

The New Public Management and its Challenges in Africa

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Abstract

The years of 1990s were the period of the spread of the so called new public management (NPM) in most African countries. These countries decided to adopt the new public management model as their administrative framework with expectation of getting high efficiency and effectiveness in their public sectors. However, due to various challenges confronting the reform process, new public management reforms have continued to be partially implemented in Africa. Never the less, since the adoption, some African countries have demonstrated improvement in this reform type while others have been driven completely into disappointing situation. Although new public management model seems to have taken a lead all over the world in achievement, in Africa it has been a different case. The program is still facing challenges that will need particular attention before significant success to be realized. In order to tone down these challenges there should be deliberate efforts of taking into consideration of local context before implementing any outside based reform. This is why this paper also suggests for Africa to shift in new public management in the form of public value management.

Keywords: Africa, new public management, public administration, public sector reform, public value management

1. Introduction

Public sector in Africa witnessed great change in early 1990s, following the outbreak of issues like huge debt traps, massive poverty, massive disease and instability. However, following the global recession continuing to squeeze and reshape economies around the world as well, public sector administrators are also facing the challenging task of developing more innovative solutions to protect essential public service delivery framework and uphold public sector reform process in the appearance of deep financial cut, in this case new public management is highly regarded as the way out for this challenge (ICPS, 2013). NPM however, is a number of contemporary ideas and practices used to describe the public sector reform agenda that became prominence during the late 1980s. It is characterized by the adoption of private sector management concepts and styles, the introduction of quasi-markets and contracting processes and the application of explicit standards and measures of performance (Glynn and Murphy, 1996). Thus NPM has also been considered as the solution to performance failure proved by traditional bureaucratic model for being hierarchical, slow, inefficient, irresponsive and costly (Hood 1991; Alexander, 2014).

Moreover, from western countries, NPM was spread to other parts of the world by influence of European Commission and international financial institutions such as World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Hood 1991; Pollitt, 2007). At the end of the second half of twentieth century, many developing countries decided to switch to market-based economy as fostered by external donors who put pressure on governments by making their financing condition upon structural economic adjustment such as free trade, competition, privatization, and limited state intervention (de Waal, 2007). Although Africa also accepted the terms specified by these agencies, the implementation is still challenging, not only in Africa but also in some other developing countries. For instance countries like Zambia; Jamaica; Honduras; Panama; and Philippines who are keen in implementing NPM have not fully succeeded yet due to lack of infrastructure; lack of experience in operating market; and lack of managerial capacity (Puttaswamy, 2014). Furthermore lack of sense of ownership; lack of political will; weak capacity to carry out the reforms; and coercive conditionality tired to governance reforms have indeed put African countries in difficult situation (Kajibwa, 2013).

Despite the challenges associated in embracing NPM, yet it has become more dominant than traditional bureaucratic model whose dominance in public administration began to depreciate in the beginning of 1980s following the emergence of NPM in western countries like United States, Britain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (Haque, 2004). British was the first country to initiate privatization of public enterprises hence to take a lead to the adoption of NPM. It was followed by the United States by her decision to synthesize public administration and private business management. Next to this trend was the so called state under control model in New Zealand and alternate service delivery framework in Canada (Puttaswamy, 2014). The idea behind this reform is that, shifting to NPM is likely to achieve what Pollitt describes as 3Es i.e. economy, efficiency and effectiveness (Pollitt 2007). Furthermore, performance appraisal; accountability, managerialism; market orientation; responsiveness; innovation; decentralization; contracting out; quality improvement; cost cutting; debureaucratization; downsizing and flexibility are all in this line (Puttaswamy, 2014).

Basically from this perspective, NPM can be perceived in a positive way, especially when is systematically implemented, this is why some African countries eventually decided to reform their public sectors on basis of NPM ideas (Hope, 2001). This paper therefore, intends to examine the way NPM model has been practiced in African; it draws and elaborates the parts of Hope's work to analyze the relationship between NPM ideas and actual practice in Africa. Firstly, the paper will talk about the origin of the new public management theory whereby two theories (public choice and principal-agent theories) underpinning NPM model will be introduced. Secondly, this paper will discuss the components of NPM model. And thirdly, it will look at how these components are being implemented in Africa. Finally, the paper will make some recommendations on how to maximize the usefulness of the NPM for African setting.

2.The origin of NPM

It has been concluded in (Hood 1991; Larbi 1999; Haques 2005; and Cheung 1996) that the origin of NPM can be simply be traced from public choice principal- agent and institutional theories which together provide the foundation of the NPM concept. The emphasis is on market competition, business principles, managerial autonomy, customer choice, and performance standards. Basing on these assumptions public organizations are set in a way that they can operate in business like. Public choice theory for example, is an application of economics to political analysis, this theory treats the political mechanism, especially voting behavior as the means by which individuals' preferences for public goods are rationally transformed to policy makers and, as such is an extension of economic analysis into political decision making (Howard, 2001). However, the followers of this theory criticize traditional bureaucratic model for its advocacy on management based on input and process instead of result based management (Hood, 1991; Larbi, 1999). They further argue that, public bureaucracies tend to be slow in responding to contextual changes and continue to be passive to public service beneficiaries. This theory also, reveals the conflict of interests persisting among three groups i.e. politicians, voters, and bureaucrats. Politicians often pursue maximization of votes; voters pursue net benefit maximization of voting; and bureaucrats pursue budget maximization of course for rent seeking, for this case, NPM was brought in to overcome this kind of paradox.

Basing on principal- agent theory, is also a business oriented theory associated with behavioral studies; emphasis is on employer-contractor (employee) interactions. According to this theory, the latter has more information about his or her actions or intentions than the former. Since the principal cannot usually monitor the agent, sometimes agent can decide to act inappropriately especially if the interests between them are not aligned. In relation to public sector, the politician acts as principal and the bureaucrat as an agent, therefore, there must be well and clear interaction between them especially what the bureaucrat should do and for whom (Walsh, 2000; Lane, 1995; Larbi, 1999). It has been further argued that, is hard to hold the agent accountable while he is not well informed for example about the terms of performance contract. Thus NPM emphasizes on prescription of pre-set performance standards for the bureaucrats to achieve something traditional bureaucratic model has never done before.

Consequently, following the poor performance in the UK public sector particularly in the National Health Service, Margaret Thatcher the Prime Minister of UK in 1970s decided to develop new mechanisms for

accountability of the public sector (Kajimbwa 2013). In responding to that situation the government brought in legislation which introduced the concepts of value of money and performance, motivation of public servants towards greater economy and efficiency, deliberate introduction of the concept of “general management” based on largely private sector models, and introduction of market-style structures where government started to play as an enabler of public services and not taking direct responsibility in public service provision (Glynn and Murphy, 1996). This was the starting point of the new public management.

3. The components of NPM

Managing public sector in private sector styles, is what is being considered as a new public management. The reasons behind is to acquire both efficiency and effectiveness in public service delivery process (Pollitt 2007). Therefore, as explained in (Hope 2001) NPM believes in the following ideas:

- Establishment of internal competition among various public units as per performance contracts.
- Emphasis on efficiency for public services.
- Emphasis on result-based management.
- For contestable provision of public service, preference is on private sector through means such as downsizing, outsourcing and partnership.
- Decentralization of management control with improved reporting and monitoring mechanisms

Moreover, (Cheung, 1996) also highlights on downsizing of civil service, the desire of greater efficiency and value of money, decentralization and devolution of functions and authorities, and marketization of public service delivery as elements of NPM taking a lead in public sector reform across the global. As in other parts of the world public sector reform in Africa also calls for both structural and process changes in public sector. Structural change may involve merging or splitting public sector organizations, while process change may include redesigning systems, setting quality standards as focusing on capacity building (ICPS, 2013). These changes are necessary as deliberate response to lack of professionalism, accountability, responsiveness, and low economic efficiency manifested in public sectors (Olefemi 2010).

Furthermore, for the case of Africa issues like income inequality; corruption; war, political crisis; inefficiency; collapsing infrastructures; and lack of employment also contributed to the need of public sector reforms. Therefore, all these social and economic challenges confronted various African governments, definitely needed solution. Since NPM emphasis is on downsizing of the too large and expensive public sectors; the need of information technology; creation of accountability spirit to public sector employees; public demand of quality service, and performance appraisal, many African countries regarded it as the way out to these problems (puttaswamy, 2014). However, the question that has often been asked is whether the new public management styles largely practiced in private sector can work in the public domain with its bureaucratic and non-participative tendencies (Antwi, 2008; Hope, 2001).

4. The practice of NPM reforms in Africa

Most sub-Saharan countries including Tanzania; Zambia; Malawi; and Zimbabwe experienced economic hardships in the mid of 1980s. According to the World Bank, introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes to improve economic situation in these countries was inevitable (de Waal, 2007; Doorgapersad 2011). This programme had to go hand in hand with adoption of NPM. The assumption is that, NPM would create a deliberate effort in tax collection while trying best to cut expenditures as well as professionalizing and modernizing individual public managers and granting them autonomy (Pollit 2007). Through NPM the relations between states, markets, and societies would be structured by paying high regard on market forces, managerial efficiency, and government accountability. In the reconfiguration of the above mentioned relations in the NPM basis, both decentralization process and civil service reform had to be taken into consideration (Hope 2001).

4.1 Decentralization

Decentralization is a broad term, generally is the transfer of authority or responsibility for decision making, planning, management, and resource allocation from central government to its field units, district administrative units, local governments, regional or functional authority, semi-autonomous public authorities, parastatal organizations, private entities, and non government private or voluntary (Lekorwe,1998). Basing on managerialism perspective, decentralization involves disaggregating and downsizing of public service (Doorgapersad, 2011).

The primary objective for advocating decentralization policy is the assumption that government may become more accountable and responsive to its people and provide relevant and quality public goods and services (Lekorwe, 1998). In Africa for example, pressure for high demand of quality public services has been increasing day after day as the impact of multiparty political system. This situation has really exposed many civilians to their fundamental rights (Hope 2001). The idea to decentralize therefore comes in to meet peoples' demands with high standards. It is through decentralization key aspects of NPM such as managerial autonomy; rewarding system for organizational or individual performance; and capacity building to meet performance targets can be realized. From NPM point of view, decentralization comprise of de-concentration, delegation, devolution and privatization (Hope 2011). These are fundamental modes of decentralization which are also being practiced in Africa.

De-concentration is the passing down of selected administrative functions to lower levels or sub-national units within government agencies or departments (Hope 2001). According to Johnson de-concentration is the transfer of responsibility from central agencies in the national capital to field offices of central agencies (Johnson 1995). Clear example is Botswana where the central government created district councils and national rural development councils to coordinate agricultural activities among other rural developmental activities (Hope 2001). Also the presence of district and town/city councils; land boards; and also tribal administration and district administration bodies (Doorgapersad, 2011). In Tanzania as well there are district administrations which have their areas of jurisdiction overlapping those of the local government authorities appear to be parallel with de-concentration of public administration functions of central government. Also all field offices of water authority and roads construction and maintenance agency scattered all over the country especially in cities and municipalities indicate lively examples of de-concentration. (Lubuva, 2007).

However, there is a debate whether creation of executive agencies in the concept of NPM is a pure form of de-concentration or it falls in the category of delegation. As explained, in (Hope, 2001), agencification is regarded as another form of de-concentration. Executive agencies are the tools to unbundle the traditional bureaucracy in order to create more flexible and performance oriented public organizations (Sulle, 2011). For that case therefore, agencification model is a breaking up of monolithic bureaucracies into agencies and it has emerged as decentralization form for many African countries, and good example is a creation of independent revenue authorities in Zambia and South Africa (Hope 2001). This model allows the managerial autonomy since the power to make decision in all managerial areas like financial and human resource is decentralized to Chief Executive Officer of the created agency (Sulle 2011). For instance in Tanzania agencification Act requires CEO of the agency to be accountable for any malfunction that might be proven in his agency.

Taking Tanzania as a case, its Executive Agencies Act of 1997 states clearly that "the permanent secretary of a ministry under which the executive agency is established shall be responsible for strategic general management nature of the CEO, but shall not direct or participate in the day-to-day management of the agency affairs" (GOT-EAA 1997). By the year 2008, Tanzania had already created 24 executive agencies including Tanzania roads agency, Tanzania building agency and many others (Sulle 2011) but, the number has increased to 36 executive agencies by 2011(Kabwe, 2011). However, the implementation of this Act is very challenging, for example it is hardly to see the parent ministry sets performance targets as required rather this task is deliberately left to the CEO of the respective agency who later again evaluates his own performance (Sulle 2011). This is contrary to the provision of the NPM which insists on the parent ministry to set performance standards for the agency to

meet. Apart from Tanzania, most African countries are in the same situation and indeed they have shown a marked reluctance to go down this road (Polidano 1999)

Delegation is another form of decentralization; this is a transfer of responsibility from agency to organization not wholly under central control (semi-autonomous corporations or sub national units of government) (Johnson 1995). The World Bank defines delegation as whereby the central government transfers responsibility for decision making and administration of public functions to semi-autonomous organizations not wholly controlled by the central government, but ultimately accountable for it (Doogarpersad 2011). Clear examples include public corporations in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, parastatals in Lesotho, autonomous hospitals in Botswana and Ghana.

Another form of decentralization practiced in Africa is devolution. This is the transfer of decision making power by central government to autonomous units of local government with corporate status (Johnson 1995). Is the granting of decision making powers to lower authorities or managers and allow them to take full responsibility without reference back to the authorizing government (Hope 2001). Is the transfer of governance responsibility for specified functions to sub-national levels (Doogarpersad 2011). Devolution is also being practiced in Africa for example public financial program in Ghana where managers exercise greater control of their budgets (Larbi 1999). The power of local government authorities to make decision and to have control of resources is expanding in Tanzania as a result of ongoing policy of decentralization by devolution (Luvuba 2007). In so doing therefore, the governments in these countries have encouraged the local initiatives and participation in development planning, implementation and evaluation as emphasized in NPM.

Another form of decentralization is privatization which signifies the transfer of operational control and responsibilities for government functions and services to the private sector (Hope 2001). He further explains that privatization may encompass a wide range of policies in a wider perspective, for example to encourage private sector participation in the public service delivery and eliminate or modify the monopoly status of public organizations. The aim is to improve efficiency and avoid unnecessary costs state owned enterprises might cause in the centralized public service provision. Furthermore, Doogarpersad gives the list of some of African countries adopted this reform type which include Angola, Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Rwanda and Sierra Leone (Doogarpersad 2011). Currently many African countries have definitely gone on this road, and one can hardly find an African country that is not practicing this policy.

However, there are still some challenges within privatization process in most African countries. For example in Tanzania as revealed in (Kabwe 2011) until December 2009, about 331 corporations were privatized, and government managed to collect 440 billion T-shillings (approximately \$275 million) as proceeds from privatization process, but it ended into recurrent expenditure instead of being invested into capital investment for economic growth. As concluded in (Alexander, 2014) the proceeds from privatization of public assets should be paid into consolidated revenue for funding a variety of government developmental programs. This is what Tanzanian government could also do, but it did not happen.

Besides, Tanzanian government has continued to subsidize existing corporations, for example in the National Budget of 2011/2012 the government set aside 61 billion T-Shillings (approximately \$38million) to rescue its privatized corporations and for payments of their contracts (Kabwe, 2008) sincerely this is very disappointing. The study of public sector reforms in Australia shows that privatized enterprises are organized legal entities and have their own board of directors where funding is sourced through user fees (Moarobela 2008). But in Tanzania things are different, government still incurring unnecessary costs resulted from privatization process. For example, the trial to privatize Air Tanzania Cooperation (ATC) and Tanzania Railway Cooperation (TRC) in 2005, failed badly and government later decided to retain them back. Basically, privatization is the transfer of government work to the private sector is almost "corporate-take-over of the state and the main objective is to improve public service delivery and to save unnecessary costs. Unfortunately it has not been a case not only in Tanzania but also in most African countries.

Despite some challenges in privatization process, evidence from global research reveals that, countries pursued privatization within a strategic policy framework for investment gained more from privatization compared to other countries approached it haphazardly (Kabwe 2011). Just to mention the few these are the African countries which have continued to privatize their public enterprises; Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, and Morocco, they have privatized their water sectors on the basis of competition for concession. Airlines for example Kenya Airways, Air Tunisia, and South African Airways have been privatized through deferent modalities. In countries like Nigeria, Mozambique, Togo and Guinea ports and /or airports have also been privatized through lease arrangement or management contracts. Transport sector, especially road construction entity in countries like Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya is being contracted out (Hope 2001).

Contracting out or outsourcing is also another element of NPM reforms; definitely it has been in practice in Africa since the adoption of NPM. Doogarpersad regards outsourcing as an alternative term for contracting out, and these two terms may be used interchangeably (Doogarpersad 2011). Outsourcing therefore may refer to contracting, sub-contracting, or externalizing no-core activities to free up cash, personnel, time and facilities for activities where the state holds economic benefits. Apart from road construction, outsourcing can still be practiced in other sectors of public service such as water, power, etc. NPM advocates for outsourcing in public service delivery, the reason is also to promote cost savings and responsiveness (Larbi 1999). Also there is a belief that contracting out provision of public service increases efficiency and quality of such service since providers bid for the contract, but the question is whether, rent-seeking can absolutely be controlled in the process. But the truth is that, in most African countries rent-seeking has been a very big challenge, where nepotism and all kinds of corruption often spoil the bidding process due to lack of what Methenge calls public integrity (Methenge, 2014)

4.2 Civil service reform

Following the economic crisis smacked African continent in 1980s as well as poor performance demonstrated by civil service, ignited civil service reform in most African countries. The reform intended to downsize the civil service and enhance its operational efficiency (Sulle 2011). For example in Tanzania the period of (1962 to early 1970s), the civil service was small, but efficient, effective, and less vulnerable to administrative vices than today. After the adoption of socialism in 1967 which was associated with state-controlled economy, the government became a key provider of social services and actor in socio-economic development (Tuwa 2009). As a result, the civil service expanded rapidly due to the policy of socialism where employment in the public sector was driven by the socialist ideology and political patronage rather than clear management rationality (Sulle 2011). Likewise in Kenya the period between 1963 and 1991, employment in the civil service grew annually at 5.5 percent reaching 274,000 employees in 1991 (Otenya 2006). Of course the rapid growing of civil service increased economic hardships in public sector; governments had to take appropriate measures. So the idea to reform the civil service had to be implemented as part and parcel of NPM.

In struggling for recovery from economic crisis most African countries decided to carry out civil service reform which involved downsizing of the civil service. For example Uganda and Tanzania by 1990s the civil service was downsized by 55% and 22% respectively (Hope 2001). By December 1997 in Tanzania civil service was reduced at 30 percent (Otenya 2006). Likewise in Zambia the public service was retrenched leaving the size of nonmilitary public service excluding police, nurses and teachers dropped from 137,000 in 1997 to 112,000 by the end of 1999 (Hope 2001). In Kenya thousands of public service employees were retrenched at the first phase of 1997-8 and the second phase which was introduced in 2004. This phase was under voluntary basis yet about 20,000 civil service were retrenched (Otenya 2006).

Moreover, downsizing was also associated with some other operational strategies. For example in Tanzania, in 1993 the reform aimed at redefining the role of government as facilitator and not the dower of the role, and the idea was to enhance the greater private sector participation in the economy (Otenya, 2006). Other managerial strategies were introduction of performance appraisal and payroll systems. Therefore, public sector reform in the perspective of NPM has to go hand in hand with civil service reform and these two are connected. For example it could not be possible to implement the policy of privatization with big size of civil service. NPM requires

governments to contract out and marketize the public service delivery (Larbi 1999) and governments could not continue to be paying jobless civil servants, of course for this reason civil service reform was inevitable.

Furthermore, civil service in Africa had to be reformed, besides it was associated with several weaknesses as such as being unprofessional, often lacking capacity to solve the tough new problems of their government; too bloated in size in relationship to their output; suffering from dysfunctional rigidity; lacking in, and not caring about, measurement of their performance; preoccupied with their own rules and practices rather than promoting, protecting and serving the public interests; generally, being too corrupt and intent on maintaining their own patrimonial and territorial interests” (Hope 2001). Basing on these challenges the civil service in Africa had to be reconfigured through reform process. In fact, the reform did not focus only on institutional restructuring of civil service but also it introduced new ideas and techniques in the management of public services. For example in Tanzania a government instituted several reform measures which included creation of executive agencies that are almost detached to their parent ministries, but also introduction of management techniques like result-based management (Sulle 2011).

5. The impact of NPM in Africa

Since the adoption of NPM in Africa, public sector has been reformed in terms of structure and process. The fundamental change is how African countries nowadays pursue development by moving to a new functional model in a way that public sectors operate more like the private sectors through reforms. For example Hope argues that before such reforms economic growth in Africa has been retarding due to restrictive economic development which resulted into issues like famine, starvation, malnutrition, and general deterioration of the quality of life (Hope 2001). Definitely Africa wanted smart and modernized governments which would organize and strategically design and set up managerial operations that could permit it to perform its roles in an optimally effective and efficient manner, thus the idea to shift from traditional bureaucracy to the NPM was necessary.

African governments therefore, decided to adopt NPM with high expectation of enormous improvements, but this has not been a case. For example, privatization policy has brought flexible labor relations, civil service reform caused retrenchments, and outsourcing as well has led to unstable work pay and job insecurity (Morobela 2008). In addition marketization of public services has also created some challenges especially to poor people who cannot afford high charges of services charged by the private companies or public organizations operate in business like which are not really to serve people rather to generate profits. Taking Botswana as an example the introduction of school fees resulted to hundreds of students to miss classes because their parents could not afford to pay the charges for that service (Morobela, 2008).

Moreover, improving performance as one of the NPM targets is still a challenge as well for most African governments. According to NPM, it is important to link promotions of public servants to their performances but this has not been in that way. Taking Zimbabwe as a case (Polidano 1999) reveals “it is feared that the delegation of staffing powers to the senior official could easily be abused to create personal empires, regional cliques and even ethnic enclaves which could be used as effective weapons for the self-preservation of the senior public servants”. With this tendency it becomes difficult to realize the so called result-based management (RBM). Sincerely, this tendency is almost everywhere in Africa, so deliberate measures have to be taken to change the situation.

Despite being practiced in Africa RBM has not yet brought substantial impact, in Uganda for instance in early 1990s the government decided to take up RBM but when it came to implementation it disappeared in the agenda leaving behind little impact (Polidano 1999). RBM was also introduced in Tanzania following the creation of executive agencies. All agencies are supposed to be managed based on results and not on input and process, but this has not been a case. Tanzania has continued to manage her agencies more on traditional weberian model rather than NPM model which emphasizes on creation of performance-based accountability while dismantling traditional financial and personnel control systems (Sulle 2011). Eventually performance is not paid particular attention rather is more like embracing traditional bureaucracy and deliberately putting aside NPM reforms.

In essence, numerous scholars have investigated why it has been that way; some have concluded that, unlike in developed countries, to developing world particularly Africa is still challenging to realize full implementation of NPM reforms. Factors like weak capacity to carry out the reforms, lack of sense of ownership, lack of political will, coercive conditionality tied to governance reforms as well as depreciation of social values still confronting reform process (Kajimbwa 2013; Engida et. all 2013). These reasons indeed have contributed to partial implementation of the NPM reforms and some other countries have found themselves in a very disappointing situation.

Generally, capacity to carry out NPM reforms in Africa is a big challenge, for example in Ghana the presence of poor payroll systems; the inability to establish clear control over spending and staffing is visible evidence. It has been argued that, this situation is also almost all over Africa; as a result these new structures have definitely proved failure in having tangible impact on operations (Polidano 1999). African politicians have failed to enforce NPM reforms in their areas of jurisdiction because the reforms themselves do not reflect the local context. The implementation therefore will need knowledgeable policy makers and implementers to interpret the reforms and decide how they can be carried out in their local settings (Kajimbwa 2013). For example in Nigeria, despite the introduced reform measures to improve efficiency and effectiveness in the civil service, still the Nigerian civil service has remained weak, inefficient, and incapable to reforming itself (Olufemi et.al, 2010). Also the way Tanzanian executive agencies are operating is something disappointing, basically, parent ministries are required to set performance targets for their agencies to achieve, yet it has not been that way, most agencies set their performance targets and evaluate their own performance something contradicting with NPM provisions (Sulle 2011).

In addition, lack of political will has contributed to the failure of the NPM reforms in Africa. If at all politicians would be serious and decide to pay particular attention on the implementation of these reforms perhaps things would be different. Politicians can have the intention to keep or strengthen their power and control by consciously using the reform wave instrumentally or symbolically, or both (Kajimbwa 2013). However, the reluctance of central governments in most African countries to decentralize both financial and human resource management to the lower levels is also a failure to implement NPM reforms. For example in Tanzania, the civil service department operates under president's office has continued to exercise power to formulate, review and evaluate human resources policies in the entire public service, leaving line ministries and agencies with very little freedom (Sulle 2011). This has also been a case in Nigeria where central government still holds fiscal dealings hence more corrupt practices (Kajimbwa 2013).

Moreover, full implementation of NPM reforms in Africa has failed also because of partial involvement of stake holders. In the very beginning civil servants for instance were supposed to be involved in the entire process of interpretation of such odd reforms. Given that these people are practitioners of the reforms if were to be fully involved they would suggest on how to modify and adjust them to reflect local context (Kajimbwa 2013). But in African things are different, in most cases civil servants are by passed, only policy makers (politicians) take all responsibilities to interpret the reforms and hand in for implementation leaving practitioners disappointed. Furthermore, in (Engida et.al 2013) has been concluded that "the public sector reform lacks sustaining political and community support since the reform effort is perceived as externally driven with a limited local understanding, commitment and ownership". Therefore, for NPM reforms to have significant success in Africa, public participation in all matters of concern should be considered on high regard.

Another factor influencing poor implementation of NPM reforms in Africa is coercive conditions associated with the reforms (Olufemi et.al 210; Engida et.al 2013; Kajimbwa 2013). Olufemi argues that "why public sector reform agenda is highly pushed by donor agencies? Do African leaders genuinely understand the philosophy behind this externally imposed reform?" Governments in developing countries more especially from Africa are being forced to incorporate NPM practices as conditionality for receiving some assistance from international financial institutions and to gain concessions in international trade negotiations (de Waal, 2007; Kajimbwa, 2013). Therefore governments that have signed up the agreement are required to fulfill certain obligations for instance, exchange control liberalization, reducing public expenditure and removing barriers that impede

investment and opening up state owned enterprises and the public services to transnational capital (Marobela 2008) . For this reason some African governments are not implementing fully the NPM reforms on the basis of being losers in the above mentioned concessions. On the other hand, some African leaders are corrupt; they have lost completely the so called public integrity and many other social values so they would not like to practice NPM fearing to disrupt their corruptive ways since NPM advocates for good governance (Polidano 1999; Njunwa 2007).

Additionally, some researchers have studied on whether NPM is appropriate or inappropriate to developing world more especially African context (Moore, 1995; O'Flynn, 2007; Doorgapersad 2011) they all concluded that it is difficult for Africa to implement the NPM reforms fully because these reforms really do not reflect African development structure. Besides these countries are poor and they are still young, they still need enough time to mature before they adopt NPM reforms designed for the developed countries. They further argue that some NPM ideas are somehow incompatible with the administrative cultures of Africa. To overcome these challenges they suggest on shift in new public management in a form of public value management (PVM).

Public values are those providing normative consensus about (1) the rights, benefits and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (2) the obligations of the citizens to the society, the state, and one another; (3) and the principle on which the state, and policies should be based (Bozeman 2012). Basing on this understanding therefore, PVM emphasizes on outcomes, service and trust. (O'Flynn, 2007) argues that though performance targets should be paid attention, public value managers should do that by creating and maintaining trust, and response to the collective preferences of the citizenry, thus, the focus is not only results but also relationships. For example (Doorgapersad 2011) argues that “negotiated dialogues with donors is crucial to achieving better outcomes, strengthening decentralization will help to improve service delivery and implementing policy actions will create trust. Solving the three challenges above will ultimately achieve the three elements of public value i.e. outcomes, service and trust”. In that case PVM differs from traditional public administration and NPM in a sense that it gives definitions of how to meet challenges of efficiency, accountability, and equity and ability to point to a motivational force that does not rely on rules or incentives hence to carry out public service reform while taking into consideration of humanity (O'Flynn 2007) . In so doing it provides new ways of thinking about government role, policy making and service delivery as opposed in NPM. Good example of PVM strategies persisting in Africa include the National Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy of Uganda and South Africa's government –wide Monitoring and Evaluation System (Doorpersad 2011)

Basically the main objective for African countries to shift to NPM was to solve the pre-existed public administrative problems that were not completely solved by traditional bureaucratic model of administration, however basing on the above evidences it is true that even NPM has not succeeded fully to bring up significant changes in African public sectors. For example (Bertucci 2003) reveals that, although NPM acknowledges the role of leadership in promoting innovation and steering the public service away from bureaucratic conformity to entrepreneurial, customer-satisfying, modes of operation, it does not fully account for the special non-business circumstances prevailing in the public sector. This paper therefore suggests on African governments to review their administrative structures and replace or modify them to reflect African context. Of course this paper agrees with Larbi, that what matters here is not about good or bad, or whether NPM is right or wrong, but there is logic to take local context into account while reforming any public sector (Larbi 1999). Furthermore, it has been argued that, for countries with high levels of corruption and patronage, if NPM reforms are to be introduced, the first thing to consider is whether such reforms will help to reduce the existing corruption or allow it more than before (Engida et. all, 2012). This paper therefore, still align with some other scholars who do not regard NPM as a complete solution for public sector problems in Africa, it is wiser to learn about it and pick only relevant components that can match with local situation than rushing for it haphazardly just because of dependency syndrome.

The only trouble with most African countries is to continue planning on other people's money. Is hardly to find African countries that can ascribe to describe with own indignity, rather most of them seem to be royal and

submissive to donor agencies because of dependency syndrome (Moyo, 2009). This situation has sometimes resulted into accommodation of whatever comes to them, even if it does not have significant impact. For example NPM advocates for marketization of public goods and services, but in Africa it should be different, most public goods and services cannot be efficiently provided by the market mechanism, thus government has to be a substitute for the market (Howard 2001). The government role is to save for people, and for poor countries like ones in Africa, we expect respective governments to be more committed than private sector, hence to take high responsibility in public service delivery. Marketizing public services creates big challenge especially to poor people who cannot afford high charges caused by market mechanisms, this management style violates completely government responsibility and people may start losing trust in it. It is argued that rebuilding trust and governability should be paid particular attention and put forward in the public sector reform agenda, provided that, the logic of management efficiency emphasized in NPM no longer suffice to cope with growing crisis of governability (Cheung, 2013).

Although in some African countries, governments had proved failure in provision of public goods and services, yet it could have been much better to carry out broad analysis whether market mechanism would be proper substitute than rushing to its adoption just because of influence from external donor agencies. However, there must be change, Africa should stop focus on aids hand out rather should start focus on things will develop long term growth and reduce poverty and this will be realized only when African countries and the people decide to work harder and rethink their development strategies and pace the target much more realistically than they are doing now.

6. Conclusion

Reforms in public sector are definitely considerable for socio-economic improvements in any country. Since reforms imply innovation, to make a new or create a new form as opposed to the returning to an older form (Heywood, 2004), therefore things like systems of production and distribution of goods and services, improvement of public health, education, housing and living condition in general are to be considered on high regard during reform process. However, the only challenge is to identify the suitable grounds for public sector reforms in relation to the context of a respective location where the reforms are to be carried out. NPM is taking a lead in reforming public sector at every corners of the world, although it has shown some successes but to some other parts of the global like Africa situation is different due to incompatibility existing in local structures such as administrative cultures and development setups.

Definitely, taking developing world particularly Africa as a case, there is a debate and controversy on the appropriateness of the NPM reforms (Moore, 1995; Doorgapersad, 2011; Bozeman, 2012). These scholars argue on the nature of justice, the proper realm of freedom, the desirability of equality and the value of politics in provision of public service, and conclude that in these countries people have lost trust in their governments despite the presence of governances emanated in NPM styles. This is due to the fact that, NPM has failed completely to meet all the above criteria which are critical especially in Africa where the majorities are still poor. Thus it has been suggested to have a shift in NPM in the form of PVM (Doorgapersad, 2011) the idea this paper also still holds up. Unlike NPM which is market oriented, PVM, emphasizes on public integrity, a yardstick for trust, competence, professionalism, and confidence but also can be a measure of an individual, an agency, an institution, a discipline or the entire nation (Mathenge, 2014). Future research therefore with backup of empirical data may focus on whether PVM can absolutely resolve challenges confronting public sectors in Africa.

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