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## **Political Appointments and Federal Character Principle In Nigeria, 2015 Till Date**

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### **Abstract**

The study examined the link between Political appointments and the violations of the Federal Character Principles in Nigeria. The study adopted the Prebendal theory as the theoretical framework. The data gathered were through the documentary sources and the paper adopted the content analysis as the framework for its analysis. The study discovered that out of the appointees made from 2015 till date, most of the appointees are from the Northern part of Nigeria and this has caused some agitations among other geopolitical zones in Nigeria. The study recommended; that the merit system which is was one of the salient features of Max Weber's Bureaucratic principle should be strictly adhered to and equal representation of ethnic groups at all levels should be adhered to in the appointments and recruitments.

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**Keywords:** Federal Character Principle, Parastatals, President Muhammadu Buhari, Bureaucracy.

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### **Introduction**

Nigeria is a federal society comprising of 36 states structure with a population of more than 195 million people and has more than

250 ethnic groups and 774 local governments, this necessitates an arrangement that could accommodate people from the different segments of the country in



the public bureaucracy (Gberevbie, 2012:210). However, as a federal state, Nigeria was faced with the challenge of how to imbibe the principle of federalism in practice. As a result, the federal character principle was introduced into the Nigerian public service in 1958 by the government “to ensure equitable representation of the various groups in the country” (Tonwe and Oghator, 2009:235). To further consolidate on the gains of the federal character principle, the Federal Military Government of Generals Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo in the drafting and approval of the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria during the transition to civilian rule (1976/79) introduced into the Nigerian political and administrative landscapes the principle of federal character (Ekeh, 1989:19). Federal character principle sought to give “opportunities in education and employment, usually at the point of entry, to disadvantaged groups and areas to enable

them compete and catch up with more advanced areas and sectors of the nation” (Ekeh, 1989:38). The federal character system as enshrined in the constitution of Nigeria is to ensure equitable distributions of bureaucratic and political roles in the public service at federal, states and local government levels. The objectives of the policy are to foster national unity and give every Nigerian a sense of belonging in the country, (Usman 2004:117). The federal character principle has succeeded in institutionalizing North-South dichotomy rather than integrating it. To the Northerners, of the country federal character is synonymous with quota system and means therefore a proportional absorption into federal institutions, the Southerners of the country, see the action of the North as an attempt by the “North” to penetrate into areas which they hitherto regarded as “theirs” by right (Dagaci:2009:210).



## Literature Review

The literature gathered for this work should be in thematic, hence, extant works on the subject matter the Federal Character principle definition should be looked on and the various views of people on the political appointments made in Nigeria from 2015 till date. This will help us generate enough evidence to back up our claims on whether or not the appointments violate the federal character principle. Furthermore, graphs, tables, charts should be used to further elucidate the subject matter.

## Conceptualizing the Term Federal Character Principle

The phrase “federal character” was incorporated in the 1979, 1989 and subsequently in section 14(3) (4) of the 1999 constitution and interpreted as; “the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal

character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from its agencies”. The composition of the government of a state, a local government council, or any of the agencies of such government or council such agencies will be carried out in such a manner as to recognize the diversity of the people within its area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the people of the federation. (Ogunna, 1999: 256)

In his own words, Bello (2012:9) states that federal character is the intra -class factionalism within the economically dominant class over the state resources that the federal character as it is, attempts to give cover. In other words, federal character by and large, serves the economically dominant class that controls the state. This it does by giving explicit recognition to the essentially



composite nature of the federation and provides ambiguous recipe for welding the federation into one (Bello,2012:9). Supporting the above thesis, the federal civil service as a foremost institution, obviously, designed to be a model of the federal character principle and a torch bearer in the application of the principle is gradually becoming one of the worst culprits of the misdemeanor. Recent happenings in the Commission show this. Perhaps, the first-hand experience of the growing anomalies in the FCSC for most Nigerians was the recent appointment of directors in disrespect of a former President Jonathan presidential waiver for some disadvantaged states. The Head of Service of the Federation had in March 2014 written the Presidency to request a “waiver for the transfer of indigenes from disadvantaged states of Bayelsa, Ebonyi and the FCT to the mainstream federal civil service as directors.” This was sequel to an observed lack of directors on Salary Grade

Level 17 from the two states and the Federal Capital Territory. Ayoade (2003) viewed federal character as an instrument of eclectic redistribution of bureaucratic roles and industrial sites. He went a bit further to say that federal character is based on the recognition of ethnic differences. Abubakar (2003) asserts that federal character principle is intending to build a sense of belonging and participation by the diverse ethnic groups and power seeking groups in the governance of the post-colonial Nigeria.

Agbodike (2003), once more, noted that one of the major and most problematic features of federal character principle, as presently operated in the complexity of the interests and sections as represented by the North, South, state, local government, ethnic and religious group affiliations. He gives an instance that the creation of more states and local governments and the establishment of federal educational institutions in every state



to promote greater representational opportunities pave way for the multiplication of government and administrative units and facilities which become disturbingly expensive to the nation. He added that this is often done against the evidence of the inability of the new states and local government to discharge their statutory duties as a result of their inability, and thus federal character principle has compounded the problem it was expected to manage.

Uroh (2001) once more, noted that one of the reasons why the principle of federal character, quota system, educationally disadvantaged sections and soon have become noticeable in the recent dispensation in Nigeria is as a result of too much political, economic, bureaucratic powers that are concentrated at the centre. He added that for this, every group aspires to control the power at the centre just in the same manner the

hegemony of the central government is visible in all the nooks and cranny.

**Theoretical Framework** The theory adopted for this study is the Prebendal theory of Politics.

Prebendalism, is a political perspective developed by Richard Joseph in 1983, will be used in this paper to explain the political appointments and the violations of federal character principle in Nigeria 2015 till date. In analytical term, prebendalism as theorized illuminates the nitty gritty of how the primordial public network works to sabotage the working of an ideal Weberian bureaucracy in the civic public thereby rendering the Nigerian political structure a site of mere struggle for power and “sharing rights”. The only exception is that the sharing network does not apply only to the narrow definition of non-state actors captured. Prebendalism denotes the prominence attached to the “struggle to control and exploit the offices of the state” (Joseph, 1987:1). Because the state occupies the



central position in the economy, providing access to material goods, wealth and power, it becomes attractive for competitive access through which the Zero Sum game entitles the winner(s) to the exclusive rights to exploit the state office. This practice corresponds to what Morris Szeftel (1982) refers to as the use of the state as “a resource in itself. The resulting „pseudo-modern” institutions of the Nigerian state capture perfectly, the intricacies of prebendalism as Joseph (1987:67) further defines it as:

*a prebendal system will be seen not only as one in which the offices of the state are allocated and then exploited as benefits by the office -holders but also as one where such a practice is legitimated by a set of political norms according to which the appropriation of such offices is not just an act of individual greed or ambition but concurrently the satisfaction of the short term objectives of a subset of the general population What is particularly intriguing about this theoretical formulation is the fact that the prebendal system that is considered to satisfy.*

To distinguish prebendalism from the existing terms usually applied to theorize on similar political economy such as Nigeria namely: patrimonialism, clientelism,

patronage systems, patron - client clusters which are used interchangeably to refer to the same phenomenon, Joseph (1987: 63) defines clientelism as “the nature of individual and group relationships within the wider socio -political sphere, while prebendalism is primarily a function of the competition for, and appropriation of, the offices of the state”

Application of the theory Richard Joseph’s “theory of prebendal politics” provides and provokes

stimulating analyses of the work political appointments and the violation of the federal character principle in Nigeria. The theory shows that the constituent ethnicities of Nigeria’s federal society are the bases for the organization, mobilization, and legitimization of prebendalism’s ethno-clientelistic networks of patronage, corruption, and rent seeking.

Similarly, the innovative Nigerian principle of “federal character,” according to which the country’s ethno-regional diversity must be





reflected in all governmental appointments and disbursements, has effectively transformed prebendalism (or the personal, factional, and communal appropriation of public offices) “from an informal norm of political competition into a directive principle of state policy,” as claimed by Joseph (1998 :56). More important, the fragmentation of Nigeria into a multiplicity of centrally funded, sub national state and local governments has vastly expanded and multiplied the access points and conduits for the individual and sectional appropriation of public power and resources. Indeed, the Nigerian federal system operates almost exclusively as a mechanism for the intergovernmental distribution and ethno-political appropriation of centrally collected oil revenues. In short, the system abets, and is enmeshed and subsumed in an overall context of, prebendal, politic.

Prebendalism in Nigeria has involved the systematic use of official state resources

(budgets, appointments, licenses, permits, etc.) for the private benefits of the office holders and their political or communal clienteles. Given Africa’s intense ethnic diversity and weak class and other on communal affiliations, these patron-client networks have been organized largely along sectional (local, ethnic, subethnic, regional, and religious) lines.

What makes prebendalism an enduring theory of Nigeria’s political economy is its insightful analysis of how the prebendal system has gained acceptance in the wider political concept both on written legal codes and unwritten normative practices. Terms like zoning, federal character, revenue allocation formula, etc are legally designed to “share” the state in terms of recruitment of personnel into the civil service, military and paramilitary services, appointment of heads of government parastatal, admissions to Universities and other training institutions are also part of it. One clear violation of





Weberian ideals is that meritocracy is sacrificed for mediocrity in preference for candidates to fill bureaucratic positions of the state. To worsen the situation, each individual holding state's office is constantly aware of his route of ascension to such position and in most cases, primordial interests supersede national interests in decisions that should be taken on their merits.

### **Methods of Data Collection**

The study adopted the documentary method for its data collection. Hence there are no statistical analysis. Data for the study were collected from extant works related to the topic, hence, the data were collected from textbooks, journal articles, book chapters, official documents, internet sources.

### **Political Appointments in Nigeria from 2015 till date**

The appointments since 2015 to federal office has drawn a great deal of criticism, especially across the southern half of Nigeria. This is because it has disproportionately

favor the Northern part of Nigeria. The immediate cause of the disenchantment is the ethnic origins of the officials the president named to the positions at issue. Their qualifications are not in dispute. But central to the issue in the news media and public discourse, the appointments have been described as "lopsided", as reflecting insensitivity to the plurality of the Nigerian state, and as having stirred up "outrage across Nigeria, (Eme and Okeke 2017).

Furthermore, Nigerians have long argued over discrimination, but the recent upsurge in perceived arbitrariness and bias in the Federal appointments by the presidency since 2015 has sparked concern that the matter is now becoming a dangerous tradition. The federal character principle is a key issue in the attempt to deal with the Nigerian question. Section

14 (3) of the 1999 Constitution states:

*the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal*



*character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies.*

The federal character principle is therefore structured to ensure strong and indivisible nation based on justice and fairness, while also ensuring that a sense of belonging of all Nigerians is still maintained. As laudable as the above policy maybe, and the entrenchment of the concept in the nation's constitution, its application has remained a debatable topic against which some critics have claimed that the policy comprises the merit system. This creates an enabling environment for those that are only qualified to be employed into the Nigerian civil service, thereby fostering quality service rendering for the development of the country (Authors: 2018). It is therefore at this note that the writers wish to make the following assertion: the Federal character principle has

become a problem instead of solution to problems it was expected to tackle. In assessing the Federal Character from the merit perspective, it also asserts that the federal character principle is counter-productive. This study therefore seeks to examine the political appointments made from 2015 till date and ascertain how it violates the federal character principle as enshrined in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. According to Bolaji (2015), the age-long ethnic divisions and mutual suspicion among Nigerians have been brought to the fore once again. President Buhari recently announced the appointment of six individuals including the Secretary to the Federal Government and this announcement has been met with criticisms from different sections of the Nigerian society. Now President Buhari has been tagged the "King of the North" in an article by no less a person than Chief Femi Fani-Kayode who described the president's



appointments in three months after he was sworn into office as a mess. He also asserted that among his first appointments, even while he dithered on assembling a cabinet: he recalled a retired officer to man the Department of State Services; a former army officer to head the Nigeria Customs Service; a personal acquaintance as Chief of Staff, and loaded the other security and law enforcement agencies heavily in favour of Northerners.

While the DSS head is from his hometown, Daura, the others are also almost all Northerners and overwhelmingly Muslims. In spite of public opinion, he replaced the immediate past Inspector-General of Police, a Southerner, with a Northerner, an assistant inspector-general whose ascension induced the retirement in one fell swoop of 21 DIGs and AIGs who were senior to him. Anakwenze (2016), in like manner asserted that, under the provisions of the Constitution, the government must ensure “the principles

of the proportional sharing of all bureaucratic, economic media and political posts at all levels of government. He added, that the Buhari should adhere to the well-being of all Nigerians and not driven by a pattern of bigotry, religious or ethnic chauvinism. He equally added that

President Buhari’s appointments are misappropriate for a nation that holds together six geo-political zones, 774 local governments over 250 ethnic groups, adding that records have shown that only 25% of the president’s appointments were from the South, while an overwhelming 75% are from the North. (Anigam 2015). It is not new in the Nigerian polity what Buhari is doing particularly to those in the South. It is the reenactment of the Northernization policy of late Ahmadu Bello who canvassed and practiced the Northernization policy where all good positions must be occupied by Northerners. He added that Buhari is the President of Nigeria, and not the President of



one section of the country, that is, the North and as such, is required by law to adhere to the Constitution and as such the constitution must not be taken for granted. According to Ndubuisi (2015:8), he stated:

*he has no reason as the elected President of Nigeria to disregard the oath he swore to uphold the of Nigeria Constitution. The control of all judiciary, executive, legislature, the control of strategic positions of federal parastatals, all branches of security (military and para – military) by Northerners is reprehensible and unacceptable to the people of Southern Nigeria in general and to the Igbos in particular.*

Ndubuisi (2015:8) also stated that, Muhammadu Buhari, has just announced appointments of some very sensitive positions, and his appointments do not conform in any regard to the unity and progress of the nation.

Virtually all the key positions in the country, starting from the President, to the National Assembly, the judiciary, the financial sector, the armed forces, etc, are mostly occupied by candidates from the northern part of the country, which is in total disregard to the provisions of the Constitution.

#### Representations of Appointments in Tables and Graphs.

Table 1. The service chiefs.

S/N	Name of the Appointee	Portfolio	Zone
1	Lawal Daura	Director General Department of State Security	North West
2	Abayomi Olonihakin	Chief of Defense Staff	North East
3	T.Y. Burutai	Chief of Army Staff	North East
4	Ibot Ette Ekwe Ibas	Chief of Naval Staff	South South
5	Sadique Abubuka	Chief of Air Staff	North East
6	Riku Morgan	Chief of Defense Intelligence	North Central
7	Babagam Munguno	National Security Adviser	North East



8	Abdulaghima Muhammed	Commander General NSCDC	North Central
9	Hameed Ali	Comptroller General Nigeria Customs	North West
10	Muhamed Babandede	Comptroller General Nigeria Immigration Service	North West
11	Ibrahim Idris	Inspector General of Police	North Central

Source: (compiled by the authors)

From the above table, the president Muhamadu Buhari led Administration has appointed 11 service chiefs, out of the 11 of these, 10 are from the Northern part of Nigeria, 1 is only from the South – South Region none is appointed from both south east and south West.

Table 2. The table that shows the appointment into Federal Parastatals

S/N	Name of the Appointee	Portfolio	Zone
1	Sunday Dare	Executive Commissioner National Communications Commissions	South- West
2	Ahmed Idris	Accountant General	North-West
3	Anthony Ayine	Auditor General	South-South
4	Mahmood Yakubu	Chairman Independent National Electoral Commissioner	North-East
5	Hadiza Bala Usman	Managing Director Nigeria Ports Authority	North-East
6	Dakuku Peterside	Director General Nigerian Maritime and Safety Agency	South-South
7	Sen. Olabiyi Durujaiye	Chairman Nigerian Communications Commissions	South-South



8	Babatunde Fowlwer	Chairman Federal Inland Revenue Service	South-West
9	Ahmed Lawan Kuru	Managing Director Assess Management Company of Nigeria	North-East
10	Mary Ekpere	Director General National Center for Women Development	South -South
11	Funsho Doherty	Director General Pension Commission	South-West
12	Dikko Abdulrahman	Chairman Bank of Industry	North-East
13	Adebayo Somefun	MD Nigeria Social Insurance Trust Fund	South-West
14	Lady Azinye Azuka	AG Registrar General	South-East
15	Alex Okoh	Director General Bureau for Public Enterprise	South-South
16	Nasisru Ladan	Director General National Directorate for Employment	North-Central

17	Saliu Alabi	DG Michael Imoudu National Institute for Labour Studies	North Central
18	Jeffery Barminas	DG (RICT)	North East
19	Folarin Gbadebo Smith	DG NISER	South- West
20	Shettima Abba	Chairman Federal Character Commission	North East
21	Tunde Irukera	Executive Secretary CPC	North-Central
22	Umar Gamba Jibrin	Executive Secretary Federal Capital Development Authority	North-Central



23	Roli Bode George	Chief Executive Officer Nigeria Drug and Law Enforcement Agency	North – East
24	Garba Abari	Director General National Orientation Agency	North-East
25	Brig. General Sule Kazaure	Director General National Youth Service Corp	North-West
26	Jelam Aliyu	DG National Automotive Design and Development Council	North-West
27	Bayo Onunuga	Managing Director News Agency of Nigeria	South-West
28	Fola Akinkuotu	Managing Director Nation al Emergency Management Agency	South-West
29	Saleh Dunoma	Managing Director Federal Airport Authority of Nigeria	North- East
30	Sani Abubaka Mashi	Director General Nigeria Metrological Agency	North- West
31	Abduldadir Umar	Executive Secretary Petroleum Product Pricing Regulatory Agency	North- West
32	Elias Nwalem	Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Control Commission	South-East
33	Marilyn Amobi	Nigerian Bulk Electricity Trading	South-East
34	Faiasal Shuaib	National Primary Health Care Development Agency	North-Central
35	Umaru Ibrahim	Nigerian Deposit Insurance Cooperation	North-Central





36	Patience Oniha	Director General Debt Management Office	South-South
37	Lois Laraba Machuga	Director Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority	North-Central
38	Naziri Adio	Executive Secretary Nigerian Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative	South-West
39	Alhaji Adebayo Thomas	Director General Film and Censor's Board	South-West

(compiled by the authors).

Table 3: Table that shows the Presidential Aides

S/N	NAME OF THE APPIONTEE	PORTFOLIO	ZONE
1	Boss Mustapha	Secretary to the Government of the Federation	North East
2	Mallam Abba Kyari	Chief of Staff to the President	North East
3	Mr. Garba Shehu	Senior Special Assistant to the President on (Media & Publicity)	North West
4	Mr. Sarki Abba	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Household and Social Events)	North East
5	Mrs. Foluso Idumu	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Administration),	South West
6	Dr. Suhayb Sanusi Rafindadi	Personal Physician to the President.	North West
7	Ya'u Shehu Darazo	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Special Duties)	North East



8	Sen. Eta Enang	Senior Special Assistant to the President (NASS Matters - Senate)	South South
9	Hon. Suleiman Abdurrahman Kawu, (CFR)	Senior Special Assistant to the President (NASS Matters – House of Reps	North West

10	Mr. Gideon Samani	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Political), OSGF	North West
11	Abike Dabiri-Erewa	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Foreign Affairs & Diaspora)	South West
12	Ibrahim Bapetel Hassan	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Policy Development & Analysis),	North East
13	Dr. Samuel Ankeli	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Physically Challenged Persons)	North Central
14	Prof. Adamu Kyuka. Usman	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Legal, Research & Documentation)	North West
15	Princess (Mrs.) Adejoke O. Adefulire	Senior Special Assistant to the President on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	South West
16	Mr. Emmanuel Oludolapo Bright	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Management Team)	South West



17	Ahmed Rufai Abubakar	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Foreign Affairs/Int. Relations COS)	North West
18	Farouk Gumel	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Special Duties - COS)	North West
19	Fola Oyeyinka	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Matters COS)	South West
20	Bode Oyetunde	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Finance and Fiscal Policy - COS)	South West
21	Abdul Mutallab Mukhtar	Senior Special Assistant to the President (General Duties/ Executive Assistant - COS)	North West

22	Musa Shafi'i	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Administration - COS)	North West
23	Mr. Edobor Iyamu	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Matters)	South South
24	Mr. Ismaeel Ahmed	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Social Investment Programmes)	North West
25	Ms. Olayinka Oyeneyin	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Project Management)	South West
26	Ms. Imeh Patience Okon	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Infrastructure)	South South



27	Mr. Folarin Alayande	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Recovery and Growth Plan), Office of the Minister of Budget and National Planning	South West
28	Sani Yakubu	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Recovery and Growth Plan), Office of the Minister of Budget and National Planning	North West
29	Mr. Daniel Oseaga	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Recovery and Growth Plan), Office of the Minister of Budget and National Planning	South- South
30	Dr. Effiong Essien	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Economic Recovery and Growth Plan), Office of the Minister of Budget and National Planning	South South
31	Amina Ado	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Oil & Gas Policy),	North West

32	Mohammed Salisu	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Development Policy)	North East
33	Adesegun Agbebiyi	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Private Sector Matters),	South West



34	Francis Anatogu	Senior Special Assistant to the President (Public Sector Matters),	South East
35	Saleh Yuguda	Special Assistant to the President (Housekeeping).	North East
36	Mr. Sabi'u Yusuf	Special Assistant (Personal Assistant) to the President	North West
37	Mrs. Anne H. Ewohime	Special Assistant to the President	North West
38	Mohammad Hamisu Sani	Special Assistant to the President (Special Duties)	North West
39	Mr. Tochi Nwachukwu	Special Assistant to the President (Power Privatization),	South East
40	Ayuba Balami	Special Assistant to the President on Social Events.	North East
41	Nasiru Adhama	Special Assistant to the President (Youth & Students Affairs)	North West
42	Ahmed Muhammadu Mayo	Special Assistant to the President on Finance & Administration	North East
43	Ayuba Musa Birma	Special Assistant to the President (Political)	North East
44	Tolu Ogunlesi	Special Assistant to the President on Digital/New Media	South West
45	Shehu Garba	Special Assistant to the President on Physically Challenged	Norht West



46	Mrs. Juliet Chikaodili Ibekaku-Nwagwu	Special Assistant to the President on (Reforms)	South East
47	Mr. Kehinde Isaac Oginni	Special Assistant to the President on (Financial Crimes)	South South

48	Alhaji Ahmadu Giade	Special Assistant to the President on (Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances)	North East
49	Mr. Sylvester Imhanobe	Special Assistant to the President on (Research/Special Projects)	South South
50	Chief Okoi Ofem ObonoObla	Special Assistant to the President on (Prosecution)	South South
51	Mr. Abiodun Ayodeji	Aiikomo Special Assistant to the President on (Financial Crimes)	South West
52	Mallam. Tijjani Yusuf	Special Assistant to the President on (General Duties.)	North Central
53	Adeyemi Ayodeji	Special Assistant to the President (Media) Federal Ministry of Information.	South West
54	Akinkunmi Taiwo Michael	Special Assistant to the President (for life	South West
55	Mr. Arukaino Thomas Umukoro	Special Assistant to the President (Communication Projects)	South South
56	Miss Lilian Idiaghe	Special Assistant to the President(Legal Matters)	South South



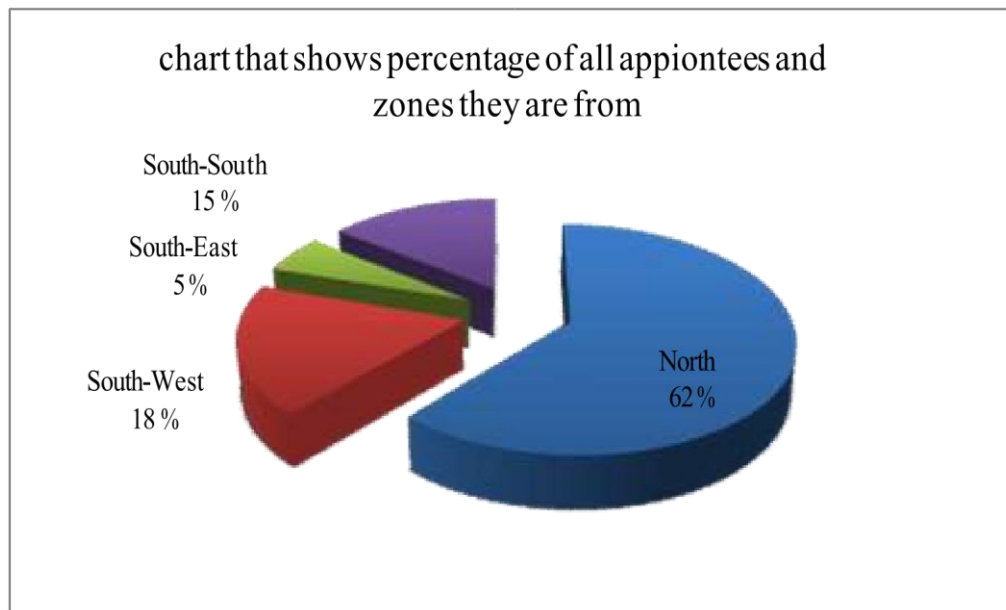
57	Omowumi Omotayo)	Special Assistant to the President(Domestic Affairs	South West
58	Friday Bethel	Personal Assistant to the President (General Duties)	North East
59	Bashir Ahmed	Personal Assistant to the President (Hausa/Facebook)	North West
60	Sunday Aghaeza	Personal Assistant to the President(State Photographer)	South South
61	Bayo Omoboriowo	Personal Assistant to the President (Presidential Photographer)	South West
62	Abubakar Ibrahim	Personal Assistant to the President (Domestic Affairs)	North West
63	Abdulmalik Ibrahim	Personal Assistant to the President (Domestic Affairs)	North Central
64	Stanley Diakochi	Personal Assistant to the President (Domestic Affairs)	South South
65	Ali Ahmed Personal	Assistant to the President (Domestic Affairs)	North Central
66	Abdulmimini Bello	Personal Assistant to the President (Special Duties)	North East
67	Naziru Mohammad Bashiru	Personal Assistant to the President (TV MEDIA)	North West
68	Shaaban Ibrahim Sanda	Personal Assistant to the President(Broadcast Media)	North West



69	Faith Pukuma	Personal Assistant to the President (Social Events)	North East
70	Lauretta Onochie	Personal Assistant to the President (Social Media)	South East

(compiled by the authors)

From the table, there are 70 appointees, 39 are from the North, 15 are from the South- West, 12 are from the South-South and only 4 are from the South-East.



The chart that clearly represents all the appointments made from 2015 till date with their zones and numbers. From the chart, there are 130 appointees, 80 are from the North which represents 62.5% , 24 are from the South West which represents 18.4%, 7 are from the South-East which represents 5.3% and 19 are from the South-South which represents 14.6%. From data, graphs, tables shown, the writers have come to the conclusion that the political appointments made from the 2015 till date have been widely dominated by only one ethnic group in Nigeria which is the Northern part of Nigeria. This is not in conformity with the Federal Character Principle which is enshrined in the Section



130 (1) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

Having gone through the works of these scholars on the subject matter, the writers in addition to the debate on ground posit that that the recent history of federal character politics shows an unmistakable trend toward the division of loyalties and elitism, the doctrine has it that no one in Nigeria can be directly recognized for his merit and contributions without coming via ethnic and regional identity. The paper examines the political appointments and how it violated the federal character in Nigeria from 2015 till date. It observed that the Federal Character principle as practiced in Nigeria diverts emphasis from merit (based on hard work and achievement) to sharing privileges and benefits accruable from representative bureaucracy, it thus limits national development. The application of Federal Character principle practiced in Nigeria does

not conform to some features of the Weberian bureaucratic model of rationality in the procurement, appointments and promotion of employees as cardinal planks upon which formal organizations should be built. The paper observed that the practice of the Federal Character principle in Nigeria suffers from a major contradiction, because it brings about division amongst Nigerians rather than foster unity as was originally intended by its proponents as a policy option for managing the challenge of equal representation of people from different segments of the society in a multi-ethnic state like Nigeria.

### **Recommendations**

The study recommended the following:

- To overcome the shortcomings of the FC principle application for sustainable development, there is the need to tinker with the current practice of federalism in Nigeria, with an eye on restructuring for progress. Merit should constitute a weighty



consideration, even in seeking to achieve geo-political balancing on any political appointment.

- The Max Weber's theory of Merit System should be equally be applied in seeing that those who are to be given appointment are selected through merit not spoils.

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