

Representative Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Practice in Nigeria Civil Service

 Augustine Ejiofor Onyishi¹; Solomon Ogbonna Abugu² & Cyriacus Chijioke Oji³
^{1.}Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka
^{2.}Department of Industrial Relations and Personnel Management, Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike:
^{3.}Department of Archeology and Tourism, University of Nigeria, Nsukka:
*Corresponding author: cyriacuschijioke@gmail.com

Abstract

It is no doubt vital in any heterogeneous society to identify a lasting principle that is all inclusive to eliminate or reduce envy or bigotry to the barest minimum. There is also no doubt that, it is in the quest to secure a national integration build on sustainable development that the idea of representative bureaucracy was introduced in the Nigeria civil service system in form of federal character principle. This study, hence, attempt to explore the degree to which, it's been practiced with empirical data generated from the secondary source. Specifically, it attempts to ascertain if there is a relationship between the principles of representative bureaucracy and the civil service configuration in Nigeria public institutions. The study employed the qualitative method of data collection and analysis with trend research design and the Marxist class theory as its framework of analysis and reveal that the composition of civil service personnel contradicts its basic principles and representative philosophy. It therefore, recommends that the less regional preference is pursued in favor of general representation, in employment process into federal civil service the greater the social cohesion and sustainable development in the Nigeria.

Keywords: Federal character principle, class theory, political class, minority group, ethnicity, trend

Introduction

The established modes of communication in the modern societies between the government and the governed have been challenged by prevailing far-reaching changes in the contemporary approaches and methods of administration. Most importantly, the prevalent social disparities and cultural differences in modern societies are gradually gaining profound recognition in the civil service composition globally. In the modern times there is no particular conventional model of bureaucracy, but there are commonly accepted characteristics and rules governing any brand of bureaucracy. Given that there are certain inescapable implications in the working attributes of any bureaucracy as already acknowledged by the founding fathers. Thorough examination and merit principles are usually the bases upon which recruitment and promotion processes are done in any ideal bureaucracy. This recruitment and promotion principles subsumes all the available classes of people in the concerned society, irrespective of their social or ethnic background, who works together with a view to realizing the organizational



objectives. Everyone from this heterogeneous group independent of their origin is expected to contribute his/her quota in the quest for the realization of the organizational goals. But it appeared that most societies, especially in the developing countries are finding it difficult to adhere to the principle of bureaucracy in the period of recruitment and promotion.

The philosophical foundation governing representative bureaucracy is embedded in the elimination of all kind of ethnic dominations. Persuaded or stimulated by tribalism, nepotism, and personal emotions, through patronization of different interest groups within the society during recruitment and promotion process in the governance system. In Nigeria the philosophical bases of representative bureaucracy is expected to promote a behavioural transition from the prevailing primeval ethnic loyalty to a desired unified mindset that is truly committed to promoting nation building, national integration as well as national consciousness devoid of ethnic loyalties. This is due to the prevailing and observable ominous imbalanced resource distribution and ethnic disenchantment that is building up in the country. Although, in the quest for inclusive government framework, a number of powers sharing formula for comprehensive and accountable government have been introduced, and or, experimented by the political elites, nevertheless, they appeared more in theory than in practice. One of which is the famous FCP (federal character principle) that was introduced by the Nigeria government in 1979 to assuage the emerging ethnic tension that developed after the civil war. In fact its significant even appears to be in the rising trend as the contemporary public sector managements continued to operates in a progressively more multicultural society (Mosher, 1968; Sowa & Selden, 2003). This may be as a result of the general assumption of a good number of scholars in this academic specialty, which support the hypothesis that representative bureaucracy should be employed and promoted in any organized society, since it will ultimately guide the concerned society to a more qualified and quality decision-making process in the public sector (Kingsley, 1944; Meier, 1975; Meier & Stewart, 1992).

It has been argued that the promotion and application of representative bureaucracy in any organized society would as well enhance effective policy implementations, more-satisfied and better-served clientele groups in addition to innovative and motivated employees in the public sector (Meier, 1993). This is because



instead of lackadaisical attitudes the employees may exhibit in the work place, guided by a parochial believe that their tribe or region are the sole owner of a particular sector or public organization and for that will behave as they wish in the workplace. They will be guided by the bureaucratic fact that they either give in their best for the survival and development of the sector or risk being downsized by the management of the concerned organization. It may probably be the reason why Alfaro and Thom-Otuya (2014) contends that equity and inclusiveness are essential as well as fundamental to good governance in any developmental minded society. It may also explain why previous scholars have posited that a useful supplementary technique for ensuring the dependable use of bureaucratic discretion is achieved only when the opinions, attitudes, and values, of a particular bureaucracy reflect the composition of those over which it governs (Long, 1952; Van Riper, 1958 & Thom-Otuya, 2014). At that point, the entire system of governance to all intent and purpose became a representative organization that may enhance the various representations of other political and non-political organizations including the elected representatives (Selden, et, al. 1998; Sowa, & Selden, 2003). This view of the theory of representative bureaucracy has also been succinctly highlighted by Frederick Mosher in one of his classic works titled Democracy and the public service, which was published in 1968. In this particular study, he made an insightful note on active representation in public organization with a particular emphasis on the potential benefit built around the formal recognition of the unity in diversities in any heterogeneous organized society such as Nigeria.

It has been argued that the attainment of public unity in any heterogeneous society is a corollary of the spirit of representation in an equitable and transparent manner that accommodates the principle of diversity management in bureaucratic representation (Federal Character Commission. 2006). The emphasis is always on the prerequisite for all-encompassing governing structure that will command legitimacy among the governed. It is at this point that the pervasive attribute of the representative bureaucracy in governance is brought into scrutiny after which it was confirmed as the best option for public management and good governance (2006). It is in the quest for all-inclusive bureaucracy that the Nigeria government established the Federal Character Commission (FCC) to provide the principles upon which the recruitment of the Nigeria civil servants



shall be based. The principle provides that every federal establishment must reflect a representation of the federating units. And if the available number of positions is not enough to go round the federating units, then the method of distribution shall be based on regional system, but if the position to be shared is only two in number and cannot go round, the division shall be based on south-north system (that is, between the northern and southern zone), however, the principle maintained that in a situation where the indigenes of a particular state do not have the capability to absorb or fill-up the vacancies or positions allocated to them by the principle, then the indigenes of any other state(s) within the same region shall be offered the opportunity to fill the vacancies or positions (FCC, 2006). All this are manifestation of the pursuit of probity and equity in all federal establishments. Consequently, this study will attempt a comprehensive review of the practice of the representative bureaucracy in the Nigeria civil service, but before that we shall present an assessment of relevant and related literatures that will guild the study as well as the methodology with which the study will proceed.

Methodology

Standard methodology simply presents the theoretical base for comprehending which technique can be applied in a particular research circumstance. Consequently, steps that would be adhered to in this particular research situation would include the research design, the method of data collection, the method of data analysis, the theoretical framework, related literature review and finally data presentation as well as analysis after which we shall draw an inference in form of conclusion and proffer recommendation based on the study findings. The research design employed in this study is the trend research design. In trend design every set of observations is aimed at different sample of the same population at various points in time. And the data collected from the observation can be used or is usually used to plot a trend (Kerlinger, 1986). The trend research design is a good example of non-experimental research design in the social science literature. In the data anthology, the qualitative method was preferred for this study. The potency of this procedure is its ability to offer textual exposition of how people acknowledge and perceive a particular research problem. In addition, when jointly applied with quantitative methods, the methods can assist to explicate better the complex reality of a given situation and the suggestion of a quantitative data in scholarly research.



To complete the sequence the qualitative method of data analysis was also employed in this academic enquiry, these two research approaches go in *pari pasu*, in an interactive conduct because the findings of the investigation will unquestionably support and, or facilitate the collection of subsequent data. We shall now turn to the next phase of this study, namely; the theoretical framework, after which we shall present a review of relevant literatures and present our data for analysis.

Theoretical Framework

The Marxian Class theory is employed in the analysis of this study on representative bureaucracy in Nigeria. The theory provides explanations for the eccentricity and recalcitrant practices in the operation of representative civil service in Nigerian. Preliminarily, the Marxian theory perceived bureaucracy as an instrument of class exploitation of the less opportune (Parkin, 1979). The basic tenet of the theory insists that a person's place within a class hierarchy is determined by their function in the production process, and contends that ideological and political consciousness is determined not by the socio-political environment but by the position of such class in the scheme of political and economic relations. Specifically, it views bureaucracy as an exploitative instrument controlled by the governing class in any society for the accumulation of capital within the socio-economic formation (Andrew, 1983). While it views class as those groups that share common values, consciousness and more importantly economic interests, and are prepared to engage in communal action that promotes such interests.

In reality the ruling class controls the essential motive force of any bureaucracy as instrument of development. It has been argued that the domination of the bureaucracy by one group or class can only be facilitated by the position of that group in the scheme of governance, which will help to advance their interest within that collectivity. The inability of the representative bureaucracy to function in Nigeria is attributed to the domineering structure of the neo-colonial capitalist class character of the state inherited from the colonial epoch (Obasi, 2005). The theory avers that the root of a fundamental contradiction between these groups and the rest of the society is always anchored on economic interest. Consequently, Nigeria state is generally an exploitative instrument in the hands of the dominant political class for consolidation of their influence on the rest of



the society, since the country's foundation is built on private property and by implication exploitation of the poor by the rich (2005). This is because the Nigerian state inevitably will reflect the capitalist character of the state from where they emanate.

Hence, the effective application of the representative bureaucracy or federal character principle in Nigeria can only succeed if they serve the interest of the ruling class within the government and of the derivative of its dominant class within the society, without which the realization of its principle in Nigeria public and civil service system would remain a negative possibility. The existing agitations by some of the disfavored groups in the society will not be attended to since they do not directly emanate from the voices of the subjugated and emotionally injured masses, but are manipulated and driven by material inducement orchestrated by some discontented faction of the political class within the society who have fallen out of favour with the dominant or ruling political class at that point in time (Idike et al. 2019).

Representative Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy as we know it is an inescapable feature of any public service in contemporary political societies. But representative bureaucracy refers to an inclusive public service and must be characterized by the demographic composition of the population it represents, and over which its guiding principle apply (Gidengil, & Vengroff 1997). Students of management sciences used the very term representative bureaucracy to refer to the relationship between the demographic compositions of the public sector personnel, especially, ethnicity race or cultural traits such as religion, language as well as gender and the general public it is supposed to represent (van der Meer & Roborgh, 1996). In other words, the concept 'representative bureaucracy' can be classified as a unit of study or a body of thought investigating the possibilities of government organization to function as representative political establishment as long as their employees reflect the demographic composition of the concerned society (Dolan & Rosenbloom, 2003). The term bureaucracy can be representative in two interrelated situations. It can be *passive* or active representation (Mosher, 1968). It becomes passive representation when the concern organization embraces employees from a particular group such as ethnic or racial minorities as well as women within its environment and disregards the rest of other groups. In other words, bureaucracy is referred to as passive representation when



the composition of its staffs or employees does not reflect the demographic expression of its environment, such as ethnic, religious or racial minorities found within it location. Or at least not proportional to those parts of the population with requisite qualification for such employment opportunity, which is very dangerous to any development-oriented organization. Regrettably scholars pay more attention on the degree to which passive representation occur in public organizations but little to the negative side of such representation (Goode & Baldwin, 2005; Hsieh & Winslow, 2006; Kelly & Newman, 2001; Riccucci, 2009).

The views of these scholars are the function of shared socialization experiences shaped by racial, gender and ethnic identities or something very close to that. The representative bureaucracy theory recommends that when public servants exercise discretionary authority and influence, their ideas and judgment are the product of, to certain extent, the values, attitudes, and beliefs they have developed over time on the foundation of their social conditions. Based on that assertion, it is likely that passive representation at some point can lead to the desired active representation (Meier, 1993). Perhaps, the established perception of human nature used by the protagonists of representative bureaucracy function as a good foundation of our brief summary of their belief and value systems. Naturally, a thematic examination of the public administration literature on representative bureaucracy disclosed substantial evidence compatible with the expected relationship between active and passive representation. It follows therefore, that the existence of minority group members within a particular bureaucratic environment has a positive relationship with the bureaucratic results compatible with the interest of the group members. Similar or corresponding result are also found on the researches exploring the woman representation and interest, specifically, when the subject matter examined is gender related or profoundly relevant to women folks (Keiser al., 2002). The major objective therefore, is to include the minority population in the activities of the wider society by providing opportunity for them to participate in the government, or even assume a reputable positions at the helm of government bureaucracy that was hitherto dominated by the majority ethnic group within the society that do not care or bother about the wellbeing of the minority ethnic groups (Dolan & Rosenbloom, 2003; Subramaniam, 1967).



This interconnected social shadow in typical representative bureaucracy is nevertheless, closely related to a highly grounded commitment to a diverse representation of group interests, naturally a comprehensive approach to group interest intervention. This prevalent approach to sectional composition of most bureaucracy and the existential lackadaisical attitude towards endorsement of plurality in demographic representation disconnect the approach to pro-diversity from the normative foundations of public administration that accept only the procedural individualism as a justifiable measure to assess human behavior (Taylor & Gutman, 1994). At the same time, it disconnects the protagonists of the diversity representation from the doctrine of more crisscross and single group-oriented supporters who are of the opinion that representative bureaucracy will do the government no good in the long run (Hood, 2000). In fact, it is understandable that most public institutions with higher proportion of minority groups in their policy-making functions are most likely to develop policy regulation or outcome that is compatible with interest of minority than public institutions with fewer minority groups.

The Civil Service

A branch of the government that is aligned usually with the executive arm is generally refers to as the civil service. Their expertise in no small way ensures a successful nation building and socio-economic development in any society. However, in Akinyemi (2010) the term civil service does not really encapsulate the above postulate, as it emphasizes certain administrative confusion that is consistent with the Nigeria civil service system, with a particular emphasis on the top civil servants and the administrative nomenclature consistent with the British tradition. The section 169, 171, 206, 208 as well as 318, including the section 10 of the Third Schedule of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria as amended, disambiguated the term civil service, at least in Nigeria context. As it defined it in section 318 specifically as the service of the federation in a civil capacity, as employees and, or personnel of the office of the President, the Vice President, ministry or department of the government of the federation assigned with the day-to-day management of every business of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria (FRN, 1999). The public service of the federation according to this provision subsumes the local government council services. The constitution also



distinguishes the civil service of the federation and the personal staffs of the president. The structure and orientation of the Nigeria civil service system was also reviewed by the Udoji Commission (1972) as well as the Adebo Commission (1970) with a view and objective of making it an effective tool for the promotion of sustainable human development in Nigeria. It is also on record that these commission recommended different avenues of civil service approached that are significant to the development of its environment, but the biggest difficulty associated with the service in contemporary times remains administrative red-tapism and insufficiency embedded in its methods (Idris, 2009).

The state and federal civil services were structured around government ministries or departments, with additional ministerial department that are controlled by ministers, in a federal situation but by commissioners at the states level. These heads are appointed by the governors at the state level and by the president at the federal levels. They are in charge of policy formulations in their respective administrative enclaves, and constitute the director generals of their respective organizations, originally refer to as the permanent secretaries. Until the second republic, the chief director general is known as the secretary to the government but was hitherto double as the head of civil service. The secretary, as chief adviser to the government functions as a link between the civil service and the government of the state or federation (Ibrahim, 2010). The main role of the director generals, both in the states and federal capacity is to directly advise the minister, if it's in a federal situation and the commissioner in the state level. With such functions they are expected to be politically nautical in all their conduct within the society. The strategic influence and powers of these administrative heads were so significant that during the military interregnum in Nigeria, they find it unnecessary to appoint civilian political heads to man the government parastatals. Even when the civilian political leaders were finally appointed by the military, it took a long time to manage or control the power and influence of the DGs or permanent secretaries (Bamidele, 2007).

In this context, the concept is defined as an array of professional and administrative employees engaged on a permanent and pensionable arrangement to a specific post by the state or federal government, primarily, to recommend, council, advice and execute public policies (Litwin, & Stringer, 2008). To throw more light on the above



postulate, it has also been argued in Anazodo et al (2012) that the Nigeria civil service encompasses all the employees of the various departments or ministries not including those personnel on political appointments. Nevertheless, to others, the concept 'civil service' is usually employed in the management discourse in reference to a group of men and women engaged by the state and federal government in a civil capacity and on no political career ground mainly to function and dependably promote the government policies, decisions and implementation (Ipinlaiye, 2001). In synopsis, or at least from Baldwin (2006) perspective, the concept "civil service" is generally used to refer to the machinery of government. However, the introduction of representative bureaucracy with the concomitant quota system of recruitment and promotion in the civil service system no doubt ushered in a new approach to the definition of the concept. The acceptance of the principles of the representative bureaucracy which found expression in the federal character principles in Nigeria civil service, and the perpetual government intervention in the day-to-day activities only indicates that the bureaucratic principles has given way to other factors including political interference in the civil service activities (Odeniga, 2007). Although, the reform's major aim is to ensure a result-oriented, dynamic and virile civil service committed to encouragement of the country's sustainable human development, this tendency led to the increase in the commissioners or ministers' powers.

As they become completely accountable to their commissions or ministries. Under the reform, the appointments director generals become exclusive reserve of the politicians, while their tenure duration becomes dependent on the will of the incumbent government. The implication of this is that the director generals do not have to be career civil servants, and this condenses their career prospect which is inimical to organizational development. Under the reform, all the ministries were professionalized to the point that all the officials irrespective of their ingenuity complete their career in one ministry. This was not the case in the previous civil service regulation where officials could move from one ministry to the next depending on where their skills are mostly required. At the highest echelon of governance, that can be referred to, as the presidency the reform established department which subsumes the top official of the government that will



oversee the formulation of government policies as well as their execution. We shall now turn to the next subheading.

Practice of Representative Bureaucracy in Nigeria Civil Service

Prevailing data indicates that the employees of Nigeria public institutions instead of reflecting the demographic composition of the country only replicate the ethnic origin of the dominant political class within the government of the federation and the derivative of its guidance class within the society. Ijewereme (2018), in one of his studies averred that the question of finding a public institution that will reflect the demographic characteristics of the Nigeria population was taken up chaotically. And this creates a socio-political economic situation that gave rise to unpredictability of the composition of federal civil service personnel. Within the structure, composition and the application of representative bureaucracy in Nigeria civil service, there is an understandable disconnect between the policy blueprint and the policy execution. That is, a complete disengagement between the intention to do something and what is actually done. The consequences of such situation, is the prevalent crisis of national integration and economic development in the country that has risen to the point of constant demand for restructuring or outright dissolution of the geographical formation called Nigeria. This crisis arises mainly from the compromised principles of representative bureaucracy which states that 'to be a representative system, a government bureaucracy must as a matter of necessity reflect the cross-section of the body politic in terms of origin, class, tribes and the likes within the society over which it serves or control.

Unfortunately, the political class and senior bureaucrats in Nigeria civil service do not see it that way. They violate these representative principles through overpoliticization of Nigeria public institutions, predominantly in the recruitment, selection or appointment process (Idike et al.2019). This is evident in the history of appointments made by different political leaders since the introduction of the representative bureaucracy, inform of federal character principle in Nigeria administrative system. This has promoted national administrative exclusion rather than social equity in the country's civil service system. History has revealed that instead of adhering to the principles of representative bureaucracy as enshrined in the federal character principle the composition of Nigeria civil service has been dominated by the tribe, region or religion



that control the federal government, starting from Abubakar Tafawa Balewa 1960 – 1966 to Mohadu Buhari 2015 till dat. For example, under Obasanjo administration, major civil service positions were offered to personnel from south-west regions, particularly from Ogun state, his state of origin, also during the Murtala Mohamed era the civil service monopoly shifted to the north, particularly to the northern Kano. It also tilted towards the south-south region particularly Bayelsa during the Goodluck Jonathan's presidency. The fact is that, both Abdul Salam Abubakar, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Ibrahim Babangida, Umaru Yar'Adua, Ernest Shonekan, Olusegun Obasanjo, Sani Abacha, Muhammadu Buhari were all caught in the web of ethnic or regional favoritism to the detriment of representative principle (Saleh, 2018). A genuine historical review of the application of the representative bureaucracy otherwise known as federal character principle in Nigeria will reveal that the composition of civil service contradicts its principles and representative philosophy (see Appendix 1).

This encourages bickering among citizens and public officials from the disadvantaged regions particularly concerning the mode of appointments or recruitment into the federal public institutions. Study has revealed that, about 60% of all the Heads of Parastatals in Nigeria are from Hausa/Fulani ethnic origin; the same percentage is also applicable to the number of Generals in the Nigeria military who are also of Hausa/Fulani ethnic extraction, 80% of Nigerians offered Oil Wells currently in the Niger Delta region are from Hausa/Fulani ethnic group, the SSS (State Security Service) is also not left out in the Hausa/Fulani domination in federal institutions as they account for about 70% of the entire staffs population; the same ethnic groups are also in control of about 60% of the top positions in the Nigeria federal institutions such as the Nigeria Immigration, Nigeria Police Force, Nigerian Ports Authority and Nigerian Prison Services (Idike et al. 2019). The domination of the northern citizens particularly the Hausa/Fulani in the federal civil service as well as the military and paramilitary institutions is also consistent with the length of their domination in the Nigeria political leadership (see appendix). This narrative gradually began to change as the southern part of the country particularly the southwest and specifically the Yoruba nation got into the corridor of power and tilted the trend to favor the Yoruba ethnic groups. This explains why all the Permanent Secretaries in Federal Ministries in contemporary times reflects a significant percent of Yoruba



ethnic origin; in fact, it is made up of about 80% indigenous Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani ethnic group combine. The remaining 20% is distributed unevenly among other region or tribes depending on their position in the corridor of power. Also, the citizens of Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba ethnic extraction combined accounts for about 90% of the entire employees of the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB), the Federal Secretariat's records also display 80% of the Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba ethnic origin in their staff strength, but the worst is that of the National University Commission (NUC) that have 95% of the professors and workers credited to Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba tribes combined (Asaju & Egberi, 2015).

The same record is also evident in the staff records of the anti-graft agencies such as the EFCC and the ICPC as well as the Foreign Missions, both in the United Nations, African Union, and the ECOWAS. However, as 70% of all the Nigeria Ambassadors and High Commissioners are extracted Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba tribes, 95% of all their staffs abroad are also of the tribe combined (Idike et al.2019). The above data depicts no relationship between the representative bureaucracy or federal character principles and the structure and configuration of the federal civil service in Nigeria but has shown a positive relationship between the civil service configuration and structure and the tribe or region in power. Personnel or tribes from other part of the country particularly southeastern Nigeria are rarely seen in the federal civil service or other ministries not because they are incompetent but because they do not control the federal government and have no strong representative in the center. This is evident in the Nigerian Railway Corporation whose staff record showed about 270 staffs of Igbo extraction out 431 staffs of the corporation, leaving 161 positions to other tribes in the country.

The only discernible reason for that is not because the recruitment exercise was done on merit bases but because the chairman was from Igbo extraction (Asaju & Egberi, 2015) as cited in Idike et al .(2019). The most damaging aspect of the practice of federal character principles in Nigeria can be found in most of the bureaucracies and public services of the federation, where permanent secretaries are roundly disrespected due to their state of origin (Ekeh, 1989). The issue of impartial representation in the Nigeria federal civil or public service remains the key problems of sustainable national development in the country, therefore impartial and fair representation in federal civil



and public services, both selected, elected and appointed positions should therefore, become a natural demand on multi-ethnic societies, such as Nigeria (Onyishi, 2018). It becomes even more important when we consider the fact that bureaucratic domination in any capacity is capable of strengthening hegemonic influence of one tribe or region over the other which might breed schisms in the work place and threaten the achievement of sustainable development both in the short and long run.

Conclusion

It is, no doubt, of the essence in any heterogeneous society to identify a lasting approach to public issues that will be all inclusive so as to reduce envy or bigotry to the barest minimum. It is in response to this necessity that representation was introduced in the Nigeria civil service. But this study revealed that this representative approach which found expression in Nigeria federal character principle stipulates that, every federal establishment must reflect a representation of the federating units. The study also revealed that the application of representative bureaucracy in Nigeria public administration is only in theory and very far from practice. Since the leaders has continued to ignore the basic principles and rather perceive it as method of expanding their economic influence and political tentacles in the country. Rather than an avenue for promoting unity in diversity through the recruitment of competent hands from a heterogeneous society into the federal civil service to ensure unity build upon sustainable national development. The logical study pinpointed how they violate these representative principles through over-politicization of Nigeria public institutions, predominantly in the recruitment, selection or appointment process to appease the dominant political class.

This is evident in the history of appointments made by different political leaders since the introduction of the representative bureaucracy, inform of federal character principle in Nigeria administrative system. The study concludes that it has promoted national administrative exclusion rather than social equity in the country's civil service system. It also maintained that the realities of Nigeria civil service recruitment or promotion are dependent on the region or tribe that controls the instruments of the federal government. In synopsis ethnicity and religious loyalties are the major shortcoming of representative bureaucracy in Nigeria. The prevailing preference for



ethnic affiliation in appointment has a negatively impact, not just on the nature of representation in the civil service, but also on the capacity of the federal civil service to deliver on its mandate. The study therefore, recommends that the less regional preference is pursued in favor of general representation, in employment or appointment into the federal civil service the greater the social cohesion and sustainable development in the Nigeria. Therefore, addressing the problems of representation in the federal civil service as well as other related federal institutions is important in improving public sector arrangement and correcting the growing development problems in the country.

Reference

Akinyemi, A.J. (2010). *Sustainable human development in Africa and beyound.* Tehran: Kaktolley Press.

Alafuro, E., & Thom-Otuya, B. E. (2014). Federalism and good governance in Nigeria: The Nexus. Public Policy and Administration Research, 4(4), 119–124.

Anazodo O., Okoye J. Chukwemeka E. (2012). *Civil Service Reforms in Nigeria. The Journey so Far in Service Delivery. American Journal of Social and Management Sciences* at http://www.scihub.org

Andrew, E. (1983). Class in itself and class against capital: Karl Marx and his classifiers. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 16 (3) 755 – 584

Andrews, K. J. (1983). Representative bureaucracy and bureaucratic management, *International Public Management Journal*, *17*(1), 1–24.

- Asaju, K., & Egberi, T. (2015). Federal character and national integration in Nigeria: The need for discretion and interface. Review of History and Political Science, 3(1), 126–134.
- Baldwin D. J. N. (2006), *Executive Leadership and Legislative Assemblies*, Routledge Group, Abingdon, Oxon
- Bamidele, J.I. (2007). Bureaucratic Institutions in Africa. Lusaka: Projective Investments
- Dolan, J., & Rosenbloom, D. H. (2003). Preface. *Representative Bureaucracy Classic Readings and Continuing Controversies* (p. xi-xiii). New York: M.E. Sharpe
- Ekeh, P. P (1989). The structure and meaning of federal character in the Nigerian political system. Federal Character and Federalism in Nigeria. (pp 19 44). Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). *The 1999 Constitution of federal republic of Nigeria*, Lagos Federal Government Printer.
- Gidengil, E., & Vengroff, R. (1997). Representative bureaucracy, tokenism and the glass Ceiling: The case of women in quebec municipal administration. *Canadian Public Administration*, 40 (3). doi:10.1111/j.1754-7121.1997.tb01519.x
- Goode, S. J., & Baldwin, J. N. (2005). Predictors of African American representation inmunicipal government. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, *25*, 29-55.
- Hood, C. (2000). *The Art of the State Culture, Rhetoric, and Public Management.* Oxford: Oxford University Press



- Hsieh, C.-W., & Winslow, E. (2006). Gender representation in the federal workforce. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, *26*, 276-294.
- Ibrahim, R.A. (2010). *Foundations of Public Administration in Africa.* Nairobi: Zeclop Publishers.
- Idike, Ikechukwu Ogeze Ukeje, Harrison Onuwa Iwuala, Johnpaul Chukwujindu Onele, Raphael Abumchukwu Ekwunife, Kelechi Nwachukwu & Ogbulu Udu | (2019) The practice of inclusive representation in Nigeria bureaucracy: The federal character principle experience, *Cogent Social Sciences*, 5:1, 1601545, DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2019.1601545
- Idris, I.O. (2009). *Human Resource Management in Nigeria and developing countries*, Ibadan: University Press.
- Ijewereme, O. B. (2018). Civil service reforms and governance challenges in Nigeria. In A. Farazmand (Ed.), *Global encyclopedia of public administration, public policy, and governance*. Cham: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-31816-5_3535-1
- Ipinlaiye O. (2001). "*The Nigerian Civil Service:* An Insider's view in Omotoso.F. (ed) Contemporary Issues in Public Administration, Lagos, Bolabay Publications
- Keiser, L. R., Wilkins, V. M., Meier, K. J., & Holland, C. A. (2002). Lipstick and logarithms: Gender, institutional context, and representative bureaucracy. *American Political Science Review*, 96, 553-564.
- Kelly, R. M., & Newman, M. (2001). The gendered bureaucracy: Agency mission, equality of opportunity, and representative bureaucracy. *Women & Politics, 22*, 1-33.
- Kingsley, J. D. (1944). *Representative bureaucracy: An interpretation of the British civil service*. Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch Press.
- Litwin, G.H. and Stringer, R.A. (2008) "Strategies to curb rising cost of governance" Boston: Harvard University, Graduate School of Economics, P.S.
- Long, N. (1952). Bureaucracy and constitutionalism. *American Political Science Review*, 46, 808-818.
- Meier, K. J., & Stewart, J. J., Jr. (1992). The impact of representative bureaucracies: Educational systems and public policies. *American Review of Public Administration*, 22, 157-171.
- Meier, K.J. (1993). Latinos and representative bureaucracy: Testing the Thompson and Henderson hypotheses. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 3*, 393-414.
- Mosher, F. C. (1968). *Democracy and the public service*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Obasi, I. N. (2005). The Nigerian bureaucracy under the obasanjo administration. In A. T. Gana & Y. B. C. Omelle (Eds.), Democratic rebirth in Nigeria Vol. One, 1993-2003 African centre for democratic governance afrigov (pp. 56–57)
- Odeniga, P.P. (2007). *Dynamics of Public Administration*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Onyishi, A. E. (2018). Representative bureaucracy in Nigeria public service and the problem of sustainable national development: Issues and policy recommendations, *Journal of security studies and global politics*, 3(2). 157 166
- Parkin. F. (1979). *Marx's theory of history: A bourgeois critique.* New York: Columbia University Press.



- Riccucci, N. M. (2009). The pursuit of social equity in the federal government: A road less traveled? *Public Administration Review, 69*, 373-382.
- Saleh, N. (2018). Revisiting quota system in civil service of Pakistan. In A. Farazmand (ed.), Global encyclopedia of public administration, public policy, and governance. Springer International Publishing AG.doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-31816-5_3487-1
- Selden, S. C., Brudney, J. L., & Kellough, J. E. (1998). Bureaucracy as a representative institution: Toward a reconciliation of bureaucratic government and democratic theory. *American Journal of Political Science*, *42*, 717-744.
- Sowa, J. E., & Selden, S. C. (2003). Administrative discretion and active representation: An expansion of the theory of representative bureaucracy. *Public Administration Review*, *63*, 700-710.
- Subramaniam, V. (1967). Representative Bureaucracy: A Reassessment. *The American Political Science Review*, *61*(4), 1010-1019
- Taylor, C., & Gutman, A. (Eds.). (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton University Press
- Ughulu, E. S & Amaka, O. P. (2020). Representative bureaucracy and the challenges of diversity management in Nigeria, *Journal of Public Administration* 2, (2). 15-22
- van der Meer, F. M., & Roborgh, R. L. J. (1996). Civil Servants and Representativeness. *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective* (pp. 119-136). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Van Riper, P. (1958). History of the United States civil service. New York, NY: Harper & Rov	v
Publications Limited.	

Appendix 1: A historical Records of Selected Ministries/Ministers and their Regions of Origin 1960 to 2020										
1	Regi me	Peri ord	Minster /	Regi on	Minster	Regio n	Minste r	Regi on	Minster Mines &	Regi on
			(Defens e)	011	(Interi or)		FCT	011	Power	•
2	Balew a	1960 - 1966	Moham madu Ridadu Inua Wada	Nort h Nort h	Usman Sani Ali Shehu Shagari	North North			Mallam Maitama Sule	Nort h
3	Gowa n	1966 - 1975	Yakubu Gowon	Nort h	Kam Salem	North			Dr. RusselDikk o/	Nort h
4	M. Moha mmed	1975 - 1976	I.D. Bisalla	Nort h	U.A. Shinkafi	North			Mr. Effionm .O. Ekong	Sout h
5	O. Obasa njo	1976 - 1979	Obasanj o	Sout h	U.A. Shinkaf	North	A. Adeog un	Sout h	Alh. ShehuKangi wa	Nort h



					Mr. M.O. Yusuf	North				
					Maitam aSule	North				
					Baba Ali	North				
6	S. Shaga ri	1979 - 1983	IyaAbub akar	Nort h	Dr. W. Dosunm	South	Jatau. Kadiya	Nort h	Ibrahim M. Hassan	Nort h
			Domkat Bali	Nort h						
7	M. Buhar i	1983 - 1985	M. Buhari	Nort h	M. Magoro	Morth	M. Vasta	Nort h	Ibrahim M. Hassan	Nort h
			Sani Abacha	Nort h	John Shagaya	North	H. Adulla hi	Nort h		
					Bali	North	G. Nasko	Nort h		
					A.B. Mamma n	North				
					Dr. T Olagunj u	North				
					A. Okene	North				
8	E, Shone kan	1993 - 1998	S. Abacha	Nort h	S. Yusuf	North	G. Nasko	Nort h	Alh. Hassan Adamu	Nort h
9	S, Abach a	1993 - 1998	S. Abacha	Nort h	Alex Ibru	South	J.T. Usen	Nort h	Bashir Dalhatu	Nort h
					B. Dalhatu	North				
					B. Kingigb e	North				
1 0	A, Abuba kar	1998 - 1999	Abubak arAbdu salam	Nort h	M, Yakubu	North	M. Kontog ora	Nort h		
1 1	0.0ba sanjo	1999 - 2007	T.Y. Danjum a	Nort h	S. Afolabi	South	B. Sheri	Nort h	Lesely Obiorah	Sout h
			R. Kwank waso	Nort h	M. Shata	North	M. Abba Gana	Nort h		



			T. AgunyiI ronsi	Sout h	0. Adeniji	South	N El- Rufai	Nort h		
1 2	Yar' Adua	2007 - 2010	Y. Ahmed	Nort h	G. Abbe	South	A. Modib bo	Nort h	Sarafa T. Ishola	Sout h
			S. Ibrahim	Nort h	S. Ibrahim	North	A. Aliero	Nort h		
			G. Abbe	Sout h						
1 2	Jonath an	2010 - 2015	Akayod e	Sout h	E. Iheanac ho	South	B. Moham med	Nort h	Mohammed M. Sada	Nort h
			Aliyu Moham med Gusau	Nort h						
1 4	M, Buhar i	2015 - till date	Mansur M Dan Ali	Nort h	Abdulra hman Bello	North	Moham med Bello	Nort h	Mohammed , M. Belo	Nor th
δοι	Source : Idike et al .2019; Ughulu & Amaka 2020									