ethnic sentiment is usually deployed to win votes and other political consideration at the expense of the nation. The use of ethnicity as a political tool had long history in Nigerian political experience, elites’ vis-a-vis politician capitalize on the frosty relationships among the various ethnic groupings in the system to advance their political career. These groups of people use ethnicity and ethnic politics to systematically divide the people so as to remain in power. Another interesting manifestation of ethnic politics in Nigeria is the administrative division of the country into three regions. Each of these regions is dominated by one of the three ethnic groupings thereby reinforcing the popular philosophy of three-player of ethnic game.

However, if ethnic politics has not worked in Nigeria due to quota system, religious bias, lack of trust among ethnic nationalities, unhealthy rivalries. These problems bring about underdevelopment of some region like South East in terms of infrastructure, industrialization and security. A critical study of Nigerian political landscape reveals uneven economic and socio-economic development, particularly in South East States. The standard of road construction and provision of other social amenities in the south east cannot in any way be compared with the other parts of the country. A clear case in point is the recently ended Muhamadu Buhari administration which spent heavily on rail tracks in all parts of Nigeria and even as far as Niger Republic, but no rail track was constructed in the south east part of Nigeria all through Muhamadu Buhari eight years' administration. Hence this research.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1. To investigate the effect of ethnic politics on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria.
2. To ascertain the effect of ethnic politics on industrialization of South East Nigeria.
3. To examine the effect of ethnic politics on insecurity in the South East Nigeria.

1.4 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated for the study.

1. Ethnic politics has no significant effect on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria.
2. Ethnic politics has no significant effect on industrialization of South East Nigeria.
3. Ethnic politics has no significant effect on insecurity of South East Nigeria.

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity isn't an adequate explanation of Nigeria's political behavior. It is the most accessible yarn from which political cloth can be sewn, (Joseph, 2011). This study would attempt to cern how ethnic politics as a factor has been enthused or as it has encroached into Nigeria's political life and as a result hindered all efforts at attaining socio-economic development in our emerging democracy.

The roots of ethnicity in Nigeria's political life started since the 1930s and manifesting greatly in the modern political/democratic dispensation, and it has continued to encourage and reinforce the emergence of separatist and regional militias and cleavages to the extent that, it has obliterated the sense of a common Nigerian nationality while indeed at the same time, providing a sustained recipe for disintegration, national tension, factionalism, and at best fierce rivalries between and within the constituents of the Nigerian state, (Mafeje, 2007).

Ethnicity is the process of politicizing ethnic identity, (Osunde, 2010). However, one speaks of ethnicity in the context of contestation between particular ethnic group and groups and or between ethnic groups, when they seek to determine the impact of different methods of consolidating state hood. Indeed, ethnicity becomes activated and converted blocs for state power, manifested in the form of competition and rivalry over resources, (Adams, 2013).

Ethnicity is used by the dominant and the subjugated constituents of the state, as means of domination and resistance respectively, (Odimegwu, 2011). It is as well the fabric that binds sections of the ruling elite to those of the civil society to determine context of what ethnic

mobilization will take politically, and thus potentially conflictual resulting to series of threat to security crisis, leading to massive destruction of lives and properties.

Hence, ethnicity is the effort on the part of either elites or groups, who mobilize ethnic symbols so as to achieve access to social, political and material resources, in the face of real or perceived threats acquired either passionately and or aggressively as attributes when certain new elements enter into relations groups. These includes; socio-economic and political competition, fear of domination and closer group interaction fostered by the logic of urbanization internal migrations (Adam, 2013).

Ethnicity is the cultural feature that connects a specific group of individuals to one another. The concept of ethnicity is entrenched in the idea of societal groups, marked particularly by shared nationality, tribal affiliation, religious faith, shared language or cultural and traditional origin and background. Ethnic groups as human groups (other than kinship groups) held together by the belief in their common origins, creates a basis for the creation of a community, (Mbaku, 2011). Ethnicity is also seen as referring to differences in language, religion, colour, ancestry and culture to which social meanings are attributed and around which identity and group formation occur, (Nagel, 2010). Ethnicity occurs as a result of choice or ascription, either a person chooses to be identified with a recognized ethnic group, or membership of certain ethnic group can be imposed on him by the greater society, (Barth, 2013). This simply means that while a person can choose his or her ethnicity, the choice must be acceptable to society. Ethnicity is a combination of individual choice and social imposition, (Mbaku, 2011). In addition, ethnicity is not a permanent feature but a changing group features, which implies that the boundary of an ethnic group as a social category can change, (Barth, 2013).

2.1.2 Politics

The word “Politics” comes from the Greek word “polis”, or city. Politics can be defined as the study of the state, its aims and purpose, the institutions by which those are going to be realized, its relation with its individual members and with other states. Politics is also the study of the government, a collection of officers who make, interpret and enforce rules for the whole community. From this definition, politics takes place just within the government departments, cabinet rooms and legislative chambers. This means that politics is the matter of politicians, civil servants and lobbyists. According to this view, the vast majority of the people are not involved in politics. All institutions that are not engaged in “running the country” are regarded as “non-political”. (Heywood, 2015).

Politics is difficult to define because of the contradiction between the broad and the narrow conceptions of politics. From the narrow conception of politics, only politicians are involved in politics and from the broad, it could be seen in so many ways, as the study of conflict resolution, the art of government, the conduct and management of public affairs, as the study of power and so on. Some political scientists define politics as the process by which scarce resources are allocated within a social unit (be it a city, a state, a nation, or an organization) for the purpose of providing for human needs and desires. However, the definition of politics changes as time passes and societies develop.

2.1.3 Ethnic Politics in Nigeria

Nigeria comprised of about 166 million people as at 2012 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012 cited in Trading Economics, 2014), with over 300 ethnic groups, has over 1000 dialects (Okotoni, 2006), practice several religions, and different histories and cultures. These perhaps are some of the reasons for the adoption of federal system of government. Nigeria’s ethnic groups could be broadly divided into ethnic ‘majorities’ and ethnic ‘minorities’. The majority ethnic groups are the

Hausa-Fulani of the North, the Yoruba of the Southwest, and the Igbo of the Southeast of which their numerical and hegemonic strength within the nation gave Nigeria its tripod ethnic structure. Each of these three major ethnic groups constitutes a pole in the struggle for political and economic resources of the nation (Mustapha, 2007). There are also ethnic minorities in the nation who at times with intention of wrestling to have their share of national cake form alliances to have a formidable force and enough respite against the three dominant ethnicities.

These always generate conflict as the three hegemonic groups also fortify themselves to ensure its dominance in governmental activities. The level of complexities of Nigeria nation, Mustapha (2007) identified eight major cleavages in which Nigeria could be classified. According to him, The interplay between this tripod ethnic structure on the one hand, and administrative divisions and communal identities on the other, has led to eight major cleavages in Nigerian political life, the most important of which are: the cleavages between the three majority groups; between the three majority ethnic groups on the one hand and the 350-odd minority ethnic groups on the other; between the north and south; between the 36 states of the federation and the six zones-three in the north and three in the south into which they are grouped; and finally, between different religious affiliations. Some of these cleavages overlap for example, the southeast zone overlaps with Igbo ethnicity and Christian religious affiliation, while the north-central overlaps with northern ethnic minorities. The ethnic, regional, and religious cleavages in Nigerian society are made more problematic by systematic and overlapping patterns of inequalities that correspond to the cleavages (Mustapha, 2007:3-4).

These eight cleavages grouping could be seen as seed of discord sown, which had germinated into hydra headed monster tormenting and straining the nation's socio-economic activities which has also constituted a nuisance to the political developments of the nation. For instance, most of the conflicts in Nigeria were so much attributable to religious, economic and ethnic factors. The deepest problem Nigeria is facing is internal conflict within the same ethnic group. Among the Yoruba for instance, there are Ijebus, Ijeshas, Aworis, Ekitis, Oyos, Egbas to mention but few who constantly contest among themselves for position and power in political as well in the economic wealth of the nation. As it is among the Yoruba, so it is among the Hausa/Fulani and the Igbos. Recently, 'some ethnic groups' among the Hausa/Fulanis have expressed their dissatisfaction toward the way they are being marginalized and sidelined in Northern part of the nation. These groups claimed that, the powerful elite in the region had marginalized them and they have been robbed off of their rights of participation in governance (Owete, 2014).

2.1.4 Socio-economic Development

In the socio-economic context, development means the improvement of people's lifestyles through improved education, incomes, skills development and employment. It is the process of economic and social transformation based on cultural and environmental factors. Therefore, socio-economic development is the process of social and economic development in a society. It is measured with indicators, such as gross domestic product (GDP), life expectancy, literacy and levels of employment. Socio-economic development include poverty rate, unemployment, development of roads and bridges, infrastructure, facilities like hospitals, educational institutions, industries, insecurity etc. For better understanding of socio-economic development, social development is the process which results in the transformation of social institutions in a manner which improves the capacity of the society to fulfill its aspirations. It implies a qualitative change in the way the society shapes itself and carries out its activities, such as through more progressive attitudes and behavior by the population, the adoption of more effective processes or more advanced technology. Economic development is the development of economic wealth of countries or regions for the

well-being of their inhabitants. Economic growth is often assumed to indicate the level of economic development. The term “economic growth” refers the increase or growth of a specific measures such as real national income, gross domestic product, or per capita income whereas economic development implies the process by which a nation improves the economic, political, and social wellbeing of its people.

2.1.4.1 Ethnic Politics and Infrastructural Development

Infrastructure development is the construction of basic foundational services in order to stimulate economic growth and quality of life improvement. Most advanced economies have gone through periods of intensive infrastructure building that have improved the efficiency and competitiveness of regions. Examples of infrastructure include transportation system, communication networks, sewage, water, institution and electric systems. Projects related to infrastructure improvements may be funded publicly, privately or through public-private partnerships (Investopedia, 2021). The occurrence of ethnic politics tends to disrupt infrastructural development in any country.

2.1.4.2 Ethnic Politics and Industrialization

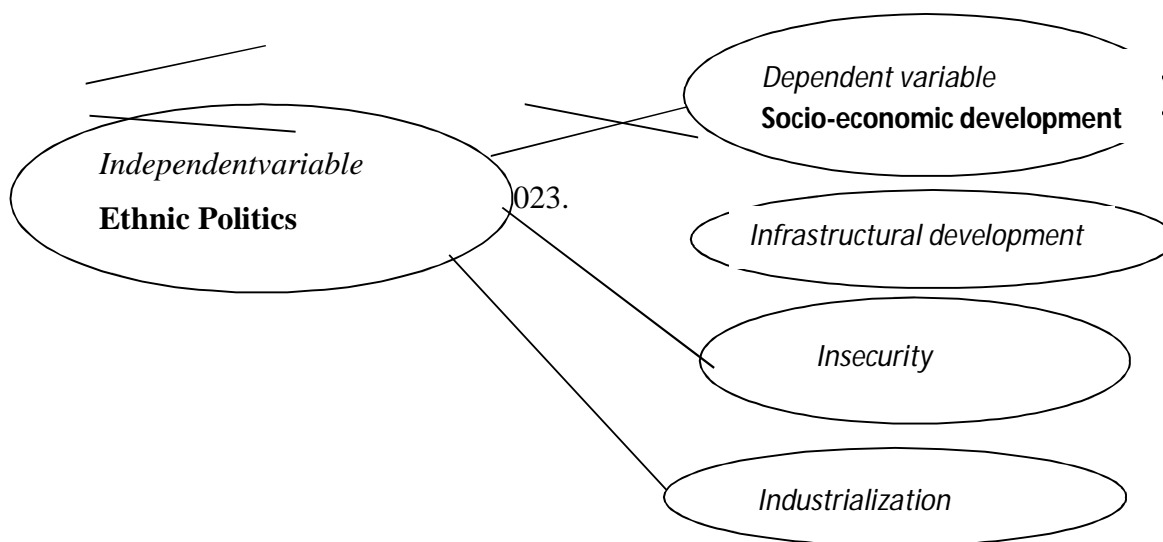
The industrial sector in Nigeria (comprising manufacturing, mining, and utilities) accounts for a tiny proportion of economic activity (6 per cent) while the manufacturing sector contributed only 4 per cent to GDP in 2011. Electricity outages, transport bottlenecks, crime and corruption are the key factors constituting impediments to firm growth. The success of democratic experiment in a country can be attributed to a political party that has a strong mass support and leaders that have interest of the nation at heart. Nigeria had political parties built along religious and leaders that were naïve and selfish (Oluwatusin & Daisi, 2018). Party politics in Nigeria impede national development and promote political instability. The Nigerian government remains distant from serving the interest of its people. That is why the dredging of river Niger which would allow industrial goods to be imported directly to south East Nigeria are being neglected so as to promote the South Western Ports especially Lagos. Report has it that 70% of container that landed in Lagos ports find their way to South East, this helps to sustain the economy of Lagos state.

2.1.4.3 Ethnic Politics and Insecurity

The internal security of Nigeria has become a very big challenge in recent times. Internal conflicts, including religious, ethnic and economic, kidnapping both in the south east and Nigeria as a whole have had debilitating effects on the economy, most notably by scaring investors from certain parts of the country. Even though insecurity of lives and properties had become noticeable following the civil war and the subsequent military regimes which directly intensified urban violence, the recent upsurge of violence and insurgency in the country heightens the need to comprehensively address the persistent causes of social tension as a risk factor to Nigeria as an investment destination.

Data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) tells us that between mid- 2015 and the start of 2023, every state in Nigeria recorded at least 10 kidnappings. The only two exceptions are Gombe (2) and Kebbi (6). Even in the federal capital territory, 78 people were kidnapped between May 2015 and January 2023. This is inspite of all the promises to eliminate insecurity in the country that we have heard our past leaders make. When you add this to the fact that in 2021, one out of every five school-age children that are not attending any school anywhere in the world is a Nigerian child (that’s what the National Bureau of Statistics Nigeria says), you will understand why our insecurity problem can only get worse if we don’t deal with it quickly. These out of school children, as we fancifully call them, are easy fodder for radical and militant group (Abiodun Egbetokun, 2023).

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study adopted Primordialist and Instrumentalist Theory. This theory is of the idea that nations or ethnic identities are fixed, natural and ancient. They argue that individuals have a single ethnic identity which is not subject to change and which is exogenous to historical processes.

Amid the universalist theories of nationalism and ethnic identity, it is important that one should mention the primordialist and the socio-biological perspectives (Greenfeld, 2002). The primordialist theory assumes that group identity is a given, that there exist in all communities or societies certain primordial, irrational attachments based on blood, race, language, religion, region, and so on. They are in the words of Geertz, (2000), ineffable and yet coercive ties, which are the outcome of a long process of crystallization. Modern states, especially, in the Third World, are superimposed on the primordial realities which are the ethnic groups or communities. The primordialist theory believe that ethnic identity is profoundly rooted in the historical experience of human beings to the point of being practically a given, (Brass, 2010). The socio-biological theory takes this perspective a step further and asserts the biological character of ethnicity.

The primordialist theory assert that ethnic bonds are natural, fixed by the basic experiences that human beings undergo within their families and other primary groups. Edward Shils was the first to express this idea when he remarked that in family attachments there is a significant relational quality that can only be called primordial. This is so simply because there is an ineffable significance attributed to the ties of blood, (Shils, 1957).

Instrumentalist Theory

The instrumentalist theory refers basically to ethnic groups rather than nations, but a number of their conclusions are often generalized to include all ethnics and nations, (Hechter, 2008). The instrumentalist theory believes that ethnic identity is flexible and variable; that both the content and boundaries of an ethnic group change according to situations.

Under the theory of instrumentalism one can range a variety of approaches which are based on the idea that ethnicity is the outcome of economic, social or political processes, and hence that it is by definition a flexible and highly adaptable tool, (Giddens, 2011). Ethnic groups have no fixed boundaries; they are rather collective entities which change in size according to changing

conditions. As to individuals, not only they are not assigned permanently to an ethnic group, but they can be members of more than one at the same time. Ethnicity is then seen as dynamics, (Brass, 2010).

The instrumentalist theory insist that ethnic affiliation is simply a ploy to promote economic interests, and that individuals are ready to change group membership if that suits their sense of security or their economic interests, (Wallerstein, 2007). Marxists have tended to see ethnicity as false consciousness, as a ruse of the dominant groups to hide class interests of a material kind. Additionally, the doggedness of ethnic ties in contemporary societies doesn't quite tally with the expectations of Marxists theorists, who predict that these ties will ultimately fade away and be substituted by working class solidarity.

The best known and most influential instrumentalist approach is that of Barth (2013). Two sources of inspiration can be observed in Barth's approach. Firstly, the supersession of the idea of corporate group theory of British social anthropology. These groups were: a) biologically self-perpetuating; b) the individuals of the group shared fundamental cultural values; c) the group made up a field of interaction and communication; and d) the members identified themselves and were identified by others as belonging to the group. Secondly, the theory interaction of the American sociologist Erving Goffman, who interprets behavior as, a manipulative game of play-acting in which we manage the impression or image we create in others, and vice versa.

2.3 Empirical Review

2.3.1 Ethnic Politics and Infrastructural Development

Edun Adetunji, Akinde, and Idowu (2013), in the study of Infrastructural development and its effect on economics growth in the Nigerian per 12 re. Simple model was adopted in carrying out the findings. The study revealed that the economy of Nigeria has been growing but no development due to high poverty, unemployment, inequality, absence of productive infrastructure and technology. In order to create employment and reduce poverty, there is need for public private partnership to join hands as government alone cannot finance infrastructural development in an emerging market economy like Nigeria that needs to be pragmatic in her infrastructural development.

Adeniji Adeyinka Samson (2017), in the study titled, the Impact of ethnicity on Nigeria's political development. The Chisquare method was used. The study revealed, existing relationship between ethnicity and political development, but not influenced by sex, religion or educational qualification and recommended that leaders should look beyond ethnic differences and formulate unifying goals which will put ethnic sentiments as second place.

Ikenyei and Julie Akpotor (2020), in the study of Ethnic politics and development in Nigeria: Implications on Gender and health. The descriptive method was used and the study revealed that appointments and allocations of strategic resources are based on ethnic affiliations. To enhance peace and development, effort should be geared towards aligning goals on expertise and similarity rather than on differences

2.3.2 Ethnic Politics and Industrialization

Elliot Green (2018), carried a study on Industrialization and ethnic change, a cross-national qualitative data was used and the study revealed that industrialization is also correlated with an increase in the percentage of people identifying with the largest ethnic group per country. The study recommended that if industrialization contributes to lower levels of ethnic diversity then government should encourage more industrialization if they want to bypass the negative effects of ethnic diversity on economic and political development.

Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anigbuogu (2019) researched on Insecurity in Nigeria: The Implications for industrialization and sustainable development using Exploratory research design. The study revealed that insecurity is a pivotal factor hindering the growth of industrialization and sustainable development in Nigeria and recommended that government need to take the business of governance seriously and redress issues bordering on injustices, victimization, marginalization, discrimination, insecurity and also create a safe and an enabling environment for investments which will step up industrialization and sustainable development thereby enhancing the livelihoods of the greatest numbers of its citizens.

Emoghene and Okolie (2020) explored the ethnicity, religion, politics and the challenges of National Development in Nigeria. A descriptive method was adopted and cross-sectional data were collected across the twenty-five Local Government Areas in Delta State with the aid of a structured questionnaire. Data collected were analyzed using correlation and regression analysis. The findings of the study showed that ethnicity, religion and politics negatively and significantly impacts national development in Nigeria.

Lionel Effiom, Okonette and Charles Effiong (2021), conducted a study on the Political Economy of Industrialization in Nigeria. Historical method was used and the study revealed that ethnicity is not responsible for Nigeria’s lack of industrialization, but rather places the burden for Nigeria’s under-industrialization at the door-steps of vested interests, neo-colonial dependence and the distorted, dependency worldview of the ruling class responsible for industrial policy formulation. The study recommended that the policy guide and formulation investment in the industrial sector should be for the national interest of Nigeria in general.

2.3.3 Ethnic Politics and Insecurity

Udoh, Emmanuel Williams (2015), conducted a study on Insecurity in Nigeria: Political, Religious and cultural implications. Library research and views from the media was used. The study revealed that when a nation is saddled with the problem of insecurity, every other plans are stalled. The basic needs or goals of any civilized society are the survival and security of life and property and recommended a collaborative effort in solving the insecurity problem in Nigeria.

Nweke and Okoronkwo (2014), examined Ethnicity: A threat to Nigeria’s security and development. Simple method was used and the study highlights ethnicity as the major hindrance to national security and development. It also sees the notion of one Nigeria as a process that can only be realized when concepts like tribe, ethnic group, federal character, quota system and their likes are abolished from the national constitution. The study recommended a need to review Nigeria’s constitution to expunge articles, sections or clauses that promote sentiments, prejudice, tribalism, ethnicity or what is called federal character.

Bright, Enakhe Onime (2018), conducted a study on Insecurity and Economic growth in Nigeria: A diagnostic review. Descriptive analysis was used and the study revealed that insecurity affects economic growth by dry-out investments, increased unemployment and dwindles government revenue amongst others. The study recommended an increase in capital expenditure on internal security and concludes with a discussion of some policies to be designed and targeted at addressing the economic effects of insecurity.

Table 2.3.1: Summary of Empirical Review

S/N	Author(s)	Year	Title	Methodology	Findings
1.	Edun Adetunji Olufemi.	2013	Infrastructural Development and its	Simple Model	The study revealed that the economy of

	Akinde Jubril Olatunbosun Oley Samuel Olasode and Idowu Gbolaham Adeniran.		Effect on Economic Growth: The Nigerian Perspective.		Nigeria has been growing but no development due to high poverty, unemployment, inequality, absence of productive infrastructure and technology.
2.	Nweke and Okoronkwo,	2014	Ethnicity: A Threat to Nigeria's Security and Development.	Descriptive Analysis	The study highlights ethnicity as the major hindrance to national security and development. It also sees the notion of one Nigeria as a process that can only be realized when concepts like tribe, ethnic group, federal character, quota system and their likes are abolished from the national constitution.
3.	Udoh, Emmanuel Williams	2015	Insecurity in Nigeria: Political, Religious and Cultural Implications.	Library research and views from the media	The study revealed that when a nation is saddled with the problem of insecurity, every other plans are stalled. The basic needs/goals of any civilized society are the survival and security of life and property.
4.	Adeniji & Ofiwe	2017	The Impact of Ethnicity on Nigeria's Political Development	Chi-square method	The study revealed that, there is a relationship between ethnicity and political development, but not influenced by sex, religion or educational qualification.
5.	Bright Enakhe Onime	2018	Insecurity and Economic Growth in	Descriptive Analysis	The study showed that insecurity affects economic growth by

			Nigeria: A Diagnostic Review		dry-out investments, increases unemployment and dwindles government revenue amongst others.
6.	Elliot Green	2018	Industrialization and Ethnic Change	Cross-national qualitative evidence	The study revealed that industrialization is also correlated with an increase in the percentage of people identifying with the largest ethnic group per country.
7.	Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anigbuogu	2019	Insecurity in Nigeria: The Implications for Industrialization and Sustainable Development.	Exploratory Research Design	The paper revealed that insecurity is a pivotal factor hindering the growth of industrialization and sustainable development in Nigeria.
8	Ikenyei N. Sandra and Julie Akpotor	2020	Ethnic Politics and Development in Nigeria: Implications on Gender and Health.	Descriptive Analysis	Observations revealed that appointments and allocation of strategic resources are based on ethnic affiliations.
9	Emoghene and Okolie	2020	Ethnicity, religion, politics and the challenges of National Development in Nigeria.	Descriptive method	The findings of the study showed that ethnicity, religion and politics negatively and significantly impacts national development in Nigeria.
10	Lionel Effiom. Okonette Ekanem and Charles Effiong	2021	The Political Economy of Industrialization in Nigeria.	Historical method	The study revealed that ethnicity is not responsible for Nigeria's lack of Industrialization, but rather places the burden for Nigeria's under-industrialization at the door-steps of vested interests, neo-colonial dependence, and the

					distorted, dependency worldview of the ruling class responsible for industrial policy formulation.
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3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive survey design. It was created using qualitative and quantitative methods. The descriptive research design is appropriate for gathering information on the attitudes, perceptions, views, behaviors, and values of individuals of a population with various configurations and similar features. The design was deemed suitable since it considerably aided the investigator in acquiring information and recording the respondents' views and opinions.

3.2 Area of the study

The study was conducted in South East, Nigeria. Enugu State is one of the 36 states in Nigeria. Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo are the five states that make up the South East geopolitical zone. The Igbo people's ancestral homeland is in Nigeria's South East States. Nigeria is divided into 36 states, each of which has been divided into six geopolitical zones. With a total land area of roughly 15,800 square miles (41,000 square kilometers), Igbo land is located in South East Nigeria (Nwala, 1985). The study however, was based on three selected states of South East States of Enugu, Abia and Imo States.

3.3 Sources of Data

For this study, data was gathered from two sources primary and secondary data.

3.3.1 Primary Data: These refer to the data gathered from the original sources. It was collected through questionnaire and oral interview.

3.3.2 Secondary Data were sourced from published journals, books, articles, magazines, newspapers and other related materials.

3.4 Population of the study

The population of the study is presented in table 3.1 below

Table 3.1: Population Distribution Table

States	General Population	Percentage
Abia	2,845,380	24
Enugu	3,267,837	28
Anambra	5,527,800	48
Total	11641017	100

Source: National Population Commission, 2023

3.5. Sample Size Determination

In the determination of sample size, Taro Yamani formula was adopted and it is stated as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where n = sample size, N = total population size and I = is constant

e = error limit which is train as 5% (0.05)

Where n = sample size; N = population size; I = constant, n = Margin of error, Using 5% as error estimate

Here N = 11641017, e = 0.05

Therefore

$$n = \frac{11641017}{1 + 11641017 (0.05)^2} \quad n = \frac{11641017}{1 + 11641017 (0.0025)} \quad n = \frac{11641017}{1 + 39102.5425}$$

$$n = \frac{11641017}{29103.5425} = 399.98 = 400$$

3.6 Sampling Technique

The study adopted the Stratified Sampling Technique or the Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling (STRS) technique. The choice of the STRS is informed by two reasons; First, the population of the present study is diverse and within different locations, comprising of three states, that is strata from each stratum, relevant institutions, groups, were chosen. All units from the selected clusters were studied. From these, the researcher selected Politicians, Security Personnel, Independent National Electoral Commission, the eligible voters, Legal practitioners, religious groups, Small and Medium Scale Enterprises Development Association of Nigeria (SMEDAN), Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC), Human Right activists etc.

3.7 Method of data Collection

The instrument used by the researcher in carrying out this research was the questionnaire. The designed questionnaire was divided into two sections. The questions in section A were on general information while section B was meant to directly address the research question.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

The analysis of the study was based on simple description of the relevant statistical information. The Chi-square test technique was applied in test of hypotheses. The Chi-square formula

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$$

4. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Data Presentation

The primary data collected for the study were analyzed using frequency distributions, Mean Distribution, percentages and Chi-square Test. Frequency distributions, percentages and Mean were used to analyze the data on the bio data of the respondents. While the hypotheses were tested using Chi-square test. Out of 400 copies of questionnaire distributed, 360 copies were returned.

4.1 Data Analysis

Research question One: What is the effect of ethnic politics on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria?

Table 4.1: Effect of ethnic politics on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria

s/n	Items	SA	A	U	Da	SD	FR EQ	M ea n	Decisi on
1	Ethnic politics leads to discrimination and marginalization in allocation of infrastructure set up by the government								
2	Sensitive political office holders take infrastructural development to their geopolitical zones								
3	Neglect of infrastructural development in a political zone when the zone is not represented in power								
4	Neglect of infrastructural development if one's ethnic politicians are not appointed to position of power								
5	Neglect of infrastructural development when the ethnic politicians are not viable in decision making process in the governance								

Source: Field Survey, 2023

Table above shows the mean distribution of opinions of the respondents on the Effect of ethnic politics on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria. The items 1-5 were accepted to be the true reflection of how ethnic politics affect infrastructural development in South East, Nigeria. The respondents were firm in their conviction that ethnic politics in all ramifications affect infrastructural development.

Research question two: How has ethnic politics affected industrialization of South East Nigeria?

Table 4.2: How ethnic politics affected industrialization of South East Nigeria

s/n	Item	SA	A	UD	DA	SD	Total	Mean	Decision
1	Ethnic politics deprives the South East zones of relevant industries needed to drive the economy	120 (33%)	170 (47%)	20 (6%)	20 (6%)	30 (8%)	360	4.0	Accepted
2	Sensitive industries are channeled to other geopolitical zones due to ethnic politics	150 (42%)	150 (42%)	20 (6%)	20 (6%)	10 (3%)	360	4.1	Accepted
3	Channeling of sensitive government appointments to certain geopolitical zones triggers citing of industries in those zones	150 (42%)	120 (33%)	30 (8%)	30 (8%)	30 (8%)	360	4.0	accepted
4	Lopsided appointment of political office holder brings about lopsided location of industries by the government	170 (47%)	100 (28%)	20 (6%)	30 (8%)	40 (11%)	360	4.2	Accepted
5	High tax rate of industries in the south east discourages investors in the region	140 (39%)	140 (39%)	10 (3%)	40 (11%)	40 (11%)	360	4.0	Accepted

Source: Field Survey, 2023

Table above shows the mean distribution of opinions of the respondents on how ethnic politics affected industrialization of South East Nigeria. Judging by the data in the table, the respondents found all the items listed in the table to be a true representation of effect of ethnic politics on industrialization of South East, Nigeria. The mean scores of the items showed that the respondents were positive in their responses.

Research question three: How has ethnic politics affected insecurity in the South East Nigeria?

Table 4.3: How ethnic politics affected insecurity in the South East Nigeria

s/n	Item	SA	A	UD	DA	SD	Total	Mean	Decision
1	The Fulani herdsmen attack increases insecurity in the South East of Nigeria	140 (39%)	140 (39%)	20 (6%)	30 (8%)	30 (8%)	360	4.0	Accepted

2	Eastern Security Network (ESN) raids on Fulani settlement increases insecurity in South East zone	150 (42%)	140 (39%)	10 (3%)	40 (11%)	20 (6%)	36 0	4.1	Accepted
3	Insensitivity of federal government on the rising insecurity in South East has been attributed to ethnics politics	150 (42%)	120 (33%)	30 (8%)	30 (8%)	30 (8%)	36 0	4.1	Accepted
4	The arrest and detention of Nnamdi Kanu (IPOB) leader by (Buhari) led administration has affected the security of the South East Nigeria	120 (33%)	160 (44%)	10 (3%)	60 (44%)	20 (6%)	36 0	4.0	Accepted
5	The ethnic makeup of deployment of security officers to the south East affected security situation of the zone adversely	120 (33%)	160 (44%)	10 (3%)	60 (44%)	20 (6%)	36 0	4.0	Accepted

Source: Field Survey, 2023

Table 4.3 shows the mean distribution of opinions of the respondents on how ethnic politics affected insecurity in the South East Nigeria. The outcome of the data showed that ethnic politics is the major source of insecurity in South East, Nigeria.

4.2 Test of Hypotheses

This section is dedicated to testing of these hypotheses. Chi-square test was adopted for the study. The chi-square formula

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where:

χ^2 = Chi-square, O = Observed Frequency, E = Expected Frequency, \sum = Summation of all items

Assumptions: Level of significance = 0.05

Decision rule

Reject Ho if the calculated value of χ^2 is greater than the critical value of χ^2 otherwise accept Ho. Software Package for Social Science (SPSS Version 16.0 for Student Version) was used to test the hypotheses

4.2.1 Test of Hypothesis One

Statement of Hypothesis One

Ho: Ethnic politics has no significant effect on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria.

Table 4.4: Chi-square test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.000(a)	6 21	360
Likelihood Ratio	8.318	6	.216
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	1.000
N of Valid Cases	4		

a 12 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .25.

Source: Authors compilation SPSS Output 2023

When reading this table 4.4, we are interested in the results of the "**Pearson Chi-Square**" row. We can see here that $\chi(6) = 18.00, p = .238$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association between ethnic politics and infrastructural development.

From the Phi and Cramer's V are both tests of the strength of association. We can see that the strength of association between the variables is very strong.

Decision: Since the calculated value of $\chi^2 = 18.00$ is greater than the table value of $\chi^2 = 12.59$, we therefore reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. The statistical significance indicated that Ethnic politics has an effect on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria.

4.2.2 Test of Hypothesis Two

Statement of Hypothesis Two

Ho: Ethnic politics has no significant effect on industrialization of South East Nigeria.

Table 4.5: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.000(a)	12	.245
Likelihood Ratio	13.322	12	.346
Linear-by-Linear Association	.976	1	.323
N of Valid Cases	5		

a 20 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

Source: Authors compilation SPSS Output 2023

The result indicated that $\chi(12) = 25.00, p = .245$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association between Ethnic politics and industrialization.

Decision

Since the calculated value of $\chi^2 = 25.00$ is greater than the table value of $\chi^2 = 21.03$, we therefore reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. The statistical significance indicated that Ethnic politics has an effect on industrialization of South East Nigeria.

Test of hypothesis Three

Statement of hypothesis Three

Ho: Ethnic politics has no significant effect on insecurity of South East Nigeria.

Table 4.8: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	190.310(a)	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	125.398	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	40.659	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	360		

a 8 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .47.

SOURCE: SPSS Output version 23

The result indicated that $\chi(12) = 190.310, p = .000$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association between Ethnic politics and insecurity.

Decision

Since the calculated value of $\chi^2 = 190.310$ is greater than the table value of $\chi^2 = 21.03$, we therefore reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. The statistical significance indicated that ethnic politics has an effect on insecurity of South East Nigeria.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

4.3.1 Ethnic Politics and Infrastructural Development

The study revealed that Ethnic politics has significant effect on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria. This is where the (value of $\chi^2 = 190.310$ and table value of $\chi^2 = 21.03$). This agrees with data found in table 4.1. The study is an indication that Ethnic politics leads to discrimination and marginalization in allocation of infrastructure set up by the government. It goes to show that Sensitive political office holders take infrastructural development to their geopolitical zones. We can accept from the data that Neglect of infrastructural development in a political zone when the zone is not represented in power. The study affirms that Neglect of infrastructural development if one's ethnic politicians are not appointed to position of power. We equally infer that Neglect of infrastructural development when the ethnic politicians are not viable in decision making process in the governance.

4.3.2 Ethnic Politics and Industrialization

The second objective of the study was to find out the effect of ethnic politics on industrialization of South East Nigeria. The statistical significance indicated that Ethnic politics has an effect on industrialization of South East Nigeria. The Chi-square test of (value of $\chi^2 = 25.00$ and table value of $\chi^2 = 21.03$). This finding agree with data presented in table 4.9 which showed that the majority of the respondents affirm that Ethnic politics deprives the South East zone of relevant industries needed to drive the economy, Sensitive industries are channeled to other geopolitical zones due to ethnic politics, Channeling of sensitive government appointments to certain geopolitical zones triggers citing of industries in those zones, Lopsided appointment of political office holder brings about lopsided location of industries by the government. The study indicates that High tax rate of industries in the south east discourages investors in the region

4.3.3 Ethnic Politics and Insecurity

The result of hypothesis three revealed that ethnic politics has significant effect on insecurity of South East Nigeria. The Chi-square test of (value of $\chi^2 = 190.310$ and table value of $\chi^2 = 21.03$). This agrees with data found in table 4.8 which showed that the respondents affirm that the Fulani herdsmen attack increases insecurity in the South East of Nigeria, Eastern Security Network (ESN) raids on Fulani settlement increases insecurity in South East zone, the finding suggests that Insensitivity of federal government on the rising insecurity in South East has been attributed to ethnic politics, that the arrest and detention of Nnamdi Kanu (IPOB) leader by (Buhari) led administration has affected the security of the South East Nigeria and that the ethnic makeup of deployment of security officers to the south East affected security situation of the zone adversely.

5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

The following are the findings from the study

The finding showed that Ethnic politics has significant effect on infrastructural development of South East Nigeria. This indicates that Ethnic politics leads to discrimination and marginalization on allocation of infrastructure set up by the government.

It was discovered that Ethnic politics has significant effect on industrialization of South East Nigeria. This suggests that Sensitive industries are channeled to other geopolitical zones due to ethnic politics

Finally, the result indicated that Ethnic politics has significant effect on insecurity of South East Nigeria. This implies that the Fulani herdsmen attack increases insecurity in the South East of Nigeria.

5.2 Conclusion

From the findings above, it can be concluded that ethnic politics affected socio-economic development of South East Nigeria. It is evident that the ethnic virus has been one of the most important causes of social crisis and political instability in Nigeria; and ethnicity has been perceived in general as a major obstacle to the overall politico-economic development of the country. The incessant struggle for political positions among different ethnic groups in order to control economic wealth of the nation no doubt is a threat to socio-economic development. The political calculation and permutation of who gets what, when, and how of the political cum economic potentialities of the nation are the main sources of hostility and conflicts that has continued to threaten the political stability and advancement of Nigeria as a nation.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are proposed:

The study recommended that Nigeria needs to imbibe the spirit of fairness and equity. Where there is equity and fairness in governance in a nation, such a nation will experience national unity and peace which will guarantee infrastructural development in all region. These are essential ingredients for nation's development, progress, stability and national integration.

The paper further recommends the adoption and creation of a credible electoral process to accommodate people of all creed, race, ethnicity, religious, economic, political, and social standing in the society. These will among other things, allow for peace, stability, and tranquility in the nation as a whole, it will also eliminate poverty, underdevelopment, corruption, economic depression, political instability and social insecurity through industrialization.

Recognizing the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian society, our leaders should look beyond ethnic differences and formulate unifying national goals which will hence, put ethnic sentiments as second place in terms of priority.

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