McDonaldization of Nigerian Banking Industry in the Post-consolidated Era: An Exploration of the Unavoidable Consequences

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Abstract

This article explores the McDonaldization of banking operation in Nigeria. In doing so, it brings to light a critical analysis of the increasing rationalization process in light of a developing economy. McDonaldization thesis has generated serious academic debate since it was introduced by George Ritzer the American sociologist in 1993. However, it has received seldom attention among Nigerian scholars and none to my knowledge has applied it to examine the banking industry which is invariably the most McDonaldized sector in Nigeria. This article therefore, draws on the thesis to explore the increasing rationalization process the sector is undergoing since consolidation and recapitalization exercises began in 2005. The article argues that the sector is McDonaldized and this has engendered efficiency, predictability, calculability and control. The article further argues that this McDonaldization process inevitably has led to increasing negative impacts of McDonaldization and concludes by pointing out some remedies.

Keywords: consolidation, McDonaldization, Nigerian banking industry, recapitalization, rationalization

1. Introduction

For a contemporary economy to develop, it is imperative the financial sector be robust. This is because the sector occupies a central position and serves as catalyst or lubricant for growth and development of the entire economy. Any major threat to the sector definitely affects other sectors within the same economy (Abubakar & Tasmin, 2012) and even beyond. The Nigerian commercial banking industry as part of the financial sector occupies this pivotal position in the nation's quest for development. It accounts for 64 per cent of the total stock listed in the Nigerian Stock Market (Adeleye, 2011) and employs over 77,000 workforce, both contract and permanent staff as at 2008 (Gunu, 2009).

Banking on a commercial basis started in 1892 in what is now known as Nigeria following the establishment of the Standard Bank of Nigerian Limited which metamorphosed to the First Bank (Ogujiuba & Obiechina, 2011) in 1979. Subsequently, the sector began to attract many investors that made the number of banks to multiply in the 1980s. As some were being established, a number of others were closing down shops, making the number to fall substantially from 89 as at July 2004 to 24 in 2005 (Gunu, 2009; Sanusi, 2010). Gunu & Olabisi (2011 p.225) revealed that these changes witnessed in the Nigerian banking sector have been orchestrated by number of factors which include inter alia, deregulation of the sector, 'globalization of operation and technological innovations'.

The sector has passed through several reforms in a bid to standardise operations and enhance efficiency since independence in 1960. There was a major reform in 1986, following the introduction of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) and many other reforms followed in the 1990s. Irrespective of these reforms, the sector's performance remained far from desired. Financial experts pointed out inter alia, weak corporate governance, unethical practices, bankruptcy, late or outright non-publication of annual report and weak financial base as the causal factors of this malaise (Sanusi, 2012). This has often resulted in crises or failures. The crises necessitated another reform and the panacea was the Central Bank's (CBN) 2004 consolidation exercise. In this reform, all the commercial banks were given up to 31 December 2005 to raise capital base from two to twenty-five billion Naira or get liquidated (Ogujiuba & Obiechina, 2011). This reform made the number of commercial banks to reduce from 89 to 24 strong banks (Ogujiuba & Obiechina, 2011) due to merger, acquisition and liquidation of those unable to beat the deadline.

The recapitalised banks immediately went into acquisition of modern technology because it is believed that technology enhances faster services that can engender bank's profits (Kundu & Datta, 2012) and other internal reforms also ensued. While some of these nouveau strategies were good, others became curses rather than blessings. The post consolidated period saw the survived banks going into aggressive deposit pursuit by adopting different marketing strategies. While some went into stock market to raise capital through initial public offers (IPOs), others adopted other measures such as 'special marketing' via the use of young employees especially ladies to attract depositors.

Though the 2005 consolidation reform that engendered the foregoing has been adjudged one of the best, the financial sector still remained volatile due to some inherent crisis of confidence and other problems such as inadequate disclosure of financial position (Ogujiuba & Obiechina, 2011; Sanusi, 2012). Other problems include abuse of positions by Chief Executives (CEOs) due to tenure elongation and other sharp practices such as trading in capital market with depositors' money (Sanusi, 2012). These illicit practices led to the collapse of the Nigerian Stock Market in 2008-9 because it lacked the capacity to absorb shock orchestrated by global financial crisis that originated from American economy (Ritzer, 2011). In order to check some of these anomalies, the CBN began the post consolidation reform in 2009 with a ten to twelve year reform plan aimed at the stabilization of the shaky financial sector and this is still on-going (Ogujiuba & Obiechina, 2011; Sanusi, 2012). One of the measures adopted is the removal of eight CEOs who have served more than ten years and fixing maximum ten-year tenure for CEOs. Another important part of the reform is the prosecution of the CEOs who engaged in fraudulent practices during their tenures and bail out of the ailing banks through direct lending by the CBN (Sanusi, 2012). According to Sanusi (2012), out of the eight banks, five went into merger and the remaining three were nationalised.

As the consolidation exercise took effect from December 2005, the post-consolidation era made the commercial banks to embrace internal and external restructuring. Technological innovations and extreme competition became the norms among banks. Their services began to improve gradually (at least better than what it used to be) through the use of modern facilities such as Automated Teller Machine (ATM) to dispense cash, debit and credit cards, mobile and internet banking (E-banking). The sector also began to adopt more systematized, modern and efficient ways of doing business in a global perspective. One of this modern ways is the rationalization of operations through the elimination of every possible hindrance so as to satisfy the customers and win their patronage within the shortest possible time. This sums up what McDonaldization process entails. Though the sector seems McDonaldized prior to the consolidation period, evidence abound as the article will reveal that it came to light as consolidation and recapitalization were introduced.

Against this backdrop, the article draws on Ritzer's McDonaldization thesis to explore this rationalization process in light of the Nigerian banking sector in the post-consolidation era. The article reveals the evidence to prove that McDonaldization process has encroached into the sector. It further documents the negative aspects of this McDonaldization process in the sector. To properly situate this article, it is divided into four sections. The next section is the theoretical conceptual clarification. The third part examines some evidences to prove that the sector is McDonaldized. It also examines the negative consequences of McDonaldization in the sector. The last section is the concluding remark that pointed out some remedies for the negative impacts.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 The McDonaldization Thesis

This is a sociological construct introduced by Ritzer in 1993 to describe the trend of events happening in an increasing rational modern social milieu. In his seminal work entitled: *The McDonaldization of Society*, Ritzer succinctly offered being guided by Weber's modern bureaucracy how the process of rationalization has encroached every sphere of post-modern society (Ritzer, 2000). He posited that the process of McDonald's fast food industry with extreme rationalization has increasingly dominated not just American life but is becoming widely spread worldwide.

To him, McDonaldization is 'the process by which the principles of fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world' (Ritzer, 2000 p.1). In a typical McDonalds, four major principles guide the operation of food production right from preparation, serving and down to the consumption of food. These principles are efficiency, calculability, predictability and control but they also lead to the fifth dimension which is irrationality of rationality (Ritzer, 2000). McDonaldization connotes increasing rationalization of everything in order to achieve maximum result. Though this term is an extension of Max Weber's rationalization theory, it connotes rationalization in excess. In fact, Ritzer (2001 p.178) citing Levine (1981) averred that 'Weber was interested in objectified rationality: that is, action that is in accord with some process of external systematization'. Against this backdrop, he noted that McDonald's success is hinged on the fact that his restaurant offers 'consumers, workers, and the managers: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control' (Ritzer, 2001 p.198) in a much rationalized way.

Weber posited that bureaucracy is the best for the modern social organization because it is organized along rational lines (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2003). The rationalization of bureaucratic organization of Weber is what the

McDonaldization of McDonald's fast-food is to Ritzer but the later involves extreme level rationalization (Ritzer, 2000; Weaver, 2005) or what I may describe as an oversized rationalization because extremes are not always the best. Just as a rationalized bureaucratic organization is expected to be efficient due to standardized rules and routine ways of operation, McDonaldization also leads to homogenization and standardization of products and routine services. It engenders mass similarities (Lyon, Taylor, & Smith, 1994; Ritzer, 2000) and this is why Ritzer contented that diversity humans naturally crave for has been reduced if not eradicated by the McDonaldization process. In the ensuing section of the article, I will further elucidate these five dimensions and explore how they are extant in Nigerian banking industry.

2.2 Efficiency

This means the 'optimum method for getting from one point to another' (Ritzer, 2000 p.12). It connotes the selection of most favourable and fast means to achieve a desired end. For example, fast food restaurant offers customers the optimum ways to get satisfied when hungry by providing already made food that is *efficiently* prepared and served. To ensure efficiency in a typical McDonald's, rules are set and employees and customers are required to believe in these rules hook, line, and sinker and adhere willy-nilly.

For example, preparation of food is guided by already made procedures and timetable which must be followed because deviation can interrupt the whole process and in turn engenders customers' dissatisfaction (Weaver, 2005). This is why the employees are trained in order to follow the rules of the organization to guarantee efficient work (Ritzer, 2001).

2.3 Calculability

To Ritzer (2001 p.199), this is 'an emphasis on the quantitative aspects of products sold (portion size, cost) and service offered (the time it takes to get the product)'. With much emphasis on size in a McDonald's, quality is often sacrificed for quantity. Employees and customers alike are made to believe that the more service is rendered quickly, the best it will be. In this setting, those doing the Mcjobs also emphasize quantification than quality of jobs i.e. how quick jobs can be done irrespective of the quality in order to satisfy employers. It connotes the ability to reduce everything to countable or quantifiable term.

2.4 Predictability

This is an assurance that McDonald's product and service delivery will be homogenous every time and in everywhere (Ritzer, 2000; Ritzer, 2001). This means that customers can predict what they will eat and how it will taste like in any McDonald's anywhere they enter the restaurant. Workers also are expected to behave in a predictable manner. This is because they follow rules and are guided by scripts, thus, what they do and may say are highly predictable (Ritzer, 2001) and even what they wear.

2.5 Control

This is the 'substitution of nonhuman for human technology' (Ritzer, 2001 p.200). It is aimed at the eradication of possible uncertainty through technology because human actions are most times unpredictable (Ritzer, 2000). Those who eat in McDonald's are controlled by the technology though this may be difficult to detect. The nature or quality of buns and other food machines offer is what customers will eat. That is, customers are controlled by the menu McDonald's offer. They are meant to serve themselves and water or drink dispensers serve drinks in predetermined quantity (Ritzer, 2000). Customers who are not satisfied are meant to buy more because the more money they spend, the more profit is made by McDonald's.

The customers are also meant to eat fast and leave so as to give way for other customers, and this is achieved via the provision of seats that are not comfortable to sit on for a long time (Ritzer, 2000). Those who do Mcjobs are also controlled by this technology. They must follow instructions to operate the technology willy-nilly, and their skills or suggestions are immaterial. McDonald's also controls employees by 'threatening to use, and ultimately using, nonhuman technology to replace human workers' (Ritzer, 2001 p.201).

2.6 Irrationality of rationality

The rationalization of society has brought many benefits no doubt, but has also engendered some severe consequences (Weaver, 2005). This in part is because a rationalised world is a social construct and not a natural phenomenon and this makes it sometimes problematic (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2003). Irrationality means that over-rationalized process will always produce outcomes that are unplanned or unfavourable. Ritzer (2001) posited that this can be taken as the fifth dimension of McDonaldization because rational system is not always producing rational results. Efficiency often ends in inefficiency, calculability culminates to incalculability, and predictability generates unpredictability, while control leads to lack of control (Ritzer, 2000). When this occurs, the outcomes are *irrationalities of rationality* because 'rational systems serve to deny human reason; rational systems often are unreasonable' (Ritzer, 2001 p.201). Some of the irrationalities of rationality found in McDonaldized setting are 'dehumanization of work, red tape, poor quality of product and misguided anger of employees and customers' (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2003 p.140).

3. Evidences of McDonaldization of the Nigerian banking sector

McDonaldization process comes with several advantages according Ritzer and that is why many sectors globally are becoming rationalised. Ritzer's contention was that the features of rationalization of production that underpin Western manufacturing industries have crept in recently into service industries and many scholars (Lyon et al., 1994; Wood, 1994) agreed that this has infested banking industries.

Ritzer posited that to the degree at which the five dimensions of McDonaldization discussed above are manifest in any sector, that sector can be said to be undergoing McDonaldization process (Ritzer & Malone, 2000b). Nigerian economy is a capitalist growing economy that is rapidly experiencing modernization and with much emphasis on profit making within a short period of time. It is a popular thing to hear people say that time is money and this is evidence in the banking business where different marketing strategies are introduced (Ayo, Adewoye, & Oni, 2010) in quest for profit.

This is in agreement with Nancarrow, Vir, & Barker (2005) assertion that McDonaldization is merely a fashionable name for the rationalization process that occurs in many businesses and the real drivers are capitalism and profit motives (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001). Nigerian banking sector operates with capitalism principles and this involves extreme competition, technological innovation and profit maximization. Therefore, it craves for *efficiency* so as to woo customers and win their patronage because customers deposit determines profit to a large extent.

Just as efficiency in a McDonald's restaurant involves routine, standardized and systematized ways of preparing and serving food with the use of customers as labourers or in Ritzer's words- *prosumers* (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010), this prosumption process (Denegri-Knott & Zwick, 2012; Rey, 2012) is becoming increasingly seen in Nigerian banks. This is because customers are now unpaid *working customers* (Rieder & Voß, 2010). They use the ATM machines to do their transactions as against human tellers and still pay for serving themselves. This means they are the customers as well as the workers *though without payment* and this is a means to cut cost and make more profit in a McDonaldized capitalist society.

The sector in pursuit of efficiency, is becoming increasingly McDonaldized on daily basis and this is evidence in the use of credit and debit cards because Ritzer & Goodman (2007 p.424) noted that '...credit cards,… can be seen as part of our McDonaldized, formally rationalized, and therefore ultimately modern society'. Credit cards represent extreme rationality because in reality, they replace loan and cash transaction (Ritzer, 2000). Little wonder why Lagos State has recently introduced a 'cashless society' because assurance is that through the extant McDonaldized banks the state will achieve the policy. The sector in pursuit of efficiency and control is replacing human technology with nonhuman technologies and this is why many people have lost their jobs.

Following the capitalization, 8641 bankers lost their jobs (Gunu & Olabisi, 2011). Technological innovations that merger, acquisition and recapitalization engendered (Atiku, Genty, & Akinlabi, 2011) in order to guarantee efficiency, predictability of business outcome, led to the replacement of human with nonhuman technology which is what Ritzer called control.

From 2009 to 2011, 8,000 bankers were sacked (Ngutor, 2011) and as the quest for control continued Access Bank acquired Intercontinental Bank and laid off 1,500 staff of Intercontinental Banks in the first quarter of 2012 (Punch, 2012) and encouraged 1,900 to voluntarily resign. A McDonaldized business is ran with staff turnover because Mcjobs require flexibility and to achieve this, workers must be changed at intervals (Ritzer, 2000; Ritzer, 2001). Mcjobs are often mechanized and require little human labour. This is exactly what Nigerian banks are turning into presently.

The sector has also begun to fill the remaining positions with contract and casual staff employed through outsourcing (Adeleye, 2011) with low pay and no job security. Out of 16056 staff of five banks survey in 2011, 12682 were employed on casual basis (Fapohunda, 2012). The implication is that McDonaldized business is a capitalist conception and cost cutting (calculability) to maximize profit is a norm. It can also be inferred that the aim is to weaken labour union which may ask for increased pay and other benefits of which McDonaldized businesses do not tolerate.

Calculability is replete in Nigerian banking sector presently because bankers' promotions today are hinged on the number of customers they attract and the amount the customers end up depositing irrespective of how the money was acquired. McDonaldization replaces quality by quantity and this is evidence in Nigerian banks where looters deposit their money and get covered by bank managers. Bank employees are always given targets to meet and those who are able to meet up are rewarded with promotions which attract higher salaries irrespective of how they met the target. Those who are unable to beat the target are shown the way out (workers' turnover). Loyal customers are also rewarded with higher interest rate (different from official rate) and sometimes cash through periodic promotions. In McDonaldized settings, quantity is more important than quality (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001) and this is a feature of Nigerian banks where branches are increasingly opened in many cities in order to attract more customers (calculability) without corresponding quality of services.

In order to attain predictability, banks now standardize and homogenise products, services and procedures right from customer service to corporate banking and down to administrative services. There are products and services uniformity in all branches in all the banks presently. For example, ATM cards have same size, same structure, similar functions and ATM machines equally look alike as well as render similar services nationwide. This makes the techno-based banking services more predictable. To add to this, banks welcome and bid their customers farewell in same manner. Customers can predict how they will be greeted at the door or at the counter each time they visit a particular branch of any bank in Nigeria. The kind of attire bankers will don on each work day and the type of services they will render when there is 'network or not' can be predicted.

Another aspect of control is that nonhuman technology has become the order of the day. Bankers use different computer software and other machines in quest for efficiency and control and these technologies control both the employees and the customers though the latter may be unaware of this control. Employees are controlled and dehumanized because the technologies are built in a way that employees' input, idea or skill are inconsequential and not required. They are just there to follow the instructions given by the programmer to do the Mcjobs. On the part of the customers, ATM machines exert control because they determine how much customers can withdraw on daily basis, the type of currency notes (old, new, torn or sellotape) they will be paid with and even how it will be paid. Many banks have their maximum limit set as 100,000 Naira. This means that even if the customer has a need of more than that, the machine will not dispense more than the set limit.

Most times, the machine seizes the card or debit customers' account without payment, leaving the customers stranded because e-banking in Nigeria is still at abysmal level (Akinyele & Olorunleke, 2010). Other technologies that the McDonaldization introduced such as the automated doors permit or disallow customers from accessing banking floors. Cases are rife where people are barred from entering just because of their belts, keys, phones, etc. In most cases, even amputees with metals inserted into their bodies through surgery are also denied access. Sometimes customers are trapped inside the electronic doors due to erratic power supply. Each time this occurs, it results in time wasting than saving which is the original intention of the McDonaldized capitalist in Nigeria. Customers are further controlled by the 'menu' of service these banks offer of which they have no option than to accept.

The technology makes the sector to enhance mass market. Many banks operate many branches nationwide while some have extended their frontiers across the border. This may seem to be advantageous but not totally because mass market leads to consumers' powerlessness (Wood, 1994). This is because the kind of products and services banks provide are what customers will accept willy-nilly just like McDonald's food menu. Presently, ATM cards are mass-produced and every customer is encouraged to use it. In fact, whether customers use it or not, once you open an account in a bank in Nigeria, you will be charged for it because banks deduct ATM fees from customers' initial deposits. Hence, the four dimensions of McDonaldization are replete in Nigerian banking sector, the fifth dimension must be present because extreme rationalization is sine qua non to irrationalities of rationality (Ritzer, 2000).

4. Irrationalities of rationality in Nigerian banking industry

There is no gainsaying that Nigerian banking sector is bedevilled by high level of irrationalities of rationality. This is because rationalised process is never without inherent, though unintended internal contradictions and imperfections that give rise to inefficiency or irrationalities (Ritzer, 2000; 2001). Bankers work longer hours than workers in other sectors in Nigeria. They are meant to resume work as early as 7am and close late just to ensure *efficient services*. Many bank employees go to work on weekends including Sundays and with little or no benefit (cost cutting). Oreoluwa & Oludele (2010) findings show that bankers face several stress-related illnesses such as chest pain, headache, nausea, sleeplessness etc. They reported that many are over loaded with responsibilities. Following the bank merger, few workers that were not sacked now do the work of the other sacked employees. This is another aspect of irrationality. Mcjobs require few hands so as to cut cost and make more profit (Ritzer, 2000) at the expense of people's health and wellbeing.

McDonaldized business emphasises profit making because it is rooted in capitalism. In Nigerian banks, profit is pursued at all cost and employers are used to pursue the profit willy-nilly. Many female employees have been turned to sex machines by some top management staff just in order to keep their jobs because they were unable to meet the unrealistic target set by these managers (Abati, 2007) . Many marriages have been ruined due to infidelities of spouses. These irregularities are not widely reported because of lack of proper legal framework of seeking for justice in Nigeria.

According to Olufayo (2011) findings, beauty and youthfulness are major criteria for employing female bankers presently and they are asked not to get married until they are permitted to do so or be ready to lose their jobs (Abati, 2007; Olufayo, 2011). These beautiful ladies are used as marketers who woo male customers to deposit money in their banks because deposit determines banks profit (calculability). Abati revealed that a lady gave up her employment the day she was supposed to resume because the manager of the bank learnt she was newly married and asked her not to get pregnant (Abati, 2007).

Similarly, many female bankers are arguably now into 'organized prostitution' just because they must meet the target set by their employers and many are at risk of contracting HIV/AIDs (Olufayo, 2011). 'They are encouraged to use what they have to get what they want'. In a McDonaldized business often driven by principles of capitalism (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010), increasing profit is always the aim and every 'efficient' means must be employed to make profit. These targets are impossible targets and might induce the girls to 'do whatever is possible' to woo customers to deposit money in the bank so as to retain their jobs. This is because part of banks' profit is determined by number of customers and the amount they deposit (calculability). Just like Weber in Ritzer (2000) posited that economic interests drive rationalization in capitalist societies, McDonaldization emphasises highest profit with lowest cost. This is evidence in the Nigerian banks that are now McDonaldized in the ways they pursue profit at all cost and do everything possible to cut cost. This is why they use young girls (employed on contract/casual terms) as marketers to trap moneybags in Nigeria to deposit large sum in their banks.

Bankers now go to 'bed thinking deposit, dreaming deposit and waking up to chase deposit' (Abati, 2007) because the number of customers one attracts, the amount they deposit (calculability) reflects one's performance and determines his promotion. This might be one of the reasons why bank managers hide the identity of customers who make large deposit that is higher than the legally approved limits. In fact, many of these banks are mere painted sepulchre with high level of chicanery businesses. Olufayo (2011) revealed that children of rich men who make large deposits (calculability) are given automatic employment. This means that the criterion for employment is no longer based on qualification but on how much ones parents can deposit (calculability) irrespective of how they got the money.

This leads to quality being replaced by quantity. Non-bankers in the industry are not spared either; drivers, cleaners, secretaries etc. are also instructed to bring customers to deposit money. With the high rate of unemployment in the country and the resultant hardship, many young ladies do what ordinarily they would have frowned at in order to remain employed. This lends credence to Ritzer's calculability- the more customers you bring the more profit is made and the source is immaterial to a McDonaldized capitalist (Ritzer, 2000) who emphasises quantity than quality. Thus, the issue of morality or value does not come to play and integrity is totally jettisoned.

In many banks presently, customers pay hidden fees and many banks give mendacious financial reports (Sanusi, 2010) as bank auditors are paid to prepare two financial statements: a fictitious one to deceive the unsuspecting customers and the other revealing the real state of bank to be used by bank owners/managers. The hidden fee ranges from the short message service (SMS) fees to monthly service deductions. Many customers are unaware that the birthday, Christmas and other SMSs banks send are not free in Nigeria. They equally charge customers monthly whether they use the ATM or not and often leave customers unsatisfied (Ehigie, 2006). This arguably makes them to spend more due to the techno-based McDonaldized banking system.

Some of the CEOs set up Special Purpose Vehicles as a mechanism to borrow depositors' money in order to trade in stock before 2009 (Sanusi, 2010; 2012). The profit derived was not paid to customers nor did they even know that their money was used to trade in stock. 'Some banks even engage in manipulating their books by colluding with other banks to artificially enhance financial positions and stock prices' (Sanusi, 2010 p.6). This manipulation is aided by ICT (control) and the quest for profit and these are features of McDonaldized society that lay emphasis on profit maximization.

Sanusi averred that one of the CEOs of the eight distressed banks had '200 real estate in Dubai and other properties in Johannesburg as well as four private jets' (Sanusi, 2012). In his lecture in Kano, he posited that one of the banks bought jets which were later discovered to have been registered in the name of the CEO's son (Sanusi, 2010). McDonaldization as I have earlier noted involves the use of sophisticated technologies and this aided these CEOs to cover up leading to irrationalities of rationality (Ritzer, 2000). The increasing investment in ICT in Nigerian banks is yet to yield the maximum result (Ekata, 2012) and this is a major problem facing the sector.

Though it has improved customers' satisfaction to some extent, it has equally aided some sharp practices such as illegal withdrawals, unauthorized transfer of fund from customers' account and error from bank employees with unprecedented financial consequences (Dauda & Akingbade, 2011). According to Ezeoha (2006), hackers use real and fake bank websites to swindle unsuspecting customers of their hard earned money. They use real bank website because some work in collaboration with some bank staff or ex-bankers who are angry due to their dismissal. This security issue affects presently the acceptance and use of E-banking in Nigeria (Adamu & Adeola, 2012; Odumeru, 2012; Ojeka & Ikpefan, 2012; Oni & Ayo, 2010) because security and trust are among important factors that affect e-banking (Hassan et al., 2012; Okafor & Ezeani, 2012). This means that the quest for 'efficiency has led to inefficiency'.

Balogun & Obe (2010) revealed that some ex-employees who are seeking revenge for unjust dismissal involve in electronic crime. This is very popular in Nigeria lately where many have lost their money to hackers through the use of ATMs. It is clear that some of the insiders are involved in this crime and Nigerian banks hardly report it because it will appear like washing one's dirty linen in public (Idowu, 2009). This is irrationality orchestrated by the use of technology and this leads to customers' dissatisfaction that is rife in Nigerian banking sector (Adeoye & Lawanson, 2012). Prior to the era of technological innovation in quest for control, it was difficult to withdraw money from another customer's savings account without being caught because customers appeared in person before human tellers. It goes that efficiency has led to inefficiency especially due to the adoption of internet or branchless banking in Nigeria.

On the other hand, the sector still experiences long queue in banking floor due to network failure or unavailability (Anwana, 2010; Dogarawa, 2005; Ehikhamenor, 2003; Madueme & Ude, 2012; Olatokun & Igbinedion, 2009). The ATM most times debit customers without payment and this takes weeks and sometimes months to be reversed in most cases. It equally encourages excess spending and reduces savings (Ogbuji, Onuoha, & Izogo, 2012). Another fact is that many transfers via these technologies end up spending days before getting to the appropriate designated accounts (Adeoye & Lawanson, 2012). The bankers still complain of slow network and sometimes shut down services for hours due to unsuccessful network. During this period, customers are left stranded by the more confused bank staff. Therefore, the pursuit of efficiency through time saving is defeated leading to irrationalities of rationality.

In today's Nigerian banks, the 'production-consumption dichotomy' (Shaw & Benkler, 2012 p.446) is fading away and 'production is increasingly enacted at the site of consumption' (Rey, 2012); customers as prosumers and part of this prosumption process (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Ritzer, Dean, & Jurgenson, 2012) do the work of tellers and still go uncompensated. This is in agreement with what Ritzer (2000 p. 124-125) posited:

> *Oh Lord, with each advance of computer age, I was told I would benefit. But with each 'benefit', I wind up doing more work. This is ATM… rule of life… I was told…that I could avoid lines at the bank and make deposits or withdrawals any time of the day. Now, there are lines at the ATMs, the bank seems to take a percentage of whatever I withdraw or deposit and of course I'm doing what tellers… used to do….*

The McDonaldization process makes customers to 'produce much of their own consumption experience' (Ritzer et al., 2012 p.384) and they can be called manufacturing customers (Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009). Many customers fill in the deposit slip, pay in through the ATM, register their names in notebooks, drop the deposit slip in boxes provided, press the door control button and leave the banking floor without any bank staff's assistance. The only staff they may meet is the trained staff (positioned at the door) who says to them from the 'invisible script': have a nice day. When they are to withdraw money through an ATM, similar thing happens. Just as Ritzer (2000) posited that in a McDonald's, customers line up to serve themselves, take away the food with the rubbish, or sit and eat fast, clear the rubbish and leave as fast as possible, so is the McDonaldized Nigerian banks. All these processes are highly predictable and result in Ritzer's predictability (Ritzer, 2000).

Customers use the ATMs to do the work of tellers and still pay the monthly deduction 'for serving themselves'. So they are unpaid workers and this is exploitation in the emergent prosumers capitalism (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010). This shows that McDonaldized banks are not completely efficient as thought because in a rationalized system customers pay more and do more jobs themselves and this leads to exploitation which is a character of any capitalist economy (Rey, 2012). The unique characteristics of this scenario is that these customers (prosumers) are made to believe they are doing the best by serving themselves efficiently but this is false consciousness though not on the side of workers but on the part of unpaid customers.

Another aspect of irrationality of rationality is predictability of everything in the system which gives no room for diversity. Walking into a bank in Nigeria, one can predict the kind of greetings s/he will be offered by both the security men and other bankers. This include inter alia: 'welcome sir, how was your night, have a nice day'. The uninformed customers will take them serious and fall into illusion of thinking they are appreciated without knowing that those greetings are not from the heart but from scripts. This is just to make them feel important and win their patronages. This is 'false fraternity' (Ritzer, 2000 p.130) and with a close look at the nature of McDonaldized settings driven by post modernity, it is clear that those greetings lack according to Jameson, emotion and affects (Ritzer, 2000; Ritzer, 2001). In essence, the salutations are scripted and thus, void of empathy. This is because employees are trained to act and respond to customers in a uniformed manner based on memorized scripts- all aimed at efficiency. Similarly, this scripted conversation makes customers dehumanized and disenchanted because they appear unnatural and highly uniformed; they lead to 'impersonal and anonymous relationship' between customers and employees (Ritzer, 2000 p.140).

Predictability is also seen in bankers' uniforms and even bank buildings. Buildings are structured to look alike in all the cities they are located and ATM machines and cards look alike leading to what Jameson called 'simulacrum: the identical copy for which no original ever existed' (Jameson, 1984 p.66) or what Ritzer termed globalization of nothing (Beckfield, 2007). Services rendered are standardized and homogenised leading to predictability of operations which of course is tantamount to disenchantment of both the employees and customers.

Coming to other aspects of control, nonhuman technology is rapidly taking over jobs previously done by humans and this is leading to increasing job insecurity. Control is not bad completely because human actions are highly unpredictable (Ritzer, 2000) but the more employees are controlled by the technology, the more they are deskilled and this makes people to lose the ability to think for themselves. In fact, in a McDonaldized jobs, employees can only use a minute part of their skills (Ritzer, 2000). This is why medical doctors, zoologists, lawyers, engineers and even fine artists etc. are employed in Nigerian banks to do the work of accountants. All they require is to train you with technology to do the Mcjobs. Little wonder why these jobs lead to dissatisfaction and are highly unstable. This use of technology to control humans and much emphasis on speed and efficiency leave both the workers and customers disenchanted (Denegri-Knott & Zwick, 2012) and make the whole experience of banking artificial and monotonous.

Postmodernism involves waning of emotion or affect (Jameson, 1984; Jameson, 1991) and this is replete in Nigerian banking sector. This is because little or no emotional bond exists among employees (due to casualization of staff and regular turn-over), between employees and employers and between employees and customers. The employers strive to eliminate genuine emotion so as to make business go on fast and make more profit. This is achieved through regular staff turnover, contract staffing and the outlaw of unionism in most banks presently which further threatens job security (Adenugba & Oteyowo, 2012). This is irrationalities of rationality because workers who are alienated from one another can never 'unite to lose their chain'. Though Ritzer has argued that there is escape in McDonaldized settings because it is not like Weber's iron cage (Ritzer, 2003a), I have a contrary view because as a developing economy, there may be no route of escape in Nigeria due to the fact that these McDonaldized organizations are increasingly becoming grobalized (Ritzer, 2003b).

5. Conclusion

This article has examined how McDonaldization process which involves efficiency, calculability, predictability and control so as to ensure maximum profit at a minimum time is operational in the Nigerian banking sector. It revealed therefore, that as the sector is exposed to the process of McDonaldization, it may continue to experience the negative side which is the irrationalities of rationality (Bruenderman, 2009). So the question is: are we going to escape from it? The future will remain bleak if customers do not realise the implications of this process in light of the Nigerian banking industry.

Just as Weber's iron cage is inescapable, so are we trapped by the McDonaldized system even though Ritzer (2003a) has argued that those who wished to escape can have escape route. The implication is that there may be a continued downsizing, outsourcing of contract workers and the use of customers as unpaid labourers because banks want to make more profit at lowest cost. This is because as new technologies are introduced, the sector will continue to procure them in pursuit of efficiency, predictability, calculability and control that engender irrationalities of rationality.

The only glimpse of hope is to begin to resist some aspects of this process especially those that lead to replacement of human with nonhuman technology because technology often creates ambiguity (Turner, 2003). Another solution is to de-McDonaldized the aspects that make customers to be used as unpaid labourers and those that lead to homogeneity of everything because there is limit to McDonaldization (Ahuvia & Izberk-Bilgin, 2011). Banks should also adopt pragmatic ways of doing business that is not totally centred on cost cutting and profit maximization. There should be as a matter of urgency laws to deter banks from employing young graduates on contract or casual basis and the use of young ladies to attract deposit should be legislated against.

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