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RETHINKING AUTHORITY AS APPARATUS OF CONTROL IN BUREAUCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the propriety of the use of legitimate authority as a tool of control in the Nigerian governance space. The exercise of Authority commands the recognition of the moral right to demand obedience. In Nigeria, it seems the reverse is the case. Those in 'Authority' exercise power over the ruled, and achieve obedience through the fear of coercion. This has engendered low productivity, power intrigues and pervasive flouting of rules and order. It has also resulted to loss of material, human and social disequilibrium. This situation has called for a rethinking of the efficacy of the authority structure as an appropriate instrument of control in Nigerian institutions. This work adopts the qualitative research design. Max Webers ideal type bureaucracy theory was utilized as theoretical framework. The methodology is purely analytical and relies on existing literature for data. Our findings include: most people in 'authority' positions attained them through primordial considerations; Corruption has weakened the fabrics of many of the institutions of authority; ethnicity, Nepotism and the politicization of public bureaucracy has encouraged the promotion of some public officers to their level of incompetence among others. Recommendations include; Building faith in the legitimacy of the system through institutional reforms; Anti-corruption war should be prosecuted without fear or favour. This would expose corrupt public office holders, while assuaging the public that justice is been done. It would also serve as deterrent to potential culprits; the electorates to utilize the mechanism of 'recall' to checkmate erring political office holders; neutral competence and Bureaucratic responsiveness; among others.

Keywords: Authority, Apparatus of Control, Bureaucratic Institutions, Neutral Competence, Legitimate Authority, Institutional Reforms.

INTRODUCTION

There has been issues of low productivity and capacity utilization of human and material resources in Nigeria. The News media is awash with absurdities in corporate governance, corruption, nepotism, impurity and all sorts of bureaucratic malfeasance in the private and public organizations. The paradox is the villains get away unscathed.

Meredith (2011:580) contends that "the record of successive governments had been abysmal. Leading institutions such as the civil service swallowed huge sums of money but delivered few services; embezzlement and bribery were rife. The police acted as an occupying force, routinely extorting money from Civilians and sometimes colluding with criminal gangs, court proceedings were often determined by bribes rather than by justice.

Anyone with sufficient money and influence was able to make use of state institutions to harm opponents. Vast sums siphoned off through corruption".

Danjuma and Phillip (2016) report that "there is high level of corruption associated with the public bureaucracy in Nigeria. According to them the World Bank report (2003) stated that Nigeria's public sector lacks transparency and accountability".

Szeleny (2016) opines that "bureaucratic authority is rational by being bound to intellectually analyzable rules; and that obedience is attained by; the person in authority subject to the same laws and rules as anyone else".

Statement of the Research Problem

According to Ibietan and Oni (2013:31-51), "The Nigerian Public Service, otherwise known as the Nigerian Bureaucracy is a child of the British Colonial Public Service. At its inception, the British Civil Services had two broad objectives namely; to maintain law and order, and the other being revenue generation, for their metropole".

Meredith (2011:66) avers that "colonial governments relied heavily on African chiefs and other functionaries to collaborate with officials and exercise control on their behalf. The British in particular, favoured a system of indirect rule; using African authorities to keep order collect taxes and supply labour. The model for indirect rule was in some cases where chiefs did not exist, as among the acephalous village societies of the Igbo Southern Nigeria, Chiefdoms were invented. In other cases traditional chiefs were left bereft of all functions.

According to Kukah (2011), "the periods of military rule consolidated the existing hostilities among segments of Nigerian societies by the kind of selective divide and rule strategies, like the colonial government needed, to retain a semblance of legitimacy in Nigeria.

According to Meredith (2011:6), the model for indirect rule was devised by Lugard in Northern Nigeria where Fulani Emirs had governed in accordance with Islamic traditions of law and discipline stretching back for centuries.

Meredith (2011:8) informs thus:

A prominent Northern Nigerian, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa who was destined to become the first Federal Prime Minister, remarked in 1948: 'since 1914 the British Government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigerian people themselves are historically different in their backgrounds, in their religious beliefs and customers and do not show themselves any signs of willingness to unite...

The research problem of this paper is that considering the several number of years of colonial rule, the years of the military and the period that democracy has been practiced in Nigeria, there is still the lingering issue of using authority to maintain law and order in the Nigeria bureaucratic space. This research is meant to unreavel the cause of this knoty issue.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this paper is to analyze the use of legitimate authority as apparatus of control in Bureaucratic institutions in Nigeria. The objective is to examine if those in authority positions have been properly selected and guided by formal rules and established laws in doing their jobs. It also seeks to illuminate the body of literature on the propriety of the use of legitimate authority in repositioning Nigeria for effective and efficient productivity.

Research Ouestions

The research questions guiding this study are;

- (1) What are the institutional/Structural variables that inhibit the efficiency of Authority in Nigerian Bureaucracies?
- What are the cultural factors that hinder those in authority from discharging their duties properly?
- (3) What human/environmental variables impinge on bureaucratic effectiveness?

Clarification of Key Concepts

Authority

The Oxford Dictionary of English defines rethink as to consider or assess something especially a course of action, again, in order to change it.

Moran (2005) identifies Max Weber as linking the idea of legitimacy to the idea of "Authority". Sapru (2013) informs that "Weber uses the term "power" to refer to the ability to force people to obey orders' the term 'legitimation' to refer to the acceptance of the exercise of power because it conforms to the values held by the subjects; and the term 'authority' to refer to the combination of the two, that is, to power which is viewed as legitimate'.

He goes further to elucidate that:

Under an authority system, orders are voluntarily obeyed by subordinates. They see the issuing of orders by those in the superordiante role as 'legitimate'. Weber's concept of authority is based on the legitimation and not on power. He asserts that there are three sources of legitimacy for domination based on authority: Charisma, tradition and legal/rationality. These are pure or ideal types and the bases of legitimacy usually occur in mixtures in their historical manifestations

Eze and Kabiru (2014) explain that "Authority is the corner – stone of every organization. It gives every organization the characteristic of hierarchy that establishes a defined chain of command;

.... A formal right to make decision based on formal organizational relationships. Also seen as the right to command others to act or not to act in a manner deemed by the possessor of authority to further organizational objective: Directing the behaviour of others is based on two sub-rights; (a) the right to decide; (b) the right to issue appropriate implementing instructions.

Faeth (2004) asserts that "power and authority are closely related but conceptually distinct constructs, as Weber (1947) noted that the exercise of power is legitimate through authority. Authority is derived from real or implied perceptions of the leaders knowledge and expertise. Authority may be either formal or informal. Formal authority is derived from a recognized organization structure with delineated lines of responsibility and influence. Informal authority may exist outside of discernable organizational role definitions.

Powell and Dimmagio (1991) "defines authorization as the process by which norms supporting the exercise of authority by a given agent are defined and enforced by a superordinate unit." He explains further that Authority is legitimated power, legitimated power is normatively regulated power.

According to Weber, this idea of legitimate authority conveys a key claim of the modern state. When an organization's use of power is authorized, it is presumptively both supported and constrained by the actions of officials superior to it and in a positive to oversee it's appropriate use. When the use of power is not legitimate, the authority deserves serious rethinking.

Apparatus of Control

Oxford dictionary of English defines Apparatus as the technical equipment or machinery needed for a particular activity or purpose.

A bureaucracy is one of the rational structures that is playing an ever-increasing role in modern society, but one may wonder whether there is any alternative to the bureaucratic structure? According to its proponent Max Weber, there is no possible alternative.

Stillman II (2009) observes that "the decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organization has always been its purely technical superiority over other form of organization. The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organizations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical mode of production.

The permanent character of the bureaucratic machine continues its functions in making sure that the societally exercised authority carries on. The ruled for their part, cannot dispense with or replace the bureaucratic apparatus of authority once it exists because it rests on expert training a functional specialization of work and on attitude set for habitual methodically integrated functions.

Apparatus of control conceived thus is a body of rational laws formulated by experts who must be impersonal in their approach to official duties. An apparatus of control is the bureaucratic structures needed to drive the bureaucracy where one of the major emphasis is technical competence.

Bureaucratic Institutions

Bellah *et al.* (1992) argue that institutions are what sociologists call the patterned ways of living together. Rizzer and Ryan (2011) define institution as a set of behaviour patterned according to one or more variously codified and differentially enforced rules, whose development can be evolved or constructed or both.

Institutions are potentially enabling as well as restricting. While institutions employ various prohibitive sanctions, they also provide the solutions to collective decision problems.

The genesis of any institution is key to understanding it. Responsibility and care are exercised through institutions. They loom large and control our lives. We cannot solve the problems of corporate life unless we transform the institution itself.

We create and recreate institutions that make like possible and these are never neutral but is always ethical and political since institutions live or die by the ideas of right and wrong.

The pre-modern era is thought of as emphasizing legitimacy of institutions according to traditional (Substantive rationality). However, arguably, with the advent of industrialization, institutions increasingly derive their authority from the principles of efficiency and calculability (formal rationality).

Bureaucratic institutions according to Max Weber are large and complex organization that rely on and use of rules and regulations that must be rational and scientific.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted Max Weber's ideal type Bureaucracy as the framework for analysis. According to Hatch (1997) "Weber conceived of bureaucracy as an idea type. He used idea in the sense of ideas rather than objects. Ideas for him provides a basis for theorizing, but are not expected to exist in the world around us." The essential characteristics of a bureaucratic large – scale organization according to Hatch (1997) are:

- (a) Specialization of rules (workers tend to become experts);
- (b) There is a system of rules which everyone has to obey.
- (c) There is hierarchy and people are promoted up the hierarchy according to recognized skills.
- (d) A bureaucratic organization is impersonal in the sense that rules are clear and exceptions are rarely made.

In his contribution, Ritzer (2011) opines that the ideal – typical bureaucracy is a purposeful exaggeration of the rational characteristics of bureaucracies. Such an exaggerated model is useful for heuristic purposes and for studies of organizations in the real world, but it is not to be mistaken for a realistic depiction of the way bureaucracies actually operate.

Parker, Brown, Child, and Smith (1975) opine that bureaucracy was rational – it depended upon impartial assessment and objective criteria for its functioning. It was characterized by limitation of spheres of authority in which responsibilities were clearly related to organizational positions. Communication and information processes followed the hierarchical nature of the authority structure and rational organization was the key to efficiency.

Bureaucracy was the organizational outworking of the rationalism which Weber regarded as the dominant feature of western capitalism. Weber's model was more concerned with the rationality of the 'means' used to achieve particular ends than with questioning the status of the ends themselves. The rational relationship of means to ends was the ideal type against which action choices could be assessed.

Etzioni (1964 cited in Worsley, 1974) states that organizations are characterized by:

- (a) Division of labour of power and of communication responsibilities, such divisions being deliberately planned to achieve certain goals.
- (b) The presence of power centres which control the concerted efforts of the organization and continuously review its performance and re-pattern its structure, where necessary, so as to increase its efficiency.
- (c) The substitution of personnel, i.e. unsatisfactory persons can be removed and others assigned their tasks, and people can be transferred and promoted.

This definition notes Worsley (1974) is based upon the classic model of bureaucracy developed by Max Weber. Weber looked at bureaucracy only as part of a much broader subject: the whole basis of authority in society. To him, one of the most striking features of industrial society was that when organizations were administered in a strictly 'bureaucratic' way, they were capable of achieving the highest degree of efficiency.

Inside modern public bureaucracy, Stillman II (2010) argues that "government is not made up of simply one monolithic body of employees, but rather distinctive clusters of five varieties of personnel: Political appointees, professional careerists, and civil servant generalists, unionized workers and contract employees. Their attributes he labels 'bureaucratic sub-systems."

Some general weaknesses of this theory are worth nothing: it tended to focus on formal organizational elements and ignore the wealth of informal friendship patterns and leadership roles; it tended to the view that hierarchical authority was most conducive to efficiency in decision making, (it may be dysfunctional by inhibiting ideas from flowing freely in relation to any particular problem and creating frustration and distortions among those 'low'

in the hierarchy): The rules which govern the allocation and exercise of positional responsibilities may themselves be 'ritualized' or turned into ends in themselves.

Bureaucracies are essential to running a government. According to Barbour and Wright (2006) "Bureaucracy, infact, is often the only ground on which citizens and politics meet. Bureaucrats are often called civil servants because ultimately, their job is to serve the civil society in which we all live."

As governments make their bureaucracies look more like Weber's model, we say the closer they are to achieving 'neutral competence' Neutral competence represents the effort to depoliticize the bureaucracy or to take politics out of administration by having the work of government done expertly, according to explicit standards rather than personal preferences or party loyalties (Barbour & Wright (2006). Bankston (2000) contends that Bureaucracies evolved to enhance the authority and operational effectiveness of modern organizations – governments, businesses, trade unions and political parties, which have become a worldwide phenomenon.

Having stated the characteristics of Webers 'ideal' bureaucracy theory it is germane at this point to compare how the principles suit the Nigerian bureaucratic context. There are the traditional, charismatic and legal-rational types of authorities in Nigeria, as propounded by Weber, and these leaders expect compliance from their subordinates.

Authority in Nigerian organizations rests on positions with formalized rules and regulations as such, the authority holder has the legitimate right to reward or punish good and bad behaviours respectively. Office holders are expected to be expert professionals to legitimate their engagement. Weber envisaged a merit-based career, impersonal rules and rational laws to replace the whims and hunches of charismatic leaders.

The hierarchical structure of the Nigerian bureaucracy is expected to give the office holders the authority to discharge their duties and responsibilities as attached to their offices.

It is imperative that Nigerian institutions; the judiciary, the economic and financial crimes commission, national and state house of assemblies etc come into perspective, as it underscores the principle that controls are built into the bureaucracy.

It is safe therefore to say that Max Webers ideal construct theory is a fit and suitable theoretical framework for analysis in this study.

Methodology

Exploratory research method was adopted while data were collected through secondary sources. Historical and explanatory methods were used in the analysis.

The Universality of the Hierarchical Principle

Tannenbaum (cited in Katz & Kahn, 1978) argue that compliance with authority is basic to hierarchical control in organizations, and such control in one form or another he regarded as a universal feature of organizations.

Katz and Kahn (1978) argue that authority structure is essential to decision making and implementation in collectivities. Tannenhaum and his followers in their empirical research have found variety of organizations (from military, to voluntary associations, from business organizations, to labour unions, universities) that show similar gradients of control, with those at the top of the system exercising more power from rank-and-file members. They have also reported impressive findings from a five-nation study in which comparisons were made around factories in Italy, Yugoslavia, USA, Austria and Israeli Kibbutzim. Substantially, the same pattern of hierarchical control was found there as in other countries. According to Eisenberger (1989) twenty-five hundred years ago, Confucius formulated standards of behaviour to try to restore order to a chaotic society in China which strongly emphasizes hierarchy, discipline, family, education and hard work. Tomasko (1993) confirms the psychological usefulness of hierarchy by observing that detaching work from authority relations encourages irrational behaviour as some people become devious, whereas others focus more on how to do things than on the substance of what they are doing.

Solo (2000) asserts that in the vast pyramidal operating complex of the centralized economy, authority is pre-eminent. Command descends from the peaks of hierarchy.

HBR (2010) opines that technologically advanced societies couldn't function without some centralized control. According to them, the origins of modern organizational controls date back to efforts to realize economies of scale and scope during the ninetieth and early twentieth centuries practices to exert control in their institutions using their legitimized authorities.

Society as the Locus of Legitimate Authority

The economist (2018) examined the work of Adam Smith in his 'wealth of Nations' whereby he believed that free trade was a force for good, arguing that slave labour was more expensive than waged labour. This same news magazine in her 'leaders' column of 17th November 2018, concluded that to rebuild public faith in the markets, the governments of Britain and America should restore competition.

Solo (2003) argues that when a vast complex of activities are planned from the centre and directive are transmitted to the far reaches of the economy, then there will be hierarchy, chains of command, chains of responsibility, and chains of answerability. It recommends that:

To offset regressive tendencies in the bureaucracy, to check ideological deviation and to support the implementation of the plan (by using the stick as well as the

carrot) centralized political direction has the capacity to use and will probably require an instrument of supervision and coercion that stands apart from the activities of the bureaucracy and of those engaged in the specifics of production and distribution. The police are also likely to be an instrument of economic control.

As Weber (cited in Denis & Kalekin-Fishman, 2009) put it; "a market situation is not a community, but it is a possible basis for community action. Even taking into account structural antagonisms, solidarity can emerge to the extent that labour and capital, buyers and sellers, producers and customers share a common interest in the smooth operation of exchange." In this sense, legitimate authority binds together the ruler and the ruled, lords and peasants, government and citizens.

Solo (2000) argues that only clear definition and careful enforcement of the hierarchs' prerogatives and responsibilities, will keep the organization running well. The nature of power requires an increase in political guarantees of personal rights. Under politically directed centralization, the use of power must be controlled by law which leads to legal guarantees of personal rights and prerogatives. Bendix, (1964, cited in Denis & Kalehin – Fishman 2009) argue that:

Contemporary society relied mainly on two basic instruments to organize itself: authority resources and interest based exchange mechanisms. In other words, we became used to thinking of society as organized into structures of authority, chief among them the state, and structures of exchange, the market being the most obvious one in modern society. Along the same lines, we become used to thinking of structures of solidarity as derived from common interests be these material or ideal ones... we learned to think of society as clusters of materials and ideal interests that count on authority and market mechanisms to organize themselves and to attain distinctive goals.

Legitimacy, Rules and Accountability

Modern societies are highly organized. However, attaining and maintaining this structure requires authority and the power that goes with it. This capacity is generally shared by various public offices including Judges, politician, electorates, civil servants, industrialists and the Army Generals.

Winston and Wilson (2006) aver that "the authority of a police officer is seen as legitimate because it is vested in the role, not in the individual (Police)". According to George Mill's (1983) comment cited in Kappeler (1995) "police/Government would do better what it does, if it would admit what it is doing". According to him, "since police, as part of government are inextricably involved in the business of defining and maintaining civic morality. Society can be thought of as a giant multifunctional organization. It produces the goods and services it's members require, it keeps order, and it provides for people health, education and protection". To achieve the smooth functioning of a society, the individual members are expected to play different roles.

Unlike the private capitalist organizations that are driven for profit, public bureaucracies do leave open the problem of accountability, as the lines for this are less clear. At the very highest level, the public bureaucracy must answer to several bosses, who often have conflicting goals.

Barbour and Wright (2006) argue that to solve the problem of accountability within the bureaucracy and to prevent the abuse of public power at all levels, are the need for rules. If the rules are clearly defined and well publicized, it is easier to know if a given bureaucrat is doing his or her job and not talking advantage of the power that comes with it.

It is not enough to have rules. It must be monitored to ensure compliance. The best way to guarantee compliance is to generate a paper documenting what has been done, thus the endless forms for which the bureaucracy is famous. The process can become a moras of seemingly unnecessary rules, regulations, constraints, forms and other bureaucratic hurdles known as 'red tape' Barbour and Wright (Ibid).

Bureaucracy and Democracy

Powell and DiMaggio (1991) argue that, for Max Weber, bureaucracitization resulted from three related causes: competition among capitalist firms in the market places; competition among states, increasing rulers' need to control their staff and citizenry; bourgeois demands for equal protection under the law.

Bankston II (2000) contends that the new complexities of government both in terms of widening popular participation of the citizenry in democratic government and the rising technological problems of organizing public programmes created the urgent need for developing effective administrative services free from congressional meddling. Weber was concerned with the fulfillment of values in industrial society through bureaucracy. According to Weber, bureaucracy plays the same part that the class struggle played for Karl Marx. Lipset (1966) argues that "Weber gave great importance to the integrative aspects of bureaucratization in a democratic society, such as the transfer to the entire society of the bureaucratic standards of equal treatment before the law and before authority and the use of achievement criteria for selection and promotion, he argues further that the bureaucratic ideals of "rational efficiency", "hierarchy", and "neutrality" creates tensions between power needs and bureaucratization and this exists not only in the relationship between political organization and society, but within all organization per se. There is the constant emphasis on the need on objective criteria as the bases for settling conflicts which bureaucratic institutions play a mediating role that strengthen democratic consensus.

According to Barbour and Wright (2006) the world is organized on the bureaucratic arrangement, as large tasks require organization and specialization. It is also well known that most bureaucracies are of public type as those that form part of our government. This same demands for efficient expertise are also needed in the private sector to manage large organization.

Barbour and Wright (Ibid) argue that "it is not being public or private that distinguishes a bureaucracy; rather it is the need for a structure of hierarchical expert decision-making. Granted that democracy may not be the best way to make all kinds of decision, democracy is the right way to ensure that many voices are heard, and the appropriate way to make decisions, even though it takes time. It is also important to know that although those decisions are likely to be popular they are not necessarily made by people who know what they are doing. It is instructive to note that bureaucratic decision making is essential when expertise and dispatch are needed in organizations. This Bureaucracy represents the idea of representative democracy in political sociology.

Hierarchy and Networking as Interacting Process

Edgan (1985) avers that in the second half of 20th century, research focused on leadership as an interactive process in which the leader is but one of the elements. The other two elements are the people who are led or influenced, and the situation in which influence is exercise.

As indicated in his leadership process triangle, influence is bidirectional among all the elements of the process. That is, both leaders and those led influence and shape one another and both shape and are shaped by the situation in which mutual influence is exercised.

With reference to Tichy's (1983) "Human Resources organic model" quoted in Edgan (Ibid), where the pyramidal structure was represented as a 'network' as well as "chain of command', the following assumptions were made:

- (a) Democratic leadership and supportive leaders are most efficient
- (b) Employees are most productive when they can participate in decision making.
- (c) Openness, honesty and trust facilitate the transfer of information.

Tichy (Ibid) espouses an organizational culture that is the exception rather than the rule. The failure of various kinds of hierarchies to solve social problems has given impetus to networking. Edgan (Ibid) avers that networks provide what hierarchies cannot – horizontal links. Naisbitt (1982) cited in Edgan (Ibid) points out that networks cut diagonally across the institutions that house information and put people in direct contact with the person or resource they seek. The network is egalitarian; each individual is at the centre of a network.

Barabasi; (2002) reinforced this assertion thus:

motivated by the renaissance of networks in physics and mathematics, recently a number of new findings has documented the power of networks in everything from company structure to the market place. As links and connections take over, understanding network effects becomes the key to survival in a rapidly evolving economy.

The most visible element of this remaking according to Barabasi (Ibid) "is a shift from a tree to a web or network organization; As valuable resources shift from physical assets to bits

and information, operations move from vertical to virtual integration, the reach of businesses increasingly expands from domestic to global, the lifetime of inventories decreases from months to hours, business strategy changes from top-down to bottom-up, and workers transform into employees or free agents".

Authority and Control in Bureaucratic Institutions in Nigeria

Odisu (2019) reports that Nigeria has failed in uplifting the living standard of her citizens despite the enormous human and natural resources she is endowed. Rather than enthroning people who have the meritorious qualifications to serve, incompetence and morally bankrupt politicians who are bereft of ideas are those winning elections. Shehu Bello reports in the nation newspaper of 25th June, 2019 that former Chairman Independent, national Electoral Commission (INEC) professor Attahiru Jega identified faulty recruitment process as a major factor that has retarded Nigeria's progress for quite some time now. According to him, if the trend is allowed to persist, Nigerians will continue to live under the mercy of the so-called elite, whose major goal is to promote ethnic chauvinism, religious bigotry and parochial interests.

Interrogating the leadership question, Charles Kumolu (2019) in the vanguard newspaper reports that Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi remarked that "things are so confusing in the country now that we no longer know what to do. It is such that the villain of yesterday is now a good person today" it was also adjudged that "incumbency power is a challenge, as the police, army, judiciary, central bank and civil service see themselves as extensions of a particular incumbent. When that regime ends, the new regime is faced with the unenviable task of repositioning the institutions of the state". This is the basis of the perennial leadership instability according to the newspaper.

Jideonwo and Williams (2017) report that:

African sit – tight leaders have routinely won elections based on five strategic pillars:

- (a) Control of the electoral system and commission
- (b) Diversion of public funds to sponsor elections
- (c) Intimidation of opponents
- (d) Suppression of dissent
- (e) Manipulation of the media.

Obasanjo (2014) notes:

Instead of progress and development, which we are entitled to expect from those who governed us, we experienced in the last regime but one, persistent deterioration in the quality of our governance; leading to instability and weakening of all public institutions. Good men were shunned and kept away from government, while those who should be kept away were drawn near the citizens developed distrust in government (Pp. 56 - 57).

Ibietan and Oni (2013:31-51) observe that "the search for efficiency in the Nigerian public bureaucracy has been a very tall task with one reform committee replacing the other from 1934 to date. The noticeable features of the various reform efforts are attempts at organizational/institutional development and measures targeted at enhancing managerial capacity".

Explaining further on Nigerian bureaucracy Ibietan and Oni (2013:31-51) write:

A major issue explaining the rationale for most of civil service reforms is on increasing efficiency in the Nigeria public service; and it is gratifying to observe that some of the reform panels underscored this issue while zeroing in on training as a step towards improving performance in the public service. However, institutional and cultural problems and combined to weaken the effectiveness and efficiency of the civil service reforms.

Nigeria at 59th: Independence Reports in the Guardian Newspaper of 1st October 2019

Writing on the paradox of politics in Nigeria, Prof Pat Utomi states that "the result is the flight of ideas from the public square and the descent of governing into the abyss of uninformed action by people usually selected for positions on the basis of cronyism and parochial reasons. It is not surprising that politics underdevelops Nigeria almost in the way Walter Rodney said for How Europe underdeveloped Africa".

"Nigeria is weak on propriety in governance" (pp. A12) - Lindsay Barett.

We must have and insist on free, fair and transparent elections leading to a legitimate government (pp. A4) - Prof. Niyi Osundare.

Olatunji Dare contributes to the back page of the Nation Newspaper of October 1st, 2019, thus:

"If leadership in Nigeria has been dysfunctional, what of the followership? Can leadership be divorced from followership? The one and the other are but two sides of a single coin. Thus the failure of leadership in Nigeria is no less remarkable than the failure of followership. The followership has been an equal opportunity actor with the leadership in perpetuating the national malaise and must resolve to be an equal partner in ending it".

Debo Adesina (pg A1) in the guardian Newspapers of 1st October, 2019 opines that:

With this contraption called Nigeria, there is only one place to start from: the roots! The consensus today is that the 1999 constitution in operation is thoroughly flawed and should be substantially amended if not completely replaced to cater for the good governance and wellbeing of Nigerians.

Kukah (2011:341) had earlier expressed this feeling. "The debate over the method for devising the most equitable mechanism for power sharing in Nigeria is as old as the history of the union itself. Even with time, the prejudice, the fears, anxieties and suspicions remain largely intact. If anything, rather than cure these tendencies, time has only reinforced them.

Socio-Political and Cultural Institutions of Control

Osagie (1984) asserts that it is by the means of control of financial power that the executive went off at a tangent and became a nightmare to a society which it is supposed to serve.

According to Kempner (1980) organizations differ in the extent, to which they rely on authority as a means of achieving control. An authoritarian organization is one which relies on authority and in such organizations, there is usually a heightened status consciousness and an emphasis on social distance. Kempner (1980) advocates a superior – subordinate relationship in which the exercise of authority is replaced by personal influence through leadership.

Kukah (2011:345) informs that before the formation of political parties, communities negotiated with the colonial state under the aegis of tribal or ethnic associations. When they were first conceived, tribal associations were platforms for the pursuit of development and progress within communities. "They could therefore be said to have been the womb in which national politics was later conceived". According to (Kukah 2011:345) "This was largely positive politics because communities competed to raise money to send their children abroad in search of the so-called *Golden Fieece*, to secure placements in the civil service and to bring progress and development to their communities".

Eboh (2014) opines that there should be a link between the people and the government to bridge the social distance. Political parties should educate the electorates since they provide the link between the various arms and levels of government, and between official (governmental) power structures and unofficial (non-governmental) power structures. According to Eboh (2014) Election is the political exercise through which the electorates periodically chose by voting and exercising some degree of control over their political representatives and leaders. Others include; referendum and the initiative or plebiscite and the recall systems. These systems help to ensure that the people (electorates; the rightful custodians of sovereignty) are not short-changed.

The absence of the non-use of these mechanisms of controlling political and public office-holders in most third world countries could be responsible for the uncontrollable political corruptions in such countries.

Moran (2005) identifies three important means of social and cultural institutions of control as;

(a) Self regulation; here, it is the reliance on public servants and public institutions to observe self-impose restraints on the exercise of their powers.

- (b) Media scrutiny: Here the mass media are important in regulating the relations between the state and the citizen for both particular and general reasons. Some of the most important individual scandals of abuse of public powers have either been revealed or pursued in detail by the media.
- (c) Pressure groups in civil society. New forms of political mobilization have occurred because of a variety of developments. The success of some groups has encouraged others to learn the lesson that well organized groups can have a clear effect on public policy, new technologies of communication such as mobile tele-phony and the web, have cut the costs of organization and communication in creating networks of activists; and cultural trends such as rising levels of formal education; have increased the size of the pool of those with the skills to organize politically and to advocate causes. While social order is most obviously shaped by politicians and the state, others are able to exercise their might less formally by influencing government and public opinion behind the scenes.

Business people, television exercise power through their wealth or Access to mass communication. Some individuals have authority over a much smaller domain. While the use of force is rare, the threat or potential to use force is usually an unspoken part of the power equation in any society.

Society is Made Possible Through Feelings of Loyalty

According to Charon (2010) loyalty is an important way in which organization is made possible. Commitment to the whole; feeling positive about being a part of the whole social organization. It induces a feeling of obligation to serve and to defend. It encourages ethnocentrism and is linked to a willingness to obey authority.

Charon (2010) contends that without loyalty, if a society were to work, it would have to rely to a great extent on force. Max Weber in his analysis of authority, shows how relying on force alone brings serious disadvantages to society. "Too much effort has to go into surveillance of the population; fear is costly, and constantly punishing the population is a waste of talent". Weber emphasizes that voluntary obedience is the basis for stable systems of power in society and is thus dependent on loyalty.

Findings

Our findings include;

Most people in authority positions attained them through primordial considerations.

There has not been workable and acceptable constitution that accommodates the interest of all stakeholders in the Nigerian project.

Endemic corruption and pervasive institutional impurity has compromised the realization of efficiency in public institutions.

Institutions of the monopoly of coercion has been compromised Ethnicity, Nepotism, favouritism

The politicization of the public bureaucracy has encouraged the 'Peter Principle' 'promotion of public offers to their level of incompetence', thereby eroding the legitimacy of their authority.

Politicians act and see themselves as independent candidates because of how they manipulated themselves into office and therefore embezzle funds meant for the development of their constituencies, among others.

Discussion of Findings

This paper has explored the problems of Authority as Apparatus of control in Bureaucratic institutions in Nigeria. According to Max Weber, Authority derives from legitimacy. Legitimate authority constitutes the fulcrum of the Nigerian public bureaucracy, as all public positions are nested on authority.

Legal-rational authority is that form of authority which depends on formal rules and established laws of the state/organizational policies which are written down. All parties in society is assumed or supposed to know the laws and regulations of government/public institutions.

In the Nigerian context, it has been difficult to formulate an acceptable constitution that accommodates the interest of the various stakeholders in Nigeria. This has been a major source of grievance and discontent.

There is also the issue of entrenched corruption in all spheres of public services. Also of note is the issue of primordial consideration like religion, customs and traditions, struggle for the control of natural deposits by the various states. On the issue of human factors/environmental issues, there is the menace of politicization of the public bureaucracy, corruption, favoritism, nepotism, cronyism and so on. This has hampered bureaucratic effectiveness as meritocracy is compromised in the realization of efficiency and high performance in the public services. These prevailing economic, social, psychological and environmental challenges have undermined the inherent objectives of bureaucratic capacity and competence. If has been established that Nigeria elections are not conducted free and fair. Other debit entries include; draconian and obnoxious laws e.g. hate speech, combative and prolonged debate on minimum wage and its implementation.

Conclusion

This paper posits that Authority positions are earned and power exercised outside of legitimate authority is bond to conflict. Loyalty to society induces a willingness to obey legitimate representatives of that society, so long as they, too conform to the rules. There is need for a power structure that is considered legitimate in the eyes of a larger portion of the population if that society must progress. Nigerian nation is such a society.

Recommendations

- (1) Building faith in the legitimacy of the system through institutional reforms.
- (2) Anti-corruption war should be prosecuted without fear or favour. This would expose corrupt public office holders, while assuaging the public that justice is been done. It would also serve as deterrent to potential culprits.
- (3) Bureaucratic responsiveness and neutral competence of the bureaucrats
- (4) Political parties to provide the link between government and non-governmental power structures.
- (5) Enhanced remuneration and motivational packages to support bureaucratic efficiency and high performance by public officers.
- (6) Competent and credible persons to be elected/appointed into leadership positions.
- (7) Civil society groups to rise up to expectations when the need arises.
- (8) The electorates should utilize the mechanism of "Recall" to control political office holders.

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