

## Applications of Max Weber's Theory of Rationalisation in Nigeria's Political System

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### Abstract

*This paper extrapolates a critical exposition of rationalisation theory in Nigeria's political system as expounded in the works of Max Weber. Rationalisation has become a pivotal theoretical postulation in sociological parlance of understanding virtually all aspect of human society. Rationalisation has received global acceptance for being the outcome of scientific and technological advancement. This paper reviewed the application of rationalisation theory in Nigeria's political system with particular reference to the 1999 obnoxious constitution which the Military Government foisted on Nigerians prior to their exit from politics of governance in 1999. The 1999 constitution has many lacunae as it failed to address salient issues bothering on devolution of power, state creation, resource control, true federalism, restructuring and power rotation. The article being a theoretical paper, relied solely on secondary data. The theory of rationalisation has no doubt contributed immensely in massive development and industrialization of cities. Rationalisation is found wanting among other things for bringing about great dehumanization to mankind. Corrupt and selfish politicians have capitalized on the flaws in 1999 constitution to exploit the Nigerian masses as propounded by Karl Marx. The criticisms notwithstanding, rationalisation is of immeasurable significance as it offers a broad-based approach covering every aspect of human endeavours. Corruption, nepotism and lacunae in 1999 constitution posed serious threats to the development and corporate existence of Nigeria. These gave rise to agitations for self-determination by various groups in Nigeria. There is great need for Nigeria to jettison the 1999 constitution and adopt a new people oriented constitution.*

**Keywords:** 1999 constitution, Boko Haram, corruption, marginalization, rationalization

### Introduction

Sequel to the epistemic extrapolation of rationalisation as a theory, there is cogent need for scholars to carry out empirical study using rationalisation and democratic principles with the view to determining the way forward for Nigeria's political system. It has become an acceptable truism that Max Weber's substantive sociology gave birth to the concept of rationalisation (Collins, 1980; Brubaker, 1994; and Ritzer, 2008). Max Weber had a broader view of specific and peculiar rationalism which formed the central focus of his sociological thoughts through Western culture, origin and development (Ritzer, 2008). Meanwhile, it has become a herculean task fashioning out a clear cut definition of rationalisation from the works of Max Weber as it applies to Nigeria's political system due to the obnoxious constitution the Military Government imposed on Nigerians before return to civil rule in

1999. The 1999 constitution has many lacunae as it failed to address salient issues bothering on devolution of power, state creation, resource control, true federalism, restructuring and power rotation (Hassan, 2021).

Democratic rule entails representative government- sovereignty, political equality, majority rule, functional constitution, rule of law, independent judiciary, periodic free and fair election, human rights among others (Mora, 2021). Unfortunately, these democratic principles are not functioning properly in Nigeria, particularly, the principle of free and fair election which perhaps is one of the essential three (Isma'ila1 & Othman, 2015). Election is an essential component of democracy. However, its application has remained a nightmare to democratic governance particularly in Nigeria and the world at large. Nigeria's electoral system since 1922 when the first elections took place till date have been marred by fraud, such as imposition of candidates, rigging, stuffing of ballots and other forms of violence (Isma'ilal & Othman, 2015). Therefore, violence by political actors constitutes an impediment to Nigerian's national development (Ibok & Ogar, 2018; Igwe & Amadi, 2021).

The luxury attached to elective positions in Nigeria has made the conduct of elections a do or die affair, politics is seen as the fastest and easiest means to wealth and power. At this juncture, the pertinent question to ask is that, must people lose their lives each time Nigeria is conducting general elections? Must Nigeria be split between North and South and between ethnic and religious lines each time they are conducting general elections? These questions became necessary as a result of frosty constitution the Military foisted on Nigerians in 1999 while exiting power. Chief M. K. O. Abiola, the acclaimed winner of June 12, 1993 presidential election died in the struggle while trying to fashion out a semblance of democracy as being practiced in developed countries (Akabogu, 2019). Rationalisation has received global acceptance for being the outcome of scientific and technological advancement in the Western World which came into existence by minimizing traditional values of the society through the use of bureaucracies, capitalism and democratic ethos (Onyeonoru, 2002; Ritzer, 2008; Olutayo & Akanle, 2013). Most countries of the world have no doubt developed and became industrialized as a result of proper implementations of rationalisation and democratic principles (Özdemir, 2021). However, Nigeria politicians are using the tenets of rationalisation and democracy dubiously in the course of advancing their selfish political interests, recycling themselves in various political positions and also changing political parties at will. However, politicians have deliberately skewed the political economy of Nigeria to serve political ends at the expense of sustainable development. Political considerations take pre-eminence over the survival of revenue yielding ventures established by Nigerian government. For instance, the Ajaokuta (formerly in Kwara State) was the only suitable location for the establishment of Steel Rolling Mill. However, misplaced by political considerations, Steel Rolling Mills were eventually located in Oshogbo (West), Aladja (Mid-West), Jos (Middle-Belt) and Katsina (Core-North) with little or no attention to their economic viability (Olaniyi, 1999).

However, in our daily social interactions with one another, there is cogent need for interpretations and explanations to most of our actions through an understanding (*verstehen*)

of social action, which will bring about a closer picture of the causes and consequences of the action. For instance, one may be interested to ascertain the reason why we still experience political violence during elections in Nigeria. Similarly, the r'aison d'etre of preferring decentralization to centralized governance, capitalism to socialism, monotheism to polytheism, monogamy to polygamy and restructured true federalism to federalism as being clamoured for in today's Nigeria is also of great concern to scholars (Olutayo & Akanle, 2013).

Most scholars of rationalisation theory focused their studies on Western countries and conflicting motivations, these models do not formalize the idea of rationalisation; they accommodate behaviour anomalies as shown in the siege of the National Assembly by men of the Department of State Services (DSS) (Gul & Pesendorfer, 2005; Fudenberg & Levine, 2006; Rubinstein & Salant, 2006; Ambrus & Rozen, 2008; Dietrich & List, 2010; Chambers & Hayashi, 2012; De Clippel & Eliaz, 2012). However, a negligible attention has been given to the practice of rationalisation in third world countries like Nigeria as more emphasis were being placed on its practice in Western world. It is against this backdrop that this study examined the application of Max Weber's theory of rationalisation in Nigeria's political system

### **Max Weber's rationalisation views**

#### **Rationality types in Nigeria's perspectives**

Kalberg (1980) identified four basic types of rationality in Max Weber's works.

#### **Practical rationality**

It is the type of rationality practiced by social actors in their daily interactions in the social environment. Weber viewed practical reality as those that see and judge the activities of the world in relation to their selfish interest as demonstrated in the gale of defections and impeachment characterizing the Nigeria political land space. Some Governors and Legislators elected under the platform of All Progressives Congress (APC) decamped to People's Democratic Party (PDP) in the buildup of 2019 and 2023 general elections. The actions of both APC and PDP gladiators were strictly based on selfish interest of being politically relevant after 2019 and 2023 general elections (Kalberg, 1980; Ritzer, 2008; Olutayo & Akanle, 2013).

#### **Theoretical rationality**

it is the process of understanding reality through the use of abstract concepts as contrasts to the use of action (Kalberg, 1980). Theoretical rationality encompasses the

process of organizing the world by putting in place logical reasoning through concise abstract concepts (Zamaros, 2007). The social actors try to understand the social World through abstraction by which global principles about the World are deduced. This type of rationality is common among sorcerers, priests, philosophers, judges and scientists. Some men of God prophesized to Nigerians in 2015 that President Buhari was sent by God to salvage political and economic problems in Nigeria. And in 2019, as the insecurity and economic situation worsened, few men of God still canvassed for re-election of President Muhammadu Buhari, assuring Nigerians that Buhari would retrace his steps and checkmate the worsening security and collapsed economy. However, problems of insecurity and economic recession became more complicated for the Buhari administration. Here are some of the pronouncements of some men of God in support of Buhari's election in 2015 and re-election in 2019 respectively, as reported by Sahara Reporters of May 3, 2021.

“I am convinced by God that as an army General, Buhari has the rudiments and qualifications to adequately respond to our national security challenges..... (Sunday Adelaja/ Embassy of God/Ukraine/2015)”.

“God loves Nigeria and that is why he brought Buhari back. The coming back of Buhari is going to be for the good of the people: the poor people are going to be able to eat three times a day; there will be constant power supply... (Emmanuel Omale/Divine Hand of God International Ministries/Lagos/2019)”.

“I played a critical role in that mission. God had shown me in a vision that GMB still had a role to play in stabilizing Nigeria (Tunde Bakare/Citadel Global Community Church/Lagos/2015)”.

However, history has proved these men of God wrong following the turn of events in the country today, some even prophesized alongside witchcraft association that former President Jonathan would defeat Buhari in 2015 presidential election. History has shown that theoretical rationality may not be feasible in Nigerian political system unlike in Western world where abstract concepts may be possible (Ritzer, 2008; Olutayo, and Akanle, 2013).

### **Substantive Rationality**

Substantive rationality has to do with the means-end calculation of choice with

practical rationality, though it moves away from it in the course of prioritizing rational value postulates. Value in this context does not refer to a unit value, but it rather involves an entire cluster of values. It hinges on the premise that no single value system is more rational than the other. Some notable instances of substantive rationality are prominent in political and economic processes like democracy, communism, capitalism and socialism, and their rational status as envisaged by the fact that they are internally consistent (Kalberg, 1980; Ritzer, 2008; Olutayo, & Akanle, 2013). This assertion does not apply in Nigeria context, both political and economic structures in Nigeria are not internally consistent, politicians are defecting from one political party to the other while economic indices are not stable.

### **Formal Rationality**

Formal rationality encompasses mean-ends calculation (Cockerham, Abel & Luschen, 1993). It upholds the principle of universal rules, laws and regulations. This simply signifies that Weber's bureaucratic rules helped in the establishment and formalization of social structures that gave birth to industrialization and capitalism which have gotten global recognition (Brubaker, 1994). Bureaucracy thrives for the most efficient approach of achieving social order by anchoring them under universal and abstract regulations (Kalberg, 1980; Olutayo, & Akanle, 2013). We concur with this pronouncement as technological advancement penetrated into Nigeria through bureaucratic ethos and formal rationality.

### **Rationality and Nigerian electoral system**

Ritzer (2008) highlights numerous efforts made towards describing the basic characteristics of formal rationality. In his view, he defined formal rationality into six basic characteristics:

1. **Calculability:** Ritzer referred to the use of data and statistics in the course of quantifying things in formal rational structures and institutions. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) uses data obtained from the field during general elections to prepare and make projections for future elections in Nigeria.
2. **Efficiency:** Efficiency must be achieved by maximizing profit using the least cost. Take for instance, smart card readers are used by INEC during elections in the course of authenticating the true identity of voters rather than using traditional approach of calling on community leaders to identify their subjects.
3. **Predictability:** There is cogent need to predict future events, Nigerians are very good in predicting the outcome of electoral processes based on social realities on ground at that

particular point in time. Take for instance, many political analysts predicted that Anambra State gubernatorial election of November 2021 would be marred with voters' apathy due to the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), and it came to past. IPOB is a freedom fighter organization who maintained that there would be no election in Southeastern Nigeria until referendum is being carried out to determine their fate in their proposed independent state known as Biafra. But the Nigeria government is not yielding to this demand because there is no provision for referendum in the 1999 constitution.

4. **Dehumanization:** Ritzer emphasized on the use of computers and technologies in formal rational structures as against the manual approach of doing things by man. Consequently, the use of nonhuman technologies boosts efficiency and effectiveness in Nigeria electoral system. Since 1999, INEC as an electoral body in Nigeria has expedited action in the area of technological advancement through the use of computers, card readers and electronic transmission of results through Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) machine which was signed into law by President Buhari's administration.

5. Formal rational systems do have control over uncertainty, especially the uncertainty that occur while operating manually in an electoral process. With the introduction of electronic transmission of results in the just amended 2022 Electoral Act, uncertainty ought to be minimized in the entire electoral process. But, incidentally INEC failed to upload and transmit results of 2023 presidential election electronically real-time as they promised due to nefarious activities of some corrupt elements within the Commission.

6. Rational systems do have irrational effects, especially from the workers, organizations as well as the larger society (Sica, 1988). Weber's view point is that the world seems to have become less enchanted, less magical and less meaningful to people (Schneider, 1993; Mackinnon, 2001; Ritzer, 2008).

Formal rationality is in the opposite direction with others types of rationality especially substantive rationality (Brubaker, 1984). Weber is of the view that the conflict between the two aforementioned rationalities played a vital role in the establishment of rationalization processes in the developed countries of the West (Kafberg, 1980).

### **Rationality and socio-political values**

The changes that have taken place in human society over the years have implications for the way individuals relate with one another. Prior to modernization, individuals used to see themselves as the living representations of ancient groups – families, communities and tribes, the past and future stood beyond their reckoning. In the buildup of 2015 general

election in Nigeria, the Oba (traditional ruler) of Lagos once told Lagosians that he consulted the gods before choosing Ambode as the best candidate to occupy Ikeja government house as a governor, and that Igbos would perish in Lagoon within seven days if they vote against Ambode (Akiolu, 2015). In a swift reaction, does it mean that a metropolitan and mega city like Lagos has not embraced modernity and rationalization ethos? In 2019 general election, the same Oba of Lagos who claimed to have consulted the gods was there when a former governor of the State singlehandedly denied former Governor Ambode his second term ticket as governor of Lagos State. Though Nigeria has embraced rationality, but politicians do make negative use of our traditional rulers and traditional values in the course of deceiving electorates as envisaged in the activities of Oba of Lagos who always work hand in hand with a former governor of the State in the course of imposing governors on Lagosians. Working people associations, joint stock corporations, politicians and even religious congregations have become prominent. These are gatherings of dispersed people who have a common interest, with like minds. Take a cursory look at the recent defection of APC members into PDP in the Nigerian political land space in 2018 (Weber, 1958).

Members tried to understand how these social arrangements, which perhaps initially met the needs of their members might become more complex, stiffen and expand their sphere of control. In the manner of Max Weber, one may be interested to know why a political group nPDP that broke away from PDP in 2015 election and formed an alliance with others (APC) now joined their former party PDP in 2018. Weber showed how political organizations in various societies tend to develop highly coordinated administrative pyramids with strict chains of commands, specialized jobs controlled by the organization, with written rules and impersonal relations, this is what Weber termed as “beaurocracy” (Henricks, 2016)

### **Rationalisation, capitalism and democracy in Nigeria**

Weber laid much methodological approach to neoclassical economies, this includes the ideal type, methodological individualism, rationality and rationalisation (Engerman, 2000). Weber’s approach focused on the development of the rational capitalistic economy in the Occident, this is a good example of rational economy which was defined as a functional organization formulated to money prices as seen in the class struggles of men in the market (Ritzer, 2008). Max Weber also criticized the promoters of feudalism for being traditionalistic and lacking the capacity to establish business organization in a large scale where the common man could fit in as a labour force. And between 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in

the Occident, feudalism gave way for capitalism following the liberalization of land from the control of the lords and the introduction of money economy. Here, Weber's criticisms are still holding sway in Lagos as demonstrated by feudal Oba of Lagos and a former governor of Lagos State in the course of manipulating electoral processes for their selfish gains (Weber, 1981).

Marginalization of some ethnic nationalities has created room for agitations for self-determination in Nigeria. There is agitation for Oduduwa Republic, Biafra, Ijaw, Ogoni and other-ethnic minorities were deliberately excluded in almost all facets of governance, non construction of rail lines and non appointment of Service Chiefs among others in President Buhari's government (2015-2023). No Igbo man has governed Nigeria since independence aside from Zik and General Aguiyi Ironsi who ruled from January 1966 and was assassinated on July 1966 (Adike, 2017; Gowon, 2020; Omilu, 2020; Anele, 2021; Kukah, 2021; Ogbonnia, 2021). However, following the introduction of democracy and capitalist system of government in Nigeria, the Nigeria electoral system has witnessed tremendous changes through the application of scientific models of conducting elections. Just like in Nigeria, rationalisation formed the main basis for the establishment of modern Western societies (Habermas, 1987).

### **Rationalisation and Nigerian law**

Max Weber defined law as a body of norms (Kronman, 1983). Consequently, this body of norms consists of being external and coercive to individual's thoughts and actions. Emphasis was placed on the coercive effect of the law on the individual rather than on how law is being created and interpreted, take a cursory look at the Supreme Court rulings on Osun State governorship election of 2019 election where technicality was considered in place of merit of the case (Ritzer, 2008). Just like his analysis in law with the primitive society which he treated as highly irrational set of people due to the fact that primitive law lack official machinery, reactions to crime were dominated by vengeance while law had no modified procedure. There was no rule guiding rulers on how they relate with their subjects. From this era of irrationality, Weber established a formalized legal procedure and believed strongly that it was only in the developed world where rational and systematic theory of law was feasible (Ritzer, 2008). However, we concur with Max Weber's assertion, in the sense that Nigerian legal system has not operated like that of the West. The Nigerian judicial system has become a tool in the hands of government of the day to oppress and intimidate



oppositions, independence of the judiciary is enshrined in Nigeria's constitution, but Nigeria judiciary has never been independent. During the June 12 political impulse, the judiciary messed the system up, imagine a situation Ikeja and Abuja high courts were giving conflicting injunctions, former Military President claimed that he annulled June 12 1993 presidential election in order to save Nigerian Courts from being a thing of ridicule before the International Community (Noble, 1993). This was an election that was adjudged to be the freest and fairest election in the history of our country, Nigeria.

Many scholars faulted the Supreme Court judgment that declared the former Senate President Ahmed Lawan, and Senator Godswill Akpabio instead of Bashir Machina and Udom Ekpoudom as the senatorial candidates of the APC for Yobe North and Akwa Ibom North West Zones respectively (Ameh, 2023). The apex Court, in a unanimous decision by a five-member panel of Justices, upheld the appeals of Senators Godswill Akpabio and Ahmad Lawan challenging the Court of Appeal judgements that nullified their candidacies. In the lead judgement, the Supreme Court, held that the appellate courts lacked the jurisdiction to meddle in the issue of nomination of candidate for an election, which it said was within the purview of an internal affairs of the political party.

A cursory look at the history of the Supreme Court, there was a period when Nigerians had great confidence in the Supreme Court, but at present, Supreme Court has failed in the confidence reposed on them by the Nigerian masses. For instance, the judgment that relieved Emeka Ihedioha of his job as the governor of Imo State (Agbakoba, 2023). Some interesting issues occurred on June 10, 2023, when the 9<sup>th</sup> senate was holding its valedictory session. Senator Adamu Bulkachuwa, representing Bauchi North Senatorial District revealed how his wife, Justice Zainab Bulkachuwa, a former President of the Court of Appeal influenced court judgments to favour some of his colleagues (Onwuka, 2023).

Weber emanated various stages in the development of rational law which include charismatic legal revelation through the law prophets in the early stage, and then there came the introduction of empirical and honorary legal official to impositions of law by theocratic authorities. Finally, the modern systematic elaboration of law came into being with professionals who were legally trained formally and systematically (Shamir, 1993). As in religion, Weber did place much emphasis on professionalization, hence the legal profession became paramount to the rationalisation of Western law. This is also applicable to Nigeria legal system (Weber, 1968). Weber differentiates two types of legal training:-

1. Craft training which has to do with apprentice who learns from their masters during the actual practice of law. This produced useful precedents that addressed recurring situations in the society. In Nigeria, junior lawyers do attach themselves to law firms of senior colleagues for proper craft training. Example, Gani and Rotimi chambers trained notable lawyers like Mike Ozohkome, Festus Keyamo and a host of others.
2. Academic legal training sparked off the framework for rational law of the West. Here law is taught in special schools with much emphasis on science and legal theory. Academic legal training led to the establishment of a rational legal system where Weber viewed law as being evolved from a cultural system of norms to a more organized system of formal laws where actors play pivotal role in the emergence and change in law, this is also obtainable in Nigerian legal system as envisaged in Nigerian law school (Weber, 1968).

### **Rationaliation and Nigerian politics**

The rationalisation of the political system, law and other elements of social system are interwoven. For instance, Weber maintained that the rationalisation of the political structure would ultimately lead to the rationalisation of the legal system since rational polity cannot operate with irrational law (Ritzer, 2008). Weber's assertion seems to differ in Nigeria political parlance where the government in power does not respect or obey court rulings. Courts have ruled times without numbered that General Dasuki, Mazi Nnamdi Kalu and El Zazaki should be granted bail, but the federal government has failed to obey these rulings (Oludare, 2019). Also in Imo State, the former governor did not obey court rulings, all those that took the government to court over illegal acquisition of lands and forceful destruction and relocation of Eke-Ukwu market where court ruled that the government should revert to the status quo were surprised that the former governor flouted such rulings that came from courts of competent jurisdictions. The demolition of the market led to the killing of a 10-year-old boy, Somtochukwu Ibeanusi by security operatives monitoring the demolition (Punch, 2017). All these are attributes of failed state occasioned by 1999 constitution that is not people oriented.

Weber defined politics as a group of social actors whose social actions were meant to dominate their subordinate through physical force of arms (Weber, 1968). Nigerian state experienced this kind of domination by force during colonial era and during the era of military dictatorship, even in the present democratic settings, the ruling party most times use government security apparatus to intimidate opposition parties. In his usual approach, Weber

traces the political system from the primitive era and discovered that violent social action was predominant. Meanwhile, the rational ordering of legitimate violence was not in existence, it rather evolved over the centuries, also other basic infrastructures like legislation, police, justice, military administration were lacking in primitive polity, hence the rationalisation of the political system in order to actualized the needed social order in the society (Ritzer, 2008). The Nigerian political system is in sharp contrast with Weber's assertion, Nigerian political system is yet to be evolved fully. Even the democracy they claimed to have adopted from the West is being practiced in a dictatorial manner. Their political system is still in the primitive epoch where violent social action was predominant as envisaged in the just concluded 2023 general elections, siege of Benue State House of Assembly and National Assembly by security operatives of DSS, frozen of Benue State and Akwa Ibom State bank accounts by Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) among others (Duru, 2018; Ogundice, 2018). Another example is the manner the former governor of Lagos State was denied his second term ticket by just one man in a democratic setting. We vehemently disagree with Weber in this context as Nigeria political system is yet to be fully rationalized due to bad constitution and corruption. Take a cursory look at what is happening in Lagos State today, a situation where a former governor who left office since 2007 is still single handedly detecting who governs the State to the extent that the immediate past governor was denied a second term ticket in the 2019 general elections. Ambode was denied a return ticket by his political godfather not because of non-performance as a governor, but for not carrying party stakeholders along in terms of patronage (Akinboyo, 2023).

Meanwhile, this lack of respect for rule of law is not only the handiwork of APC government, PDP under former president Obasanjo had no respect for rule of law as he refused to obey Supreme Court judgments. Courts ruled that Lagos State seized allocations over the illegal creation of additional local government areas in Lagos should be released, but PDP government vehemently refused to obey various court rulings to this effect (Osinbajo, 2021). The allocations were later released by former President Umaru Musa Yaradua's PDP led administration. History will always be kind with late Umaru Yaradua for his utmost respect for rule of law. Courts ruled against federal government over the unlawful liquidation and revocation of operating licenses of Savannah bank Plc and Societe Generale bank Ltd, and on the spur of the moment, former President Umaru Musa Yaradua ordered CBN governor to obey the court rulings and restore the operating licenses of the affected banks even when he had opportunity to appeal these judgments (Ibrahim, 2011).

DSS on the other hand has abused the rule of law times without numbered, how can they be breaking houses belonging to judges at the middle of the night without court injunction in accordance with Nigeria's constitution? The National Judicial Council (NJC) is supposed to investigate and handover corrupt judges to law enforcement agencies for prosecution. Buhari's administration by so doing had shown act of dictatorship and disrespect for rule of law (Iroegbu & Chinwo, 2016). What about the unconstitutional removal of former Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN)? The President removed him from office without recourse to the rule of law. The era of his travails was the darkest epoch in the history of Nigerian judiciary (Onnoghen, 2021).

Through rationalisation ideology, INEC developed a great technological innovation know as Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS). BVAS enables the Commission to transmit election results from polling unit to its central server online and real-time. Before the 2023 general elections, INEC repeatedly assured Nigerians that election results would be transmitted electronically. Nigerian youth greeted these assurances with great enthusiasm as most of them made concerted efforts towards collecting their permanent voter's card (PVC) in order to participate in the election. However, during the election, INEC was unable to transmit presidential election results electronically as they promised. INEC Chairman claimed that their server experienced technical glitch during the elections. INEC later declared that electronic transmission of results was no longer mandatory. INEC's declaration may erode the commission's credibility, thereby causing unprecedented voter apathy in future elections. The signing of 2022 Electoral Act by former president Muhammadu Buhari empowered INEC to deploy its technological innovation in the conduct of the elections. And in his bid to assuring Nigerians of the commission's readiness to conduct free, fair and credible elections, INEC Chairman, Prof. Mahmood Yakubu on February 7, 2023 opined in the Commission's official media handle, @inecnigeria, that there was no going back on deployment of BVAS for accreditation and transmission of results to INEC Results Viewing Portal (IREV) in real-time on election day. The Chairman, also pledged that INEC would also upload polling unit results (Form EC8A) and the accreditation data to IREV portal. This is also mandatory in sections 50, 60 and 64 of the Electoral Act of 2022 (Ejiofor, 2023).

### **Criticism**

Although rationalisation has greatly helped in the transformation of society, sociological understanding and theorizing, it has faced a broad range of criticisms.

Postmodern theorists argued against the institutional ascendancy of rationalisation and bureaucracy, they stated that organizations have become more dynamic, less governed by rules and hierarchy. This analysis is evident in some new generation banks in Nigeria. Some writers opined that organizations are not always efficient and productive by putting people under pressure that their actions are based on rationality; people are likely to question the ends pursued rationality (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008).

Weber consented to the regimented and principled pattern of social organization, at least, when he compared it to favoritism, scheming and predatory exploitation as envisaged in Benue and Kwara State. Because the former governor of Benue State defected from APC to PDP, he faced impeachment proceedings with a minority eight legislators as against 19 majorities that were in support of the governor. Justice Theresa Igoche of Markurdi High Court restrained the eight suspended Assembly members from proceeding with the impeachment process against the governor (Soniyi & Okoh, 2018). Again in Kwara State, the former Senate President was in control of the State Exco members, but because of his rumoured defection to PDP, the National working committee (NWC) of APC dissolved the newly inaugurated State Exco members and formed a care-taker committee under the control of the then Information Minister, this is impunity at the highest order in line with robbery allegation leveled against the former Senate President. A witness narrated at High Court how the suspended Deputy Commissioner of Police, Abba Kyari led men of Intelligence Response Team of the Inspector General of Police and tortured him to implicate the former Senate President in the April 5, 2018 Offa robbery (Baba, 2022). Weber recognized that overemphasis on organizational rules and procedures may interfere with achievement of the objectives for which the organization was founded as envisaged above. Also top down patterns of decision making may disregard the insights of subordinates, written rules maybe too rigid and bureaucratic ritualism may take precedence over problem solving. By contrast, traditional societies honored deep and abiding relationships and proclaimed the importance of collective emotions. They stressed immersion in communities and in the sacred sources of things that effectively transcended generation (Ritzer, 2008).

Again, Weber lacks a critical theory, his rationalisation theory failed to make provisions for constructive change in the society (Ritzer, 2014). Max Weber used the term rationalisation in many ways, but he only emphasized on two types: one has to do with bureaucracy and its legal method of authority and the other refers to the subjective changes in attitude which he called formal rationality (Ritzer, 2008). Ritzer equally argued that the establishment of bureaucracy and the adaptation of formal rationality ended up de-

emphasizing the main objectives rationalization was meant to achieve, this is what Ritzer termed irrational consequences of rationality where the initial goals of rationalization were put aside since organizations now strive for their selfish interest of profit maximization using the tenets of rationalization as a mechanism for its actualization. This is equally conspicuous in Nigeria political system where politicians now focus on acquisition of wealth rather than good governance.

Rationality assumed to be a global phenomenon and it undermined human social relations. Bruce and Yearly (2006) highlighted the difficulty in addressing the problem relativism poses to rationality, inter-subjective agreement may not be possible since people always disagree even when they have rational beliefs. Consequently, rationality may not be obtainable to all actions and beliefs. Rationalisation is found wanting due to some attribute of contradictions, it brings about great dehumanization as people were reduced to act like robots which lead to disillusionment. It equally denied humans the autonomy to alter or reshape the society as they wish (Olutayo & Akanle, 2013).

Weber traces the political system from the primitive era and discovered that violent social action was predominant. Meanwhile, the rational ordering of legitimate violence was not in existence, it rather evolved over the centuries, also other basic infrastructures like legislation, police, justice, military administration were lacking in primitive polity, hence the rationalisation of the political system in order to actualized the needed social order in the society (Ritzer, 2008). The Nigerian political system is in sharp contrast with Weber's assertion, her political system is yet to be evolved fully. Even the democracy Nigeria claimed to have adopted from the West is being practiced in a dictatorial manner. Her political system is still in the primitive epoch where violent social action was predominant as envisaged in the recent siege of Benue state House of Assembly and National Assembly by security operatives of DSS, frozen of Benue state and Akwa Ibom state bank accounts by Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) among others (Duru, 2018; Ogundipe, 2018). Another example is the manner the former governor of Lagos State, Mr. Ambode was denied his second term ticket by just one man in a democratic setting. We vehemently disagree with Weber in this context as Nigeria political system is yet to be fully rationalized. Take a cursory look at what is happening in Lagos State today, a situation where a former governor who left office since 2007, has been singlehandedly detecting who governs the state to the extent that the immediate past governor was denied his second term ticket in 2019 general elections (Akinboye, 2023).

Max Weber made significant contributions to studies in history, politics, economics, religion, education and law. He remained valuable in sociology where scholars see him as a key player in the development of sociology. Weber highlighted the character of Europe's rapidly changing societies and generalized his findings to other countries of the world without considering that most African countries were rigidly operating simple traditional society that differ greatly with what obtained in industrial societies of Europe. Though, modernization, bureaucracy and globalization played key roles in the spread of rationalization ethics to third world countries, but it took decades before African nations became rationalized. Weber's vision of societies is traceable to tradition of rationalist and idealist thought as envisaged from Plato to the present day (Henricks, 2016). Scholars in this school of thought emphasized the role of reasoning, and of reason tinged experience in human affairs, this assumption contrast individual's ability to behave rationally to the dictates of the body and to findings that result from them.

Accordingly, many scholars see rationalisation as being imposed on man and Max Weber is also criticized for not making provisions for opposing rationalization (Marcuse, 1971). Ritzer, (2008) also criticized Weber for not putting in place a credible alternative to rationalization and bureaucracy. Karl Marx in his economic determinism argued that the bourgeoisie who control the economy control the superstructure, they monopolize the economic machinery to obtain power, social status, manipulate religion and ideas to consequently keep the proletariat in perpetual servitude thereby preventing changes from taken place (Olutayo, & Akanle, 2013). Most State governors in Nigeria have usurped their political powers to acquire States' assets and even install their friends as their successors while leaving office (Punch, 2017).

The Marxists ascertained that rationalisation aids capitalism through the many roles it plays in the society (Marx & Engels, 1948). Marxists believe that insofar as society is rationalized, the bourgeoisie will continue to exploit the proletariat. We concur with Marx and Engels' assertions, Nigeria politicians have abused democratic principles as a result of obnoxious 1999 constitution that is not people oriented to perpetuate themselves to power and also immersed much wealth even after the expiration of their tenures in office to the extent that they determine who gets elected during elections (Akinboyo, 2023). They control the economy through their fronts, and they also have indirect shareholding in almost all the companies within and outside the country. In the manner of Karl Marx, these politicians have used their political powers to dominate and control the economy, they have investments and properties in Dubai, China, Britain, America and other parts of the world, most of them are

even richer than their States. They control the economy, their businesses are being rotated within various companies where they have stakes and in most cases government transactions are routed through their companies in their quest to maximizing profits. Some ex-governors who are receiving pensions are also receiving full salaries at present as Senators, they have vowed not to allow for sovereign constitutional conference that will replace the obnoxious and fraudulent 1999 constitution.

Politicians in Nigeria have used bureaucracy and rationalisation principles fraudulently for personal gains through inflation of contracts, budget padding and fuel subsidy to defraud the nation billions of dollars which they hid in foreign bank accounts in Britain and America. Refineries outside the country are owned by Nigerian political elites, no wonder our local refineries cannot function optimally despite billions of dollars sunk in its turnaround maintenance annually. Rationalisation is the outcome of scientific and technological advancement in the Western World which came into existence by minimizing traditional values of the society through the use of bureaucracies, capitalism and democratic ethos which have received global acceptance (Ritzer, 2008; Olutayo & Akanle, 2013). Capitalists have also used their wealth to influence our political process, imagine a situation they finance electioneering campaigns of politicians in exchange for acquisition of government assets and sharing of states' allocations. The immediate past Labour and Employment Minister, liberated Anambra State from the menace of god-fatherism when he was the governor of the State, a step that even caused him his position as the governor of the State. Godfathers removed him from office for protecting Anambra treasury (Ngige, 2022). These criticisms notwithstanding, rationalization has played pivotal role in the socio-political development of Nigeria.

### **Methodology**

The study employed descriptive design. This design facilitated a thorough and critical reviewed of rationalisation theory as propounded by Max Weber in accordance with its applications in Nigeria political system. The study solely utilized secondary data derived from newspapers, journal articles and scholarly publications.



## Discussion

The 1999 constitution made provisions for good governance, but the composition of the constitution with its inherent marginalization, nepotism and corruption have made it impossible to actualize good governance. Nigerians have lost the customs of public service as nepotism and favouritism being committed by politicians have institutionalized corruption in every sphere of Nigeria's socio-political system (Kukah, 2022). The present Nigeria's constitution was adopted on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1999. The constitution was divided into 8 chapters and 15 parts. The first chapter contains the general provision, which introduces the Federal Republic of Nigeria as a sovereign indivisible and indissoluble state (no matter what). Nigeria consists of 36 states, with a Federal Capital Territory in Abuja and 774 Local Government Areas (Anokwuru and Obomanu, 2017).

The government of Nigeria consists of bicameral legislature, Executive and Judiciary. The powers of the two chamber legislatures as stated in Section 4 shall be vested in the National Assembly of the Federation which is made up of Senate and House of Representatives. National Assembly has the mandate of making laws for the peace, order and good governance of the country (Anokwuru and Obomanu, 2017). However, this present 1999 constitution was horridly put together by the Military Government in 1999 when they were handing over to a democratically elected government. The 1999 constitution failed to take cognizance of the peculiar nature of various ethnic groups that make up the country. It rather created room for the dominance and marginalization of the minority ethnic groups.

The government has constitutional powers of uniting the country and at the same time empower Nigerian youths so as to heighten industrialization and development (Adesina, 2022). More so, the 1999 constitution has failed to guarantee peace, good governance and peaceful co-existence of various ethnic groups, hence the increasing desire to opt out of the sovereign state. In the last few years, many ethnic nationalities in Nigeria have made fruitless efforts to exit the sovereign state of Nigeria leading to death of thousands of people and series of crises in various parts of the country. Studies by Ibok and Ogar, 2018; Igwe and Amadi, 2021 affirmed this finding, that violence by political actors constitutes an impediment to Nigerian's national development. There are agitations for the Republic of Biafra in Southeast which have claimed many lives since 1999. There are also agitations for Oduduwa Republic in the Southwest and Niger Delta Republic in South-South. This corroborates studies by (Ekechukwu *et al.*, 2022).

The hope for all inclusiveness and local government autonomy depend on the actualization of a determined president and appropriate political restructuring of the

federation. This is in corroboration with the works of Alapiki (2005). The process of state creation is another visible lacuna in the 1999 constitution. Southeast always cry of being marginalized due to the fact that the zone has only five States when compared with other geopolitical zones in Nigeria that have six and seven States. The number of States each zone has determines the number of constituencies and Local Government Areas. Allocation of resources and voting power at the National Assembly also follow this trend. The composition of the 1999 constitution made creation of additional state impossible as the bill has to pass through the thirty-six (36) State Houses of Assembly in Nigeria for ratification after passing through the National Assembly.

Nigeria has over 200 ethnic groups, the three major ethnic groups are dominating the minor ones politically, thereby making it difficult for political power to shift to the minority ethnic groups. Had it been former President Umaru Musa Yaradua did not die in office, it would have been a very difficult task for former President Goodluck Jonathan, an Ijaw man from Southern minority to emerge as President of Nigeria. However, successive governments have failed in their historic mandate of taking care of the citizenry to the extent that many Nigerians are now thinking of going their separate ways, hence agitations for self-determination. Kukah (2022) corroborates this fact. Afenifere, Ohanaeze and Middle Belt socio-cultural organizations aligned with the fact that the National Assembly has been evading the major issues that want to tear Nigeria apart in the ongoing constitution amendment. The groups have been clamouring for restructuring, power devolution and true federation in the last few years. The ongoing constitution amendment is a wasted effort as those involved in the constitution amendment at the National Assembly were products of fraudulent process. It would be impossible to amend the current constitution under the present hostile atmosphere with corruption, nepotism, violence and all kinds of criminality. Afenifere and Ohanaeze opted for a conference of major stakeholders in the Nigerian project, the conference shall include artisans, students and civil societies in the course of producing people's oriented constitution. This is in tandem with the works of Adebajo and Ogonnia (2022).

## **Conclusion**

Max Weber laid a very strong foundation for sociological theorizing than any other sociological scholar. His most significant insight lies in his works on bureaucracy and rationalisation of the entire world. Ritzer (2008) discussed rationalisation as it covers every aspect of human endeavours ranging from economy, religion, law, polity, city and art. Weber

explained that rationalisation has taken over all these institutions in the West and through modernization, rationalisation has been introduced to other countries of the world. In the manner of Ritzer, the world has become increasingly influenced by rationalisation norms and values. A cursory look at the dynamics of the Nigerian political system, one can easily envisage the influence of rationalisation through scientific and improved electoral system using rationalisation components of efficiency, calculability, predictability and control as their main instrumentalities. However, the composition of 1999 constitution the Military Government imposed on Nigerians has hampered the positive effects of rationalization and industrialization of the country through corruption, nepotism and marginalization.

Weber's thoughts on rationalisation are more explicit in his work on the relationship between religion and capitalism, this is a reflection of series of studies on the relationship between religions ideas and the establishment of the spirit of capitalism which gave birth to capitalism and rational economic system proper (Ritzer, 2008). Metaphorically speaking, Max Weber was not just a scholar but also a prophet as his study on rationalisation of centuries is still relevant even in present day Nigeria.

However, no matter the criticisms leveled against Weber, his views on bureaucracy and rationalisation are central to understanding of societal dynamics as well as the nature of modernity and post modernity. Marx Weber's views have no doubt influenced the thoughts of contemporary scholars like Geroge Ritzer and at the same time create the platform for sociological theorizing. These criticisms notwithstanding, rationalization is a tool that aided modernization and industrialization in most countries of the world. The problem of Nigeria hinges on corruption, marginalization, nepotism and obnoxious 1999 constitution which the Military Government foisted on Nigerians. The political class has messed up the system while the judiciary has failed in their historic bestowed constitutional mandate of upholding the rule of law. Most Nigerian judges are corrupt, they use technicality and merit interchangeably as it suit their purpose in the course of delivering judgment in courts. Finally, following an epistemic review of rationalisation and its application in Nigeria's political system, there is cogent need for scholars to carry out further empirical research in this area of study with the view to determining the way forward for Nigeria's political system where justice, equity, fairness and respect for rule of law shall be guaranteed in line with what obtains in advanced countries.

## **Recommendations**

1. State creation: the process of state creation should be made flexible in the constitution so that additional state can be created in Southeastern Nigeria so as to cushion the effects of marginalization created in the zone as a result of only five states the zone has at present.
2. Power rotation: There is cogent need for power rotation to be inculcated in Nigeria's constitution so as to accommodate minority ethnic groups in order to guarantee peace, equity and fairness.
3. Jettison of 1999 constitution: There is great need to jettison the 1999 constitution in favour of a brand new constitution that will be people's oriented where burning issues like resource control, restructuring and true federalism shall be fully addressed. The absence of all these in 1999 constitution has given rise to marginalization, corruption, nepotism and agitations for self-determination in Nigeria.

## **List of abbreviations**

APC: All Progressive Congress

BVAS: Bimodal Voter Accreditation System

CBN: Central Bank of Nigeria

CJN: Chief Justice of Nigeria

DSS: Department of State Services

EFCC: Economic and Financial Crime Commission

INEC: Independent National Electoral Commission

IPOB: Indigenous People of Biafra

IREV: INEC Results Viewing Portal

NJC: National Judicial Council

nPDP: new People Democratic Party (a splinter group of PDP)

NWC: National working committee

PDP: People Democratic Party

## **DECLARATIONS**

Ethics approval and consent to participate: Informed consents were not necessary since the article is a theoretical paper. The paper relied solely on secondary data, and the article does not contain any study with human participants performed by the authors.

Consent for publication: We have given our consent for the publication of this article

Availability of data material: Secondary data used for this study are easily available. The data are readily available on request.

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