

The Bureaucratic Failure : A Critical Analysis Of The Nigerian Government Bureaucracy

Omoleke Ishaq Isola*

Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to evaluate the performance of the Nigerian bureaucratic public organisations in the light of the various adverse comments and criticisms levelled against the Nigerian bureaucrats and the bureaucratic public organisations. The objectives of this paper are thus stated below:

- To probe into an alleged ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the Nigerian bureaucratic institutions.
- To look into why the Nigerian bureaucratic institutions operate to the detriment of their clientele and
- To look into the critical elements that are necessary to revamp and revitalize the institution for effective performance.

Apart from the queried shortcomings identified in Max Weber's models of bureaucratic organisation, scholars, intellectuals and public commentators have also expressed some reservations as to the effectiveness and efficiency of the Nigerian bureaucratic organisations. Some of these criticisms are essentially in the areas of socio-economic development of Nigeria. It has been alleged that the bureaucrats who have the opportunity to help shape the economic policy tend to attend first to their own personal interests and those of their class allies at the expense of public interest. This issue will be discussed in four segments. The first segment will address theoretical expositions, the second segment will be devoted to look at the roles of the Nigerian

*Department of Public Administration, Obafem, Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun, State, Nigeria.

bureaucratic organisation in the socio-economic development during colonial administration and post colonial era respectively. The third segment will address the queried shortcomings of the Nigerian bureaucracy and last segment will discuss a way out.

In searching for required answers to the objectives of this paper, both primary and secondary data were used. Primary data were collected through a randomly sampled senior and junior officials of the Nigerian Government bureaucracy in South Western Nigeria. The Bureaucrats interviewed were in the governor's office of Oyo state government, the ministry of Establishments and Training and Ministry of Works, Lands and Housing, Ibadan. The officials were interviewed on issues bothering on the alleged corruption, inefficiency and low performance/productivity of the bureaucrats. One hundred of such officials belong to junior cadre while fifty management staff were included in our sample. Also a handful of the clientele like contractors in the Ministry of Works and Housing, the students and market women Focus Group were asked to assess the Nigerian Government Bureaucracy they had contact with. Secondary data were also gathered from the annual reports of activities of the selected ministries. This reinforces our primary data through interview and Focus Group Discussion, respectively.

In analyzing the data historical and analytical approach was adopted simply because it affords a means of demonstrating the historical roots of the alleged failures of the Nigerian bureaucracy in satisfying the people it was built to serve.

Conceptual Framework

Basically, there are two broad types of institutions in nearly every society. Thus, the ones created by members of the society on a voluntary basis and those that are created on behalf of the whole society with powers for exacting compulsion and making authoritative decision. The former according to Olowu (1996) are

referred to as "**society-based institutions**" whereas the latter are referred to as "**state institutions**".

Bureaucracy, therefore, has two forms, (I) the armed and (II) the civil bureaucracies. According to Max Weber and other scholars of bureaucracy, every society, however primitive or modernized has its own administrative organs. What only distinguishes the modern bureaucracy from all of its pedigrees are its structural and operational characteristics, such as division of labour, unity of command, separation of private and public domains, meritocracy etc. all of which ensure that the bureaucracy operates like a highly efficient machine impersonal, objective and anonymous.

As a check on the executive in a democratic setting, legislative and judicial institutions are created as "autonomous" and separate branches of government to carry out specified functions of governance and serve as a check on those who exercise executive power.

Theoretical Exposition

Man's capacity for innovation and order is clearly demonstrated by his continuing attempt to conquer his environment and make it a more comfortable and less hazardous place to live in. In the absence of such qualities, probably human life would have been equivalent to Hobbes' (1959) description of human life as being "nasty, brutish, solitary and very short". With the rapid increase in size and complexity of groups, associations and institutions, the need for a more efficient administrative machinery arises in so far as the attainment of organizational goals is concerned. Therefore, the attempt to cope with the problem of large scale organisations and their objectives made way for the development of administrative machinery termed "BUREAUCRACY" by, a German Sociologist, Max Weber (1954).

It is however, necessary to stress the fact that administrative structures have always existed in different parts of the world. Bureaucratic organizations and structures develop perhaps in response to specific problems in historically specific circumstances. According to Weber, the decisive reason for the emergence of bureaucratic organizations has always been its purely technical superiority over any form of organization. Its advantages according to him, include precision, speed, unambiguity, unity, discipline, strict subordination and knowledge of files.

It is not efficiency alone that fosters the growth of bureaucracy but willingness to give up traditional modes of organisation which increases the size and scale of organisation, the growth of nation state and large scale economic ventures have contributed to its emergence. Weber argued that rational control, the attainment of rational goal and the development of money economy also contributed to the development of bureaucratic structures. In Weber's view, bureaucracy refers to the rational imperative co-ordination in the administrative structure of an organisation. He asserted further that it is rational because it is based on science.

The implication of Weber's model is that rational - legal authority is characterised by continuous organisation of official functions bound by rules, a specified sphere of competence involving obligations related to functions in the division of labour, a hierarchy of positions based on technical rules, separation of home and work and presence of formal written rules.

In essence, rational-legal authority, therefore, means the exercise of power which is socially justified or legitimated because the provision and enactment of orders and policies follow rules and regulations which are consciously defined and to which all members subscribe. Weber thus attributes the superiority of this type of bureaucracy to the rules of technology and science. It

follows that one who controls the existing bureaucratic machinery is one with the necessary technical know-how.

The Nigerian Situation

Certainly, we find in every government of Africa, Asia and Latin America today formal agencies of administration (bureaucracy) which resemble those of Europe, and the United States of America. Yet a close inspection of these institutions convinces one that they do not work in the same way or that they perform unusual social and political functions. We will attempt here to find a possible explanation as to why they malfunction in Nigeria.

It is on this score that the discussion on bureaucracy is particularly important in relation to Nigerian situation. Though the idea behind bureaucracy is efficiency, stability, perfection, sustenance and uniformity to mention a few. In the Nigerian context, the bureaucratic machinery is often accused of so many inadequacies. The inefficiency in her bureaucratic organisations is such that the people have started to wonder whether it is the Nigerian cultural values or attitudes and orientation that are responsible for the failure in the use of the machinery to the best advantage.

Perhaps this informed Obasanjo (1979) when he asserts:-

"Having recorded my appreciation for the result so far achieved, not always under propitious circumstances. I consider it equally proper to mention that on several occasions, I have had to advise or give admonition to public servants to live up to their leadership role and responsibility in the society. While many officers especially at high level have shown loyalty, the attitude to work of many leaves room for concern.

I do not believe that any Nigerian is born an indolent, a perpetual late comes, a malingerer, a grumbler at work or a time watcher. Neither is he born to thrive in dirt and dirty surrounding."

The above view has reconfirmed our earlier description of the Nigerian bureaucrats as being corrupt and inefficient. One may not expect a heuristic framework to be efficient on its own. It is the operators that make an organisation efficient (human resources). It should be noted that no matter how structurally perfect an organisation is, if the human factor is lacking as exemplified by the Nigerian case it will remain inefficient and ineffective. The lack of dispatch, sluggish response to official calls characterized Nigerian bureaucracy. It is in Nigerian bureaucratic structures that we find junior officers refusing to honour directives from a superior officer. Bribery and Corruption have now eaten deep into the fabrics of Nigerian bureaucracy. The junior officers bribe the senior ones for promotion while some officers receive bribes or tips from clients before they do the jobs for which they are being paid, every month.

As far as recruitment into the Nigerian bureaucratic organisations is concerned, tribalism, nepotism, favouritism and federal character syndrome have displaced the idea of merit and qualification which Weber prescribed. The introduction of civil service procedures and practices into the public enterprises also has a salutary effect on the performance of the organisations. Perhaps all the above scenario informed Olowu (1996) to describe the Nigerian public administration as having no root or direct linkage with the people it is supposed to serve. He argues further:-

"The bane of Nigerian state and its bureaucratic institutions is more than systemic corruption. Ineptitude, inefficiency, low morale, ineffectiveness and a pariah state status attracting international

condemnation for drug dealing, anti-democratic status, international fraud and poor quality of our infrastructure have also added to our injury as a nation.”

Unfortunately, these inadequacies manifest themselves in our moribund educational system, inability to supply portable water and electricity, while in the words of Akinkugbe (1996), the hospitals have become mere consulting clinics with no drugs and dressings, the castrated judicial system as a result of obnoxious decrees and edicts and flagrant violation of Human Rights.

All the above make the organisation goals to suffer and heaped serious problems in the society as a whole. This invariably stifles creativity and leads to brain drain. Of course there is ever increasing crime rate and low level development. The derivatives of the above is that it appears Nigerian bureaucracy is corrupt and failing. Of recent, the Nigeria Labour Congress threatened Obasanjo Administration to embark on national industrial strike over non-fulfilment of the Federal Government promise to better the perquisites of the civil servants. Earlier in the year 2001, the NLC had requested the government to increase their members' salaries and wages by 25% in order to cope with hyper-inflation and the devaluation of Naira. Similarly, the civil servants at the state level (Osun State) had embarked on industrial dispute over the continued arbitrary monthly deduction of 20% from their salary which the Governor could not offer a tenable reason for the deduction.

Still confirming that Nigerian Government bureaucracy is yet to respond to modern governance of promptly attending / addressing to public issue that can dent its image, the Nigeria universities lecturers' (ASSU) Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities entered into agreement with the Federal Government on proper funding of tertiary institutions, re-absorption of the wrongly sacked lecturers at University of Ilorin among other

issues. Yet the Federal bureaucracy is yet to address this crucial problem which led to the collapse of academic activities in all Nigerian universities as the lecturers have been on strike since September 2002. Instead of resolving the dispute, the leadership of Government only preoccupies itself with how to run second term in office whose election has been slated for 12th and 19th April 2003. Meanwhile, students are staying at home till the Government is ready to address the issues causing the strike.

Furthermore, the Nigerian Government bureaucracy is yet to improve on its image if compared with that neighboring countries of Ghana, Republic of Benin and South Africa. In Ghana, for instance electricity supply has been regular and she celebrated a year anniversary of uninterrupted supply of electricity in the year 2001, yet Nigeria bureaucracy is still battling with epileptic supply of electricity to homes, industries and government offices. Paradoxically too, Nigeria is a member of OPEC. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) of the World yet you find long queue in all the petrol filling stations. Many man hours are lost on the queue. This is very sad, as the four refineries she has, are all grounded resulting in importation of petrol which she could produce and refine easily if the bureaucracy has been efficient. Worse, still, most of the water taps in urban centres are dry. The water corporation is financially incapacitated to produce portable water for citizens to drink, while hospitals have become mere consulting clinics with inadequate supply of drugs and dressing (Akinkugbe 1996). However, all is not totally lost as we examine the contributions of government bureaucracy in Nigeria since colonial era to date.

Achievement and Constraints

It has become an indisputable fact that the government bureaucracy represents continuity of administrative apparatus, no matter under which type of regimes - fascism, dictatorship, autocracy, militarism or representative government, it operates. In

other words, government bureaucracy is an indispensable administrative machinery and/or a *sine qua non* for any political regime to implement its programmes. It is settled that the effectiveness of a government, to a large extent is a function of the efficiency and competence of its civil service system.

The higher civil servants indeed have been playing a crucial role in that they participate fully in the formulation of government policies and their full implementation. The civil service bureaucracy in Nigeria is increasingly required to prepare development plans, appraise and select industrial and agricultural project, decide when new roads, railways, harbours, bridges and telecommunication facilities should be constructed. The bureaucrats can and do ensure the optimum size of investment in these projects at any given time in the light of carefully analysed projections of demand and on the basis of cost benefit analysis.

Pre and Colonial Bureaucracy

It is not only erroneous but quite misleading to believe that Nigerians were unable to administer themselves before the advent of the British bureaucrats. Contrary to the opinion held, Nigerian society had monarchies comparable with the French and British political systems which existed before the advent of the Europeans Fortes and Pritchard (1977). Undeniably however, modern administration ushered in with the advent of colonialism in Nigeria.

The origin of the Nigerian civil service can be traced to the administration of Lord Lugard, the Governor General of the amalgamated administration of the Northern and Southern Nigeria. The objective of the colonial bureaucracy was to basically maintain law and order, (minimal administration). The rudimentary administration was guided by the indirect political system like that of French assimilation and Portuguese *assimilados*. The scope of the bureaucracy was limited owing to

paucity of financial and human resources. For instance, in 1913, the Nigerian government total revenue stood at 3.4 Million Pounds and total expenditure stood at 2.9 Million Pounds.

In spite of its political shortcomings, the bureaucracy was able to be financially self sustaining for its maintenance of law and order. Its little performance was far reaching. For instance, the following performances are noted.

- (a) Construction of Western Railway Line between Iddo (South) and Nguru (North) 847 miles (1365.2km).
- (b) The first motor road in Nigeria was constructed in 1905 which connected Ibadan with Oyo.
- (c) 3,700 miles of roads were constructed in Nigeria as far back as 1930.
- (d) Public Works Department replaced the traditional hammock and timber bridges with steel and concrete structures and
- (e) Medical facilities were spread to the rural areas in spite of the conservative beliefs of the people in traditional medicine. In 1931, 83 dispensaries were opened (Balogun, 1983).

Bureaucracy Under Representative Government

With the advent of politics and representative government, bureaucracy underwent some changes which had both negative and positive effect on the performance of the Nigerian bureaucracy. The first change is that of new cabinet government and its attendant problems. Then it was a problem to situate administration *vis-a-vis* politics. Because of differences in orientation, the political class viewed the entire administrative processes from political perspectives only whereas the career officials by their training looked at issues from administrative angle. In line with the conventional Westminster model, the

political leaders were expected to initiate policies while the civil servants were expected to carry out the decision and remain impartial, politically neutral and anonymous. The relevance of this change lies in the fact that political class viewed administrative processes from the political and ethnic perspective. This greatly affected the contribution of the civil service bureaucracy during the period under review.

Another problem handicapping the bureaucracy's performance was the sharp conflict between generalist administrators and the professionals. The professionals were of the view that the generalists lacked the knowledge and professional competence in the process of policy formulation. At the end of the day it was resolved that professional competence alone should not be the only overriding criterion for leadership of ministries. Instead, the holder of the highest career post of Permanent Secretary ought to have proven administrative experience. The implication of this decision of generalist administrators being appointed as the Chief Executive of Ministries is that of perennial frictions within the system. The conflict generated lack of mutual trust, inferiority complex, power tussle and suspicions among the bureaucrats. At the end of the day, this led to administrative stalemates, jeopardy and delay in policy implementation.

The gradual decay of political values and institutions in Nigeria and in particular in Western region led to a wave of violence in the legislative house, which spread to the rest of the society. Consequently, a state of emergency was declared and a sole administrator appointed. The persistence of the anarchic situation dented the image of the politicians and generated a general disillusion with politics and politicians. The political turmoil in the West became chronic.

Coupled with the controversial census of 1963 as well as charges of corruption eventually prepared ground for the military cabal to

intervene. And of course, by January 1966, the soldiers observed some political dislocations and the system collapsed.

What is important to us here is the impact of the political functionaries on the performance of civil bureaucracy. The implication of the above scenario lies in the fact that the political pandemonium pushed the career bureaucrats into performing the roles of political leaders. Eventually, the administrative process was coloured with bias, sentiments and corruption “infected” the bureaucracy both at political and administrative levels of the organisation. This situation gave way to administrocracy which enables us to assess the strength of the bureaucracy to cope with extra-ordinary situation.

Bureaucracy Under the Military Administration

The military politicians came in to replace the political class having discredited the civilian politicians. In the first few months of the military administration, the bureaucrats (career officials) literarily took over policy functions formerly cai-ried out by the politicians. Perhaps, this was so because of the innocence of the military politicians whose administrative experience of a larger society almost drew close to nil. This is so because they were schooled to fight external aggression and suppress internal insurrection only. It is worthy of note that even when the civilian commissioners were eventually appointed as political heads of ministries, the effective leadership role was still being discharged by some civil bureaucrats. At the Federal bureaucracy these civil servants did not only execute policies but also formulated them (this was tagged era of super permanent secretary).

Perhaps this contribution informed Obasanjo (1979) when he declared:-

"Let me once ngnin underpin the role of the Public Servants in the context of Nigeria. It is true that no country can develop without an efficient, dynamic,

dedicated and loyal public servants. Over the last two decades, the Nigerian Public Service had witnessed significant transformation from the colonial role of maintaining law and order to a development oriented service. It is not only the citizens of this county that look up to its public service for positive contributions and leadership, other black and African countries in their search for identity, economic and political recovery do the same. I am happy to note that so far, in spite of some falterings, the public service in general has contributed in no small way to the achievements already made in the development of the nations economy.

From the foregoing, the civil bureaucracy became more pronounced, powerful and went beyond its traditional policy implementation. It became a creative organisation rather than being an ordinary administrative machinery for policy implementation.

Shortcomings

In spite of its track records the following explanations seem to account for bureaucratic constraints and failures in Nigeria.

Effect of Military Regimes

The military regime which created a good atmosphere for bureaucrats, increased the power of government and recognises the roles of bureaucracy, paradoxically purged the system in 1975. About 10,000 public servants were compulsorily removed with its demoralising effect on the performance of the system.

Paradoxically again, about similar number were unprocedurally removed from the system recently in the South Western zone of Nigeria. Instead of equipping the civil servants with necessary skills, the military oligarchy and democratic governments irrationally embarked on national purge which has ruined the system. The Decree No. 43 of 1988 promulgated by

General Babangida military regime did more evil than good. The decree politicized the leadership of government bureaucracy which spelt doom on the system. The leader (Director General) held his office at the mercy, whims and caprices of the regime that appointed him. The whole exercise was a ruse and the draconian law frustrated the bureaucrats. The military regimes denied the bureaucrats the right leadership as it abrogated the post of head of service and replaced it with the Secretary to the Government who could be picked from outside the Civil Service Organisation.

Poor Remuneration

Frustrated by the military administration the bureaucrats who hardly make the two ends meet could not raise his productivity as his morale is dwindling and dampened every day with no hope at sight. His poor monthly stipend has been engulfed by the hyperinflation without any other perquisite to assist him. When you officially approach him for assistance, he looks morose. He is fed up of the job except that he is yet to get a better alternative. The future career looks bleak to him. He only retires to fate. This description of the Nigerian bureaucrat lends credence to Olowu (1991) who observes that public service is being denied of those very things that would enable it fulfil its mission.

Federal Character Syndrome

In practical terms, the federal bureaucracy has been marred by a high level of primordial sentiments, serious ethnic and religious chauvinism. These social ills have manifested themselves in the behavioral pattern of the officials. The officials rarely see themselves as Nigerian bureaucrats, instead they behave as Hausa or Yoruba or Ibo officials reflecting their ethnic loyalty. The most unfortunate aspect of it is that the virtues of civil service like impartiality, anonymity, meritocracy etc. have surrendered to federal character syndrome.

Obedient Servant (Anonymity)

Unfortunately, the anonymity virtue does not allow the bureaucrat to defend himself as he is supposed to be heard and not seen. He serves every regime without corresponding benefits matching his inputs. He is blamed for failures and hardly praised for successes. He is an errand boy. Perhaps this informed Olowu (1991) when he describes the civil servants as:-

"The whipping boy of every administration and held responsible for failures in the public sector."

Worse still, he faces another dilemma from democratic setting when his rising expectation was shattered and became rising frustration while he serves under a hostile environment. He is not sure of his monthly salary either, while his tenure of office is no more secured as he could be removed at any time.

Bureaucratic Corruption

The word, corruption is culture-bound and tied to the prevailing ethical value of any given society. **Bureaucratic** corruptions is an extension into the public sector of the wide spread political corruption which pervades the polity of nearly all developing countries. Perhaps this is why Dwivedi (1978) p. 8 asserts:

A problem of ethics in the public service may be said, to exist whenever public Servants, individually or collectively use positions (or give appearance of doing so) in a way which compromises public Confidence and trust because of conflict of loyalties or as a result of attempts to achieve some form of private gains at the expense of public welfare or common good.

Relating Dwivedi's concept to Nigerian public sector raises some questions. Is bureaucratic corruption greater at higher or lower level of government? Is it a virus that infects both political functionaries as well as the bureaucrats? and what are the real causes of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria? It is evident that

corruption is more prevalent and institutionalized in the Nigerian public sector. Research findings in this area had identified three major reasons. Firstly, there is the wide spread socio-economic poverty reinforced by the pervasiveness and hegemony of the economic system by a highly centralized government bureaucratic elites. Secondly, inadequate identification by the civil servants with the bureaucracy itself as an institution of modern government. The resultant effect is alienation which leads to the erroneous notion that the public service is no one's father's field. Public sector corruption is therefore regarded as right by its beneficiaries.

Finally, closely related to the second reason is the absence of a sense of mission, and of professionalism among public servants themselves which civilian and military politicians quickly use to their own advantage.

In the words of Olowu (1983), the three major sources of corruption in Nigerian local government into which enquiries were conducted between 1976 and 1980 have been found to be: inability of the political leaders to provide necessary political initiatives and control, lack of appropriate knowledge and skills especially relating to financial management on the part of the appointed officials and collusion between both the political and administrative leadership.

What has been said of local government mal-administration is true, with perhaps greater force at the other government levels—(State and Federal Government). This incidence of corruption, which has 'eaten' into the fabrics of the Nigerian Public Sector for the past two decades and is yet to vanish, cut across all the arms of government – the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

Perhaps, the magnitude of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria informed the campaign mounted through the news media during Gowon military administration. Then, the self-appointed Anti-

corruption crusaders emerged and relied mainly on the New Media to carry out their "Crusades" against corruption in the public service. In addition, various institutions were set up in Nigeria to combat bureaucratic corruption which include Public Complaints Commission which has branches in all the 36 states including Abuja. The institution was inserted in the 1999 constitution. Others include Code of Conduct Bureau, Corrupt Practices Bureau, Declaration of Assets for Public Officers and their relations on assumption of office. And during Murtala / Obasanjo military regime, about 10,000 public officials were compulsorily retired or otherwise removed from the Nigerian public service. In years 2001 and 2002, a mass purge of civil servants was carried out in two of the Western states which reduced their labour force to about 50 percent. Finally, in May 2000, the Obasanjo civilian regime, worried about bureaucratic corruption, sponsored an anticorruption bill which was finally accented to by the President in the same year. But one is very skeptical about the enforceability of such a law when one considers that law enforcement agency is as corrupt as other arms of government. Furthermore, Akinseye-George (2000) observed that Corrupt Practice Act 2000 provisions are unduly rigid, static, confusing and non-effective of the contemporary realities of the society. Again, this lends credence to the above assertion that the law may not be enforceable. However, hope is not lost if the leaders are able to set good examples, motivate their workers well, and also address level of poverty in the society in general. This, may be more effective than other institutional and legal approaches adopted so far.

Solution

In order to avert bureaucratic failures and corruption the following suggestions are proffered:-

* It is recommended that the civil bureaucracy be insulated as humanly as possible from all political influences, which tend to

compromise standards. This work is of the view that there should be a better public relations with the clientele of the bureaucracy since this may reduce the communication gap between the public servants and the clientele. The gap often leads to unnecessary and flimsy criticism based on ignorance of what the bureaucracy stands for and how it operates. The bureaucrats should be highly motivated like their counterparts in the private enterprises if higher level of productivity is to be achieved, guaranteed and sustained. Even though "man does not live by bread alone" yet it is an important element that must be taken good care of if any meaningful output is to be achieved. There is urgent need for a complete overhauling of the whole system or parts that are anachronistic and which do not lend themselves to modernization. It is not advisable to run colonial bureaucracy in the 21st Century. This may be too conservative, perhaps, if the system is open to the trends of modern development like computer system, the criticism of delay or redtapism and its allies may stop.

- Of great concern is the issue of corruption. It is our feeling that appeal should be made to emphasize public accountability. Also, ethics and morals should be taught during training and retraining programme of the bureaucrats. Furthermore, anti-corruption law should be enforced to serve as deterrant and minimise corrupt practices in the system.

Normal administrative procedures are hereby recommended for disciplining the erred officials rather than regimented, spasmodic, unorthodox, barbaric, unprocedural and irrational discipline as experienced during the regimented military administration in Nigeria.

Although, man is described as a political animal, yet efforts should be made to disallow political sentiments to becloud the judgement of the entire non-political appointees. Atomization of the career officers into political camps will affect the performance

of the officers in a manner contrary to the spirit of the service given Nigeria contemporary circumstances.

- Effective performance is a function of the civil service being professionalism. To this end, it is suggested that a staff development programme oriented towards professionalisation, training and retraining be instituted. The crude, naive and parochial military or civil politicians should be educated thoroughly that the bureaucrats are professionals by their own training and must be regarded so. We are of the view that organic law should be legislated and enforced to protect the service from being embarrassed by the civil or military politicians.
- Effort should be made to tropicalise the system in order to respond to the needs, nature and culture of the people the system is billed to serve.

As much as possible, unsettled political order should be avoided by providing an enduring national philosophy as there is little the bureaucracy can offer within a political framework that lacks national philosophy and good leadership. The leaders need to know how not to govern as governance involves patience, knowledge to interpret issues, reconcile, respect the right of all, allow freedom of expression, abide by the law, have courage to accept faults and rectify mistakes and ask for and listen to advice.

Finally and to the critics, it should be understood that, unlike the private enterprises where efficiency is calculated on the amount of profit made at the end of the year, the government enterprises are set up to serve the public and should be assessed on this ground.

Conclusion

In a way, the paper has looked at developmental profile of the Nigerian Government Bureaucracy from its pre-colonial and

colonial era, through the civilian regimes and finally during the military era. We could observe the limited contributions the bureaucracy could offer during colonial days due to colonial master's design. We also examined the bureaucracy during democratic and military governments where bureaucratic failure was nascent. We finally proffered solutions to curb this tendency.

REFERENCES

- Adamolekun Ladipo (1983). *Public Administration: A Nigerian and Comparative Perspective*; Longman Group Ltd., New York.
- Adebayo, A. (1981). *Principles and Practice of Public Administration in Nigeria*; Spectrum Books Ltd., Ibadari.
- Akinkugbe, O.O. (1996). *Mere Consulting Clinics: The Riddles of Health Care in Today's Nigeria*; Spectrum Books Ltd., Ibadan, p. 6.
- Akinseye-George, Yemi, (2000) *Legal system, Corruption and Governance Nigeria, Lagos, Newcentury Law Publisher Ltd, pg. 45.*
- Balogun, M.J. (1983). *Public Administration in Nigeriu, A Developmental Approach*, Macmillan Press Ltd., London.
- Blau, P. & Scott, R. (1963). *Formal Organisations*, Routledge & Kegan Ltd., London.
- The Bureacmt: A Quarterly Journal Published by the Public Service of the Bendel State of Nigeria, Vol. 12 No. 1, September 1985.*
- Dwivedi, O.P. (1978) "*Public Service Ethics*", *International Review of Administrative sciences, Brussels, P.8.*
- Fortes & Pritchard (1977). *African Political Systems*; Oxford University Press, London.
- Friedrich, C.J. (1965). "*Public Policy and the Nature of Administrative Responsibility*" in *Bureaucratic Power in National Politics* edited by F.E. Rourke.
- Gouldner, A. (1955). "*Metaphysical Pathos and Theory of Bureaucracy*" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 49, pp. 496-507.

- Herber Simon (1976). *Administrative Behaviour: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative Organisation*; Free Press, New York.
- Hobbes, T. (1949). *The Citizen*, edited with an Introduction by Sterling P. Lamprecht (New York).
- Hobbes, T. (1959). *Leviathan*, edited with an Introduction by Michael Oakeshott. (Oxford).
- Martin, A. (1970). *Bureaucracy*. Pall Mall Press Ltd., London.
- Merton, R.K. (1952). "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality" in *Reader in Bureaucracy* edited by R.K. Merton et al. Glencoe, the Free Press.
- Mitchels, R. (1962). *Political Parties*, Collier Books, New York.
- Nicos, P. Mouzelis (1981). *Organisation and Bureaucracy. An Analysis of Modern Theories*; Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Obadan, M.I. (2000). *Privatisation of Public Enterprises in Nigeria. Issues and Conditions for Success in the Second Round*. NCEMA, Ibadan.
- Obasanjo, O. (1975). *The Military as an Instrument of Modernisation. A Magazine of the Nigerian army Volume 3 No. 6, pp. 14-18*.
- Obasanjo, O. (1979). *Independence Anniversary Speech (1979)*. Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos.
- Olowu, C.A.B. (1991). *Nigerian Public Administration: Past, Present and Future*, Shaneson Press Ltd., Ibadan.
- Olowu, C.A.B. (1983). *The Nature of Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria. International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 70-76*.

- Olowu, C.A.B. (1996). *Bureaucracy and the People: The Nigerian Experience*; Obafemi Awolowo University Press, Ile-Ife.
- Omoleke, I.I. (1999). The Nigerian Military Administration in Quest for Legitimacy: An Exploration. *International Journal of Studies in the Humanities*, Volumes I & 2, No. 2, pp. 13-24.
- Peter Self (1983). *Administrative Theories and Politics*; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.
- Selznick, P. (1943). "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy". *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, pp. 47-54.
- Udoji, J.O. (1974). Federal Republic of Nigeria Public Service Review Commission Main Report, Lagos. Federal Ministry of Information Division.
- Weber Max, (1954). *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, J.C.B. Mohor Tubingen 1958. - Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society, edited by Max Rheinstein, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.