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A Postcolonial Analysis of Public Sector, Aid-Driven,
Management Reform in Africa

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Statement and Acknowledgements

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I certify that this dissertation is entirely my own work and does not exceed 12,000 words.

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IFIs: International Financial Institutions

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NIE: New Institutional Economics

NPM: New Public Management

Abstract

The transfer of New Public Management (NPM) to Africa has been discussed by those who advocate for such a policy transfer and those who are critical of it. However, there is yet to be a postcolonial analysis on both the discourses surrounding NPM and the material consequences of this reform agenda in Africa. By conducting a postcolonial analysis, it was discovered that both the advocacy literature supporting the transfer of NPM to Africa and the literature which is more critical of it both share the same Orientalist assumptions. Furthermore, a Bhabhian analysis of the material consequences of NPM in Africa, illustrated that hybridity, mimicry, ambivalence and Third Space exists in the neocolonial encounter that is largely overlooked in the case studies of NPM reform on-the-ground in Africa.

Introduction

New Public Management (NPM) has been part of the reform agenda of the Anglo-American world throughout the last few decades, and has subsequently been transferred to Africa as a condition of development aid. Whilst the transfer of NPM to Africa has been questioned, both advocates of NPM reform and critics of it share certain assumptions. A postcolonial discourse analysis might provide a sharper critical lens with which to understand the issues shaping the literature on NPM. Thus, the research questions at the heart of this thesis are:

1) How can postcolonialism be used to critique NPM discourses?

- The NPM policy for the developing world will be scrutinised for its discursive constructions using postcolonial critiques that seek to uncover Orientalist assumptions that claim knowledge of, about, and over the 'other'. As the majority of the policy is based on ideas generated in the academic literature on NPM and vice-versa, the literature on NPM will also be brought into the investigation.

2) Does postcolonial theory offer a viable tool to critique the critical academic literature on NPM?

- The supposedly 'critical' literature on NPM will be subjected to a postcolonial reading to reveal just how critical such literature actually is.

3) To what extent can the Bhabhian postcolonial analysis be applied to examples of NPM reform on-the-ground in Africa?

- By using Bhabha's (1994) epistemology of mimicry, ambivalence, hybridity and Third Space, I will offer an alternative understanding of the case study examples of NPM in practice.

To answer these questions, the remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. The first three chapters cover the background and key issues surrounding NPM, postcolonialism, and how a postcolonial analysis of NPM offers a new avenue for academic exploration. The next chapter establishes a thorough methodological framework from which one can apply a rigorous postcolonial analysis to literature on NPM. The next three chapters analyse the findings from my postcolonial discourse analysis by firstly looking at the advocacy literature on NPM in Africa. Secondly by examining the critical literature on this topic and finally by understanding case study examples on NPM in Africa through a Bhabhian analysis. Conclusions and reflections will then be made on the findings that have been acquired from my postcolonial discourse analysis.

Background and Key Issues-NPM

NPM: A Framework for Public Sector Reform

NPM emerged in the 1980s and provides a set of values, norms, and techniques designed to improve the performance of public sector operations (Bislev and Salskov-Iversen, 2001). Historically, it has been argued that public sector management is more bureaucratic than private sector management (Boyne, 2002). The Weberian bureaucratic model of management was seen as economically inefficient, stifling innovation and failing to deliver social services. Concurrently, the ideas of New Institutional Economics (NIE) were being increasingly accepted by academics and practising managers. NIE stressed the importance of choice, competition and market mechanisms to eliminate hierarchy and the opportunity for bureaucrats to manage in a self-interested way (Hood, 1991). The concept of New Managerialism, based on ideas of private sector management techniques, was also being advocated for the public sector. This focused on the importance of giving managers more autonomy to manage, and to encourage the growth of appropriate cultures which were claimed would improve organisational performance (Martin, 1983; Peters and Waterman, 1982). These ideas converged and became the intellectual foundations for NPM during the latter part of the 20th century and stressed the importance of “contestability, user choice, transparency and... incentive structures” (Hood 1991:5), and managerial prerogative over hierarchical control. NPM reform centred on operating the public sector along more private sector lines. Whilst the exact doctrines of NPM have been debated (Ferlie, 1996; Hood, 1991; Pollitt, 2003), they all emphasise market competition to promote innovation, enhance quality, give customers' choice, and manage costs. Mechanisms include:

- Performance management to align the interest of the employee with public sector goals (performance targets, indicators and output objectives).
- The decentralisation/disaggregation of public sector functions into smaller, more responsive, agencies - central government is able to focus on strategy

whilst smaller units have more freedom to focus on the delivery of public services.

- A growth in contractual relations to promote innovation and increase transparency by creating a flatter organisational structure.
- A focus on user-choice and customer service to drive improvements in quality and service provision.
- Managers are given increasing freedom to manage to allow them to successfully compete in the market and control costs.

NPM was initially deployed by the neoliberal administrations of Thatcher in the UK, and Reagan in the US (Clark and Newman, 1997; Pollitt, 1990) making NPM a product of the Anglophone nations. Subsequently, the ideologies of NPM have spread beyond the countries of its origin and into social democratic governments such as New Zealand and Australia (McAllister and Vowles, 1994). The spread of NPM has made it what Hood (1991) would argue a 'Public Management for All Seasons'; the model is said to have universal applicability. International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank and the United Nations, dominated by the countries of the global West, have promoted the use of NPM to ensure 'best practice' by giving clear lessons on the virtues of market type mechanisms compared to traditional models of public management reform (Common, 1988). In an era of globalisation, “power is no longer constrained by the boundaries of nation states” (ibid:442). Policy makers in these powerful international organisations agree that improving the management and performance of public sectors everywhere is a priority. Developing countries are seen as a particular arena for reform where public management infrastructure is viewed as weak and inefficient.

NPM in Africa

Public sector management reform in Africa has been part of the aid-agenda of IFIs committed to reforming the public sectors in the developing world on NPM lines

(Bislev and Salskov-Iversen, 2001; Pollitt, 2003; Therkildsen, 2000). Under the banner of structural adjustment, a series of economic and political measures were to be undertaken by developing nations in return for loans/aid and these measures included NPM reform. In the Africa nations (see Figure One), the NPM model of reform has often been a condition of international donor aid in the belief that such reforms will 'modernise' the public sectors of these countries.



Figure One: A Map of Africa (2010)
(Source: <http://www.travelnotes.org/Africa/>)

However, the history of Western influence in the public sectors in Africa dates from the time of European colonialism (see Figure Two).

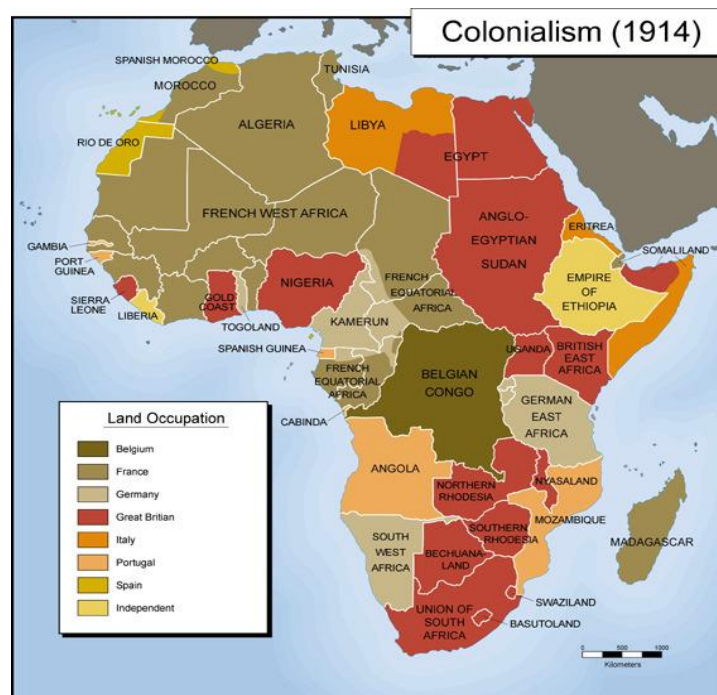


Figure Two: Africa under Colonialism (1914)

(Source: <http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/students/curriculum/m9/activity4.php>)

Under colonial rule, European leaders shaped the public sector of their colonies to reflect a Western style, centralised Weberian bureaucratic administration model in the belief that this would remove tribalism and place Africa on the road to modernity (Hughes, 2003). It was also an effective way to centralise and consolidate the power and control of the colonisers. On independence this highly centralised administrative structure continued and African civil servants became the leaders of public sector administration. However, they did not have the skills or knowledge to give the institutional support to manage such a tightly bureaucratic state structure and “when bureaucracy, particularly administrative bureaucracy, is the most powerful institutional actor it rules without political constraint” (ibid:222). This fuelled the self-interest of a few, very powerful, bureaucrats resulting in nepotism and corruption becoming endemic in public sector administration. The failures of administrative bureaucracy in the developing world became a central point in the international development agenda of the World Bank from the 1980s onwards. Following the Anglophone rhetoric of

NPM, the problems of public sector management in the developing world were blamed on the tightly centralised government structure. Market mechanisms and decentralisation would make a more responsive public sector and take power away from a narrow elite. NPM reform became a common feature of many countries in this region.

Critical Literature on NPM

However, NPM is not without its critics. Whilst the limitations of NPM as a model of reform in the developed world is beyond the scope of this thesis, the critical literature on the universal applicability of NPM is important to engage with. The transferability of NPM in different national contexts has been questioned as to whether it is appropriate and, indeed possible to apply NPM across institutional and national boundaries (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000; Manning, 2001); state structures (e.g. federalism Vs centralised) and administrative culture (e.g. individualism Vs collectivism), and the perceived role of the state in society is argued to affect the implementation of NPM. Expanding on this argument, others posit that NPM reform in the developing world does not complement the economic and social realities of these countries (Larbi, 1998; OECD, 2005; Taylor, 2001); lack of political will for reform, small public/private sector administrative capacity and weak finances hinder its success. For example, Marek et al (1999) discuss the contracting-out of nutrition projects to communities in Senegal and Madagascar to help fight against systemic malnutrition. Both projects are monitored by their respective governments but the service is delivered by local people and supervised by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). In both projects the numbers malnourished decreased. However, both projects are mainly financed by donor aid and there are high transaction costs for introducing and maintaining the contracts which makes their financial sustainability questionable.

Others believe that cultural differences affect the transferability of NPM. For example, Ohemeng (2009) believes that performance management, centred on rewarding individual performance, does not work in countries based on collectivism

and where transparent reporting standards are absent. Whilst some authors do show how NPM has been adapted on the ground by local circumstances (McCourt, 2001), the critical literature tends to conclude that the prevailing environmental conditions in such countries need to be examined before meaningful reform policies can be initiated.

Therefore, it is important to explore whether both the critical and advocacy literature on NPM in Africa share the same fundamental assumptions that experts in the West can 'know' what is needed in the reform agendas of developing nations. Whilst they may debate the best way to handle the nature of public sector reform in the developing world, they are still coming from a highly Western perspective. They not only claim to know what is best for developing countries but are also fuelled by insipid assumptions and beliefs about the developing world that operate through specific discursive constructions. Knowledge about the 'other' is fuelled by discursive tropes that assume developing countries and their peoples are lacking something, inherently 'backward' compared to the dynamism of the West, and in need of Western influence to liberate them from their stasis. Therefore, this thesis will offer a more fundamental critique of NPM using literature borrowed from postcolonial studies. It is only by using postcolonial theory and criticism as a theoretical framework that one can unpack, and interrogate, the assumptions and issues that frame the literature and policy documents (both from advocates and critics) on NPM reform in Africa.

Background and Key Issues – Postcolonialism

A Preoccupation with Definition

“Postcolonialism: this is a contested field, with porous boundaries and no single or coherent position” (Moore-Gilbert 1997:12, emphasis in original)

The above quote reflects the confusion that surrounds the idea of 'postcolonialism' and the question as to what it exactly entails. Postcolonialism uses approaches borrowed from literary theory and poststructuralism to analyse the discourses of colonialism and neocolonialism (Prasad, 2003). Here, the term discourse does not refer solely to writing/speech and how knowledge is formed but also social practices; postcolonialism thus refers to the mutual imbrication of the ideological with the material (Loomba, 1998; Prasad, 2003; Weedon, 1997). Following Prasad (2003), I have previously used the term 'postcolonial theory and criticism' which covers both ideology (postcolonial theory) and materiality (said to belong to the domain of postcolonial criticism) to reduce any confusion in what I am referring to. Yet, as I am going to analyse both ideological and material elements of the postcolonial condition, henceforth I will use the term 'postcolonialism' to encompass both aspects of the postcolonial critique.

The term postcolonialism has come under a series of critiques (Loomba, 1998; McClintock, 1992; Shohet, 1992) which argue that the prefix 'post' is misleading. Shohet posits that the term implies that “colonialism is now a matter of the past, undermining colonialism's economic, political, and cultural deformative-traces in the present” (105). It echoes the contemporary obsession with 'posts': poststructuralism, postmodernism, postfeminism, which all imply a supersession from a previous system of thought (i.e. structuralism, modernism etc). Postcolonial theory therefore orientates the world around a temporary axis of colonialism/postcolonialism (McClintock, 1992). It contributes to the very essentialistic binaries that it seeks to dismantle. However, it

has been argued that postcolonialism offers the ability to analyse colonialism and its consequences and legacies in the present day (Gandi, 1998). Ashcroft et al (1989) use the term post(-)colonial to,

“cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperialism” (2)

It can thus refer to the continuity of discursive and material legacies from the colonial period (McEwan, 2003); nothing is 'post' about the impact of colonialism. Indeed, Jack and Westwood (2009) see postcolonialism as a umbrella term that can be deployed by those who wish to engage in a critique of colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism and anticolonialism. I will follow the Ashcroft et al definition when using the term postcolonialism in this thesis.

The Postcolonial Condition

Western colonialism has a history that stretches from Christopher Columbus in the 15th century. The colonies became contact zones where disparate cultures met in asymmetrical power relationships (Pratt, 1992). Western colonialism extracted wealth, resources, and even people, from the territories that were conquered (Young, 2001). This economic imbalance served to advance the growth of modern-day capitalism (Loomba, 1998). The economic inter-relation between metropole and colony marked a departure from pre-capitalist forms of colonialism, such as the Crusades. Colonialism was not just built on establishing Western economic superiority, it was also concerned with attaining cultural and ideological Western hegemony (Jack and Westwood, 2009). Whilst formal colonialism has ended, imperialism and neocolonialism continues; the specific form of imperialism associated with territorial invasion and settlement (ie. colonialism) is over, but the attitudes of dominating metropolitan centres ruling distant territories (ie. imperialism) still exists (Sharp, 2008; Young, 2001). For example, the

West controls the international power institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund; ex-colonies are still economically dependent on Western institutions and the transfer of NPM to Africa forms a part of this. Formal colonialism has ceased but neocolonialism, as seen through cultural and economic imperialism, remains. Whilst the involvement of the developed world may be beneficial to African nations, the discursive and ideological legacies of colonialism often give a false and damaging representation of Africa.

The Politics of Representation

Postcolonialism thus serves as a radical critique of colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism centred on subverting Western authority by decolonising the mind and disturbing the “universalising posture and mythical status of western knowledge systems” (Jack and Westwood, 2007:248). It does so by applying ideas from poststructuralist writers to show how contemporary knowledge systems are reminiscent of colonial and neocolonial discourses. Whilst it has been argued that poststructuralism is from a self-referential view of the West presented as a universal standpoint and so may give a Eurocentric approach to postcolonial theory (Mir et al, 2003; Prasad and Prasad, 2003), key poststructuralist writers have come to contribute heavily to postcolonial theory especially that which surrounds the deconstruction of hegemony discourses that shape power/knowledge relations (Foucault, 1976; Escobar, 1995b). A discourse “propagates a view of the world (a knowledge) that becomes, over time, so taken for granted as to be almost invisible” (Kenny, 2008:59). Applying a Foucauldian analysis, Said's *Orientalism* (Said, 1978) is the seminal work on postcolonialism and seeks to uncover the ontological and epistemological frameworks that shape colonial and neocolonial discourses.

Orientalism is founded on an artificial distinction between the self and the 'other', territorialized as the Occident and the Orient (Gregory, 2004; Said, 1978). Whilst Said's Orient refers to the Middle East, *Orientalism* has been subsequently expanded to refer to that which is not the developed, Western world (Prasad, 2003).

Said (1978) suggests that the Orient is imaged to be in a sort of cultural stasis, mired in the past in comparison to the dynamism of the West and the New World. The Orient is identified as everything that the West is not: irrational, barbaric, lazy, passive and ‘trusting in psychological truth’ (Cromer in Said, 1978). Within this system of knowledge ‘abstraction is always preferable to reality’ (Said, 1978). Therefore the system itself, rather than the subject of its representations, is unchanging: actual observations can always be interpreted as fulfilments of inherited prejudices; for example a rich Jew can fulfil the stereotype of the ‘grasping’ Jew because he is imagined to have gained wealth at the expense of non-Jews while a poor Jew is equally a threat as he begs for non-Jewish wealth. The Occident is synonymous with modernity whilst it produces the Orient that is always irregular and excessive, thus the modern is valued over the pre-modern. These binaries elevate the self whilst degrading the ‘other’ which allows for legitimate Western intervention in the ‘backward’, developing world in order to liberate the ‘other’ from their perpetual stasis (Gregory, 1995; Kwek, 2003; Westwood, 2004). Orientalist discourses are argued to be the new face of old-fashioned exoticism (Rushdie in Westwood, 2001). Exoticism was fuelled by an ethnographic imagination based on primitivism, the West was ‘civilised’ whilst the non-West ‘savage’, and tropicalization, the non-West was a source of wonder – exotic and sexual stimulating - but simultaneously the natives were perceived as corrupt, indolent and unclean (Castillo, 1997; Prasad, 2003). The way in which Orientalism, and exoticisms, assimilate contradictions and variations makes it apparently invulnerable to the paradigm shifts that Kuhn argues result from the build up of anomalies, allowing it to remain relevant in the postcolonial era. The ideological motivation that legitimised the colonial project in Africa, as a civilising mission to bring light (science and rationality) to the dark continent, continues to pervade much of Western involvement in Africa in the postcolonial era (Jack and Westwood, 2009); Orientalist representations allow the West to claim knowledge of, about, and over the ‘other’. The discourses surrounding NPM in Africa serve as material which can be critiqued for such Orientalist assumptions.

However, it is worth highlighting some of the limitations in Said's critique on Orientalism (Gregory, 2004; Moore-Gilbert, 1997; Porter, 1994). Where as Foucault at least recognises breaks between forms of power-knowledge without fully explaining the transition between them, for Said there is the sense that Orientalism always has been and always will be there is some form. Said therefore tries to ascribe to Orientalism both an infinite flexibility and essential rigidity. For example he both argues that 'Orientalism is the doctrinal antithesis of development' (307) and that by the 1940s there had been 'such changes in Orientalism that it became scarcely recognisable'. Moore-Gilbert (1997) points out that in fact the power of Orientalism is constantly renegotiated and contested by the 'other'. Therefore, Orientalism is not timeless, uniform and inevitable and one needs to recognise the possibility of alternatives and resistance.

The Politics of Resistance

Using the work of Homi Bhabha ensures the above possibilities are explored. Bhabha uses the concepts of ambivalence, mimicry, hybridity and Third Space to explore the colonial discourses that Orientalism ignores (Bhabha, 1990, 1994); the colonised are not just passive dupes to imperial dominance (Jack and Westwood, 2009). Bhabha argues that mimicry provides a space of resistance to colonial authority. The colonisers authority force the colonised to internalise their actions; the colonised mimic the coloniser (Bhabha, 1994). However, because the colonised are only partial copies of the coloniser, they are “almost the same but not quite” (89, italics in original), the coloniser is confronted by a deformed mirror (Jack and Westwood, 2009). This disrupts the imposed knowledge and power of the coloniser, and it is “the ambivalence of colonial discourse and the inevitable failure of this discourse to successfully fix the subject position of the colonised... which underscores the fatal instability of colonial power” (Prasad, 2003:21). A state of hybridity is produced which can no longer be traced to either the colonised or the coloniser (Frenkel, 2008). Competing cultural and national

constituencies give rise to a constant reinterpretation of culture and a Third Space is created by the hybridity (re)produced from the colonial encounter. This Third Space draws on a variety of cultural influences from both the metropole and the colony. The existence of Bhabhian mimicry, hybridity and Third Space can be used to analyse the postcolonial encounter in the modern world (Frenkel, 2008). The implementation of NPM on-the-ground in Africa is a topic which can be subjected to a Bhabhian analysis.

Postcolonialism and the Discourse of Development

On the eve of decolonisation, President Truman initiated the concept of 'international development' with a speech in 1949 establishing the principals of aid-related activities between the developed and developing world (Mir et al, 2003). With decolonisation, foreign policy was reorganised along an axis of developed and developing world (Jack and Westwood, 2009); these binaries were based on the same axis of colonialism. Economic, social and cultural development (along Western lines) was to relieve the suffering of the people living in the underdeveloped world. Similar to colonial discourses, development “created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and [to] exercise of power over, the Third World” (Escobar, 1995:9). The discourse of development was a new way to linguistically and materially control parts of the globe: 'illiterate', 'the underdeveloped', 'landless peasants', phrases and words that simplify, homogenise, universalise and are ahistorical in nature have come to frame the Third World. As Binyavanga Wainaina (1995:1) satirically articulates in 'How to write about Africa':

“Always use the word 'Africa' or 'Darkness' or 'Safari' in your title... Also useful are words such as 'Guerrillas', 'Timeless', 'Primordial' and 'Tribal'.... Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, or in it, unless that African has won the Nobel Prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these. If you must include an African, make sure you get one in Masai or Zulu or Dogon dress... In your text, treat Africa as if it were one country. It is hot

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and dusty with rolling grasslands and huge herds of animals and tall, thin people who are starving. Or it is hot and steamy with very short people who eat primates”

Externally imposed development has been posited by international institutions as the 'solution' to such problems. NPM reform has become one of the latest development policies to be transferred to Africa by the developed world; NPM is offered as a 'one-best way' model of reform (Gendron et al, 2001) by the West as they come to claim knowledge of, and about, the 'other'.

Background and Key Issues – Postcolonialism and NPM: An Academic

Void

The critical turn in the humanities and social sciences has facilitated more epistemic reflexivity in the discipline(s) of management and organisational studies (critical conversations concerning postmodern management analysis has provided a new understanding of the nature and constitution of 'reality' (Fenwick and McMillan, 2010)). However, postcolonialism has tended to be a neglected area of research. In recent years there has been a growing focus to analyse management issues from a postcolonial lens yet this has largely been confined to the sub-discipline of International Business and Comparative Management (Prasad, 2003; Westwood, 2004); issues concerning public sector reform in the developing world have been ignored. Additionally, authors such as Cooke (2010) and Dar and Cooke (2008) have examined the power relations that exist within development management in the Third World but a critical and robust application of postcolonialism has tended to be absent from these accounts. This thesis will therefore attempt to provide an unique perspective on NPM reform in Africa, whilst, concurrently, contributing to the, currently small and inadequate, literature on postcolonialism as applied to management studies.

The purpose of this thesis is therefore not to ponder the pros and cons of NPM reform in the developing/developed world (see Ferlie et al, 2007; Hood, 1991; Pollitt, 2003; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004 for analysis of this). Instead attention will focus on the discursive constructions that writers about NPM (academics, policy makers/key stakeholders) deploy throughout their work on the cross-national transfer of NPM knowledge and practice from the developed to the developing world; challenging widely accepted concepts, a postcolonial analysis will provide alternative ways of thinking that conflict with the status quo. In order to produce a detailed yet sensitive analysis, the key questions, as outlined in the introduction, will be answered.

Methodology

The way in which language constructs an assumed reality is central to the postcolonial critique. In order to expose NPM to a postcolonial analysis, I required a methodology that paid particular attention to how language and texts present a specific rendition of identity formation that happens through neocolonial power relations. I examined policy documents, academic literature and case study examples to ensure that a wide range of material was explored to generate sensitive conclusions. There is a danger that a conclusion based on a partial reading of the literature on NPM would have been abstractive, universalising and reductionist doing “violence to the inherent complexity of the social systems they pretend to represent” (Westwood, 2004:73). As the thesis focuses on Africa and international academics/organisational perspectives, gathering primary data would have been impossible to do both financially and within the required time-frame. Therefore, a desk-based research of secondary evidence facilitated access to the wealth of material that I needed from different international and academic institutions.

TheResearchPhilosophy

The research philosophy influences the assumptions of how the researcher views the world (Saunders et al, 2009). It is vital in any postcolonial analysis that methods based on positivism are discarded to avoid law-like generalisations being made that postcolonialism systematically opposes. A postcolonial research philosophy that is influenced by poststructuralist deconstruction formed the basis of my research philosophy; based on interpretivism, this philosophy helps to reveal the socially constructed nature of knowledge (Hassard, 1991).

This research philosophy as applied to management practices drives the need for practising a 'critical postdisciplinary pedagogy' (Pttyadharshini, 2003). Literature borrowed from postcolonial and development studies can inform a reading of the mainstream management literature (such as that on NPM). Whilst cross-discipline

academic practices are often criticised for 'illegal trespass' (ibid), the arbitrary divisions between disciplines can lead to ignorance and inadequate explanations for understanding management processes; reality should not be separated into distinct spheres that are governed by particular disciplines (Cox and Sinclair, 1996). By de-familiarising the management studies discipline new spaces for debate can be opened-up that have been previously ignored (Jack and Westwood, 2009). Inspired by this, a cross-discipline approach contributed heavily to my research on NPM.

The Research Process

Step One: Desk-based research was conducted during the summer 2011. Academic literature, policy documents and case studies on NPM were the three types of sources that were analysed. Using library catalogues and web-based search engines (such as ISI Web of Knowledge, Google Scholar, JSTOR and Business Source Premier), I systematically searched through textual material potentially relating to my broad areas of interest. Influenced by Bell (2005), figure three illustrates the parameters which I used to search for relevant material:

Figure Three: The Parameters of My Document Search

Parameter	As Relevant to my Research Topic	Explanation
Language of Publication	English	As English is the common language of the West, Occidental assumptions can be analysed.
Subject Area	NPM in Sub-Saharan Africa/ NPM in the developing world/Public Sector Reform in Africa	The titles and abstracts of books, articles and policy documents were screened using these key words, influenced by my research question.
Geographic Area	Africa	As relevant to my research question.
Literature Type	Journals and Books (including case studies), Policy Documents	<p>Journal articles and books were the foundation for understanding how NPM was discursively constructed. Through language, academics and practising managers have framed different ways of managing, dealing with, and criticising NPM in Africa.</p> <p>Policy reports offer a similar constructive role in shaping our knowledge of NPM in Africa. A report is the “operationalization of managerial assumptions in organizations” (Dar, 2008:179). They offer a coherent narrative that constructs reality into a supposedly authentic truth.</p> <p>Finally, as postcolonialism is not just concerned with linguistics/ideologies, material evidence of NPM on-the-ground, in the form of case studies, were explored. As Hammersley (1992) recommends, a variety of case study examples were chosen/drawn from to improve the extent to which conclusions can be generalised to larger populations.</p>
Publication Period	Since 1980	Literature since the emergence of NPM as a model of reform were included.
Place of Publication	The Global West	The material had to be published in the West for there to be the potential for Western/Eurocentric assumptions.

Step Two: I then collated the relevant material and evaluated their suitability for the research topic. The documents had to be centred on the delivery of NPM in Africa. The material that was chosen for analysis also had to reflect the variety of stakeholders that are implicated in NPM in Africa. Academics who have written about NPM provided one source. The IFIs are a vital stakeholder of NPM in the developing world and so literature published by these supranational bodies offered another understanding of NPM; furthermore as there is a call to expose these supposedly benign liberal bodies and the epistemic power that they wield (Jack et al, 2008; Cooke 2010), their work had to be included.

Step Three: The reputation and authority of the sources collected was evaluated to ensure the information was both valid and reliable (Dochartough, 2002). Only published material was included to guarantee that authenticated material was used. If material contained primary research, the sample size and methods used to collect the research were examined to assess the quality of the data used and the conclusions reached.

Step Four: Finally I separated the material into three different categories:

- NPM policy documents and literature on NPM (advocates of NPM/descriptive accounts). By advocacy literature I am referring to those which fully support the transferability of NPM to the developing world.
- Critical literature of NPM that contests the unquestioned transferability of NPM to the developing world.
- Case studies of NPM in practice – the material outcomes of the reform agenda.

These categories reflect the information that is needed in the three key questions as outlined in the introduction (see Appendix One for the sources that were chosen for postcolonial discourse analysis).

PostcolonialDataAnalysis

Postcolonial researchers seek to “reveal the partial and relative truth of all ‘truth’ and to make visible any ideological bias underwriting any epistemological system, which otherwise would have seen itself as definitive and axiomatic” (Hall and Tucker 2004:27). To uncover these ‘truths’, a critical discourse analysis was used to analyse the constitutive role that discourses play in the sources collected. Discourse analysis on the texts, or group of related texts- “discursive fields”- (Foucault 1970) looks at the tropes that are used to encode information - allegories, synecdoches, recurrent narrative structures, ‘secret’ meanings, and the ideological underpinnings and implications of discourses (Duncan 1990; Vaara and Tienari, 2004). For example, a postcolonial data analysis seeks to uncover the Orientalist assumptions that frames the ‘other’ in certain discursive constructions; Is the ‘other’ constantly heralded to be inferior, in need of salvation and thus expected to fit within the prescribed rules of their Western saviours regardless of historical and cultural differences? Discourse analysis can fruitfully explore the meanings behind texts to create new forms of understanding.

However, it is important to constantly interrogate the narratives and be aware of how a researcher's own agenda influences how texts are understood and meaning extracted from them. My data analysis had to be directed by both an inductive approach, using my research aims to guide the analysis, and also deductively, from reading through the data (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Saunders et al, 2009). It was vital to ensure that the analysis did justice to uncovering discursive tropes that were not tenuously linked to the agenda of the researcher. The positions of author and reader and the wider political/social/cultural contexts surrounding it are then projected back onto the texts as a framework for understanding and communicating ideas (Tonkiss, 1998). By observing the wider systems of knowledge/power and the relationship of the data with this, assuming nothing is fixed, the final stage of analysis was to make certain suggestions from the data interpreted that went some way towards a new theory or set of ideas relating to the topic in question.

Whilst conducting my discourse analysis, my intention was not to critique/attack any one person's analysis of NPM, instead it is the general theoretical position that is being taken that I am questioning; I am critiquing a way of thinking that can be found throughout the literature on NPM and not specifically attacking any one person's work.

Limitations and Ethics

Research is inherently subjective. The chosen topic of any researcher is a reflection of their axiological skill; the researcher's values, interests and position in society shapes their judgements on what should be researched and how the research should be conducted (Heron, 1996). As a postcolonial researcher, I believe it is important to be constantly critical of my own positionality and the biases and assumptions that I make when conducting my postcolonial critique; as Kwek (2003:141) argues “any discourse based on the questioning of boundaries must never stop questioning its own”.

Therefore, a “researcher should aim to clarify his or her position in a wider societal hierarchy of power, status and influence” (Cloke et al 2004:29). Whilst Rose (1997) posits the difficulty of succeeding in perfectly dealing with issues of reflexivity and positionality to see ourselves in the 'whole', one can locate our personal forms on which our understandings rest. I write in the dominant language of the West. I speak from Eurocentric frames of reference as a result of being situated in a privileged Western university that has been formed from, and is embedded in, the structures that I am criticising (Jack and Westwood, 2009). I can/will never know what it is and how it feels to be the 'other'. My own way of understanding the 'other' is no less representationalist and power-laden than that which I seek to critique (Kenny, 2008). As a postcolonial researcher I therefore have to be constantly vigilant on how a reading of any text is open to different subjective readings. It is important to resist the temptation to know the 'other', or attempt to speak for the 'other'. Otherwise the 'other' is being merely appropriated through an, albeit different, Western imperial lens (Jack and Lorbiecki, 2003). Yet, I believe that these limitations do not render my research agenda futile. A Western scholar can contribute, and I believe should

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contribute, to critically understanding neocolonial discourses and exposing the structures of representation, and their material consequences, in the field of management and beyond.

Uncovering the Discourse: Orientalism in the Literature on NPM in Africa

Through rigorously applying a critical discourse analysis on policy documents and scholarly literature on NPM in Africa, the discursive legacies of colonialism were uncovered.

Positioning the 'Other': On the Path to the 'Modern'¹

Whilst maintaining direct political control in the form of territorial conquest over Africa ended upon decolonisation, the reliance on economic/political systems as dictated by Western powers remains. The West continues to dominate in the development of ex-colonial societies (Escobar, 1995). The literature on NPM constantly articulates the idea that NPM is a reform process intent on developing the nations of Third World; Hood (1991:8) states how the set of NPM reform policies have been advanced to solve the public sector ills of countries from the “rich North to the poor South”. Therefore, the literature is centred on the idea of economic/social/political development being a necessary product of NPM reform (see United Nations, 2005). Such ideas of development are based on the Western definition of what constitutes 'development' centred on the Habermasian idea of modernity associated with the West: “State transformation in Africa [as facilitated by NPM] now entails a redimensioning with the aim of creating what can be called smart government or modernized government” (Hope, 2001:132, emphasis added). The global convergence of NPM is thus positioned to be synonymous with being 'modern'. One could argue that this is just a reproduction of the colonial mission that sought to 'civilise' Africa and save it from its heart of darkness. Banerjee et al (2009) posit how although international interference is often a much needed philanthropic exercise, it could simultaneously be criticised for continuing colonial authority under the guise of the 'civilising mission'. Advocates of NPM have largely centred their work on the fundamental idea that NPM will be the saviour of public sector administration in Africa: Baird (2003:10) advocates that NPM

¹ Headings in this chapter have been inspired by Westwood (2001)

should be a “universal prescription for administration in the developing world” and the Economic Commission for Africa (2003:xi) believes it “can help African countries improve the content and approach to public sector reforms”. The language wielded by advocates of NPM in both academic literature and the policy reports of international governing bodies repeatedly assume that the reform policies of NPM undeniably translate into progress and modernity for all of Africa. Couched in colonial rhetoric, the idea that the West can bring 'progress' and 'enlightenment' to Africa is unquestionable and, as McClintock would argue, offers the subtle notion that the reverse would be “regression backwards from (white male) adulthood to a primordial, black 'degeneracy’” (1992:84).

The idea of a global convergence of the policies of NPM is without doubt underpinned by the language of Western capitalism that demands neoliberal market-type reform to satisfy itself. Throughout the NPM literature, the emphasis is that devolving government authority to the market is necessary in Africa (Baird, 2003; Hope, 2002). Advocates of NPM claim that liberalisation will increase competition and efficiency by removing stifling bureaucracy in the hope it will improve the economic conditions of Africa; the “always tenacious link between free market reforms and prosperity of the masses is re-presented as a given by the neo-liberal discourse of global economies” (Priyadarshini, 2003:185). Neoliberalism is sacrosanct and collapses other ways of thinking as the 'other' is expected to fit into pre-defined roles in the global economy (Jack et al, 2008). Surrendering public administration to the market facilitates the flow of capital across nation states, often for the benefit of Western international business/capital (Cooke and Dar, 2008). Development is therefore neoliberal and masked in colonial tropes of a moral imperative to 'help' and 'save' the 'other'. In reality, the promotion of NPM serves to deepen neoliberal capital accumulation by creating a public sector that furthers a particular set of economic arrangements (Ayers, 2009). Thus as colonies were used as 'laboratories of modernity' in the 19th century so 'post-colonies' are used as 'laboratories of neoliberalism' in the 21st (Klein, 2007). The

apparent greater connectedness afforded by market neoliberalism has not made Orientalism redundant; rather it provides new means of simultaneously engaging with, whilst distancing from, the 'other'. Writings on NPM in Africa do little to uncover multiple viewpoints and alternatives to NPM public sector reform. Instead it represents the world, and the idea of development, as limited by a Western neoliberal lens that is centred on the imperatives of capitalist accumulation.

Appropriating the 'Other': An Understanding of Difference

The key argument of postcolonial scholars is the way in which the West claims to know the 'other'. There is little desire to learn about the 'other' and instead it is reduced to a set of universalising characteristics. Hope (2001), who is an advocate for NPM reform in Africa and who illustrates some of the benefits it has brought to the continent, echoes some Orientalist assumptions common in the literature.

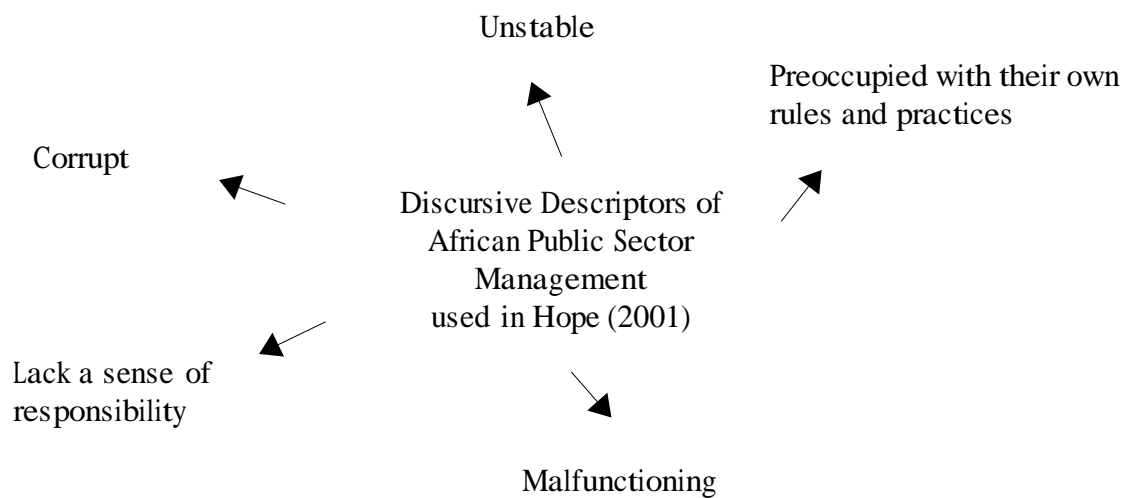


Figure Four: Discursive Descriptors

As presented by Figure Four, the literature on NPM is loaded with terminology which immediately posits the African public sector as backward, stagnant and unwilling to

change. By using such essentialisms, it allow for binaries to be established that place the West as the direct antithesis to this 'other': the West is stable, dynamic, functioning and with a sense of responsibility to maintain a public sector that is free from systemic corruption. Public sector operations in Africa are concluded as being ad-hoc and inconsistent: “traditional practices are in conflict with economic and administrative rationality, which is the foundation of modern organizational management.” (Ohmeng, 2009:121). Whilst some of these descriptors may be in a sense true, Africa is undoubtedly poor and may be in need of foreign assistance to strengthen its financial status, the language used immediately equates the idea of modernity and rationality to the West and posits Africa as irrational, instead of trying to understand and relate to the 'other'. Such conceptual manoeuvrings provide useful justification for NPM to be offered to help those who are lagging behind by providing 'logical' and 'consistent' reform agendas. Similar to colonialism, the West becomes morally obliged to interfere with the 'other' (Prasad, 2003). Africa is thus fated to follow in the path of the West and implement NPM policies. This is inextricably linked to the idea that Western political, economic and social ideas have ideological dominance thereby excluding the legitimacy and authority of the practices and claims of the 'other'; everything is understood through the knowledge centres of the West.

Some of the essentialistic language used in the NPM literature echoes Hofstede's (1981) work on classifying cultures. Ohmeng (2009:121) uses the ideas of power distance and collectivism to account for problems in developing performance management systems in Africa: “Developing countries have a different welfare system wherein one is supposed to take responsibility for others, especially one’s elderly parents” and this has been “transferred into offices, and undermines the appraisal system” (ibid:122). Whilst Ohmeng could, and possibly should, call for cultural relativism to understand the way systems work in different countries, instead, his arguments are tinged with criticisms: such family ties lead to impaired functioning as they are in conflict with “rationality”. Ohmeng advocates for changes in such traditional systems in order for successful performance management to be initiated. This is

juxtaposed to the supposed objectivity of Western individualism that is revered as superior: “Ghana, for example, is a traditional society, where the collectivist idea of society supersedes that of western-style individualism” (110). Such beliefs, prevent Ohmeng and others (see Otenyo 2006) from ever questioning if the transferability of performance management is actually appropriate. Instead he blames the culture of Africa for not being able to implement such reforms properly.

The advocacy literature on NPM not only essentialises the practices of African public sectors, but the entire continent. Africa is presented as one homogeneous entity to be spoken of and dealt with in the exact same way: “the performance of NPM reforms in Africa remains hindered by a myriad of factors including lack of efficiency, lack of accountability, ineffective management practices, and corruption” (Commission for Africa, 2005:v, emphasis added); such language is reminiscent of Wainaina (1995:1) satirical sentiments of “treat Africa as if it were one country”. Through such sweeping assertions, the whole continent is positioned as corrupt and ineffective. For example, in building a case for the decentralisation of human resource management in the public sector, the World Bank (2000:103) argues that “Africa must solve its current human development crisis if it is to claim the 21st century” as “it is sometimes suggested that African households do not invest in human development” (ibid:111). The tendency to essentialise Africa as static and homogeneous easily becomes loaded with judgement values that places Africa in binary opposition to the West which is revered as economically, politically and culturally superior. The World Bank harnesses disciplinary power by techniques of classification through which conditions that impede development can be identified and analysed (de Vries, 2008). Africans who 'do not invest in human development' thus need NPM reform. Like in colonial times, this brings the 'other' under the gaze of Western scientific apparatus which are amenable to the machinations of tabulation and order (Westwood, 2001). This allows the 'other' to be controlled, understood, and, as Said would argue, it reduces the threat of the 'other' by representing it as a known alterity.

The literature on NPM as well as essentialising, tends to deny the history of the 'other' by presenting it as ahistorical. “Since 1963, when the first military coup took place in Africa, the continent has found itself in an incessant cycle.... of political violence and weak institutions” (UNRISD, 1999:22) which is blamed for public sector problems. Otenyo (2006) also gives a whole list of historical reasons as to why the public sector in East Africa is problematic without ever mentioning the legacies of colonialism. Instead language is used which tends to suggest that Africa can blame their fate on something called “history” but ignores any involvement of the West and the impact of colonialism on worldwide legacies of political and economic inequalities (Banerjee et al, 2009). In ignoring history, the West can continue guilt-free their neoimperial pursuits. The fact that NPM is a historically situated phenomena is not considered. Instead neoliberal machinations remain sacrosanct even if such a model of economic success, that the West is now insisting the rest of the world emulate, was borne out of the violence of colonial times² (Jack and Westwood, 2009).

Denigrating the 'Other': The Rhetoric of Inadequacy

The West's representations of the 'other' have typically sort to denigrate by presenting it as in some way deficient, backward “or in other ways suffering from a lack is pervasive and invidious” (Westwood, 2008:266). The 'other' is discursively positioned in relation to the West: “the West positions itself as a plenitude” whilst the 'other' is marked by absences. For example, the NPM literature describes Africa as traditional (not modern) and underdeveloped (not developed): “East African administrative agencies were not professional in any sense of the word” (Otenyo, 2006:2); no alternative identity is provided other than that which is positioned in relation to Western public sector operations. Such as the Christian missionaries and Western scientific rationality were thought to 'save' Africa from its perpetual stasis in the colonial era, in the postcolonial world similar supposedly universal truths are posited as

2 It has been widely argued that the economic systems in place in the West owe a lot to the exploitation and appropriation of the 'other' in colonial times (Rodney, 1972).

helping the 'other' to overcome its deficiencies. NPM is offered as a universal truth by advocates who seem to uncritically accept its theoretical hegemony: NPM is posited as applicable to 'all seasons' (Hood, 1991). Baird (2003:9) argues that all African nations need to do it to strengthen administrative capacity for “NPM [to be] advocated as the universal prescription for administration in the developing world”. Value-free, objective measurements are posited whilst the implicit theories that shape the NPM reform agenda, which are deeply rooted in neoliberal Western capitalism, are ignored.

Exposing the Critical Literature on NPM in Africa to a Postcolonial Analysis

The previous chapter clearly showed how the advocacy/descriptive literature on NPM in Africa falls victim to using Orientalist descriptions to understand, define and ultimately govern the 'other'. This chapter will deal with the supposedly critical literature concerning NPM in Africa which questions the suitability of NPM doctrines being applied in the developing world. Whilst it may be assumed that such literature is more culturally sensitive than the advocacy literature, as it tends to question the universalism of the model, on closer analysis the critical literature often displays similar Orientalist rhetoric albeit in a more muted form.

Critiquing the Critique: Acceptable Orientalism?

The critical literature attempts to correct some of the assumptions of the advocacy/descriptive literature that argues NPM is a widely applicable model of reform. Pillay (2008) argues that the literature on NPM has ignored the influence of culture on the successful implementation of NPM in the developing world. She posits NPM as a 'culturally dependent strategy' and so its success is affected by the cultural characteristics of the country in which it is implemented. However, by attempting to offer a critical account of why NPM does not work for certain cultural contexts, with specific attention on South Africa, such work falls into some of the same essentialistic, Orientalist traps as the uncritical counterparts³.

Firstly public sector weaknesses, such as poor accountability, lack of government funds, are seen as synonymous with cultural traits. The “cognitive-cultural frames” that are “deeply entrenched in South Africans” make a “highly centralized system with poor accountability causing institutional weaknesses” (381). Although Pillay does consider the influence of social and political history on the functioning of the public sector in

³ Again I want to stress that I am not directly attacking any one author, but the general theoretical standpoint which is constantly articulated in the critical literature.

South Africa, culture is provided as the supreme determining mechanism of NPM success which often heavily relies on sweeping generalisations. When discussing the specific cultural characteristics of South Africa, Pillay offers a disclaimer stating how “Many South Africans have a closer affinity with their ethnic groups than with the nation state” (377) leading to the emergence of subcultures in the country. However, this is repeatedly followed by a tendency to essentialise the culture of South Africa and, indeed the whole of the continent, presenting it as homogeneous and static:

“South African society is characterized by a collectivist ethic, whereby the interests of the group prevail over the interests of the individual, thus encouraging obedience, loyalty, and conformity” (385)

“Africans are highly oriented to groups. Because there is less emphasis on individual autonomy, officials tend to accord greater concern to the pursuit of consensus and can be more prone to nepotism — that is, a desire to do good for one’s extended family and friends” (386)

Such language allows the West to claim knowledge of the 'other'. Much of the cultural characteristics of South Africa posited here are based on the Hofstede model of culture⁴ without including any of the limitations of the Hofstede model, such as how it tries to classify patterns of behaviour (such as the relationship with authority; the relationship between the group and the individual; and dealing with uncertainty and ambiguity) for individual countries and ignores subcultural differences (Holt and Wiggington’s, 2002). Instead of a sensitive analysis on the “congruence between reform strategies and practices and national culture” (391) what is actually given is a 'ready-to-use' package about how to 'understand' South African culture (see also discussion on Grindle 1997): “In societies characterized by high power distance...

⁴ Culture has been included as important in shaping the trajectories of NPM reform (Pollit and Bouckaert, 2004). Therefore I am not saying that writers on NPM have created the idea of culture as a false model to assist in understanding NPM reform, yet I am arguing that such models are too rigid and cannot be unquestionably applied to give supposed national and continental norms.

unethical application of power [such as paternalism, favouritism, and nepotism] is unlikely to be challenged because an unequal distribution of power discourages subordinates from questioning authority” (Pillay, 2008:383). The whole of South African society is to be understood as a high power distance culture that makes public sector reform along NPM lines difficult. Any national differences are ignored in order for Western institutions to claim to understand the 'other'. A discourse is created that works on an inclusionary-exclusionary practice in which those that do not conform are discarded from the discussion (Westwood, 2001).

Implicit in such language are also clear judgement values that place the behaviour of the South African public sector in binary opposition to that of the West: “People do not often change jobs/employers as this is considered as venturing into the unknown, a practice that is discouraged”. Similar language is used by Grindle (1997) who, again influenced by Hofstede, professes that public organisations can only perform well when they are “characterized by cultures that emphasize commitment to organizational goals, a strong sense of professionalism, efficiency, elitism, and hard work” (491) that have “achieved recognition in the reform initiatives in industrialised [i.e. Western] countries” (492). The West is both explicitly and implicitly posited as having the solution – we are right whilst the 'other' is undoubtedly wrong (such a reading is also applicable to McCourt 2008, to be discussed later).

The Hegemony of the Western Voice

The 'other' is thus researched and gazed upon but then understood through Western ontological and epistemological frames of knowledge. Often the critical literature is said to be aware of cultural differences, but very few offer a theoretical position that is from outside the Western corpus. Where the literature attempts to value cultural sensitivity by discussing individual countries, it is only used to explain how it can result in good, and thereby Western model, management decisions. For example, Polidano (1999) criticises the blanket transferability of NPM on the developing world stating that localised contingency factors shape the reform trajectories of individual reform

initiatives. However whilst Polidano believes that “Reformers’ watchwords must be open-mindedness and eclecticism” (5) and discusses how a number of developing countries have implemented reform initiatives that counter NPM doctrines, in the end it is the role of the West to “search for solutions to the problems of government in developing countries” (32). Taylor (2001) makes similar sentiments. He argues how developing countries should not try to uncritically emulate the best practice approach of NPM and Human Resource Management of the developed world, yet Taylor then replaces these reform guidelines with some of his own 'practical lessons' to improve the public sector of developing countries. Neither Polidano or Taylor think of including the voice of the 'other', instead their assumptions are deep-rooted in the culture of Western academia that can hinder a culturally sensitive approach from being fully explored. McCourt (2008) also falls victim to similar fables. He advocates that NPM may not be the best model for developing nations and instead one needs to understand the national politics and institutions of the country needing reform, but again it is up to 'us' i.e. the West to create the solutions fit for Africa; it is up to “us to complete the groundwork of political analysis in order to return to... the task of refining public policy instruments that will support development..of the South” (475). It still assumes that market capitalism equates to universal efficiency. In the end the critical literature on NPM becomes only a slightly muted form of the Orientalism that is present in the advocacy/descriptive literature on NPM.

ABhabhianPerspective ofNPMinAfrica

So far only the discourses of NPM have been challenged from a postcolonial perspective. Now the very on-the-ground reality of NPM reform can be understood using a postcolonial framework. The case studies that I am using may indeed share the same Orientalist assumptions of previous literature, however in this analysis I will ignore this and instead of looking at discourse, look at the factual, material consequences of NPM reform on-the-ground. I will uncover an alternative perspective on these case studies. Furthermore, there is a consistent theme in the NPM literature that different trajectories of NPM reform are affected by local circumstances. However, a Bhabhian analysis conceptualises this differently to give a fresh perspective that has yet to be considered in any understanding of the material consequences of NPM.

TheUnknowable:SpacesofAmbivalenceandMimicry

The Tax Revenue Authority (TRA) was established in an attempt to improve tax collection and be insulated from the corruption and embezzlement of funds that was inherent in the Tanzanian Ministry of Finance (Fjeldstad, 2002). Increased monitoring and performance measurements were included. Pay for TRA officials was raised to help overcome the principal-agent problem by aligning the interests of employees with the employer. However, patron-client networks are extensive, bureaucracy is personalised, the divisions between state and society is unclear, and resources are constantly being appropriated by public administrators. Trying to attain impersonal capitalist exchange that the West dictate is problematic (Berman, 1998). The importance of redistributive practices means that illegal economic enrichment is overlooked by the social values of the network; a 'moral economy' exists that permits the justification of, what the West would term as, corrupt practices (De Sardan, 1999). For employees in the TRA, the high wages mean individuals have increased obligations to their personal networks. Fjeldstad (2002) argues that this resulted in a decrease in the net income employees could claim for themselves, forcing them to supplement their income by rent-seeking.

A process exists whereby the 'other' acquires and performs the identity associated with NPM thinking and actions (which secures international donor aid) whilst concealing others (the connectedness of family and community obligations). As Banerjee et al (2009) would argue, an ambivalence is experienced in the process of such enactment and concealment. The creation of what Bhabha would term 'almost the same but not quite' has been created through the universal prescription of Western NPM in Africa, which has emphasised the introduction of neoliberal reform processes (such as performance management), whilst concurrently being interwoven into the specific particularities of the Tanzanian public sector.

From a Bhabhian perspective it could be argued that such ambivalent spaces are sources of agency for the 'other' as they disrupt imposed forms of knowledge. Such as colonial discourse was ambivalent, the discourse of NPM is and in being so fails in accomplishing what is needed for hegemonic domination - “fully and finally fixing the subjectivity of the the colonized [the 'other'] by the colonised [the West]” (Prasad, 2003:21). Instead the 'other' is unknowable; the 'other' may mimic the West but ultimately refuses to give obeisance to the West's narcissistic demands by retaining their difference.

Owusu (1992), discusses the decentralisation of political and administration authority in Ghana. The representative structures that facilitate local decision making are interwoven with the historic authority structures already in place. Ghana established 110 District Assemblies which are expected to defend their views on public platforms and must meet their constituents every six weeks. This encourages the rebirth of activist civic organisations and mutual-aid societies that are grounded in village and family affiliations (Owusu, 1992:391). There is a tension between the homogenisation of a global culture and the need to become differentiated from the mainstream by retaining local values (Bhabha, 1990). The colonised subject can resist such homogenisation by refusing to strictly adhere to the particular practices put forth by the West; the 'other' is not a helpless puppet for the imperial pursuits of the developed world.

In-Betweenness: Spaces of Hybridity and Third Space

Using Bhabha's concept of hybridity can give fresh insight to the realities of NPM reform on-the-ground. Since decolonisation, hybrid models of public sector reform have been present in many African countries. Western expatriates were replaced by indigenous staff and an 'Africanisation' of public sector services began which built on the Western structures already in place; a hybrid model of Western/indigenous (belonging to neither culture) was formed. Further processes of hybridity are being produced in the present day throughout the Tanzanian public sector upon the implementation of NPM: “one sees the emergence of new hybrid forms of management... [NPM] reform ideas are being couched to fit the local context” (Sulle, 2010:351). Sulle gives the example of how the drive for managerial autonomy to improve the performance of agencies⁵ has been countered by the tightly centralised government. Sulle posits how a 'hybrid form of management' is created in terms of the level of autonomy and control of the agencies:

“Whilst agencies in Tanzania do enjoy limited operational autonomy in both human and financial resources... some charge for their services, retain what they earn, and they can transfer it into the coming financial years..., the notion that agencies should be controlled on the basis of performance contract is not fully developed...control is still hierarchical and the use of a result-based approach is quite remote” (351).

What is created is a hybrid space that no longer resembles that of the West or the 'other'. NPM agencification has been shaped by the particularities of the Tanzanian

⁵ 'Agencification' involves the devolution of authority and resources from the centre to the local (Rodríguez-Pose and Gill, 2003). Three analytical notions have inspired a so-called 'tripod of agencification' (Pollitt et al, 2004) and are: structural disaggregation, large ministerial bodies are broken up into smaller, specialised units; autonomization, each unit makes its own decisions about achieving its goals to efficiently execute its functions; contractualism, the relationship between the agency and their parent ministries is steered through contractual agreements that are based on performance contracts which measure results-based outcomes.

public sector that ultimately leads to the NPM reform outcomes being neither Western nor fully Tanzanian; when moving within this 'Third Space' the individual draws on a blended cultural repertoire from both the West and their own country (Frenkel, 2008). Whilst agencies have been established in Tanzania as dictated by the West, they do not function through the same mechanisms (performance contracts, performance management, etc) as their Anglo-American counterparts. Instead of the world converging in the adoption of Western management systems and values, influences from other cultures result in the development of new hybrid management systems; different cultures should not be viewed as discrete entities but as inherently mixed and ever-evolving. Hybridity produces a difference that “blurs categorical distinctions and creates continuity and a permanent ambivalence” (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006:858). This is similarly apparent in the case study discussed by Devas and Grant (2003) on decentralisation to encourage local government decision making and representative democracy in Kenya and Uganda. Whilst policies of decentralisation of central government has successfully (as argued by the West) achieved a “greater awareness on the part of local governments of both the need for and the possibilities of widening citizen participation in decisions” (315), this has operated within the specific cultural landscape of both countries and are affected by “corruption, rent seeking, abuse of tender procedures and poor relationships between paid officials and elected councillors” (313). Again hybridity is produced in the NPM model. This undermines the West's binary world view of 'us' and 'them', as the purity of the NPM model is distorted, and a Third Space is created that is in between the former Tanzanian, Kenyan or Ugandan public sector and that which is advocated by the West.

The ambivalence of the NPM discourse can also be viewed in the West's response to the failings of NPM in Africa. The haphazard success of this reform programme has led to the West reinterpreting how NPM should be deployed throughout Africa. The interactions with African public sectors have led to them altering their position on how NPM should be implemented in Africa in the future which include (Hyden, 2005:42):

- “avoiding the trap that more extensive external funding is the best means to solve problems”
 - “more operational flexibility than current 'blueprints' provide”
 - ”greater respect for country variation in endowment and culture”
- “encouraging local learning rather than assuming best practices already exist “on the shelf””

The resistance of the 'other', which has disrupted the NPM model's identity, is reflected back on the way that NPM researchers deal with the assumptions of their own discipline. Cracks are created in model's purity as the importance of culture and geographical specificity question the universal and Eurocentric positioning of the reform agenda. NPM is constantly being renegotiated by the interplay between different cultures and the ambivalence and hybridity that this constantly (re)produces.

It is thus through a Bhabhian framework that the boundaries of colonialism can be shifted to allow a space of resistance to emerge for the 'other', that even the authors of these case studies may not realise is apparent in their work.

“In Postcoloniality, every metropolitan definition is dislodged...all metropolitan accounts are set askew” Spivak (1993:217)

Conclusions and Reflections

Postcolonial theory and criticism offers a tool to dismantle the institutional acceptance of the global structures of power. The world is constructed on a geopolitical axis that places the West (namely Europe and America) as the metropolitan centre whose will to power comes to subtly define and ultimately control the global East (the developing world). Postcolonialism attempts to 'set askew' this global order and the “epistemological imperialism of the west” (Sardar, 1985:85). In a world that is centred on the ontological, epistemological, political and economic sovereignty of Western power and linguistic constructions (Prasad, 2003), this thesis has offered an important understanding on how it is vital to constantly question taken for granted rhetoric. A critical engagement with NPM has provided an avenue with which to do so, relevant to management and organisational studies.

This thesis has demonstrated how the application of critical discourse analysis can uncover the meaning behind supposedly 'true' and 'free' texts. Using ideas borrowed from postcolonialism I have shown how Western practices come to define and judge the 'other'. These practices are intrinsically connected to the legacies of colonialism and the asymmetrical global distributions of power that it helped to create. Postcolonialism offers a way to understand these power relations and their discursive and material consequences with NPM being offered as a subject for critique. This thesis has firstly shown how a Saidian perspective can provide a mechanism by which the language of texts can be interrogated. Secondly, using the work of Bhabha has offered a fresh way to understand the material consequences of NPM reform which further disrupts the binary world view and opens up the possibility of spaces of resistance. I have shown that postcolonialism is a valid tool to critique both the advocacy and

critical literature on NPM, and that a Bhabian analysis can be applied to examples of NPM reform on-the-ground in Africa to offer alternative understandings.

What is important to understand for anyone reading this thesis is that I am not arguing that the West is completely wrong in interfering in the reform processes of Africa, nor that Africa could never benefit from following some of the frameworks that have come to make the West so economically successful. What I am arguing is that the West need to be more reflexive on how it talks and thinks about Africa: the West uncritically assumes that it can know about and define the 'other', it unquestionably believes that it holds the only solutions for all the problems of Africa and it continuously blames Africans for their current economic and political conditions allowing the West to abdicate all responsibility for its role in having created some of the problems in Africa. Finally, the West constantly articulates a sense of self-superiority which all fall back onto the same assumptions of Orientalism that in turn serve to authorise the Orient's domination.

Postcolonialism has thus been used to move beyond the shared assumptions in the existing literature as my analysis has shown that both sets of literature (advocates and critiques) claim to know about the 'other', assumes that the 'other' is in a perpetual stasis inherently lacking the qualities of the West, and understands Africa as a single, homogenous culture that can be defined and controlled by Western frames of knowledge and reference. These are the discursive tropes of (neo)colonialism that have shaped the discussions of NPM in the academic and policy literature concerning Africa, and it is such language that needs to be avoided in any further Western discussions of NPM in Africa.

By applying the works of Homi Bhabha to analyse case studies of NPM in Africa has ensured that this thesis does not fall into the same traps of Orientalism that assumes Africans are passive to imperial dominance. It is by considering the works of Bhabha that Western scholars and policy makers can begin to see a geography of the

world that is not limited to binary definitions. This perspective has shone light on how an appreciation of the existence of mimicry, hybridity and Third Space challenges the hegemonic dominance of the West. For example the discussion of the TRA in Tanzania and the District Assemblies in Ghana shows how these case studies can be reconceptualised to see spaces of mimicry and ambivalence, and the case studies on agencification in Tanzania and decentralisation in Uganda and Kenya can be reconceptualised to see spaces of hybridity and Third Space. It is through a Bhabhian analysis that one can appreciate how valid knowledge can be created that is not limited to a specific binary division of 'us' and 'them'; Bhabha enlightens us to the fact there are no strict identities, thus making it impossible to see the world through dualistic thinking; identities are temporal and unstable. It also helps in understanding the multiple forces of change that have affected the countries of Africa, including Western intervention and their own internal dynamics, which allows “an examination of these communities in their present fullness” (Zein-Elabdin, 2011:223) and which may offer equally valid modes of public sector organisation rather than inferior aberrations.

Considerations for Future Study

However, this postcolonial perspective is not meant to be offered as a singular better alternative to understanding NPM. Nevertheless it is vital to be aware of the ideas of postcolonialism otherwise we will get a continuation of people pursuing practices that provide “only a distorted and partial understandings of the people, systems and issues [that they] presume to engage with” (ibid:262). It is intended for this thesis to plant seeds of doubt into the reader as to how they understand the world around them and how certain knowledge systems are included and others excluded which has given rise to an intellectual imbalance within the management field (Westwood and Jack, 2009). Borrowing ideas from 'standpoint theory', one needs to challenge the claims to the objectivity of dominant policy and management discourses. It is impossible to speak without bias and therefore scholars need to be aware of their own epistemological assumptions that shape their standpoints and take responsibility for their impact (Adler

and Jermier, 2005). This theory also advocates that one should take alternative standpoints to understand the challenges facing “the systematically oppressed, exploited and dominated” (ibid:943); as to adopt elite standpoints only results in maintaining the status quo. The view 'from below' has thus more scope to “generate more complete and more objective knowledge claims”. Standpoint theory therefore can be used to develop my ideas on postcolonialism to encourage alternative perspectives to be taken to raise the consciousness of writers and scholars on management issues about those currently exploited. It is therefore vital to be aware of the ideas of postcolonialism as it encourages a multiplicity of possibilities in how we come to understand and think about public sector reform throughout Africa “which might challenge the assumptions upon which our perspective of the world is built” (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006:872). A more pluralistic epistemology will ensure that public sector managers attempt to fully understand the actual realities of public sector problems in Africa rather than defaulting to an Orientalist standpoint; as Western academics we have to be dedicated to 'provincializing Europe' (Chakrabarty, 1992; 2000). This thesis offers a mere beginning as to how postcolonial theory can be applied to public sector management in the developing world. It is my hope that a postcolonial analysis will be extended to critique the supposed neutrality of topics throughout the entire discipline of management and organisational studies.

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Appendix One:
Sources Chosen for Postcolonial Discourse Analysis

	Type of Document	Publication Title	Author/Date	Brief Overview (as relevant to this dissertation)
Advocacy/ Descriptive Literature	Academic Paper	'The Global Influence of New Public Management: Case Studies from Africa'	Matthew Baird, 2003	Describes the influence of the NPM reform processes of decentralisation, privatisation and civil service reform in Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda.
	Academic Paper	'Constraints in the Implementation of Performance Management Systems in Developing Countries : The Ghanaian Case'	Frank Ohemeng, 2009	Describes the processes and challenges associated with implementing performance management in Ghana.
	Academic Paper	'The new public management: context and practice in Africa'	Ronald Hope, 2001	Advocates for the continued implementation of NPM approaches throughout Africa. Stresses how improvements in the performance in the public sectors of Africa are attributable to NPM reform
	Academic Paper	'Vincent Ostrom's Democratic Administration and New Public Management in East Africa'	Eric Otenyo, 2006	Discusses the growth of NPM in the reform agenda in East Africa. Believes that NPM reform processes could be more successful if they include the idea of 'democratic accountability' (reforms need a stronger appreciation of the place of the individual) as advocated by Vincent Ostrom's 'The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration'
	Academic Paper	'A Public Management for All Seasons'	Christopher Hood, 1991	Explores the history and principals of NPM reform processes. Discusses the claim that NPM offers an all-purpose reform package to improve public services.
	Policy Report	'Public Sector Management Reforms in Africa'	Economic Commission for Africa (United Nations) 2003	The policy document reviews the status of public sector reforms being undertaken, identifies successful experiences, and gives best practice recommendations for African public sector management reforms.

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	Policy Report	'Can Africa Claim the 21 st Century'	World Bank, 2000	Discusses how progress in Africa is dependent on: - Improving governance and resolving conflict. - Investing in people. - Increasing competitiveness and diversifying economies. - Reducing aid dependence and strengthening partnerships.
	Policy Report	'Unlocking the Human Potential for Public Sector Performance'	United Nations, 2005	The paper highlights the diversity of values and doctrines that have guided the strengthening of Human Resource Management systems in the public sector in the developing world, and the outcome of these initiatives.
	Policy Report	'New Directions in State Reform: Implications for Civil Society in Africa'	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1999	Explores the wide array of public sector reforms under way in Africa and their implication for civil society.
Critical Literature	Academic Paper	'Public Management in Developing Countries'	Willy McCourt, 2008	This review suggests the need for public management specialists to absorb a political analysis before returning to perennial management concerns.
	Academic Paper	'A Cultural Ecology of New Public Management'	Soma Pillay, 2008	Explores the applicability of NPM to specific national contexts using Hofstede's models of culture.
	Academic Paper	'Divergent Cultures? When Public Organizations Perform Well in Developing Countries'	Merilee Grindle, 1997	Uses the concept of organisational culture to explain why the public sectors in some countries perform better than in other countries.
	Academic Paper	'The new public management in developing countries'	Charles Polidano, 1999	Examines how NPM reform is often inappropriate in developing countries because of the problems of corruption and low administrative capacity. The success of individual NPM initiatives is dependent on localised contingency factors not general national characteristics.
	Academic Paper	'Human resource management and new public	Harry Taylor, 2001	Contextual variables influence the success of NPM and Human Resource Management reform. Specifically focuses on the affect of variations in the labour market, economic and international aid on the success of reform.

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		management: two sides of a coin that has a low value in developing countries?'		
Case Study Material	Academic Paper	'Making Public Sector Management Work for Africa: Back to the Drawing-Board'	Goran Hyden, 2005 working with the African Development Bank	Examines the operational experience associated with NPM, looking specifically at the issues of revenue collection and administration, decentralisation, and civil service reform.
	Academic Paper	'The Applications of New Public Management Doctrines in the Developed World: An Exploratory Study of Autonomy and Control of Executive Agencies in Tanzania'	Andrew Sulle, 2010	Discusses the extent of agencification in the Tanzanian public sector. Argues how the NPM agency model is founded on a weak empirical basis and how its universal applicability is questionable.
	Academic Paper	'Democracy and Africa - A View from the Village'	Maxwell Owusu, 1992	Examines the successful formation of District Assemblies in Ghana to decentralise government control into more localised, responsive units.
	Academic Paper	'Fighting fiscal corruption: The case of the Tanzania Revenue Authority'	Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, 2002	Discusses the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) in Tanzania, established in the executive agency model to reduce direct political interference by the Ministry of Finance and decrease corruption. Explores the problems that the TRA has encountered.
	Academic Paper	'Local Government Decision-Making – Citizen Participation and Local Accountability: Some Evidence From Kenya and Uganda'	Nick Devas and Ursula Grant, 2003	Explores the consequences of decentralisation to encourage representative democracy and local level decision making in Uganda and Kenya. Concludes by looking at the factors that limit full local level involvement in the decentralised decision-making process.