ETHNIC POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS ON GENDER AND HEALTH

Ikenyei N. Sandra[1], Julie Akpotor[2]*

[1*]Department of Sociology/Psychology, Delta State University, Abraka.

[2]Department of Sociology/Psychology, Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria.

[1*]akpotorjulie@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This research explored basic activities in most organisations which are coloured by ethnic politics. Ethnic politics continue to pose development challenge to many African countries and has had negative consequences on prospect of good governance. Observations revealed that appointments and allocation of strategic resources are based on ethnic affiliations. Aligning goals and aspirations based on similarity rather than differences are down played. This breeds abnormalities among whom are corruption, inefficiency and conflict. This has been identified as hindering development. Researches has dwelt more on conflict inherent in ethnic politics. Thus, the study examined ethnic politics and its implications for development in Africa. Functionalist theory was used to explain the place of ethnicity in the appointment and allocation of power and resource African. Open ended questionnaire, key informant, in-depth interview and case study were used to generate data from respondents in Nigerian Universities. For manageability, these research settings were chosen. Participants were randomly sampled. Data was analysed using the simple percentage and correlation through the use of statistical package for the social sciences. Apart from 13% that are appointed based on expertise, (67%) respondents revealed that to be employed, get promoted, occupy and enjoy strategic positions; one must be affiliated with those that are in power. Affiliation with the dominating ethnic group enhances people's chances of accessing positions and resources. A total of (83%) of the respondents revealed that ethnicity is capitalist oriented because it benefits a subset of an entire system. The unhealthy revelries affect developments. A total of (97%) respondents reported that they have suffered some degrees of discrimination and misgivings based on their ethnic origin. Based on experiences, a total of (36%) respondents revealed that entrusting the affairs of an institution to a foreigner pose a great threat to the indigenes, development and growth of the institution. To enhance peace and development, effort should be geared towards aligning goals on expertise and similarity rather than on differences.

INTRODUCTION

The world over, people or group of persons often express themselves consciously or unconsciously based on ethnic affiliations. Ethnic group relation is a socio-cultural behavioural disposition. It is a situation where people relate cordially with persons from their own ethnic background compared to those who are members of other ethnic group. In Nigerian, ethnic origin has often been used as a basis on which cordial or restricted relationship is defined. These boundaries and the hope of benefitting from the identified entities heightened disagreement which escalates into crisis. People from different groups strive to secure strategic positions for their personal or group interest. Those who are perceived to represent the interest of a group are projected. Based on this, eligibility and meritocracy for appointments into strategic positions is relegated. This results to faulty appointments, inefficiency and retrogressive development in the institution.

High preferences and existing discrimination in Delta and Ebonyi state University present these institutions as typical examples of what goes on in other public institutions in Nigeria, perhaps, the world at large. Discrimination becomes unavoidable because of the existence of multi ethnic groups within the selected states. Ethnic politics and behavioural manifestation which relates to its existence and share of benefits are prominent. Obviously, individuals who maintain strong affinity with their ethnic group while in power project policies which are positively skewed towards their own group. Emphasizes is placed on allotting resources in favour of their ethnic group. Due to unhealthy revelries emanating from diversities and its associated consciousness, the unity of constituent units has been compromised. Despite the moves of uniting all groups by past leaders, there are existing gaps between the unity as preached and what is obtainable in reality in Nigeria public sector.

The quota system based on federal character has been adopted for the allocations of positions and placement of people right from admission of students, recruitment of staff and the appointment of into principal positions. This paper examined the existence of ethnicity and its implications for development in public sector in Nigeria. The appointment of less qualified candidates into strategic positions in public institutions in Nigerian is said to be responsible for 65% decay that is found within the system. Promotions and appointments into key positions are dished out to ethnic affiliates or close associates. This has accounted for unhealthy ethnic and academic strife and struggles among those whose intellectual prowess and hard work is demeaned. This frustrates and impact negatively on individual performance. Consequently, this kills the spirit of good service rendition which moves the institution towards advancement.

Based on the above stated problem and its implications on people, the institution and Nigeria as a whole, the research findings pointed out various ways of resolving the problems. Solutions towards reorienting relevant authorities on the appointment of staffs and admission of students based on ethnic background were proffered. The formulation of policies that will lead to transformation and developmental transformation were proffered. Irrespective of personal interest, if hard work and meritocracy are used as measures of

appointments as suggested by this study, people can rise to any position in any public sector in Nigeria and the world at large. Hence, ethnic consciousness and prejudice which are major tools for allocating resources and the placement of principal officers into positions should be down played within the administrative structures of Nigerian Universities. Adhering to these recommendations will deliver meaningful development.

From the genesis of mankind, politics has been used as a tool for galvanising resources favourable for personal or group interest. Mason (1998) defined politics as the ability to influence the process of allocation of scarce resource. Although there is no generally accepted definition of politics, one salient point which cut across the various definitions is that, politics entails access to power and the ability to influence decisions. Ethnicity is the predisposition to act in a favourable or unfavourable manner to an individual or group of people based on their ethnic origin or affiliation.

Ethnic Politics and its Implication for Development
Ethnic group is said to be connected with belonging to a particular tribe that shares a common cultural tradition (Oxford Leaders Dictionary 2000, Sally Wehmeier Ed). Ethnicity is a fundamental category of social organization which is based on membership defined by a sense of common historical origins. They share common culture; they have similar religious beliefs and practice including language. The word ethnicity is derived from a Greek word, "ethnos" which is translated to be "a people or nation". One of the most influential definitions of ethnicity is that which is found in Max Weber's work on Economy and Society (1968). In this work, he described ethnic groups as "human groups (other than kinship group) which cherish a belief in their common origins of such kind that it provides a basis for the creation of community". It therefore shows that people from the same ethnic group cherish their affinity and they work insidiously to protect their beliefs which form the symbolic essence of their existence.

According to Otite (1990), ethnicity is a persistent aspect of the changing social structure of both new and old nation's interaction to scarce resource. To him, ethnic groups are categories of people characterised by cultural criteria of symbols including language, value systems and normative behaviour and whose members are anchored in a particular part of the new state territory. Although, ethnic members are bounded in an environment with a boundary, they (members) migrate from one place to another in search of greener pastures especially the educated youths who constitutes the working class or traders.

Politics on the other hand is the manipulation of resource associated with positions as a result of access to power. On the other hand, Nnoli defined politics as "who gets what, when and how". People from specific ethnic group who are opportune in securing positions; manipulate the power associated with that position(s) in favour of their ethnic group. To be related with a man who is in power reinforces more confidence on those related to him. It boasts their confidence of accessing resources as well as benefitting largely from the system. Ethnicity becomes a pew where members of a particular ethnic group

gather to manipulate and share the available positions, resource and other benefits which are within the disposition of their man in power.

Noticeable evidences of underdevelopment found in higher institution across Nigerian public sectors are largely the outcome of ethnic politics inherent within the institution. Underdevelopment as captured in this paper is the lack or wrong use of potentialities for advancement and transformation within the system. In other words, they experience backward movement basically because those that are qualified to pilot the affairs of an organization are displaced by ethnic members who are most often less qualified. Perhaps, they lack the necessary skills and knowledge needed for effective administration.

Consequently, these three factors (ethnicity, politics and development) as identified work hand in hand. The existence of one of these elements lays a preliminary foundation which heralds the rest conditions. Politics is controlled by ethnicity and this in turn affects who gets what and when- these have implication for development. For instance, the election of who gets into the strategic positions designated as principal positions reinforces ethnic consciousness. Members of same origin gather together, they harmonize into a single whole to favourably galvanize other factors in order to secure for their members strategic position. Engaging in activities like this is motivated with the belief that after securing a position for their kin member, he or she will be able to pave way for other members of the group. Those who secure positions through the effort of their members create space in strategic positions for members just to show appreciation for their support. This show of magnanimous rewards attracts the supports and the loyalty of their members. To enjoy and to ensure that the appointed are well protected by ethnic members while in power, they surround themselves with affiliates. In this process, less competent or qualified persons are appointed to occupy sensitive positions. This situation renders these personalities less productive. This results to underdevelopment or retrogressive growth within the institution.

Overview of Ethnic Politics in African Public Sector
As a reiteration, ethnicity is the social construction of oneness based on common heritage and the use of peculiar symbols like language, dressing and other socially defined symbols of identification that is peculiar to their members. Ethnic group members maintain a more favourable relationship and affinity with other members of their ethnic group compared to other members outside their ethnic group. It is this affinity that heightens the consciousness of ethnic identity. Gordon (1964) defined ethnic group as "any group which is defined or set off by race, religion or national origin or some combination of these categories which have a common socio-psychological referent.

All of these serve to create, through historical circumstance a sense of people hood. A knee observation of Delta State and Ebonyi state university along administrative arms of the various local governments within the state revealed that members perceive the existence of real struggles between the different components which emerge from different ethnic groups. The individuals themselves strive to secure better positions for their members. There exist a feeling of "oneness" towards in-group-members among ethnic group members

and a sense of them (out-group) towards non-members. This sense of solidarity has implication for favourable behavioural manifestation towards same ethnic members and unfavourable behavioural tendencies towards others, that is, members of the out group. Behaviour is also favourably skewed towards in-group than towards out-group members (Adebayo 2001).

Across the states, the situation as it is today is highly discriminatory to non-members. Pleasant adjectives like my brother/sister, Iniovo/oniovo for the Urhobos, Eziwanne for the Aniomas, Oroekeji for the Ighala"s, Omo iyami/omoyarami for the Yoruba"s same goes for the Hausa and many other ethnic groups who express close affinities within their respective symbolic dialects. Based on these recognitions, benefits and special favours are dished out to those who can manifest and managed these symbols associated with the various ethnic groups. In Africa, when an ethnic states man ascends the position of power, majority of its affiliates monopolize and utilize the power associated with the position to their own benefit. This is to the disadvantage of other people who are not affiliated. Those who come into power hold on to the power in order to enjoy the benefits for at least two to four years as the case may be. Those who are not affiliated to principal officers suffer stagnation and neglect for the period their opponents are in power. Thus, where an ethnic group is able to replicate itself in power, non-affiliates suffer longer years of neglect. This consciousness, make the process of occupying positions a do or die affair.

Even when evidence shows that their candidates are not performing well, affiliates guide jealously, their members who are in position of authority in order to continue to enjoy the benefits associated with that position. With this scenario, all other personalities from other ethnic group become disadvantaged. Dissatisfaction increases the spirits of pulling down the structure rather than building or supporting the institution and its administration. These have implication for smooth transition, continuous project implementation and development.

Africans are known for oneness. Hence, when a son of the soul indicates interests for a position, the consciousness of togetherness increase the struggle of securing relevant vote for their ethnic members. People believe that, denying their own sons and daughter the needed support to secure a position will subject them to various degrees of discrimination, deprivation and neglect throughout the periods for which the administration that lacks their representatives will last. Different ethnic groups which constitute workers and students in Delta and Ebonyi states public organisation always project the interest of their ethnic members. They struggle to secure strategic positions like that of the Vice chancellor, Asuu chairman and directors to enjoy the benefits that are connected with them. It is clear that amongst the constituent ethnic groups within these localities, there is overt expression of strife emanating from ethnic politics.

Although ethnic politics and the appointment of foreigners into strategic positions is encouraged, evidences from past incidences provide that those who gained entrance to elated positions seized the opportunities of piloting the

affairs of their institution to their personal interests. The abuse of power was overtly disadvantageous to the growth of the entire system. Past attempts created more ruinous conditions and bitterness than the development that was envisaged. The attitude put forward by beneficiaries exhibited ethnic consciousness which is geared towards grabbing and exploitation of opportunities.

Subsequently, the projection of a foreigner in these areas that had bitter experience is seen as insult and an abominable step. Efforts of redressing the situation creates atmosphere that usurp the entire system. It is an insult to the indigenes from the various ethnic groups that are from the communities where the institution is situated. It is a suicide mission for the foreigner (the candidate) who dares to aspire to ascend strategic position. Even when they succeed in gaining the position, their efforts are often frustrated by indigenes that see them as opportunists who have come to reap the wealth which belong to them.

The phenomenon of ethnicity has become a symbolic part of African society. The consciousness is deeply rooted across an average African citizen, the learned who are reservoir of knowledge are not exempted. In Nigeria, the display of hatred against the 'stranger' popularly known as alejo for the Yorubas, Sabo for the Hausas, Obialije or Onye Njem for the Igbos destroy genuine ambitions of a handful of people. The same applies to the Hausas', Fulani and other ethnic groups that are found in Nigeria. They exhibit consciously or unconsciously the qualities that are associated with ethnicism. This is evidenced in the concentration of foreigners in a particular region of a community. This has accounted for the growth of Hausa quarters and Igbo quarters where members of these ethnic groups are heavily concentrated. Ethnic colouration of settlement as such presents the inhabitants as easy targets for attacks during periods of crisis. Thus, large members of a particular ethnic group are exterminated.

Nevertheless, the situation has remained so because of the past experiences in Nigerian. There have been cases of betrayal, siphoning and diversion of resource from the mother institution to the benefit of affiliates and communities of the foreigner who ascend the position of a leader. For instance, the positioning of sophisticated universities across the different region in Nigeria was based on oneness that was preached and adhered to by past patriotic leaders. Today, with exemption of applying the quota system of federal character, assessing universities built under the umbrella of federal unity as student or staffs is difficult if not impossible.

Ethnic groups are essentially exclusive to their members despite their participation in the wider society both at home and Diaspora. They are characterized by identifying boundaries while developing mechanisms sustained by myths and symbolisms. Ethnic consciousness became obvious during the post-colonial period after independence where Azekiwe and Awolowo clamoured over positions as they formed different political parties. This ushered military politicization and domination of power by the Northerners. A more refined and modernised ethnicity is practised today in

Nigeria University. For you to occupy principal position, you must be affiliates either by birth, comradeship or religion to occupy such positions. Politicizing of position in the institutions is nonetheless beneficial for the employment of ethnic affinities. Ultimately, the dictates of efficiency and quality service are relegated.

Deviation from standard norm of employing efficient hands does not help the development of the institution, constituent individuals as well as its product-students. Ethnicity is/has been used in sharing from the scarce resource. Hence, to survive and enjoy better conditions, the monopoly of power by one cultural group becomes the essential precondition for the maintenance of the plural society. Elites, who gained power and political positions on the plate form of ethnic parties, control the location of universities and other developmental programmes. Employment of personnel into sensitive positions is directly or indirectly influenced by those in authority.

Ethnicity and Politics

Politic and power are not only regarded as means of distributing patronage, creating and maintaining alliances or gaining support from critical areas of the institution but they are also conceptualised in terms of the direct allocation of employment and development, opportunities and privileges. Access to political control within the institution is an insurance against domination or oppression. The predominance of an ethnic group in principal position which is pre-eminent in the university system creates discomforts to others. Ethnic affinity becomes the basis for politicising and grabbing of the vacant position and power. To have won is an indication of awesome support from ones ethnic group members. The interpretation to this is that, minorities who are most times qualified loss their opportunities and chances to less qualified members who are from the same ethnic background with those who are in power. The succession of inept and questionable personalities, self centered and visionless personalities at the apex of authority is responsible for the decay, injustice and backwardness found within the system.

Judging from the above scenario as narrated based on past and present evidences, development are hindered. A situation where the choices of the masses are manipulated and influenced to a greater extent by pecuniary interests or primordial considerations based on ethnicity obscure efficiency. Various groups which constitute the administrative arms of the institution are saddled with the responsibilities of protecting its members. These they do by ensuring that important position are galvanized towards their members. These representatives are expected to provide basic social infrastructure as well as rendering help to harness societal resources for and on behalf of its ethnic members.

Another point worthy of note is the issue of clique among members of staffs across the various sectors in Nigeria. When a member assumes position of authority where they have access to the control of power, others who are at the polar ends of his party/clique suffers injustice and oppression even though they supported/voted for them. These individuals who are perceived as opposition become source of threat to the administration in power. Slight

misconduct attracts query (ies) and in worst cases they are fired. This is done to silence any perceived source of threat for fear of using the opposition position against the administration. These misgivings give rise to unnecessary tensions that does not encourage development both for the individual, the institution and the nation at large.

In view of the above, a cross section of interview was carried out cutting across administrative staff, academic and students of Delta and Eboyi state university. A total number of 100, 80, 60, of administrative, academic and students respectively were interviewed with open ended questions. The following questions were central items both in the questionnaire and interview discussion,

- Do you think ethnicity exist?
- If yes, does it exist in this institution?
- Have you ever been treated unfavourably based on your ethnic group or tribe?
- Should key positions and administrative offices be exclusive reserved for the catchment area of where the university is located?
- Why do you think administrators constitute majority of his cabinet with people of the same ethnic members?
- What are the effects of constituting ones administrative cabinet with ones ethnic group members and
- What are the possible ways of resolving the likely effects?
- Responses from the respondents are presented under the section of findings,

Theoretical Framework

The theory adopted for the explanation of ethnic politics experienced in public institution in this paper is Talcott Parson 1951 functionalist and Adams equity theory. The functionalist theory espoused ethnicity as beneficial in favouring certain group of persons based on ethnic affinity. It enhances the stability and advancement of those who are strategically placed based on ethnic affinity. Largely, ethnicity is a pendulum on which people swing to enjoy basic rights and benefits found in political and public offices. People who identify themselves with a particular ethnic group trace their existence to that same origin. They undergo similar orientations that pattern their inner character and mode of relationship. Acceptance and relationship with foreigners are also defined by ethnic orientation and cultural practices. Their prejudices, discrimination and exploitative tendencies are explainable under the cultural values of their ethnic group.

The consciousness created by ethnic affinity and the politics associated with it breeds conflict which frustrates the goals of those in power. Awareness created by ethnicity and the discrimination suffered by out-group breed unhealthy rivalry. Qualified candidates are denied admission or employment based on ethnic affinity. These non-meritorious, non-constructive oppositions, discrimination and criticisms destroy those from minority groups whose chances are slim. Majority get their destinies delayed and most times

opportunities denied. Invariably, these conditions destroys potentials, it weakens the efficiency and tenure ship of leaders.

Equity as proposed by Adams is associated with work setting and the motivating factors that compel individuals to displaying their unalloyed commitment to the goals and dreams of their institution which enhances maximum productivity. The bedrock of the theory is that everybody should be treated fairly. The theory examines people's feelings on how fairly they have been treated when compared with others based on ethnic affinity. It explains people's expectation of rewards in exchange for certain contribution or input. Those who feel they are treated unfavourably resent administrators, affiliates and the goals of the institution. For instance, people expect to be promoted after huge expedition of their time and energy towards the actualization of the institutions goals. Students expect that, they will be admitted and graded based on their hard work. Failure of meeting this expectation frustrates the effort of the candidate. Aggrieved persons withdraw the level of their input. They become confrontational and aggressive to the source of deprivation. In few occasion, they form partial alliance with dominating group. Equity theory aligns with conflict theory of Karl Marx to explain the problems of ethnicity which often relegates peoples rather than being inclusive.

METHODOLOGY
The study engaged in the cross sectional survey of respondent within Delta and Eboyi State university. The respondents were randomly selected. Randomizing the respondents was done to avoid unsystematic and obstructive selection of the study population (Agar 1980, Aderemi and Ediomo 2010). *Research Design* the study adopted the descriptive survey research design which employed the simple percentage and correlation data analysis with the use of statistical package for the social sciences.

Research Setting
The research setting for the study is Delta State University which is situated in Abraka and Eboyi State University located in Abakiliki. Although there are various campuses within Delta State University, Abraka main campus which is situated between Obiaruku and Eku along Warri road Delta State was sampled. With the inherent characteristics between the situation of Delta State University and Ebonyi State University, the campus that is located at Presco, that which is found within the head quarter of Abakiliki was selected for survey. While the dominating language in Abraka is Urhobo, that of Ebonyi is Ezza language.

Population of Study
The study population is made up of 6,453 of both universities. This number was gotten from admission list and employment records of both universities. The total samples for the study includes students, academic and administrative staffs of Delta State University and Eboyi state university. Criteria for inclusion as participants for the study are people aged 24 years and above. This age is significant enough for candidate to differentiate the benefits as members of ethnic groups and candidates as out group of a particular ethnic group.

Participants

Participants for the study included students, academic and administrative staff of both universities. Criteria for inclusion are persons in the three categories above who are either staffs or students within the campuses under research. All those who qualified along these categories following the inclusive criteria were randomly interviewed. Those who are below 24 years and who do not belong to any of these university used as case study were excluded from the study. Security personnel's, business people and staffs of other establishments like banks that are resident within the campuses were excluded from the study.

Instruments

Open ended questionnaire, key informant and in-depth interview was used to elicit information from respondents. The following constituted the issues that were raised by the questionnaire and interview guide. Do you think ethnicity exist? If yes, does it exist in this institution? Have you ever been treated in any light based on your tribe? Should key positions and administrative offices be exclusive reserved for the people from catchment area of where the university is located? What are the ideologies behind ethnic politics, why do you think administrators constitute his cabinet with members of ethnic group? What are the effects of constituting ones administrative cabinet with ones ethnic group and what are the possible ways of resolving these problem?

Method of Data Analysis

Quantitative data (QD) collected was coded, entered, rekeyed and analyzed using the statistical data analysis package for the social sciences. The descriptive and inferential statistical measurement examined the centralness as well as the variability of responses. *Qualitative Data Analysis* (QDA)-For QDA, content analysis was used to analyze qualitative data. Responses went through a *recursive abstractive summary* (RAS) of responses. The researcher assembled common words and themes among responses. Qualitative data gathered from field were subjected to narrative and interpretive analysis. These analyses were in form of textual themes, categories, interpretations and reviews of verbatim transcriptions. The Nvivo software which analyzes and interprets unstructured qualitative data, a kind of quantitative analysis was used. Information from sound-recording devices, camera and motion-picture created special category of data including films, sound recording and photographs.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

A total of 43% administrative and 42% academic staffs and 15% which indicates larger proportion of the students agreed that ethnicity exists. Other 9% respondents who are students seem not to be aware of ethnicity. This fraction constitutes few Johnny just come who have not been exposed to the outside (wider) world where greater degree of its practice is obvious. All the respondents agreed that ethnicity exist in the higher institution of learning. The students revealed that to be admitted into the university and occupy sensitive positions amongst the student union, you must be from the dominating ethnic group within the institution. In such cases, they must have and maintain affinity with ethnic descent of those who constitute the ruling class within the institution. To be employed, get promoted and occupy strategic position you

must be from the ethnic group that are in power or from the majority ethnic group that dominates. A total of 97% respondents agreed that they have one time or the other suffered ill treatment and misgivings on the basis of their ethnic affinity, while 23% disagreed on this fact.

A total of 36% respondents agreed that entrusting the affairs of the university to a foreigner endangers the common good of indigenes, development and growth of the university and its staffs. This is because they do not take the interest of the advancement of the university at heart since they have nothing at stalk. Over the years, evidence has shown that greater interest and aspiration of majority especially aliens are often directed towards grabbing from the available opportunities while relegating state, citizen's interest and core values and goals of the university to the background. This is evidenced in the time of Awolowo and Azikiwe administration. Many institutions who by chance relegated sensitive positions to foreigners groan based on the agony caused by the misuse of office. On the other hand, 74% is of the view that handing over of administrative position entirely to the same ethnic members (indigenes) should be discouraged. This is because merit and professionalism should be given utmost priority for maximum productivity that leads to development rather than ethnic origin.

Majority in administrative post constitute their cabinet with people from their own ethnic group. This is done to ensure the free flow of information that are relevant for security reasons and to guide against fear of the unknown. Membership to any ethnic group reduces anxiety. This has been demonstrated by administrators who prefer to surround themselves with retinue of staffs who are recruited from their own ethnic group. One's own ethnic group becomes his sanctuary against fears of the unknown and unforeseen circumstances. The need to affiliate and gain recognition also propels those who occupy administrative positions to surrounding themselves with those who are from the same ethnic group. It is a means of enhancing and confirming self-identity and development of self-concept. To safeguard and protect their position as well as the benefits associated with such offices, they form association like Izunwanne, Elobike (Igbos generally), Ukoko-emotor (Urhobos), Anioma people forum for the Delta North o Delta State, Omo oluwabi and Omo Odua were used by the Yoruba, this becomes an umbrella where they seek recognition and protection.

ETHNIC POLITICS AND THE HEALTH OF PUBLIC SECTOR
Institution experiences great disharmony when ethnic consciousness is high and especially where it is used as a tool for allocating power and resource. Observation reveals that, where injustice abound, there can be no peace, The effects of constituting ones cabinet by employing, promoting as well as admitting students on the basis of ethnic group are obviously rampant today. The first effect of constituting ones cabinet with ethnic loyalist which downplays Weber bureaucratic principle that guarantees efficiency presents a faulty administration because merit and professionalism are replaced with the spirit of affection and emotions. Administrative positions constituted by the following the short cut for personal reasons of favouritism or show of appreciation experiences decay and inefficiency. Inefficiencies that arise from

non-proficiency, a situation where little or no sanction is marshalled out to staffs leads to low productivity. Highly placed ethnic faithful cover the misconducts of their kin members to continue to retain the power in order to continue to enjoy the benefits attached to that power. Members act blindly towards their members who misbehave while in position. Interest is targeted at grabbing and sharing from the larger resources. Invariably, leaders and relatives are keen on sustaining their "son of the soil" in power. Outsiders are subjected to discrimination in matters of appointment and promotion. In other to avoid these ills, many have relocated to their place of origin in order to enjoy the dividends that commensurate the level of their services as members of their home land.

Another effect of ethnic politics experienced in public offices is underdevelopment. The university and the infrastructure become underdeveloped as a result of lack of dynamism and import of ideals from experienced persons. Solid walls are built against aliens within the university. Foreigners are fenced out of the decision making circles. A clerk who maintains same affinity with those at the helm of affairs enjoys greater access to information and enjoys more freedom in decision making than an academic staff who is a foreigner. These walls are built to barricade outsiders. Those who constitute the inner caucus enjoy greater access to power and related benefits. This creates serious tension as non-benefactors threaten the system either by words or actions. Other people who are compelled to struggle using different means to penetrate and break through these artificially created walls create discord. People struggle for promotion at different stages. With these struggles, confrontation and negotiation terms become stiff and stringent. This situation affects interpersonal relationship which invariable affects peaceful collaboration in the administration of the system. The following data shows the extent to which ethnicity play important role in the admission of student into Delta State University, which is also relatively applicable to other universities.

Table 1 .Ethnicity Play Important Role in the Admission of Student

State of Origin	No of Student Admitted
Delta	767
Edo	53
Imo	11
Anambra	10
Bayelsa	2
Ondo	2
Abia	1
Rivers	1
Enugu	1
Benue	1
Osun	1
Lagos	1
Akwu-Ibom	1
Ogun	1
Total 14	854

Source: Delta State University 1st Batch provisional.
Admission list, 5th December, 2007.

Furthermore, over 4,500 workers spread across the three campuses, approximately 3,000 and above constitute indigenes. When in strategic positions, administrators skew the employment of staffs to his household and kin folk who are in most cases less qualifies. Thus,, qualification and meritocracy are relegated. They thwart and bind the rules to favour their members. These and many other negative factors that are associated with faulty administration are evidenced in the cabinet that is loaded with ethnic affiliates.

Hostility, it is observed that those who are employed under the umbrella of ethnic membership with little skills, becomes hostile to those who pose as threat to their job. These create serious tension and unfriendly environment that leads to frustration and inefficiency. Favourable work condition promotes good health. This in turn extends to active life expectancy. Therefore good work relation delays the onset of debilitating and chronic illness. Fulfillment that is work value such as prestige, security, achievement, altruism, creativity and economic returns which intoxicate and propel people to work are truncated under ethnicism. Leadership style that defines the relationship among working people, the autonomy enjoyed, recreation and leisure participation has effects on workers fulfillment. The wellbeing of both the once in position and the oppositions are attacked under ethnic politics. Lack of job autonomy, task complexity, task diversity and loss in feelings of belongingness and participation, delayed or poor promotion leads to lack of job satisfaction. This triggers hatred which also instils the drive to relocate to home town for those who are non-indigenes.

Ethnic Politics, Structure of Administrative positioning and Influences within the University

Close observation and interview revealed that there is differential in power relation which also influences the decision of the institution. Those who maintain the same descent-ethnic enclave with those in power form a conglomeration of elite group within the system (Ritzer 1996: pg 71). The focuses of those who engage in ethnic politics within the social structure are motivated with the desire of satisfying personal needs. Personal interest overrides group goals and these desires submerge public interest and general advancement of the institution.

Persons who are related by sharing the same descent with the administrators enjoy greater leverage of influencing decisions. They have access to power and are more disposed to accessing vital information. Those who are concentrated at the core as the inner caucus develop a melting pot with an abstract boundary which discriminates against others. These core groups constitute the principal officers (those considered cream of the institution). Flow of power and information circulates amongst officers within the core group. Non ethnic members who are not part of this core group lack the information which equips them in functioning productively. To know the ongoing condition gives power to the benefactor. The exclusion of other members breeds suspicion and undue hatred which result to antagonism. This situation result to academic strife, unhealthy struggles and unconstructive criticisms. All member struggles to benefit from the resources. The growth

and development of the institution is relegated to the background. Principal Officers who suffer as figure heads wait patiently for the expiry date of their administration. They display attitude of i do not care. This appears as act of insubordination to their superiors. Below is a diagram representing the core and the periphery positioning of individuals.
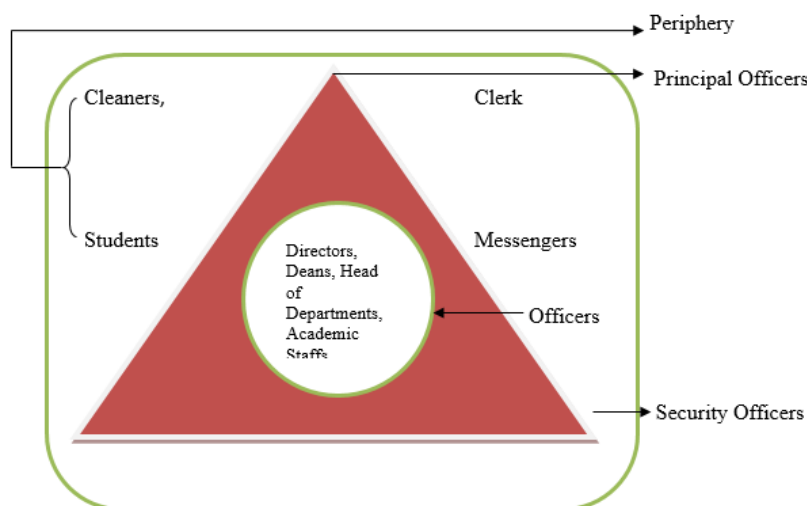

Figure 1. The Diagram Showing the Positioning of Staffs and Students within the University System

The diagram above depicts that even though messengers and students are located outside the strategic position, that is the core and principal positions, majority of the cleaners and messengers who are located at the periphery through their affiliations as ethnic faithful align with those who form the core group. They are more disposed to principal officers and key administrators. Hence, they have greater access to first-hand information. They form part of those who are stalk holders within the university system than some academic staffs. The core members construct and reconstruct from time to time repelling strategies and protective shield to rebuff instruction or attack. To these end, horizontal and vertical mobility of officers and promotion of staffs are dictated by core members. To this effect, there are few Deans and directors who are located at the core but are less influential compare with some located at the periphery. They are regarded as figure heads. Those who constitute the caucus are in control.

These core members are located where they are either by chance or by virtue of administrative ranks and position. These appointees have little access to information and they barely get early warning signs to threats within the system. They are bestowed with limited power and say in the administration of the institution. They are simply figure heads who are meant to swallow the decisions from the top. The privileged messengers monitor these figure heads to ensure that the dictates of principal officers are adhered to and are made to act accordingly. Anything contrary subjects the deviants to disciplinary sanctions of losing the position and its benefits, appointment or both. Those at the core pose as great threat to those who maintain close relationship with those located at the periphery, vice versa. Those who maintain closeness with any of the core group members' are perceived ad source of threat and are

avoided. These feelings of suspicion and hatred drag development within the university backward.

The recognition of ethnic origin based on languages, religion, common ancestor, custom and traditions have been used to demarcate the boundary between foreigners who are seen as intruders and the legal owners-the indigenes. Some groups claim ownership the institution and the right to pilot the affairs within the institution. People who qualified have been deprived the opportunity of being admitted or employment based on ethnic affiliation. Merit is thrown over the fence based on ethnic considerations. The awareness of the various benefits of ethnic affiliations prepares an individual towards developing strong attachment to their state of origin. Moral stance of candidates and the probity of the services of those in authority are down played. Anarchy which emanates from strife associated with consciousness and ethnic politics breeds internal struggle which leads to displacement of weaker group of people. The minority group are displaced from strategic-principal administrative offices. This has affected smooth transitions of authority and the various project executions.

Another finding is the constitution of cliques among staffs within the university. Members protect themselves and their affinity. Some groups hide under this affinity to violate the rules guiding the institution. An ill treatment or misgivings to any of their member attract retaliation from others within the group. The association with members of a clique that is in power (position) determines who is placed at the core of the principal position. More attention is geared toward the self and the one group rather than working towards the realization of the common interest and goals of the whole institution (self or group interest dominates the goals of the institution).

Ideology behind Ethnic Politics
A total of 83% of the respondents revealed that ethnicity is capitalist oriented. It is a cultural practice where subset of that institution cultivates the attitude of dominating the larger institution. Out of these 83% which revealed that ethnic politics is capitalists inclined, 76% of the respondents assert that it is conflict reddened because of its discriminatory, delegating and exploitative tendencies. There is competition for economic, political, social and cultural benefits. The intersection of economic, power, social and cultural interest between members of various ethnic groups is conflict laden.

Implications of Ethnic Politics health and the administration of Nigerian Universities
According to 74.9% respondents, ethnic politics subject victims to psychosocial health issues. Ethnic consciousness threatens the democratic principles of governance that has been adopted in the administration of Nigeria universities. A total of 67% agreed that ethnic politics destroys the uniqueness of other tribes. It leads to loss of an individual's creative abilities and their freedom of expressing the self. Access to and participation in affairs of piloting the activities that concerns all within the system is denied. This situation negates the democratic, principles. It violates the freedom of enjoying the fundamental human rights and other promulgations in sections

34, subsection a, b, and c of the Nigerian constitution of 1999, amended in 2011.

Individuals and groups maintain autonomous identity even as constituent part of the larger system. Although the Nigeria constitution make provision for freedom of association and expression of individuals thoughts, most people or group over step their boundaries with the various activities that manifest as ethnic practices and politics. A total of 51% of respondents interviewed revealed that ethnicity has become a tool for oppression and exploitation. They expand their influence across the various units and departments within the system.

This subjects others who are from minority group to despair and helplessness. It becomes obvious that ethnicity which is highly skewed towards galvanizing resource for personal or group interest is endemic. It is disintegrating for people who are from different ethnic groups that make up the system than that of integrating. Outsiders maintain a distant position from the conglomeration of the hegemonic groups in position. It creates an environment which Weber tagged as 'Iron gate'. A condition where peoples hope of escaping the discriminatory and deprivation situations decreases. Using Nigeria as an example, unemployment and poverty rate compel and constrained people from quitting their job even in the face of strict discrimination and deprivation within the system.

It integrates members of a particular group and disintegrates outsiders. Members are socialized and are made to internalise the beliefs and ideology of their ethnic group. While those who occupy strategic positions form an alliance with peoples from their own ethnic group, those from minority group who distant themselves from the core members maintain the position of an opposition or that of spectator.

CONCLUSION
Although ethnic politics within the institution is conflict ridden, it is functional to a set of people. Despite that ethnicity is conflict reddened, it is functional to some group of people who are privileged to hold unto powers. Transformation of Nigerian institutions demands that unity, equity, prudence and patriotism should dominate the consciousness of different groups.

Recommendations
Management should be sensitive in perceiving what is equitable and fair. Everybody should be given the chance of participating in the process of making important decisions that concerns them. Management should down play leadership styles that is highly discriminatory. They are to destroy the practices that work negatively against the welfare of minority groups. Employees and student are more disposed to accepting and supporting the institutions goal and policies that is friendly, fair and equitable for all. Consequently, administrators should make policies and engage in administrative practices that are relatively fair to all. In general, the use of ethnicity in the allocation of power, resources and administration of the larger system should be down played.

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