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*Review*

## **The effect of Somali armed conflict on the East African Sub-Region**

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**This paper intends to look at the effects of Somali armed conflict on the East African Sub-region. The objective of this article is to examine the economic and political instability caused by the conflict in Somalia. This paper views economic hardship as one of the primary sources of the Somali armed conflicts. The Somali armed conflict strongly supports the “greed to grievance” assumption. At the level of individual gunmen, a fundamental and dangerous living was eked out through looting and extortion; for top warlords and their financial backers.**

**Key words:** Armed conflict, war, deprivation, divide, insurgency, insecurity.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Eastern Africa region is known for decades as one of the hottest geographical spaces of internal dissidence and interstate conflicts. Africa's longest civil wars occur in this region (Assefa, 1999). It was the case of the Eritrean war of liberation against Ethiopian regimes. The civil war in Sudan is another civil war that is associated with one way or the other with the region. States have disintegrated in the Horn. The emergence of Eritrea and the prolonged absence of a recognized government in Somalia constitute the basis of anxiety in the community of states in that part of Africa. States affected by conflicts tend to bolster their security and try to weaken other states believed to be undermining their sovereignty. Inability of states to dialog with each other results in armed violence and the involvement of civilians in civil wars. Perception, attitudes and actions of parties to the various conflicts shape the process of militarisation in the region. States refuse to admit that there are real internal

problems. Victims of injustice are left with no other option but to fight for their survival. Where a conflict flares into armed violence it causes is linked to a neighboring state or another external power. Then conflict escalates beyond the control of the initial actors. Dissident groups launch recruitment campaigns among disenchanted civilian groups while governments go for forced conscription. Both ways, civilians must get involved voluntarily or by force. The situation, we are describing, makes the size of national armies and rebel formations bulge with units of irregular forces such as militias and self-defence groups. Experience from Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda shows those cattle rustlers and armed bandits take the advantage of civil wars or interstate wars to acquire modern assault rifles for their criminal motives. One of the most central challenges of academic discourse in contemporary Africa is to explain the endemic ethno religious and political conflicts that engulfed the region at

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the end of the cold war. In a radical departure from the cold war era, the region has witnessed inter-state conflicts of different socio-ethnic and cultural aggregates within national territories. These conflicts, characterized by genocide, ethnic cleansing and unprecedented humanitarian tragedies in the form of internally displaced persons have resulted in state collapse in countries like Somalia (Best, 2009). The essence of this paper is to look at the effect of Somalian armed conflict on the East African sub-region with the view of finding solutions to resolving such conflict. The paper adopts the realist theory that traces the root of the conflict to a flaw in human nature. People are selfish and engage in the pursuit of personalized self-interest defined as power. The theory originates from classical political theory and shares both theological and biological doctrines about an apparent weakness and individualism inherent in human nature. Hence, the starting point for explaining conflict is at the individual level. Realism believes that competitive processes between actors primarily defined as states is the natural expression of conflict by parties engaged in the pursuit of scarce and competitive interests (Deutsch, 1973). This theory has three parts; descriptive realism, which sees the world as an arena of conflict, explanatory realism which seeks to show that there are genetic defects that push human beings into behaving negatively (Koestler, 1967) and that wars become inevitable because there is no mechanism to stop them from occurring. Prescriptive realism that builds on the argument of descriptive and explanatory realism, that is to say that decision makers have a moral justification to defend their fundamental interests and ensure self-preservation using any means necessary. Morgenthau, one of the leading exponents of realism, argues that the imperfection in the world, namely conflicts, has its roots in forces that are inherent in human nature; Human beings are selfish people naturally conflictive. The theory, however, has been accused of elevating the power to the status of an ideology. Nonetheless, realism has had a tremendous impact on conflict.

### **THE SOMALI ARMED CONFLICT**

The prolonged absence of a recognized government in Somalia constitutes the basis of anxiety in the communities of that part of Africa. States affected by conflicts tend to bolster their security and try to weaken other states believed to be undermining their sovereignty. It is as a result of the inability of states to dialog with each other in armed violence and the involvement of civilians in civil wars. Perception, attitudes and actions of parties to the various conflicts shape the process of militarization of the region. States refuse to admit that there are real internal problems. In Somalia victims of injustice are left with no other option but to fight for their survival. When a conflict flares into armed violence, its cause is linked to a

neighboring state or another external power. Then conflict escalates beyond the control of the initial actors. Dissident groups launch recruitment campaigns among disenchanting civilian groups while governments go for forced conscription. There is a control economic resource to the detriment of the people in the country. It is seen in the social and political developments Somalia. The groups involved in this practice are oligarchies with narrow vested interests. The monopoly of power, scarce resources and denial of rights of others has resulted in civil wars that threaten the very existence of states in the region. The regime of Mohamed Siad Barre is another relevant example to support this statement. 'Studies on the disintegration of Somalia' (Adibe, 1995) indicate Siad Barre's totalitarian governance was responsible for the civil war that had deprived the country of a recognized political authority. Siad Barre introduced a clan system of governance that dominated economic and political life during his regime. He appointed loyalists to positions of leadership and power. The Somali National Movement emerged in Conflict and State Security in the Horn of Africa, 43 1981 to resist authoritarianism and brutality of the deprived people. The failure of the opposition to filling the power vacuum left behind by Siad Barre after his flight into exile in 1991 marked the beginning of disintegration of Somalia. The second issue was the country's poverty, which, combined with rapid population growth and urban drift on the part of a large pastoral population, produced growing land pressure in the countryside and an increasing number of unemployed young men who could potentially be recruited into armed groups or criminal gangs. But, Somalia's strategic importance in the Cold War enabled the Barre regime to attract high levels of foreign aid, giving it the ability to engage in patronage politics and to build one of the largest standing armies in sub-Saharan Africa. That large army helped to absorb the growing number of unemployed youths. Somalia had made irredentist claims on neighboring states since independence, and its aspirations to unify all Somali populations in a single Somali state culminated in a disastrous war with Ethiopia in 1977-78. Somalia lost, and the heavy casualties, refugee crises, and recriminations that ensued accelerated an already pronounced drift toward repression and authoritarianism. By 1980, two weeks clan-based armed insurgencies arose, both based in Ethiopia, and northern Somalia was under military rule. The 1980s saw Somalia become one of the most repressive and predatory regimes in Africa, and Barre resorted to dividing and ruling tactics, exacerbating clan divisions. At this point, the country was ripe for armed conflict. The country's pre-war profile matches up with the factors most frequently cited in conflict vulnerability analysis as rendering a country susceptible to armed conflict.

Somalia is destitute; its government was repressive and predatory, fueling deep grievances; the government was highly dependent on a rentier economy, in this case,

foreign aid derived from the country's strategic importance; and that source of revenue began to plummet quickly as the Cold War waned in the late 1980s. Somalia had not had a previous civil war one of the factors cited as among the most accurate predictors of a new civil war but, it had endured a terrible interstate war with neighboring Ethiopia that had the effect of militarizing the country. The most important factor rendering the country vulnerable to armed conflict was the combination of the Barre regime's profound levels of corruption, its clannish divide and rule tactics, and its willingness to resort to very heavy-handed lethal force against its own population in the quest to remain in power. Civil war in 1988 engulfed Somalia, and in January 1991 multiple clan-based militias drove the Barre government out of the capital, Mogadishu.

Several factors triggered the armed conflict. A secret deal between Barre and Ethiopian dictator Mengistu to cease hosting insurgencies at one another's expense had the unintentional effect of prompting the Somali National Movement (SNM) to launch an attack into northern Somalia in order to establish a presence in Somalia. The government's response to the SNM offensive involved "systematic" human rights abuses and the murder of thousands of northern civilians, producing a flow of 300,000 to 500,000 refugees into Ethiopia. In response, Western aid donors froze assistance to the government. The waning of the Cold War reduced Somalia's strategic importance, making it easier for donors to suspend aid. In retrospect, the Somali state was a castle built on sand, the loss of external funds meant that the government lost its ability to hold together the policy by a combination of patronage and coercion. Grievances against the Barre regime quickly found expression in a proliferation of clan-based liberation movements, which found ready recruits in the growing ranks of deserters. The fall of the Barre government did not produce an accord between the victorious armed factions. Instead, they began fighting among themselves in what developed into a devastating war of predation in 1991-92. A number of factors worked against Somali's ability to reach a power-sharing accord. One was the legacy of deep distrust between the clans shown by Barre as part of his divide and rule tactics. Second, a wave of retaliatory attacks on tribes associated with the Barre government produced a massive wave of ethnic cleansing across all of Somalia. This ethnic polarization would prove to be a major impediment to reconciliation. It also meant that some clans were able to occupy militarily and control the most valuable real estate in the country, the capital and productive riverine farmland nearby at the expense of other groups. Occupiers of this property had reduced incentive to promote reconciliation that would invariably require return of stolen private and government property. Third, a war economy quickly developed, in which militias and their financial backers had powerful incentives to perpetuate a state of war. (<http://www.operationspaix.net>).

## **THE EFFECT OF SOMALIA'S ARMED CONFLICT ON EAST AFRICAN SUB-REGION**

New and festering conflicts also contribute to the shackles of poverty, as widespread civil violence across several Eastern African countries significantly hampers prospects for economic development. While, many parts of the world today see a decrease in wars both inter and intrastate sub-Saharan Africa continues to be a hotbed of violence. As a result of armed conflict, many Africans are routinely forced to flee their homes; sometimes entire villages are emptied out. The net effect in countries like Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and Uganda alone there are over 2.2 million internally displaced persons. According to the World Health Organization report (2013), 72 percent of all deaths in Africa are directly attributable to infectious diseases, compared to 27 percent in all other WHO regions combined. Absence of shelter, food, and water for significant periods of time, and illness and further abuse while they are displaced ruins any sense of security or, importantly, hope for a brighter future. Compounding this vicious circle of deprivation is the growing threat from terrorist organizations preying upon not only Western targets in the Eastern Africa region, but also upon innocent local populations.

One of the most recent and disturbing developments is that al-Shabaab, the Islamist insurgent group aiming to oust the Somali Transitional Federal Government, has begun carrying out terrorist attacks outside of that country. In July and December 2010, the terrorist group claimed responsibility for attacks in Kampala, Uganda, and Nairobi, Kenya, respectively, killing over 75 people and wounding even more. Extreme poverty and inadequate public health opportunities, internal political strife, interstate wars, trafficking in small arms, and the lack of established structures and processes to promote democracy fuel a vicious circle that prevents large swathes of the continent from participating in much of the active progress.

It was against this backdrop that the UN Security Council passed Resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004) the resolutions were seemingly ill-connected to the daily challenges facing the Global South. In much of East Africa, inadequate national financial systems, porous borders, lack of technical expertise and operative controls over sensitive materials, and occasional reluctance to enact more rigorous standards for fear of derailing economic and development objectives have yielded an environment ripe for terrorist groups to flourish and for the nefarious transit of sensitive WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction) materials and technologies. Similarly, emphasizing counterterrorism as a global priority while focusing attention on the high-profile groups that seek out Western targets is unlikely to build authentic support in the face of more pressing challenges to developing world governments. The consequences of such a scenario will be continued instability and insecurity, and the suffering



or death of untold numbers of people. Terrorism will jeopardize the foundations of the global economy, erase gains made by the global development community, and reverse the forces of globalization already stressed by the worldwide economic slowdown. For donors and recipients alike, strained financial resources and the growing confluence of security and development challenges mean that neither can be treated nor solved in isolation.

For this reason, bridging the security/ development divide in order to build collaboration and joint strategies, ameliorate proliferation concerns, reinforce counter-terrorism efforts, and provide an agenda of opportunity beyond those countries traditionally will be central to defending international security in the long term. The transition from grievance driven insurgency to a war economy driven by looting occurred with extraordinary speed. In the two-year civil war that ensued, all of the clan militias fought primarily to gain control over areas to loot. As famine conditions resulted, and 240,000 Somalis lost their lives, external food aid itself became a principal item in the war economy (Report, 2011). The war in 1991-92 deepened clan animosities and sharpened the competing narratives or, more precisely, litanies of grievances of rival tribes. No other viable form of political organization outside of the clan was possible even the coalitions, which were attempted, were family alliances and efforts to establish civic organizations that competed with militias were dangerous and futile. The one partial exception to this rule, the Islamist movement Al-Ittihad al-Islamiyya, attempted to create a movement that transcended clan in 1991, but was unable to stand up to clan militias. The complete collapse of the state and the marginalization of family elders meant that gunmen and warlords were a law unto themselves. Opportunities to profiteer from criminal violence were virtually unlimited in 1991-92. During this period, state collapse and armed conflict constituted mutually reinforcing pathologies. Not surprisingly, this environment proved ideal for the ascent of unscrupulous and myopic leadership which actively fomented clan divisions and lawlessness (Watara, 2002). The Somali case also demonstrates that once a government is allowed to collapse entirely and for an extended period, it becomes much harder to revive the collapsed state. State failure cannot be permitted to fester without exponentially increasing the difficulties of restoring government institutions.

Therefore, observers of political development in the region will conclude that armed resistance movements always threaten state security. Thus, inter-state tensions in East of Africa constitute a significant exacerbation of arms flow, which intensify militarization. The amount of weapons that infiltrate the country involved in revenge support for armed opposition movements encourage communities to arm themselves for purposes other than that of the civil wars on the ground. Researchers (Berman and Sams, 2000) identify similar problems of interwoven conflict that leaves small arms unchecked within state boundaries or across common borders.

Particular communities or groups take advantage of the chaos to load goods. It illustrates the complexity of the problem involving nearly all the countries in the region. Cattle rustling, highway banditry, and a communal vengeance have not only increased within the past decade, but also resulted in massive casualties than in the past. The reason is that elements of communities have easy access to modern weapons. They receive training from rebel movements or members of their communities purged from national armies for political reasons, and main parties to a conflict sometimes exploit them. Disruption of family life is the standard feature of insecurity in the East African sub-region. This situation leaves psycho-social effects on the population such as trauma in abducted children and women. Civilian militarization entails risks of child conscription, increased sexual vulnerability of girls and women, increased hatred and vengeance and loss of hope.

The UN has supported the idea of the inviolability of the national boundaries of African states that existed at the time of independence (Bakwesegha, 1997). Consequently, it has not been willing to become involved in adjudicating domestic disputes that involve the issues of secession or irredentism. On the other hand, in cases where it was perceived that the right of the people of certain territories to self-determination was being denied, the UN has consistently attempted to engage in diplomatic efforts to secure that right. For example, in the case of Namibia, after years of diversionary tactics and foot-dragging on the part of South Africa, the UN was able to establish a peacekeeping presence in the country, and to organize and supervise multi-party elections that led to Namibian independence in 1990. It was the first time the UN had chosen to take sides and to define a country's domestic problems as an international security issue. By the time the UN decided to intervene in the Somali civil war, it was clear that humanitarian considerations had come to take precedence over state sovereignty.

### **Attempted ways of resolving the conflict on the East African region**

The armed conflict in Somalia has translated itself into terrorist activities in the area. Reference was drawn from the laws and bills that were passed by countries like Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya (Table 1).

Kenya has received substantial amount of foreign assistance for its counter-terrorism programs. Preventing the transit of small arms and light weapons within and across national boundaries in Eastern Africa has a logical nexus with global efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction. For instance, both require enhanced human and technical capacity at border crossings, including better-trained and equipped border agents and improved arms-detection gear and techniques. International

**Table 1.** The countries that passed bills/laws on anti-terrorism.

Countries	Year
Uganda	Anti-terrorism act 2002
Tanzania	Anti- terrorism law 2003
Kenya	Anti-terrorism bill

Source: International Journal of conflict and violence, 2009.

nonproliferation donors have long provided a wide variety of practical assistance tailored to these needs in the area of WMD detection and proliferation prevention. This dual benefits assistance includes the provision of long-term regional advisors, short-term experts, equipment and training to foreign governments in support of the mutual nonproliferation, export control, anti-terrorism, and border-security objectives. In the case of the US State Department, assistance programs that focus on “enabling the border control, and other law enforcement agencies in high-threat countries to detect, identify, and interdict such contraband, and investigate the illegal transfer of materials used in the production of WMD.” Although, each of these assistance programs were proffered under the auspices of WMD nonproliferation, the capacities they yield directly 31 benefit national and regional efforts to prevent the illicit movement of small arms and light weapons across the borders of Eastern Africa. Recognizing the serious threat posed by SALW, the government of Kenya has already launched an array of efforts designed to shore up that country’s ability to prevent trafficking. For example, the Kenya Ports Authority has made remarkable strides in implementing the International Maritime Organization’s ship and port facility security measures. In April 2008, the Kenyan government set up a new monitoring unit to control trafficking along its coastline. Kenyan authorities are also strengthening border security through the acquisition of sophisticated detection and inspection equipment for border points and providing training to relevant personnel. In conjunction with heightened port and safety measures, the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission together with the Kenya Revenue Authority have stepped up efforts to investigate and prosecute customs control and border-security violations involving the diversion of transit goods. The Kenyan government is also providing incentives to traders that comply with stricter regulations. For example, the Kenya Revenue Authority has started a new initiative designed to integrate modern risk-management measures into the control of transit trade. In aggregate, these efforts will go far to prevent the transshipment of small arms and light weapons across the borders of Somalia and beyond to neighboring Kenya.

## Conclusion

In the analysis of Somali armed conflict, this paper strongly supports the “greed to grievance” assumption. At the level of individual gunmen, a fundamental and dangerous living was eked out through looting and extortion; for top warlords and their financial backers. Fortunes were made from everything from export of scrap metal to diversion of food aid. The Somali case confirms the assumption that access to conflict resources is critical to the rise of armed Conflicts. The liberation movements that after 1991 degenerated into clan militias had access to lootable on the land, including international food aid that poured into the country and beyond borders by 1992. The high number of unemployed youths provided a pool of cheap recruits for the militias. Finally, the fact that the wider region was awash in cheap weaponry made it easy for army to arm themselves and engage in sustained battles in the area. However, the efforts made by countries within the region must be acknowledged and the only means, to end these conflicts, is to stop small arms trade in East Africa and across Africa as a whole.

## Conflict of Interest

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Review

## Cultural hegemony and Africa's development process

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**This work is about cultural hegemony and Africa's development process. It examines the backwardness associated with the truncation of African cultural modes of development and the unsuccessful adaptation to western systems introduced by colonial powers. Among the Africa's lost cultural values, as stated in this work, include the African languages for thinking and planning development processes; sense of community life for effective community organization and development which also would have culminated in the evolution of an ideology for state development in Africa. The paper points out the challenges posed by the destruction of Africa's cultural values especially language and conceptualization; traditional religion; sense of community life; social capital development; and, democratic system. The paper accentuates the point that Africa should desist from what could be regarded as the 'colonial overstretch' and finally, argues that because of the adjustment failures to western traditional systems by African states, the revival or equipment of African traditional values for development, constitute a way forward.**

**Key words:** Africa, culture, development, hegemony, values, trajectories.

### INTRODUCTION

One of the impacts of colonialism in Africa was the imposition of alien culture, which eventually pervades the various sectors of Africa's development, such as political, economic and cultural, through the medium of language and western education. It can be recalled that several European powers, such as British, German, French, Belgian, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese scrambled for African states and controlled the states acquired by them. Irrespective of the colonial power claiming authority, the impact on all the African states was similar, on the basis of which we can study the problem of cultural domination, arising from colonialism as a whole, as all the states colonized were dominated and had their cultural values

especially their languages stunted.

The predominance of western cultures following their imposition on African states poses as a stumbling block to the growth and maturity of African cultures. These dominant non-African cultures have assumed "naturally" unquestionable statuses and by virtue of their structural privileges, have incorporated the stunted and weakened cultures of African societies. Unfortunately, it is on the basis of non-African cultures that parameters, practices, values and concepts are consciously determined and organized. This portends itself, according to Ayantayo (2000:18), as a dangerous trend for the proper understanding of Africa's worldview and auto-centric

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development. In view of this African subjugation, the continent is denied the authenticity of its cultures and developmental processes arising from them. More dangerously is the fact that it is on the basis of non-African cultures that the intellectual probity on African problems is trapped, especially in the “invisible zone” of non-African concepts and practices. To this end, several generations of Africa are denied their cultural heritage as African cultures were not allowed to grow and mature. Utietiang (2000:38) captured the viability of the lost African cultures when he stated that the works of Africa of yesteryears were more promising than European works of the same period. For him:

It is a certain fact that Africa was far above Europe in Medicine and Arts... No European art work could be compared to art works coming from Benin, Ife, Ethiopia, Egypt, etc. The developmental symbols of these art works cannot be over emphasized. They serve relevant purpose in any discussion of African development before the colonial reign.

For him, before colonialism, there was a highly organized system of production with a guild system. St. Augustine's writing on the “City of God” explains that most of the philosophical doctrines, theories in mathematics, Geometry and Astronomy were developed in Africa and by the Africans, just like the Egyptian Mystery Law School contributed immensely to the development of early legal studies. St. Augustine affirms this when he states that:

I must admit that certain people other than the Greeks, the Egyptians for example, had before Moses' time their wisdom. Otherwise, Holy writers could not have said that Moses was schooled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (St Augustine, cited in Bourke, 1958: 404).

Along this line of thought, Oyeocha (1997: 34) did not mince words when he wrote that Africa was indeed the intellectual Mecca to European scholars in antiquity. For him, Thales of Mellitus and Democratus who were Ionian philosophers as well as the early luminaries of Greek Science, made their significant discoveries in astronomy and mathematics after their visit to Egypt and Mesopotamia. Thales as well states that Pythagoras, who developed the famous mathematical theory, spent about twenty years studying in Egypt.

These historical facts show clearly that, contrary to the European claims that Africa had no civilization before their colonial quest, Africa was rather ahead of Europe in antiquity. It was in view of the superiority of Africa above Europe at that time that Anta Diop (1956: 121) posited that:

Europe's role is mostly that of a popularizer and commer-

cialiser of any product or invention, which it found useful. Even in the basic matter of food, Europe has been a borrower. Asia, Africa and pre-Columbian America developed almost all the important food stuff of the world.

Anta Diop is of the conviction that the principles of democracy, capitalism, socialism, communism and other central dogmas of the world religions were borrowed from ideas that emanated or had roots in Africa but were either further developed or otherwise further distorted to promote racial ascendancy in global leadership.

From his own research, Rodney (1972: 81) revealed that Africans of five centuries ago were producing high quality products that attracted the attention of the world. For him, through North Africa, Europeans became aware of a superior brand of red leather from Africa which was named Moroccan leather tanned and dyed by Hausa and Mandingo specialists in Northern Nigeria and Mali. In fact, according to him, up to the last century, local cotton from the Guinea Coast was stronger than the one of Manchester. The same goes for local copper produced in Katanga and Zambia being preferred to the imported one. The literature in the historical facts of culture and development of Africa's past is replete with various accounts of Africa's historical superiority over Europe. But one wonders what went wrong along the line. Did not Africa perceive that it could be invaded as the Europeans eventually did? And then developed weapons system of relative superiority for its defense against external attacks? Why did not African states at political independence set out to recover the trajectories of development they lost to the European intervention?

Several accounts have been made as to why Africa was vulnerable to the incapacity the continent demonstrated over its interface with European explorers. The first of these accounts holds that there was no centralized administration and autonomization in Africa, coupled with the lack of unity to face external aggression. According to Michael et al. (1980: 1):

Many millions of Africa's people's were organized in small political units. These units were extremely vulnerable to European political invasion. Not only do villages “states” lack western military technology, they also lacked experience in cooperation with neighbours against foreign invasion and often had no inclination to cooperate until it was too late.

The absence of cooperation and unity of purpose affected particularly, the early resistance to colonialism. Political historians posit that the early African reaction to European invasion was not uniform. A few societies of Africa were already worn-out as a result of long term warfare and slave raiding especially in East Africa. The fact remains that indeed Africa resisted European intrusion.

Utietiang (2000: 28) identifies seven instances of early

resistance to colonial rule: Chimurenga resistance in Zimbabwe; Battle of Isandhlwana and Maji-Maji uprising in Tanganyika; Battle of Adowa in Ethiopia; Asante Resistance in Ghana; Somori Ture in Mandika Empire; and, Libyan resistance. All these resistances were sub optimal and did not produce expected results. The complexity of the African struggle against European intrusion was further complicated by the situation that the efforts of the European intruder were complemented by the African proxies through some form of collaboration. Perhaps, the only exemption was the case of Ethiopia which was able to defeat Baratieri's Italian Army and its Eritrean allies at the battle of Adowa. But as it is often said, "a tree cannot make a forest". Also worthy of note is the resilience demonstrated by the Opobo Kingdom by King Jaja and his men. The Europeans transcended most of the resistance in Africa to establish their dominion over Africa. It is therefore true to say that Africa succumbed to the quest of domination by European countries because of the problem of capacity and thus bowed to the superior fire power of the European countries. In sum, the incapacity of Africans as earlier noted was a product of lack of cooperation, unity, nationalism and commitment to common purpose.

What is so far clear is that African Nations were subdued by superior European powers. It is also clear that colonialism terminated the African modes of production. Also clear is the objective which motivated the European ambition to subjugate the African continent. Cecil Rhodes a British advocate of colonialism cited in Payne and Nassar (2006:59) gave the European motivation as both nationalism and economic interest. For him:

Britain must find new lands from which we can easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labour that is available from the natives of the colonies. The colonies also provide a dumping ground for the surplus goods produced in our factories.

With that objective, the Europeans set out to colonize their captive societies of Africa. The motive is noted in the extant literature of colonialism. The policy of grandeur, which explains the expansionist quest of Europe in the international system, reveals the domination intention of Europe not only in Africa but also in other parts of the world. Domination, as conceived by European states, was a strategic theme in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The growth of European power during these centuries had enabled Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and other European countries to thrust outwards to take control of Africa, North and South America and some other regions of the world in order to Westernize these areas world and dominate them.

Westernization did not only ensure that countries colonized were westernized, but it also ensured the extermination of their cultures. It has been argued that the Arab, Aztec, Chinese, Mogul (Indian), Persian and

other non-European dynasties and empires collapsed as a result of the domination and shaping of the international system in the image of Europe (Iwara, 2009:60). It is observed that the expansion of the Europeans over the rest of the globe was conceived as "a cardinal rule" of themselves forming an exclusive club for enjoying superior rights to those of other political communities. Apart from the political explanations as to why the Europeans considered it necessary to dominate other peoples of the world, economic explanations also exist.

From the economic fronts are the reasons that scientific and technological advances which sprang from the period of the Renaissance (about 1400-1650) in Europe, brought the Industrial Revolution which began in the mid 1700s in Great Britain and then spread to the rest of Europe, Canada and the United States. The industrialized European countries then saw the need to find raw materials, other resources such as human, and markets to fuel and fund their capitalist expansion. The capitalist expansion invariably promoted colonialism. The result eventually was an era of European imperialism, which subjected Africa to colonial domination.

Whether the political or the economic thesis predominates, is immaterial, the problem is that domination became the result and under which the cultures of African countries were subjugated below utilization for development. The provocative that motivates this discourse concerns the question of why African cultures were as vulnerable as to evaporating their intrinsic values to the extent that recovering them is seen by many as a mission impossible. This is what some scholars have described as the African predicament (Adefuye, 1992:2).

In line with the objective of providing a descriptive insight into the trajectory of culture and its nexus with state capacity building for development in this discourse, the qualitative approach is adopted. The discourse is presented argumentatively and analytically. The discussion of the paper consists of four sections. The first section introduces the subject. It articulates the problem and the motivations which fired the urge to write the paper, as well as the methodology. The second section brings in the conceptual prologue, while the third section discusses the African cultural values and their application for State capacity building, Section four is the conclusion. The paper makes two claims: The first claim is that the growth and maturity of African cultures were stunted by colonialism; and the second is that African cultures are important tools for sustainable development in Africa.

## CONCEPTUAL PROLOGUE

### Culture

Culture involves a set of traditions, beliefs, and behaviour which people express and hold. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO) define culture as involving:

the whole complex of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or societal groups. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, fundamental rights of human beings, value systems, traditions and beliefs (Payne and Nassar, 2006:7).

When the variables of culture relate to politics, they are called political culture. On the other hand, if they relate to economics, they are known as economic culture. The language of the people is also implicated in the culture of the society. A combination of these political and economic attitudes as well as the language of the people, translates themselves into policies and rules in society which govern development behaviour. UNESCO (1994: 16) aptly states that:

the starting point of a culture is its views on creation, the purpose of life and on an afterlife...Naturally, different cultures see the world differently.

If culture gives its people all these values and advantages, Africa can then begin to count its losses and begin to attribute causes in the gap between western countries and Africa especially in terms of level of development. One of the issues debated most passionately among the world system perspective advocates in political economy involves the persistent causes for the growing economic disparity between rich and poor countries. Most of the arguments attribute the causes largely to: colonialism and its legacies; ineffective and detrimental government policies and decisions; political and economic instability; and, sometimes the structure of the world economy among others. This paper adopts the conception of culture which relates the subject to the tradition of the creation of utilities in line with the way of life of a people, particularly, life style in accordance with the creation what the people need based on their way of life as western cultural methods have proved that they are not viable alternatives for Africa.

A view of culture in relation to creation, shaping of value system of society, material and intellectual products as the concern here gives Africans the opportunity to evaluate the impact of the denial of all these variables following Europe's subjugation of African cultures. This denial constitutes a major factor in the precarious developmental condition of African states especially after political independence. The development concern in this paper is one that is sustainable. Sustainable development by the thinking of this paper necessarily proceeds from the cultural values of the people and a shift away from the capitalist driven western systems.

The cultural policy of Nigeria articulates in its preamble the point that culture is:

the totality of the ways of life evolved by a people in their attempt to meet the challenges of living in their environment which gives order and meaning to their social, political, economic aesthetic and religious norms and modes of organization thus distinguishing a people from their neighbours (Cultural Policy of Nigeria. 2007).

The policy accentuates the point that culture is a fundamental aspect of any society. It is along this fundamental aspect that Aligwekwe (2002:33) emphasizes that culture has three aspects, such as the technological, sociological and the ideological which, in fact, have links with how societies carry out the activities of development. The technological aspect involves the type and quality of tools, materials and techniques used as the means of production and distribution in any given society. Within the technological conception of culture is the belief that as changes occur in the global order, so it becomes imperative that cultures alter their production tools, materials and techniques of human existence to produce what is needed by a given society and make it competitive with other societies of the world and by implication meet up with the new challenges of human existence using its own world view.. The fact that the African cultures were not allowed to grow from their rudimentary stages to maturity eliminates Africa from serious competition for development.

In the sociological aspect, Aligwekwe posits that culture involves the type of relationship people of society operate as they work for their livelihood and organize themselves. For her, the way groups relate could be exploitative, conflictual, characterized by domination, subordination, and cooperation. Unfortunately, African cultures were not allowed to acquire these attributes which at the very least would have given Africa the latitude to channel the energies of the African people for competitive development (Aligwekwe, 2002:35).

It is on the basis of these attributes of culture that this paper contends that culture and sustainable development are inseparable. In view of this, the paper stresses the point that Africa would need to set out to retrace its cultural roots with a view to revamping them to play their historic roles. It is against this background that the paper examines some notable cultural trajectories and their imperatives for development in Africa. The belief is that Africa would learn from the experiences of Asia where the use of national language has overcome the negative impacts of colonialism.

The first of the gamut of issues which inform the analysis in this paper is to examine why African cultures were so vulnerable to evaporating their intrinsic values, to the extent that recovering them is seen by many Africans as a mission impossible. This is what some scholars have described as the African predicament. For Ogudu (2001:46) the culminate effects of history, disasters and the conquest of Africa, plunged Africa into a slum of

despondency and psychological trauma of inferiority complex which continues to characterize African's behaviour till day. Some philosophers in fact argue that the African predicament is ontological (Okolo cited in Ogudu, 2001: 46). For him, the effects of this ontological nature of Africans have permeated almost every facet of life in Africa. This accordingly, in his opinion, has affected the auto centric parameters of African development.

Explaining the process of Africa's cultural evaporation, Okorie (2001:50) states that, usually, in a normal wheel of cultural evaporation, when two cultures or more come into contact, a gradual process of mutual cultural diffusion develops, where each of the cultures consciously and sometimes unconsciously assimilate something or some things of the other cultures. Dominance for him comes in, when a culture demonstrates advanced postures over the other due to its highly developed techniques and media of expression, than the weaker. From this perspective, the western culture was presented as the possessor of a higher and superior culture, while the African culture was presented as inferior culture by the mono-vocal West that controls the intensive contact. The tool employed by the West was to discredit the African culture below acceptability. The implication of this was that the influence of western culture on Africa took a dominating dimension especially during the scramble for Africa which was facilitated by the Berlin Conference of 1885. Within this development, Africa was caught in a quagmire of new cultures, ideologies, attitudes and values. It was against this background that Africa lost its traditional or cultural trajectories of development as the era of colonialism and the subsequent neo-colonial situation sets in.

### Hegemony

Whereas hegemony is the domination of one system over another or others, cultural hegemony is the over bearing influence of one culture over another or other cultures, leading to cultural extermination. This can be properly understood when we examine African colonization and neo-colonization by western powers. At the pre colonial times, there were African political systems which delivered the responsibilities of government to African societies. Thus, there were African governments in Oyo, Benin, Ashanti, Igbo, Songhai, Mali, Mossi, Zulu, Hausa-Fulani, etc. All these governments were stable before the coming of the Europeans. Colonialism connotes direct administrative control of a country by external powers. The literature of colonialism reveals that before 1921, Britain controlled about 25% of the land and population of the world. This is not to say that there was no colonialism before British colonial domination. Colonialism in fact existed before British domination. In fact, Europeans at a point in time were being dominated by non-European societies. The Turks, Huns and the Mongols at a certain

time in history dominated some parts of Europe and America. In any case, it was during the period of colonialism that Europe expanded beyond the European continent to explore, dominate, and exploit other areas of the world.

As the world moves into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the classical type of colonialism is already giving way for a new mode of indirect exploitation, exploration and domination, implying that colonialism left a permanent legacy of domination. In contemporary times, this is described as neocolonialism. Payne and Nassar (2006: 60) noted that the European conquest of the world societies through colonization transformed the colonized societies forever. Most of them deprived of their major resources they came across. Many of them lost their languages when Europeans imposed their own languages upon those under control. It is no surprise that... the official languages of most of Africa are European ones.

Odugu (2001: 40) summed up the predicaments of Africa arising from colonialism as involving psychological, philosophical and identity crises. Psychologically, according to him, the cumulative effect of Africa's past with regard to historical disaster of the people for instance, was slave trade and conquest of Africa which plunged Africa into a slum of despondency and the psychological trauma of inferiority complex which characterizes Africa's relations with others till today. According to him, the systematic denigration of Africa in general as a people without culture, religion, history and philosophy impacted so much on Africa, to the extent that Africa was quick in accepting inferiority status and in asserting the superiority of the Europeans. This was accentuated by Senghor (1976: 17) when he stated that:

African misfortunes have been that our secret enemies while defending their values, made us despise our own.

On philosophical grounds of the crises, Odugu (2001:42) contends that the inferiority accepted tacitly by Africans casts doubt on the complete humanity of the African, in terms of equality with others. Coupled with this was the denigration of the African religious, cultural and social institutions purportedly regarded as inferior in relation to that of the white. Not even the Bantu philosophy which was an effort by Placid Temple who was able to assert that the behaviour of the African is motivated by his own principles, could reverse the philosophical axiom (Placid Temple, cited by Odugu, (2001:41). Although, Temple's work, according to Odugu became an inspiration for many philosophers who took it as a paradigm for African philosophy, the identity crisis, according to the argument, reduced the confidence of the average African on Africanity. The implication being the European cultures shaped and re-oriented African people to the extent that they lost confidence in their traditional values and sense of nature.

Early resistance to white's cultural domination and the realization that blacks had certain qualities, which made them more spiritual, resulted into certain movements including a movement associated with Leopold Senghor of Senegal. Senghor (1976) affirmed the values of the traditional African culture, stating in his "Negritude and Humanism", that they are positive and not the other way round as portrayed by the colonialists. This puts to question the interest behind the scene of the European intervention in Africa's life styles. Again, the clog in the wheels of African life styles eventually raises some doubt over the economic, political, and civilization theses prevalent in the extant literature of colonialism. The economic, political, and civilizing missions are perhaps means to an end, which appears to be, to unleash the white's supremacy on Africa and other peoples of the black race. The implications of the European intervention are very grave denying Africa its self development, uniqueness and stability because the driving forces of their attainment were dismantled early (Adefuye, 1992:16).

## Development

Since the emphasis of the paper is largely on African development, it is important to determine what the paper considers as development. Generally, the concept of development enjoys definitional pluralism. Some writers actually confuse development with growth. When people talk about development, especially national development, the reference is about increases in the Gross National Product or the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), otherwise known as "economic growth". For Olopoenia (1998:6), improvement in a country's GNP or GDP does not actually mean development. For him, a country may be experiencing economic growth without development because the fruits of growth have not been equitably distributed throughout the society. To him, for growth to be accompanied with development, the increasing public resources must be instrumental to greater generalized access to basic needs of life.

While one cannot deny that some level of development or growth could be registered using the GNP or the GDP criterion, since it could be as a result of expansion of economic activity, but this could merely be growth rather than development. Development however, as conceived in this paper, represents an integral process of widening opportunities for individuals, social groups and territorially organized communities at small and intermediate scales, and mobilizing the full range of their capabilities and resources for the common benefit in social, economic and political spheres. What this means is that development along this line is what can be regarded as sustainable development. For Africa to experience deve-

lopment, it must do so with its cultural medium of thinking and planning because of the magnitude of participation required.

## African cultural values and their application for development

The pre-colonial African communities, contrary to European thinking had cultural values which regulate relations between communities, and between communities and the people, and between people and people. These values, which have eventually become stunted and some even totally lost due to European intervention, include: language and conceptualization; religion; sense of community life; social capital development; and, African democratic systems.

## Language and conceptualization

The significance of African traditional languages and conceptual building for development planning in Africa cannot be over emphasized. African languages, we recall were as a result of colonialism stunted from growing and maturing. The stunted growth of African languages makes the African languages not strong enough for possession as a medium for thinking and planning of African development. This situation eventually means that the Africans were denied the language that they would have completely manipulated for effective thinking and planning.

Thus, the African logical thought or ideas embedded in the cultural experience of the African communities were lost and rendered irrelevant for development thinking for Africans. Perhaps, a few illustrations found in the thinking of Obermeata (1992: 13) would suffice. He observes that there is always the problem of translations of English to local languages or as a medium for instructions. This, according to him, is that every culture has its thought pattern and attempt made to transplant the thought of one culture to the other, using language translations, displaces the idea anticipated. For instance, in his research in the South West of Nigeria, he asked, "Which word completes the following statement? As White as..." He gave five options, (a) cloth; (b) day; (c) cotton wool; (d) snow; (e) yam flour. Out of the 527 persons used for the survey or who answered the question, 211 persons who gave the answer from their Yoruba experience said "cotton wool". While 193 persons who gave the answer from their English experience said snow. Thus, the research confirms that linguistic propriety in Yoruba may differ from that of English Language. This affirms that every culture has its thought patterns which condition the way the people organize production, trade and other development activities.



**Table 1.** Showing the subjugated West African Languages.

<b>States</b>	<b>Official Language</b>	<b>Some of the Largely Lost Traditional Languages</b>
Nigeria	English	Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, Efik, Lokaa, etc
Gambia	English	Mandika, Wolof, etc
Ghana	English	Akan, Dagaare, Waale, Ewe, GA, etc.
Liberia	English	Krega, Mande, Kwa, Mei, etc.
Sierra Leone	English	Krio, Mende, Temme, Kono, Kissi, Susu, etc.

Source: Derived from various internet sources.

This also suggests that instructions for development may differ from language to language, meaning that the development problems of African communities first of all start from the language used for policy making, production processes and other economic and political activities. For instance, there is a general saying in Africa which goes thus; this is part of the problem many Africans using English and French languages face.

What then has Africa lost in terms of languages? Greenberg (1963) classified four major language families of Africa stunted by the European invasion. These are:

- a. Afro-Asiatic, formerly known as Hamiti-Semitic, spoken in North Africa and part of East Africa.
- b. The Nilo-Saharan spoken in much of central Africa and East Africa.
- c. The Niger-Kordofanian, which are spoken in West Africa, Central and Southern Africa.
- d. Khoisan family of languages spoken in the Southwestern flag of Africa and around Namibia.

Although some people may argue that some of these languages are still being spoken in Africa, the point is that such languages are rendered too circumscribed to exist as viable tools or factors of development. Another point is that because the languages were not allowed to mature, they seem to have lost the capacity to facilitate development thinking. This means African States would have to facilitate research on African languages in African Studies Institutes.

African cultural values were tools of development in the pre-colonial era in Africa. For instance, African conceptions were used in the pre-colonial era. In the agricultural sector where many Africans were engaged, language was used to characterize seedlings, describe planting processes, explain production of food crops, describe its consumption and conduct trade relations. These processes can be modified traditionally to encourage auto-centric practices and participation in the sector. In the area of traditional medicine, the traditional herbalists could use the African languages to describe doses, ailments and application, and conceptualize the typology of herbs and their application. Not only was language and conceptions used for production of goods and services in the pre-colonial times, but also used for traditional

education in various occupations such as farming, blacksmith, trading, weaving and other vocations in African societies.

The arrival of the colonial powers ensured that the African languages were discouraged, at least not used in teaching and learning as English was proclaimed as the official language. Alexander (2008:27) recalled that the colonial administration in Nigeria in 1882 issued an education ordinance making the speaking, reading, and writing of English compulsory in all schools. This ordinance subjugated the Nigeria languages (Table 1). The same problem was unleashed on other African languages throughout the British West Africa, For instance, the Anglophone West African states largely lost the following languages:

In the contemporary times, the traditional languages could be equipped and used as instructional medium in education for teaching and learning in primary, secondary and university levels. This step could help not only to address the falling standards of education in Africa, but to equip the languages for thinking and planning development. African languages could be used to make government policies and public laws so that they are well understood and obeyed. English language is spoken by about 15% of Africans, (Alexander, 2008: 15), while some misinterpret English. For instance, in Gambia, like other states of Anglo West Africa, people would say "I am coming" while "leaving". Some use the same pronoun (He or She) interchangeably. All these and many more problems do not make for effective communication that can facilitate development in a competitive world.

In spite of the high incidence of language diversity, a huge number of Africans do find themselves having to live in places other than their original abode and they conveniently possess some other languages, which makes the question of multiplicity not very tenable. In Nigeria for instance, Igbo and Yoruba, usually spoken by about 50% of Nigerians both possess a large number of words that are similar. For instance, table two shows us some of these similarities that can result in national of sub-regional language (Table 2).

### **Sense of community life**

African traditional communities were quite noted for their

**Table 2.** Igbo and Yoruba cognates of common lexical.

Igbo	Yoruba	English
Obi	Oba	King
Miri	Omi	Water
Ewu	Ewure	Goat
Ogede	Ogede	Plantain, banana
Odo	Odo	Mortar

Source: Derived from Alexander, University of Ibadan, (2008:10)

effective organization of community development. A very popular African proverb which accentuates the sense of community says “Go the way that many people go”. African idea of security and its value depends on personal identity guaranteed by the community. The community is the custodian of the individual who in turn owes the community his loyalty. The community centre, village square, traditional place of congregation and tutelary deity, often have shrine for communal worship. The community is believed to be God-made avenue for human development and therefore is the custodian of the individual.

The community is an ancestral system on which the identity of the citizen anchors. Without community there is no life in Africa. It is considered that a man without lineage is a man without citizenship, without identity and therefore without allies. In other words, the community offers Africans the psychological and ultimate security just as it gives its members, both physical and ideological identity. In Africa, there is the mentality that the community as an entity remains while individuals as persons come and go. African communities aim at producing and presenting the individual as a cultural bearer. In this case, culture is a community property and therefore must be community protected (Davidson, 1969: 31).

Within the context of the community and the individual, it is believed that the prosperity of a single person does not make a community rich. Also, that in African community, “poverty” is a foreign concept. This goes with the fact that even if a community is so seen as poor, it may not have beggars. The community attitude to work was another important factor of the community in Africa. The direct labour approach to development projects comes to play here. This contradicts the western cultures, which adore individualism, especially individual accumulation of well at the expense of the community. Of course as we know, corruption which has crept into African states is a product of western individualism.

This happens especially under capitalism. The individual accumulation over the years in the new states of Africa has been the cause of the dreaded phenomenon of corruption. Invariably therefore, corruption is an imported scourge into Africa. Prior to the colonial intervention in

Africa, life in Africa was based on the philosophy of “live-and-let-live”. This philosophy was based on the concept of the concrete community and of clan. The inter-community relationship is realized in the interaction between individuals of different communities, while intra-community relationship is based on personal relationship within the community. The traditional African humane living sees living among African people as an idea defined as a way of life emphatically centered on human interest and values characterized by consideration and compassion for human beings.

African sense of community life could be developed into large scale community cooperative societies financed by Micro-Finance Banks or Community Banks established by government for the purpose of enhancing small and medium size enterprises for the people. This type of opportunities would reduce the rate of migration to other continents of the world in search of the so called “greener pastures” and invariably reduce brain drain.

### African religion

In spite of the declaration by European colonizers, that Africans were fetish, there are abundant evidences to show that Africans had an idea of the Supreme Being prior to the arrival of the European missionaries. This is reflective in the fact that Africans had encounter with God even before the arrival of European missionaries. Religious historians have noted that the Portuguese missionaries failed to enter into religious or cultural dialogue with Africa in their quest to miss ionizing Africa (Sannah, 1993). This is also true of Arab Islamic missionaries that missionized the sub-Saharan Africa. They totally neglected the fact that the religious heritage of the African people like any other peoples is a gift from God. Such gifts from God to the peoples of the world sometimes differ significantly from culture to culture. Even if natural resources of the different peoples of the world are similar, their processing to satisfy the needs of the people differs from one place to the other. In Africa, apart from Almighty God, there are other goddesses or angles of God which relate with economic utilities such as farm products. For instance, agricultural products such as cassava, yam, beans, rice and so on, even though they might be the same in their raw stages are prepared differently and named according to cultural values. Thus, the traditional African people have delicacies that are purely African. Most of these delicacies such as breyanis, tagines maize-grain porridge and aromatic curries are woefully represented on the world culinary due to European intervention. Some of these naturally endowed products are celebrated traditionally in Africa. The belief in these celebrations goes a long way to reinforce the people for greater performances and hard-work for subsequent development. For instance, the new yam festival in Africa is a way of thanking the Almighty God for

the gift of bountiful harvest. Although, one may say that such festivals are somehow being held in Africa, but such ceremonies are not usually full blown as they are lacking in motivation and enforcement which motivate activities in the area of agricultural production. It can be recalled that western civilization led to the rural-urban population drift, and the neglect of traditional ethos. We can go on and on again and again to count Africa's losses of these cultural values.

There are certain indices, which make African religion more rewarding for developmental activities of African states. One of them is to look at the dispensation of justice where some level rightness is necessary. In Courts of Law in Africa, the Bible and the Quran are used to swear or take oath that what they say in court is true before the court of law. But Africans general belief that one can swear with the Bible and Quran and no harm can come out of it. Rather, what Africans fear is swearing in the name of African Deity that they belief is closer to them and therefore more effective. The fact is that Africans do not swear by their gods unreasonably, but they can do so with what they consider as foreign gods. This does not mean that African traditional religion does not have disadvantages. The Chief Priests in some cases act extra-religiously. But in the balance, it is important for African states to promote African religion especially in oath taking to promote transparency and accountability in government

### **Africa's social capital development**

The challenge of unemployment in Africa is one that the continent of Africa is faced as we inch deep into the twenty first century. There are new dawn of questions concerning unemployment, poverty, and well-being of the African people. The African traditions before the coming of the colonizers were those in which families and communities fully employed the people through the traditional occupation system. In other words, under the traditional occupation system, populations were not redundant. In fact, it was un-African to be unemployed. The coming of the European colonizers, revised this trend of Africa's value of employment of the people on traditional occupational lines such as farming or employment in agriculture, carpentry, tailoring, blacksmith, horticulture, and so on. Since the dawn of western civilization in Africa, the responsibilities hitherto carried by families and communities were transferred to the nation state.

The nation-state under the European arrangement or culture is the depositary of the ultimate role providing what they describe as good life to its teeming population through the provision of employment, social amenities, infrastructural development, and managing the ultimate lot of its citizens generally. As Payne and Nassar (2006: 83) noted:

The nation-state, which since the treaty of Westphalia (1648) has been the political institution on which mankind has relied on the wide variety of benefits (whether it be political, social or economic) has been placed under enormous pressure.

Meanwhile, the nation-state in Africa is not properly equipped to assume its historic responsibility in line with the way Max Weber and other classical authors describe state responsibility. In Max Weber's terms, according to Payne and Nassar (2006: 85), the nation-state is:

an organization composed of numerous agencies led and coordinated by the state leadership (executive authority) that has the ability or authority to make and implement the binding rules of all the people as well as the parameters of rule making for other social organizations in a given territory, using force if necessary to have its way.

Unfortunately, the European created nation-state in Africa is unable to fulfill conventional expectations. It also cannot provide fulfillment in an average traditional African society relative to what was obtainable before the introduction of the European nation-state's system.

The point however is that the subjugation of the ideals of the traditional African society and its replacement with the western nation-state, displaced Africans from their traditional way of human development. Therefore, it is arguable that the African traditional society system which had a simple and more rewarding method of human capital development would serve a better purpose for Africans.

At the pre-colonial times, traditional education was based on the vocations of parents. Thus vocations such as carpentry Blacksmith Traditional medicine Bricks laying and so on were professions handed down to children by way of training. These various vocations or professions enable Africans to carry out the production of goods and services in African societies before the European intervention.

It is imperative for Africa to start encouraging the development of these vocations, especially those that are technologically driven, such as Blacksmith and African Art and creativity to continue with their technological innovations, to bail Africa out of technological dependency in the future. Africa is blessed with natural resources of various types, but unfortunately these bountiful natural resources are thrown to the faces of international economic actors at give away prices (Nwoke, 2013:21). Apart from crude Oil, Africa is blessed with mineral resources such as Asbestos, Fireclay, Graphite, Kaolin, Manganese Limestone etc. The government of African states could encourage the production of equipment or tools which had begun with the Blacksmiths in the pre-colonial period for processing Africa's natural resources. This will reduce Africa's dependence on

foreign technology owners, develop viable social capital, and then improve the capacity of the African states to develop.

### African democratic systems

The traditional democratic systems of Africa have proved more suitable for African States than the western democratic system. Africans have a more peaceful democratic system of succession. Under the western political systems, there is so much dissipation of energy for leadership recruitment which in some cases is based on competitive processes that are utterly zero-sum (winner takes all) syndrome (Eteng, 1997:8). This definitely cannot be said to be as rewarding as leadership recruitment predicated on long year of total observation of a person's behaviour and quality of life in society, coupled with leadership orientation and history. African leadership recruitment is an ever ongoing system; it is not swift like the western system. But during colonialism, the colonial masters especially British colonial rule in West Africa, created warrant rulers, a situation that heralded antagonism in the choice of political leaders. Western democracy brought ascribed leadership to Africa which generated all kinds of manipulations by political actors and their godfathers including the "purchase" of public offices. Certainly, the western democratic system which is strange to Africa cannot match a system characterized with peace, patience and resilience. It is time for Africa to start reordering itself, even if that would mean a temporary setback for us to bounce back strongly in due course.

The African democratic experience can be used to avert the intensity of political competition and control of State power (Ake, 1996:5). It can be applied by institutionalizing the responsibility of King Makers, so that the criteria of choice-making would be properly defined and leadership training made more formal and attached to the State. The African traditional leadership recruitment takes a number of factors into consideration such as honesty, modesty, competence and integrity (Akinjide, 2010:8). Thus, leaders do not emerge in traditional Africa because they have acquired so much money to manipulate election processes.

### Conclusion

The development problem of African States is largely traceable to the destabilization and decimation of African traditional trajectories of development by western colonization. African States' efforts to develop, using western methods imposed on Africa have so far not yielded appreciable results. The paper accentuated the challenges posed by the loss of African values, such as language and its functions, sense of community life which

would have developed an ideology of State organization, the African democratic system associated with orderly succession of leaders, religion, and the character of knowledge and skills in African vocations among others. The emphasis here is that, for the continent of Africa to achieve sustainable development and uniqueness, the revival of its truncated trajectories of development would be a necessary step to reviving African development. The paper articulates the point that 'colonial overstretch' is no longer necessary as it continues to lose salience. Rather, Africa should reequip its cultural values in order to boost its States' capacities for development.

### Conflict of Interest

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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*Full Length Research Paper*

## **Democratisation process and governance crisis in contemporary Nigeria: A re-examination**

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The minimalist conception articulated in the advanced democracies of the West, and typified by liberal political theory and thereafter im(ex)ported to Africa hook, lines and sinkers have not produced the desired 'fruits'. Going by the waves of democratic upheavals in most part of the continent, the kind of procedural, formal or institutional democracy, which stresses political rights, focusing on elections and multi-partyism has been practiced in Nigeria in all its forms with, for the most part, the fear and fate of the citizenry exacerbating by the days. This paper investigates the political history of one of Africa's most influential and forlorn democracy – Nigeria – within the ambit of competitiveness and western democratic practices. The paper observed that ever since Nigeria attained independence in 1960, despite several elections and democratization processes, records show that one of her major challenges is achievement of good governance through democracy whether in the Westminster model or presidential system. The study also found evidences that the prevailing opinion on Nigeria's democracy is that even though confidence that election can ensure integrity of governance and accountability is rife, such confidence has actually waned due to the protracted history of mean electoral practices. The paper concluded that integrity of elections, among others, is critical to ensuring true democracy and good governance in Nigeria.

**Key words:** Governance, crisis, democratisation, Nigeria

### **INTRODUCTION**

Nigeria's history as a postcolonial nation has been marked by some dramatic and significant developments. At the time of independence optimisms were freely expressed about the new nation with the promise of a model of economic, political and social development worthy of emulation by other nations in transition in Africa and perhaps beyond. The sanguinity appeared appropriate of the new Nigeria, considering its well-established

bureaucracy, fashioned after the British Westminster system of parliamentary democracy and bounty mineral deposit waiting to be explored (Olaiya, 2013). However, the excitement and optimism had hardly waned down when 'Nigerians soon found themselves embroiled in all the problems and turmoil which have beset most postcolonial nations' (Geddes, 2010:1). As Whitaker (1991) aptly pointed out:

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*Widely heralded in 1960-independence year-as a testing ground of democratic capacity in Africa, Nigeria subsequently experienced a serious breakdown of civil order, partisan rejection of constitutional arrangements, several coups d'etat, civil war, and out of five heads of state, the assassination of three and the exile of a fourth. Gross idealisation of Nigeria's democratic prospects gave way to deep despair. Perhaps both extremes of attitude stemmed from the same naive conception of political development in Nigeria as a straightforward (if troubled) process of transfer of institutions from Western to African settings (Quoted in Geddes, 2010:1).*

In the immediate years after independence, the setback to democracy began and quickly escalated from the dregs of the upheavals of pre-independence politics of regional partisanship. In the struggle for retention and/or ascension to power between 1962 and the 1964 general elections, tribal or ethnic sentiments were freely deployed by politicians to whip up support and the political base for the regionally and ethnically based parties and contenders were the respective regions (Nwankwo, 1984:6). In the aftermath, it became clear that adherence to the basic rules of democracy by the book was not enough to guarantee sustainable democratization in Nigeria. As Post and Vickers described the turbulent 1964 election:

... the institutional trappings of the democratic electoral model of the Western world were faithfully reproduced. Electors were enumerated and registered, candidates nominated, and security arranged. Parties set organisation machinery in motion, issued manifestoes, and even signed pledges ensuring non-interference in the campaigns of rival parties [but] ... the parties ignored or only paid lip-service to electoral provisions laid down by the administration. In place of these provisions others, designed to give grater assurance of success at the polls, were adopted. Thuggery (a term used by Nigerians to describe beatings and killings) and rigging (another term meaning illegal alteration of administrative procedures to influence the election outcome) became favoured methods through which the parties gained and maintained support (Post and Vickers 1973:3).

Worse still, with the widespread electoral process manipulations and disenfranchisement of opposition as well as the attendant violent 1965 regional election in the Western Region, the stage, according to Geddes (2010), was set in January 1966 for the first of Nigeria's military coups. The event that purportedly triggered the coups essentially cast doubt in the minds of the people as though election is synonymous with violent attacks thus giving a picturesque of democracy as antithetical to development. Yet, there is no conceivable alternative to democratic rule. As Finer (1997) pointed out, there has been no form of rule most equivalent to democracy in forms of governance even from ancient Mesopotamia to

the modern times.

## METHODOLOGY

In an attempt to grope for factors afflicting the integrity of the Nigerian democratization process, the authors relied on both primary and secondary data sources. Informative Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with randomly selected political office holders to elicit information and why the democratization process is in question in Nigeria. Heads of Political Science Departments in selected universities were also interviewed on democratization process in Nigeria and how this has impacted on governance. Furthermore, few members of House of Assembly in Osun State, Nigeria were also interviewed. The National Orientation Agency Director was also interviewed to elicit facts about Nigerian democratization process and how this has impacted on governance and administration of the Nigerian state. For triangulation, data obtained from interview sources were complemented with those from focus group discussion. The Nigeria political history were also examined from perspectives from extant literature

## Defining democracy

A settled definition of democracy is perhaps non-existent as democracy appears to connote a classic example of an 'essentially contested' concept (Gallie, 1956). The International IDEA (2005) argued that 'there is not now, nor is there likely to be, a final consensus on its definition or full content'. Perhaps it may be more convenient therefore to start off this paper by groping into what the concept of "democracy" is all about. In the words of Wiston Churchill in the House of Common (1947) "democracy is the worst form of government except all those forms that have been tried from time to time". Giovanni Sartori in his Democratic Theory also asserts that – democracy is more complex than any other political form.

One of the most difficult questions to answer satisfactorily is: What is democracy? To Pickles (1971), linguistically, the word simply means government by the people. However, this definition leaves a great many problems unsolved. No known political system at any time, whether democratic or not, has ever provided for all the people even to elect the government, much less to exercise governmental powers.

In different times and countries, citizenship has been restricted on a number of grounds. Age, sex, property, social status and sometimes colour and religion, have all at one time or another barred certain people from the enjoyment of political rights enjoyed by others. At times, the denial or restriction may be logical and common – sense ones, for instance, the denial of vote to children and the insane on the ground that they are incapable of taking responsible decisions. But many restrictions seem to have been based on prejudices which the political climate of the time, was taken for granted as self-evident truths.

For instance, Gladstone (1892) was opposing women's suffrage, when he remarked:

"The fear I have is lest we should invite her unwilingly to trespass upon the delicacy; the purity, the refinement, the elevation of her own nature, which are the present sources of its power?"

Put differently, Gladstone's view, politics as a dirty game and men must decide on behalf of women whether the latter were too pure to be involved in it. In Great Britain for example, women did not have full suffrage rights until 1929 while French women did not obtain them until 1945. Yet, there was "democracy" – government of the people by the people.

Strictly, if the term "government by the people" is taken to mean the formulation and carrying out of national policy by the whole electorate, then it has certainly not existed and is unlikely to exist in future. In a true sense, it has been interpreted in practice to mean government by some or by a few on behalf of the rest. One difficulty in defining democracy arises from the fact that political systems are in continual state of evolution. Things that are inconceivable in the political climate of one period of history become merely possible in another, but so generally accepted that they are taken for granted. For instance, it was taken for granted for years that the British citizenship was given at the age of 21. Then this culture began to be questioned and Britons now have the vote at the age of 18.

Ideas regarding what ought to be the scope of governmental intervention in the lives of individuals have also changed and are continually changing. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, democratic government was seen mainly in terms of equality of political and legal rights, of the right to vote, to express differing political opinions, and to organize political opinion through political parties, of the right of elected representatives to supervise or control the activities of the government of the day.

Today, much more stress is laid upon the need for the state to guarantee to everybody certain economic and social rights involving elimination of educational and social inequalities.

In 1949, a United Nations Educational and Scientific Organisation (UNESCO)'s enquiry on democracy by more than 100 scholars received not a single reply hostile to democracy. According to Pickles (1971), probably for the first time in history (says the report), democracy is classed as the proper ideal description of all political and social organizations advocated by influential proponents. A consequence of this change is that the term is now used to describe so many forms of government that there are serious risks of its becoming not merely ambiguous but totally meaningless.

In the essentials of Parliamentary democracy, first published in the 1930s, Reginald Bassett deplored the fact that 'people can employ the term democracy to cover

anything and everything they regard as desirable; and there are even some who use it to cover anything they think undesirable". Even communists often describe their own system as "social or peoples democracies and the system they dislike as 'bourgeois' democracies meaning that their own systems are true democracies.

In many African states for the past two decades, the states' democratic constitutions were overthrown after only a few years of democratic experience and replaced only by some form of authoritarian or military rule. Nigeria also experienced similar military despotism for over two decades. In brevity, democracy is a system of government, a set of institutions that fulfils at least two essential requirements. It must, first, be able to elicit as accurately as possible the opinion of as many people as possible on who shall be their representatives and on how the country ought to be governed. This means as a minimum universal suffrage, political parties, and the organisation of free voting in uncorrupt elections at relatively frequent intervals.

Second, it must provide ways of ensuring that those chosen by the public in fact do what the electorate wants them to do or that they can be replaced if they do not, even between election. See Section 69 of CFRN 1999.

The fulfillment of this requirement entails methods of supervising the work of governments, of keeping them in constant contact with public opinion. In other words, the process of government in a democracy is essentially a dialogue between rulers and the ruled. Perhaps this is where Section 69 of the 1999 CFRN is relevant. It states.

*A member of the Senate or of the House of the Representatives may be recalled as such a member if (a) there is presented to the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission a petition in that behalf signed by more than one-half of the persons registered to vote in that member's constituency alleging their loss of confidence in that member and (b) the petition is thereafter, in a referendum conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission within ninety days of the date of receipts of the petition, approved by a simple majority of the votes of the persons registered to vote in that member's constituency.*

*The question is, how frequent is this section invoked in the Nigerian democratic system? This is very rare.*

How effective the dialogue will be depends on national habits and circumstances as well as on the kind of machinery by which the contacts are maintained. In order to fulfill the requirements of a democratic system, modern democracies, Nigeria inclusive, have evolved a number of complex institutions, and as states come to play more and more important roles in national life, their number and complexity continually increase.

Most democracies at one time or another have to deal with outbreaks, ranging from serious disorder to sporadic riot or demonstration. But while the State retains its



authority, these need not threaten the democratic way of life. Demonstrations, strikes or matches can be warning signs of an evolution of opinion that wise governments will take into account as it was when Jonathan Administration jacked up fuel price from 65 Naira per litre to 97 Naira.

In other words no majority should exacerbate minorities beyond bearing if that can be avoided, for 'revolution happens when evolution is long delayed, Lenion (1949)'. On the other hand, if a minority drives a majority into repressive action, then the price to be paid may be the breakdown of the whole system of democratic government.

It must however be noted that where minorities do not enjoy freedom to propagate their views, there is no justification for describing the system as democratic and in one-party state such freedom does not exist. Conversely, Communist states do not uphold such dialogue. In their eyes, the governmental process is not a dialogue at all but a monologue by Communist leaders who are convinced that their views are the only "correct" ones and that their job is to lead the public to recognise them as objective truths.

All said, the notion of democracy propagated by the International IDEA (2005) appears commendable. While acknowledging the significant and serious debate on democracy and the seeming futility of a definition that can end all definitions on the concept, the body concentrated on the area of significant consensus especially the 'idea that democracy is a form of governance based on some degree of popular sovereignty and collective decision making', which remains largely uncontested (International IDEA, 2005:20). It advocated a tripartite definitional status for democracy along the thin demarcations of procedure, liberalism, and the social rights. According to them, 'procedural definitions of democracy identify the minimum requirements for upholding participatory competitive politics' [while] liberal definitions include the full protection of civil, political, property and minority rights, which are meant to curb the possible negative consequences of democratic governance based on majority rule only [and] social definitions include additional protections for economic and social rights, which are seen as essential for the full participation of citizens in the collective decisions that may affect their lives (International IDEA, 2005). Reconciling these three definitions revealed that democracy essentially means the notion of peaceful competitive political arrangements with some form of popular participation, within the atmosphere of promotion and protection of lives and property and rights of individuals and groups in the polity.

### **Nature of democracy**

We now briefly examine conditions for a representative democracy. In addition to equality before the law and

equal chance of participation in democracy, the conduct of election is a necessary desideratum for the existence of a representative democracy. A democrat must be able to act in support of what he believes an elective majority of his constituency desires; the democratic representative should act in support of what he believes is in his or her constituency's interest; the representative should act in support of what he believes the nation (or an effective majority of it) desires, and the representative should act in support of what he believes is the nation's interest.

The next issue to discuss fully is the instrument that legitimizes the democratic representative and that is, "what is democratic electoral system"?

### **Conduct of election**

If, in practice, the principal right of electors is to choose their representatives and to maintain contacts with them, it is rational then that the condition of choice should as far as possible ensure equality between voters and equal freedom of would-be candidates to present themselves to the electors. The general rule in democratic countries and in all the African countries, Nigeria inclusive, is direct and universal suffrage. It is essential, therefore, that the detailed rules providing for the conduct of elections should, as far as reasonably possible, not impose conditions that, in practice, introduce inequalities. See Nigeria electoral Act 2011. Also see Omoleke and Olaiya (2013) in their book "Legal and Governance issues in Nigeria State Administration. The authors remarked that:

*The rationale for the enactment of the Electoral Act is simplicity to create good atmosphere and legal framework to guarantee electoral system that embraces essential elements of democratic processes such as a relatively equal electoral constituency, freedom and right to votes designing register of voters, regulation of parties and their activities, balloting procedures, transparency in counting of votes, enforcement of electoral rights and pronouncement of result and the candidate winning the election.*

In brevity, what the authors are expressing is that legal framework for the conduct of election, a necessary condition, for representative democracy, covers issues specific to the rules and regulations that are essential for free and fair election.

This necessary condition for election administration can also be referred to as practices based on international standard agreed upon or accorded to by international community.

In essence, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (CFRN) and the Electoral Acts serve to assist electoral administration and conduct of election in Nigeria if the two instruments are respected, enforced and complied with voluntarily.

Herold Laski, in his *Grammar of Politics* published over 40 years ago also lends credence to the characteristics of representative democracy by laying down four essential conditions that a democratic electoral system ought to fulfill. The first is that the legislature should embody the opinion of the majority and minority on great issues of public interest; the second, that constituent areas should be small enough for candidates to get to know their constituents; third, that there must be regular machinery between elections for maintaining contacts with movements of opinion; and the fourth, that voters must be as directly related as possible to the government in power.

Obviously the first condition is relevant to all democratic elections whether under a proportional or a majority system. For an election to result in the emergence of clear majority and minority opinions, the electorate must be organized in such away as to make a real choice possible and it is necessary to be quite clear about what is actually being chosen. Unarguably, electors are not choosing between 'great issues of public interest', or indeed between issues of any kind, because an election does not provide machinery to enable them to do so. Conversely, they are choosing between specific candidates and parties contesting the election, and of course it is the parties that choose the issues derived from their political manifestoes. They offer the electorates a package deal, in which a great many important issues are left unattended to, and they do not give specific undertakings on those that are not discussed. At best, electorates are choosing which of two or more parties they prefer to govern for the next few years.

It is a trite fact that every party in the legislature, whether a majority or a minority, represents, a heterogeneous agglomeration of disparate views, because only a limited number of issues have been discussed, and there are no means of discovering with any degree of certainty what individual calculations of pros and cons have determined individual vote.

In a resumé, for a system to be entitled to call itself democratic, this choice must be between two or more candidates in order to enable the electorates to express preferences. Furthermore, no sane and law abiding citizen should be debarred from being a candidate, if there is any reasonable chance of his obtaining significant support. The other side of the coin, that is, total freedom of candidature could result in such a profusion of candidates that the whole purpose of election would be defeated, because no majority for any coherent policy would be apparent or obtainable. The United Kingdom, up to 1918, and the Third French Republic did not restrict candidatures, and the result was that freaks, jokers, clowns, and eccentrics with no serious purpose presented themselves.

However, certain restrictions may or can be defended, as long as they are intended to provide conditions in which real choice is possible and do not discriminate against serious candidate. For instance, to ban a political

party would be demonstrably undemocratic, unless its policy was to make the democratic system itself unworkable. For instance, in Germany, the Communist Party is banned precisely on the ground that it is not a democratic party and the Germany Constitution (Art 9:2) requires all parties to be democratic.

The criterion usually adopted in some advanced countries is to require prospective candidates to furnish some evidence of public support in the form of a prescribed number of signatures supporting their nomination and some evidence of their seriousness of purpose in form of the deposit of a sum of money which is being returnable unless they fail to pull a required percentage of the total votes.

This safeguard can be criticized on strictly egalitarian grounds as discriminating in favour of rich eccentrics who are prepared to waste their money, and against poor politicians who cannot raise the amount of the deposit. Surely, it has not entirely eliminated freak candidates, either in Britain or France or even in Nigeria. Certainly the system has discouraged many, and the financial hardship imposed by the deposit system is, in most cases, negligible, since supporters in the constituency or the party can advance the money in the confident expectation of getting it back, unless the candidate obtains very little support meaning that, it is this type of candidature that the deposit system seeks to discourage.

Although this system is not a perfect one but it is difficult to find an alternative method that is not open to more serious objections. The American system of primary elections for example, though it eliminates the difficulty in theory by substituting the choice of candidate to the whole electorate, or to a party electorate, tends to make candidates in practice more subject to control by the party machine.

The second characteristic of democratic electoral system is that the ballot must be secret, so that no pressures can be exerted to induce any elector to vote for or abstain from voting for a particular candidate. This is now the general rule in democracies, and it is noteworthy that Hitler abolished it in Germany precisely in order to exert such pressure. But in actual fact, it is not always easy to provide electoral machinery that ensures absolute secrecy. In other countries, such as France, much of the voting and counting take place in villages or district polling stations serving electorate so small that officials and voters all know each other and good guesses can be made as to who has or has not voted for whom.

The third condition is that there should be a rough equality of basic electoral facilities within constituencies. This requirement would cover such things as nearness of polling stations to voters' homes, information regarding times and places of voting, together with some indications of what the candidate stands for. According to Pickles (1971), the simplest ways of meeting these requirements are to give candidate the right to send the

basic relevant information, postfree, to electors homes and for the state to provide facilities for statements by candidates on public hoardings.

The fourth condition is that there should be equality of campaigning conditions. This is possibly the most difficult condition to fulfil satisfactorily. The most important criteria in modern times are limitations on candidates' expenditure on an election campaign, the existence of effective legal provisions making bribery and corruption both very difficult and punishable in the courts, and the provision of equal facilities for parties to appeal to the general public through the mass media of radio and television.

Where these are state controlled, this is possible, and in both Britain and France equality is ensured during election campaigns by understandings between the parties and the radio and television authorities and in Great Britain by the acceptance of similar arrangements by independent television authorities. In the USA, where radio and television are privately owned, politicians can buy time on the air, and in France, politicians can speak to their compatriots from commercial stations outside French frontiers.

In all countries, private resources including party funds, can, of course, also do a great deal to promote the political interests of a party between elections and it is impossible to envisage measures that would prevent this without imposing restrictions on freedom of opinion, of the press and of assembly that no democracy would tolerate.

### **Criteria of democratization process in Nigeria**

By democratization, we mean legal procedure or laid down rules and regulation that a nation wishing to practice democracy must abide with. Furthermore, the political parties, the candidates and electorate are all involved. Some of these rules and regulations are embedded in Statutes and Constitution of Nigeria. The rationale for these laws is to ensure a credible and acceptable election to all, which consequently will support good governance and democracy.

It would be recalled that Nigeria became an independent nation on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1960 under Parliamentary system of democracy. This system went on until January 15 1966 when the Parliamentary system collapsed perhaps due to non-compliance with rules and regulations guiding democracy. Hence the military interregnum which lasted from January 15<sup>th</sup> to September 30, 1979 and the political crisis that engulfed Nigeria between 1964 – 1966 are not unconnected with non-compliance with democratization processes.

As far as democratization is concerned, there are two basic instruments which guide democratization process as earlier mentioned – the Constitution and the electoral Act. The question and concern is: Are the two instruments well enforced? Do the political functionaries

respect the law? Perhaps, this is why the followers could not comply because of the breach of the two legal instruments at times, with all impunity by the political functionaries, political parties and even potential candidates. Ostensibly, these people are supposed to set good examples for the followers/subjects.

However, the International IDEA (2001) in a capacity-building research network tagged 'Democracy in Nigeria' observed that democratization process in Nigeria is still at low ebb. It hinges around periodic elections like a religious sacrifice to the gods while leaving germane ingredients of democracy largely unaddressed. As such it inevitably faces the challenges of advancing 'democracy in a way that is dynamic and sustainable' (International IDEA, 2001:3). The institute advanced that the Nigerian 'democratization process must move beyond elections and address such issues as civil liberties, individual and communal rights, basic freedoms, human dignity, the rule of law and good governance' with a view to enhancing the climate of responsibilities among the citizens and to the society (International IDEA, 2001:3). To achieve this, the institute advocated the concept of 'social compact' to grapple with the peculiar anti-democratisation process currently prevailing in the country. Social compact is a variant of social contract with specific concentration on how the government can ensure social justice that will in turn initiate the process of reintegration of the citizens and bridge the yawning gaps, first between the citizens and the government and second between the elites and the commoners. For Nigeria, the idea is to forge 'a new understanding and relationship between government and the people and among all Nigerians' (International IDEA, 2001). According to the Institute, the new socio-political order for enhanced social justice is essentially needed to foster an inclusive governance approach that will ensure more participation of a broad section of society; promote transparency and accountability; serve as embodiment of the aspirations of all Nigerians; and possess the ability to break the multi-ethnic elitist pact that has silently and firmly prevailed over the socio-political and economic fate in the last 50 years of Nigeria's post independent history (International IDEA, 2001).

### **Electoral values and integrity of governance**

There is a growing concern about the So-called Third waves of democratization process which occurred in many parts of Africa. A germane aspect of these waves is hinged around electoral values and the emergence of political leaders through transparent and well-contested elections as forming the core of democratic governance. It is believed that with the leaders holding the mandate of the people, the voice and interest of the populace would count in the conduct of the affairs of the State. However, concerned individuals and organisations have carried out empirical studies to discover that the prevailing situation

is, for the most part, contrariwise. The International IDEA observed that the confidence that election can ensure integrity of governance and accountability has actually waned (International IDEA, 2007). According to the Institute, the tolerances exhibited by the citizens in order to nurture the nascent democracies in the transition states have produced 'strong leaders' in many countries who 'have veered towards authoritarianism' (International IDEA, 2007:7). In their tolerance of the leaders' who sued for time, confidence and understanding and actually promised better delivery in the economic realm and to eradicate social instability and resolve conflicts, the citizens have produced leaders with ability to manipulate the polity in ways inimical to their plights. International IDEA (2007:7) has also observed that 'in many parts of the world, there is increasing awareness of the gap between democratic precepts, promises and delivery, especially in the social and economic sector'. The Institute reported that even though democracy, with elections leading to representative government, has given voice to citizens but has not necessarily ensured delivery or addressed collective needs' (International IDEA, 2007:7).

Another aspect of democratization process in Nigeria is related to electoral integrity which implies a set of electoral behaviours to promote efficiency in election administration. The conduct of election is a *sine qua non* for any democratic government and governance all over the world.

According to Agboola (2009),

*Enforcement of election integrity package connotes part of mechanism of ensuring that elections are conducted fairly and credibly and any person or institution, that hinders the process is sanctioned.*

As earlier mentioned, the Constitution and the electoral Acts are put in place with a view to nipping in the bud any attempt to undermine election integrity, a necessary condition for democracy. Without mincing words, if the laws are well enforced sincerely with out any political sentiments, such election is likely to be acceptable to the electorate. Having identified some qualities or criteria of democratization processes, we now turn to obstacles and challenges of democratization processes in Nigeria.

### **Obstacles and challenges to Nigeria democratization processes**

Since Nigeria attained independence in 1960, records show that one of her major challenges is achievement of good governance through democracy whether in the Westminster model or presidential system. It would be recalled that the First Republic collapsed as a result of violation of democratic rules and regulations e.g. burning of opponent houses and property, throwing of mace in the Houses of Assembly and disruption of legislative

procedure, etc. Consequently, this led to Civil War and military administration respectively. As we are all aware that military regime is an aberration, hence it is far away from being democratic and worse still it constitutes a clog in the wheel of democratization. This is because the advent of military regimes in any democratization process could constitute a break from the chains of lessons and social education to be learnt by the political actors and their successors. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) forbids the forming or taking over of the government of Nigeria by means other than electoral process. Specifically, section 1 of the 1999 Constitution stipulates that

(1) This Constitution is supreme and its provisions shall have binding force on the authorities and persons throughout the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (2) The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall not be governed, nor shall any persons or group of persons take control of the Government of Nigeria or any part thereof, except in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution. (3) If any other law is inconsistent with the provisions of this Constitution, this Constitution shall prevail, and that other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.

Given the content of this Section, it follows that the advent of Military into the political realm had violated the Constitutional provision by forcefully snatching the democratically elected regime. Hence the military cabal constitutes an obstacle to democratisation processes in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, it is on record that several attempts have been made in the past towards democratization. For instance, the Campaign for Democracy was launched on November 11, 1990 by the following organizations CLO, CDHR, NADL etc. Alao Aka Bashorun was its interim chairman. The Campaign for Democracy was instituted as a response to the long Transition Programme which was replete with massive and gross abuses of human rights of the Nigerian citizens.

Specifically, the objectives of the Campaign for Democracy are:

1. Restoration of the sovereignty of the Nigerian people to self determination, to choose how to be governed, who to govern them and procedure or process through which they will be governed.
2. Right of the people to form their own political parties without interference;
3. Termination of the military rule for all time.
4. The replacement of imposed transitional agencies by independent and impartial transitional agencies including the immediate establishment of impartial electoral bodies;
5. Respect of Fundamental Human Rights, the rule of law and abrogation of all decrees.
6. Termination of economic policies which have caused the people hardship, poverty, disease, hunger, unemployment, retrenchment and illiteracy and
7. Finally, in order to achieve all these the military should

not have to be in power beyond 1<sup>st</sup> October 1992.

The C.D then called on the Nigerian public to disregard the two imposed political parties – Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention.

Obviously, this is one of the inputs in the past to democratize governance in Nigeria which alas did not go down well with the military because it is antidemocratic.

Another challenge that Nigeria has to battle with is how to sustain electoral integrity. Without mincing words, electoral integrity is in question in Nigeria. The previous elections conducted were in doubt or seem to be at its lowest ebb since 1959 to date except the 2011 election which was rated fair if compared with the preceding elections.

In the past, the conduct of elections has been coloured with massive rigging, thuggery, violence, bribery and corruption, self imposed political parties, self imposition of candidates, high handedness of security operatives, partial and partisan election administrators, disrespect for the rule of law, supremacy of party politics over the rule of law, money influence and illegal and unethical behaviour among political functionaries and tenacity of office.

The worse chagrin and worrisome challenge is that the culprits of electoral integrity are protected instead of been prosecuted to serve as deterrent to others who may have similar tendency. Politicisation of such issues tends to disallow law to take precedent over politics. Thus the implication of such situation is that the regulations and rules that is (Constitution and Electoral Act) look like toothless bulldogs because they are being heavily politicized.

Perhaps the socio-political background and low political culture can explain why the political functionaries in Nigeria find it a little bit difficult to imbibe and internalize the principles of the electoral integrity. This is however hinged on weak leadership.

Ostensibly, lack of democratic culture, few committed democrats and low ethical values of the political functionaries/participants, especially the political class are responsible for unbridled violation of electoral laws, and election integrity before, during and post election. The consequential effect of these misnomers is that Nigeria is experiencing political decay instead of political development since 1959.

Lafenwa (2008) lends credence to the foregoing when he asserts that:

*Literature is replete with violation of election integrity, laws best described as electoral offences in election administration parlance*

It is pertinent to mention few of the offences in relation to election integrity. They are:

1. The use of thugs and thugery;
2. Imposition of candidates on the electorate by the

political parties;

3. Disruption of the lawful political Assembly and campaign by the opponent political party,
4. Threatening and prevention of voters from fulfilling their civic duty through the use of thugs;
5. Use of dangerous weapons
6. Falsification of election results
7. Stuffing of ballot boxes with illegal ballot papers;
8. Inflation of votes
9. Return of votes higher than the registered voters;
10. Extortion of money;
11. Multiple registration and voting;
12. The use of security agents to intimidate voters and political opponents.
13. Bribery and corruption,
14. Bias reporting, and
15. Misuse of the power of incumbency

Admirably, the foregoing offences are taken care of in the Constitution as well as electoral Acts and other related Statutes. Regrettably, however, the enforcement of such laws has almost become difficult in this side of the world basically due to lack of political will and heavy politicisation of issues. This gives leeway to blatant violation/breach of the laws. In brevity, the constellation of these illegal and unethical behaviours discredits Nigerian election since 1959.

### **Peculiar findings and panacea for Nigeria's democratization crisis**

The findings from the analysis revealed that the prevailing opinion among the citizens is that Nigerian democratization process lacks integrity due largely to electoral malpractices. Violence and criminality are also recurrent in the election history. For instance, cases of burning property of members of opposition or opposing party in the aftermath of election riots due to alleged rigging of election results were identified as characterizing previous elections from 1962 to 1999. In a focus group discussion carried out in this study among a broad spectrum of community leaders, members and leaders of civil society groups, and arrays of market association members and leaders also confirmed the election malpractices and incapacity of electoral bodies are a dent on the Nigerian democratization process. Arising from these findings, it can be established that unless the Nigeria Political elite, office holders, politicians, party members, and the electorate are ready to follow the constitutional provisions, electoral act coupled with good leadership, the mission of democratization policy that attainment of acceptable and decent democracy may not yield good governance. This assertion lend credence to scholars like Agboola (2009) who asserted that compliance with Electoral Acts is a mechanism of good conduct of election hence an acceptable democratic governance. The International IDEA (2007) also shared

this opinion.

Our position is that the political office holders should see office as a national service which should not be royalised. If this idea is at the back of their minds and intentions, the refusal to accept defeat in an election should not arise and also the culture of using power of incumbency and tenacity of office will be a thing of the past.

1. In view of the fact that a greater percentage of nations in the world would want to opt for democracy as an instrument of good governance, Nigeria cannot be excluded. To this end, all the norms, ethics, laws and statutes that democratization requires must strictly be adhered to if true democracy is to be established. Anything falls short of strict compliance with laws will dent the Nigerian democracy.
2. Furthermore, the political functionaries and political office aspirants must imbibe the culture of acceptance if defeated in an election.
3. Contest for elective position should not be do or die affairs
4. Bribing voters to vote against their wishes must stop.
5. The use of violence and thuggery by Political Parties should stop.
6. Registration fee should be reviewed downward so as to reduce corruption when the aspirants get to office.
7. The electoral officials should be properly educated on decency and integrity of election.
8. The political parties' members should be educated that voting involves preference and civic duty which should not be influenced unnecessarily.
9. Efforts should be made to discourage falsification of results and anybody caught should be sanctioned accordingly.
10. The misuse of the security agents should stop as their responsibilities are to protect public interest and maintenance of law and order.
11. Also inflation of votes should be carefully watched by the Independence National Electoral Commission or whichever Commission is in charge of conducting elections. INEC must be fair, just and equitable in its conduct of election as anything falls short of that is intolerable.
12. Stealing of ballot boxes and stuffing is not civil and should be discouraged.
13. Multiple registration and voting should be carefully watched by INEC.
14. Political party must behave maturedly as instrument of political education and use of thugs to disturb the opponent's political party rally must be condemned.
15. The use of dangerous weapons by political agent should be discouraged and if caught, there should be vicarious liability which is actionable
16. If any of the Political aspirants are eventually elected, be he President, Governors, National Assembly members, House of Assembly members and others like,

Chairmen and Councillors of Local Government, they should bear in mind always that Public interest must come first in order of priority. The welfare of their constituents should always be their concern so as to be committed democrats.

17. All political parties members should imbibe culture of acceptance of defeat if it happens and congratulate the winning political party.

18. Zero sum game should be discouraged. Once you are elected; those who voted for you and those who did not are your citizens and that must be your concern as a committed democrat and

19. Sacking of Ministers/Commissioners because their States depart from the President or Governors' political belief is not symptomatic of a true democracy.

## Conclusion

What we have attempted to do in this paper is to re-examine democratisation processes in Nigeria. To this end, we flashed back to examine democratization in the first Republic and zero it down to the military Administration and to date. We discovered that the Constitution and Electoral Acts are not always faithfully honoured hence it affects democratization processes in Nigeria. In a situation, perhaps hypothetical case where election was conducted to elect party officials and the score was 19 to 15 and yet 15 was picked as against 19. This hypothetical situation is not symptomatic of a good democratization phenomenon or process.

In sum, unless the party leaders in Nigeria are able to set good examples for their followers, in terms of transparency, ethics, incorruptible behaviour, discipline and decency, Nigeria's conduct of election may remain as it has been since 1959. Furthermore, political parties' decency should not only be complied with during the campaign, it must be put into practice through the four-year term in office.

Abysmal and empirical evidences abound to buttress this assertion. We can quickly illustrate some of the attributes or challenges of electoral integrity discussed in this paper especially the main, corruption by referring to Section 88<sup>(1)</sup> of CFRN 1999. See also empirical evidences at pp 43 and 44 of the Nation, Thursday July 19, 2012.

Finally, the lasting solution lies on allowing laws to take precedent over politics and politicisation of issues, otherwise, Nigeria elections and consequently her attempt to democratize may be nationally and internationally discredited because of factors that are avoidable. Hence political decay, instead of political development will continue to be in vogue.

## Conflict of Interest

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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*Full Length Research Paper*

## New Public Management (NPM): A dominating paradigm in public sectors

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**New Public Management (NPM) system has been the dominant paradigm in public administration theory and practice since 1980s, having its affinity with markets and private sector management as the old administrative model has been under severe criticisms for its inability to deliver goods and services to the people. NPM is depicted as a normative conceptualization totally different in many ways from traditional public administration, providing services that citizens value to increase the autonomy of public managers and rewarding organizations and individuals to enhance the efficiency of public sector production. This paper focuses on the introductory discussion of the NPM system which has replaced the traditional public administration system and analysis of the trends, rationales and scope of reforms of the public sector in Bangladesh and African countries. The paper is based on archival research, where secondary data sources have been used and methodological filter was applied to confine the literature. New Public Management (NPM) is a different paradigm of public management that puts forward a different relationship between governments, the public service and the public.**

**Key words:** New public management, traditional administration, public service, efficiency.

### INTRODUCTION

The modern administrative system came into existence in the 19th century. Until the 1960s, the interventionist character of the government was quite evident in production, provision and regulatory activities. The features of this interventionist state were clearly set out by Max Weber with strong echoes from other scholars. Policy-administration dichotomy, rule-based administration, meritocracy, career system, impersonality, division of labor and hierarchy are the essential characteristics of

the system (Peters, 1996). Caiden argued, 'All blamed the dead hand of bureaucracy, especially the poor performance of public bureaucracies and the daily annoyances of irksome restrictions, cumbrous red-tape, unpleasant officials, poor service and corrupt practices' (Hughes, 2003:02). The old administrative model has been under severe criticisms for its inability to deliver goods and services to the people. The new approach, namely New Public Management (NPM) emerged to

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replace the traditional model of public management during the 1980s and 1990s in response to the inadequacies of the traditional model (Hughes, 2003). One of the most influential factors leading to the emergence of NPM has been the historical shift in state ideology since in the late 1970s in advanced capitalist nations towards a neo-liberal formwork, which rejects the welfare state, opposes a large public sector, doubts government capacity, blames public bureaucracy, believes in the private sector superiority and emphasizes market competition in service delivery (Haque, 2003). New Public Administration reforms, it is said, are a common response to common pressures-public hostility to government, shrinking budgets and the imperatives of globalization (Charles, 1999: 1). New Public Management is a vision, an ideology or a bundle of particular management approaches and techniques (Kalimullah et al., 2012). The public management paradigm has the very different underlying theoretical basis of economics and private management (Hughes, 2003) which promises a leaner and better government, decentralization, empowerment, customer satisfaction and better mechanisms of public accountability.

The new approach has brought a radical change in organizational culture, but not without cost. It is the development or application of methodological and systematic techniques, often employing measurement and comparison that are designed to analyze and make the operation of public organizations more efficient and effective. Reforms aimed at improving the quality of public services (Balk, 1996), saving public expenditure, increasing the efficiency of governmental operations and making policy implementation more effective (Flynn, 1993a; Frederic, 1998a).

This approach has problems, not the least of them the disruption to standard operating procedures and poor morale and involves a paradox of centralization through decentralization. To illustrate the point, Kaboolian (1998), Khademian (1998) and Maor (1999) pointed out that giving public managers more authority to manage programs may result in concentrating decisions making in them. Thus, NPM may lead to centralized decision making by public managers, rather than encouraging decentralization in public organizations as it claims. Besides, NPM concerns applying private sector management techniques to the public sector, but the areas of public service and administration are distinct from the private sector. However, the new public administration postulates that public officials should drop the façade of neutrality and use their discretion in administering social and other programs. Moreover, it recommends client-focus administration along with debureaucratization, democratic decision making and decentralization of administrative processes in the interest of more effective and humanistic delivery of public services (Hughes, 2003:15). Many governments and several international organizations have embraced

the NPM as the framework or paradigm through which governments are modernized and the public sector re-engineered to “strengthen the connections between government and the mechanisms, both in government and civil society, that are responsible for how well government works for public service (Armacost, 2000.).

### **Objectives of the study**

This paper is an attempt to analyze the origin and chief characteristic of the new public management (NPM) and a discussion was made on the trends, rationales and scope of reforms of the public sector in Bangladesh and African counties and the extent to which these reforms were influenced by the principles of new public management.

### **MATERIALS AND METHOD OF STUDY**

The qualitative method has been used depending on secondary source which has been analyzed from the existing literature. Methodological filter was applied to confine the literature through segregation criteria of the systematic review to control vocabulary such as keywords focusing on the rationales and scope of new public service management system. The secondary data have been collected from the various text books and published research reports, various works related to public service which is entirely appropriate and wholly adequate to draw answer to the objectives of this paper. Besides, the information has been presented in this paper on the basis of various works, which focused on the public service system. Web sites which were relevant to NPM also followed and collect information used in this paper.

### **THE REASONS OF EMERGENCE OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT PHILOSOPHY**

The adoption of new forms of public management means the emergence of a new paradigm in the public sector and traditional public administration discredited theoretically and practically (Kalimullah et al., 2012). The NPM agenda for service delivery is best understood in the historical context in which it emerged. Generally, there was an intermediate stage between the approaches to service delivery that were associated with the classical public administration that the approaches associate with NPM. It is argued that the traditional model of administration has been replaced by public management as the culmination of a reform process that has occurred in many countries since the late 1980s.

### **Private sector change and attack on the public sectors**

During the past three decades, there has been an unprecedented wave of reforms in developed industrial economies, whose political leaders were under pressure

to keep down levels of public taxation and expenditure, while maintaining high levels of welfare and other public services (Manning, 1996). There were three main aspects of the attack on government a). The scale of public sectors (the arguments was that government handling scale is simply too large, consuming too many scarce resources), b). The scope of the government (arguments was that government involves itself in too many activities), c). The methods of the government (arguments were that bureaucracy is a highly unpopular form of social organization). In the early 1980s, there were wide-ranging attack on the size and capability of the public sector. Government, particularly its bureaucracy, was a source of some unease at the same time, paradoxically, as more services were demanded of it. Reforms in the public sector followed the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 and Margaret Thatcher in 1979 (Flynn, 1997b; Farnham and Horton, 1996; Ranson and Stewart, 1994, Hughes, 2003: 09). These were not, however, simply reforms, rather, the whole conception of the role of the public sector within society was challenged, and the way it is managed has altered as a direct result. There was a greater appreciation of the role of government and the public sectors; that is why, moves towards privatization in its various forms such as contracting-out, reducing government spending could be considered as shedding aspects of government that are no longer parts of its 'core business'. In a number of policy areas, it is important for government to tailor its policies to enhance national competitiveness (Hughes, 2003: 14).

### **Economic theories and changing situation**

Economic theorists claimed that government was considered as the economic problem in restricting economic growth and models backed up their arguments that less government would improve aggregate welfare by improving economic efficiency. So instead of governments forcing people to do things through the bureaucracy, markets were superior in every respect, with words like 'freedom' or 'choice' (Friedman and Friedman, 1980). Several theories have provided the theoretical underpinnings of NPM and have helped shape NPM ideas, in particular public choice theory, principal/agent theory and transaction cost theory (Walsh, 1995; Boston et al., 1996). Public choice theory applied to the bureaucracy, particularly in the earlier debate over managerialism, was public choice theory. In particular, public choice theorists (Niskanen,

1971) have criticized the Weberian bureaucratic model as lacking cost-consciousness because of the weak links between costs and outputs (Larbi, 2003). This gave theorists a plausible weapon to support their views that government is too big and inefficient, and offered a sharp contrast to the traditional model of public administration. Public choice is a sub-branch of economic thought concerned with the application of microeconomics to political and social areas. The key assumption of public choice is a comprehensive view of rationality. Instead of being motivated by the public interest, bureaucrats, like anyone else, are assumed to be motivated by their own selfish interest. Public choice, provided alternatives, the most obvious being to allow competition and choice and to return as many activities as possible to the private sector (Hughes, 2003:11).

Principal/agent theory, the economic theory of principal and agent, has also been applied to the public sector, especially concerning its accountability. The theory was developed for the private sector to explain the divergence often found between the goals of managers (agents) in private firms and shareholders (principals). The theory attempts to find incentive schemes for agents to act in the interests of principals. The activities of agents (managers) need to be monitored by shareholders, by the possibility of takeovers or bankruptcy while the presence of a non-executive board may help in 'attenuating the discretion of management' (Vickers and Yarrow, 1988, p. 13, H: 11). In addition, to ensure their behavior complies with the wishes of the principals, agents should have contracts that specify their obligations and rights. In the private sector, shareholders seek maximum profits, while managers, their agents, might want long-term growth and higher salaries for themselves.

Transaction cost theory; the other key economic theory in the managerial changes. As set out by Williamson (1986), this challenges the notion that transactions are without cost and specifies the circumstances where a firm may prefer market-testing or contracting to in-house provision. There are some transactions sectors for example constructing roads and highways, transportation, public-private partnership etc, which would be less costly if contracted out to reduce administrative costs and provide some competition.

The theories of the 'new institutional economics', particularly public choice theory and principal/agent theory, combined with an ideological predilection among many economists for market solutions, have provided some intellectual coherence to cutting the public service, as well as restructuring its management (Gray and Jenkins, 1995; Hughes, 2003: 13).

### **Technological change**

Technological change affects the management of government. Technological change has many facets

<sup>1</sup> Public Choice Theory refers to "the use of economic tools to deal with traditional problems of political science" (Tullock; 1987) which content includes the study of political behavior (Shughart and William; 2008) that studies self-interested agents (voters, politicians, bureaucrats) and their interactions, which can be represented in a number of ways, such as standard constrained utility maximization, game theory, or decision theory.

which includes, as well as creation of new products, quality improvement and efficiency gains for existing products. Cars, lighting, computers, software - these and in fact nearly all products have been improving in quality while their manufacturing costs remain constant or decreasing; the economy is improving. Besides, with the adoption of forms of e- government (electronic government) technologically driven change is likely to accelerate. The use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as distributed computer systems, internet linkages, new databases could lead to a re-conceptualization of the very way that bureaucracies work.

There is also general agreement as to the actual changes that are involved in moving away from the traditional administrative model. First, whatever the model is called, it represents a major shift from traditional public administration with far greater attention now being paid to the achievement of results and the personal responsibility of managers. Secondly, there is an expressed intention to move away from classic bureaucracy to make organizations, personnel, and employment terms and conditions more flexible. Thirdly, organizational and personal objectives are to be set clearly and this enables measurement of their achievement through performance indicators. Fourthly, senior staffs are more likely to be politically committed to the government of the day rather than being non-partisan or neutral. Fifthly, government functions are more likely to face market tests; in other words' separation of 'steering from rowing' (Savas, 1987). The argument here is that public management is sufficiently different from public administration to be regarded as a new paradigm. A new model of public management has effectively supplanted the traditional model of public administration, and the public sector in the future will inevitably be manageable, in both theory and practice (Hughes, 2003:43).

### **Doctrines of new public management**

NPM is depicted as a normative conceptualization of public administration consisting of several inter-related components: providing services that citizens value; increasing the autonomy of public managers; rewarding organizations and individuals on the basis of whether they meet demanding performance targets; making available the human and technological resources that managers need to perform well; and, appreciative of the virtues of competition, maintaining an open minded attitude about which public purposes should be performed by the private sector, rather than a public sector (Borins, 1995: 12; Sarker, 2005:250). NPM was characterized by policy- administration dichotomy, hierarchical and centralized decision-making structure, top-down approach, and too many regulations (Sarker, 2005:250). The combination of critiques of the inefficiency

of the bureaucracy and the nature of the activist government produced a reform model usually designated as NPM (Hood, 1991). There are other names as well in the literature such as managerialism (Pollitt, 1990), market-based public administration (Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992) entrepreneurial government (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992) and post-bureaucratic model (Barzelay, 1992). NPM calls for changes and evolves in the structure of public organizations that consists of several interrelated factors considered below:

### **Transformation of public sector**

The advent of public management marks a shift from earlier reforms. It is clearer both in theory and in program details than earlier reforms which aimed at tinkering to cut costs. New public management represents a transformation of the public sector and its relationship with government and society (Hughes, 2003:50). Many government agencies are looking for pragmatic strategies to assess their fundamental cost structure, realize a rapid, cost reduction without reducing service quality, enable lasting operational transformation and set the stage for a strategic cost reduction to achieve longer term objectives. On the other hand, the market situation has matured and expanded significantly, and willingness to work with government in new and innovative ways.

### **Production performance of public sectors**

The public sector is that portion of society controlled by national, state or provincial, and local governments. A measurement of the efficiency of public sector production is meant, taking the form of a ratio of the output of goods and services to the input of factors of production. Techniques to improve productivity include greater use of new technology, altered working practices, and improved training of the workforce. Performance measurement estimates the parameters under which programs, investments,<sup>2</sup> and acquisitions are reaching the targeted results. The public sector performance avenues were formulated by the OECD, which claimed in 1991, and that most countries are following 'two broad avenues' to improve production and delivery of publicly provided goods and services (OECD, 1991:11). The first was: "Raise the production performance of public organizations [to] improve the management of human resources, including staff, development, recruitment of qualified talent and pay for- performance; involve staff more in decision-making and management; relax administrative controls while imposing strict performance targets; use information

<sup>2</sup> Office of the Chief Information Officer (OCIO) Enterprise Architecture Program (2007). [Treasury IT Performance Measures Guide](#). U.S. Department of the Treasury. May 2007

technology; improve feedback from clients and stress service quality; bring supply and demand decisions together (e.g. through charging users)". The second 'avenue' is: make greater use of the private sector means includes purchasing, hiring, leasing or any other contractual means of engaging suppliers in the provision of public services to the public. Of course it is needed to promote a dependable, efficient, and competitive and open public procurement system for contracting out the production of publicly provided goods and services and contracting in intermediate goods and services; and, end monopoly or other protection for suppliers" (Hughes, 2003: 51).

### **Professional management**

Professional management refers to administering the organization where the top management positions and even the lower management position are held by professional people whose who have professional qualifications, administrative and technical skills and also the good amount of experience in managing business affairs. It is the practice of invest financial professionals money or monitor securities and returns on behalf of individual investors, investment companies, or institutions. This is expected to contribute to the sufficient accountable administration (Ehsan and Naz, 2003:72).

### **Target base performance**

Government organizations can arrange target performance, may be for individual employees, for departments or groups, or for all employees. This requires goals to be defined by the organization and then performance targets to be set, later defined as performance indicators (Ehsan and Naz, 2003). A key element of managing performance of the government is to set challenging but achievable targets against meaningful performance indicators. The achievement of these targets is a key element in an organization's duty to continually improve their services and to deliver their aims, objectives and priorities (Komur, 2010).

### **Emphasis on output controls**

Control-systems are mechanisms "for adjusting course if performance falls outside acceptable boundaries" (Davidson and Griffin, 2006), allowing adaptation to change. Control-systems include procedures for "monitoring, directing, evaluating and compensating employees", and influencing behaviors with the objective of having the best impact on both firms and employees' (Anderson and Oliver, 1987). Output-control induces "compelling individual motivation in those non-producers receive no compensation" (Anderson and Oliver, 1987). The output-control system in the public

sector involves objective measuring of results with little direction, creating a semi-autonomous relationship with management. Emphasis on output controls means resources are directed to areas according to measured performance, because of the 'need to stress results rather than procedures'.

### **Desegregation of the public sector units**

This involves the breaking up of large entities into corporatized units around products, funded separately and dealing with one another on an "arm's-length" bases.

### **Provision of contracts and tendering**

This involves 'the move to term contracts and public tendering procedures' and is justified as using 'rivalry as the key to lower costs and better standards'. These are supplied, service or public works contracts, into which the state, municipalities or federations of municipalities, and other contracting authorities, as defined in the procurement legislation, enter with external suppliers. Open competition is to be awarded by the public sector to private based on either the most economically advantageous tender or the lowest price.

### **A stress on private sector styles of management practice**

Private sector style of management practice involves a move away from military-style to uphold service ethic and flexibility in hiring and rewards, and outlining some common business practices such as setting strategies and mission, preparing interest of shareholder and select a transparent fashion these that could encourage effectiveness and innovation in the public sectors.

### **A stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use**

This means as 'cutting direct cost, raising labor discipline means everything from showing up to work on time not falling asleep on the job to carrying out supervisors' instruction and improving job performance, limiting compliance cost including the value of taxpayer time and resources to business and is typically justified by the need to check resources demands of public sector and do more with less (Hughes, 2003: 53).

<sup>3</sup> A transaction in which the buyers and sellers of a product act independently and have no relationship to each other. The concept of an arm's length transaction is to ensure that both parties in the deal are acting in their own self interest and are not subject to any pressure or duress from the other party (<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/a/armlength.asp>)

**Table 1.** Comparative assessment of traditional model of administration and new public management.

Elements	Traditional administration	NPM
Government Organization	Service provided on a uniform basis operating as a single aggregated unit	Break-up of traditional structures into quasi-autonomous units
Control of public organizations	Control through the hierarchy of unbroken supervision and checks and balances	Practices on professional management with clear statement of goal and performance measure
Control of output Measure	Control on inputs and procedures	Stress results and output control rather than procedures
Management Practices		Using Private sector management style
Discipline in Resource Use	Due Process andpoetical entitlements	Checks resources demands and 'do more with less'

Source: Araujo, Joaquim Filipe Ferraz Esteves De. 2001. Improving Public Service Delivery: The Crossroads between NPM and Traditional Bureaucracy, Public Administration, Vol. 79, No. 4.

### Public organization reform for the new public service

New public management is the dominant paradigm in the discipline of public administration (Arora, 2003). It conjures up an image enmeshed with a minimal government, debureaucratization, decentralization, market orientation of public service, contracting out, privatization, performance management, etc. These features signify a marked contrast with the traditional model of administration, which embodies a dominant role of the government in the provision of services, hierarchical structure of the organization, centralization and so forth (Kalimullah et al., 2012). The New Public Service is a reaction to the New Public Management which focuses on the mission of government, and how to determine the collective public interest. Some considerations that should come before cost and efficiency, and that citizen participation are a major factor in decisions to fasten new public services. There is no single best model of public management, but what stand out most clearly are the extent broadly common approaches to public management reform. The model for governance can be to build upon and expands the traditional role of the public administrator, which is called the Old Public Administration, and contrasts with the New Public Management. Following the structure of Reinventing Government for public service, the Denhardt's divide their argument into seven principles. These are: 1. Serve citizens, not customers 2. Seek the public interest, 3. Value citizenship over entrepreneurship, 4. Think strategically, act, 5. Recognize that accountability is not simple, 6. To serve rather than steer (This involves listening to the real needs of the people and the community, not just responding in the manner that a business would to a customer.), 7. Value

people, not just productivity (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2003). All these principles are mutually related, aimed at minimizing the size and scope of governmental activities.

### Comparative assessment of traditional model of administration and new public management

New Public Management (NPM) is totally different in many ways from the traditional public administration. Traditional public administration all over the world failed to take cognizance of some vital environmental forces in spite of its tremendous appeal (Table 1). Accordingly, NPM emerged in response to a number of environmental forces which governments everywhere have faced in the last twenty years (Sarker and Pathak, 2000: 57). First, large and expensive public sectors put pressures to cut programs and/or increase efficiency. Second, there have been massive technological innovations, particularly in the development of information technology, which change government organizational structures and bring trust and confidence. Third, the globalization of economy with increasing competition has become the order of the day. Fourth, it has become inevitable to liberalize the economic sector following heavy burden being imposed upon the national exchequer as a result of mismanagement, corruption, inefficiency in resource management, bureaucratic bungling etc. More importantly, increasing efficiency in resource management is also expected as economic recession and competition simply demand it. Fifth, in the competitive world, the people are demanding quality goods and services. They are now keen to compare services of all organizations (Borins, 1995; Minogue et al., 1998; Hughes, 2003).

**Table 2.** NPM Model and administrative reform in Bangladesh and African countries.

Committees/Commissions	Focus	Recommendations
Organizational setup of Ministries, Divisions, Directorates and other Organizations, 1982	Reorganization and Rationalization of manpower in public organizations	Reduction of the size of the government; reduction of layers of decision making; delegation of administrative and financial powers down the hierarchy.
UNDP-sponsored Public Administration Sector Study, 1993	Civil service	Performance managementsystem; rationalization of civil service structure; elimination of redundant government functions; merit-based selection and promotion; strengthening Public Service Commission Redefining frontiers of the public
World Bank Study: Bangladesh Government That Works Reforming the Public Sector, 1996	Civil service, Public enterprise, NGOs	sector; enhancing level and nature of accountability and responsiveness of public organizations to different stakeholders; streamlining regulations, laws and processes; maintaining an efficient, committed and professional public service Determination of missions of public
Public Administration Reform Commission (PARC), 2000	Administrative structure for improving the quality and standard of service, transparency and efficiency	offices; improving the delivery of services; reforming the civil service; formation of the professional policy making group (senior management pool); reorganizing institutions and rationalizing manpower; restructuring field administration and decentralization; establishment of an independent commission against corruption; establishment of criminal justice commission; establishment of the Office of Ombudsman; reducing wastage and promoting value for money; strengthening parliamentary oversight; facilitating private investment

Source: Farhana and Qiu 2013 New Public Management in Bangladesh: Policy and Reality. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ib.2013.53B032>  
Published Online September 2013 (<http://www.scirp.org/journal/ib>).

### **NPM Model and administrative reform in Bangladesh and African countries**

Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971 after a nine month freedom fight against West Pakistan. Independence also necessitated a major renovation of the public administration system that was archaic, anti-people, and inefficient (Ahmed, 1980). That is why, from 1972 to the present, numerous reform commissions/committees have been constituted in Bangladesh aiming at the paradigm shift from traditional public administration towards new public management (CPD, 2001). Bangladesh is increasingly reforming their public sectors to make them more efficient, more competitive and more customer-focused. Some important administrative reforms in Bangladesh which have the overtones of NPM;

After independence, different government launched reform efforts to shift the paradigm from traditional public administration in modern and with the elements of NPM in Bangladesh. In 1972, Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee was formed, the first attempt, was made to rearrange and unify the civil service structure with a continuous grading system from top to bottom (Table 2). Because of incapacity and partisan activities of the government, a new administration could

not reach success through reform activities because of resistance of public-sector employees of all categories were visible to move towards the recommendations. In 1977, Pay and Services Commission was formed aiming at restructuring a new civil service and pay issues but its recommendations were partially implemented. In 1982 some notable measures were adopted in order to reorganize and rationalize the manpower in public organizations, to reduce the size of government and the layers of decision making, to delegate the administrative and financial powers down the hierarchy, and empower the local authority for rural service delivery. Some issues were implemented, but the majority portions were never implemented because issues of reforms, for example, managerial dynamism, solving intra-service conflict, openness, accountability, and decentralization that were remain elusive in Bangladesh public administration. In 1993, the Bangladesh government formed another 'Administrative Reorganization Committee' in reducing the size and role of public administration. Like other committees, the recommendations did not fully see the light of implementation. In 1996, one of the most crucial initiatives was taken by the World Bank through a study which fixed some targets and called the government for redefining the frontiers of the public sector; expanding the scope of operations for the private sector and

nongovernmental organizations; enhancing the level and nature of accountability and responsiveness; streamlining regulations, laws, and processes; and overhauling the rules and processes and maintaining an efficient, committed, and professional public service. The study was very comprehensive and covered almost all aspects of the NPM model (Rahman et al., 2013). In 2000, the Public Administration Reform Commission (PARC) was formed and the reform efforts by the Public Administration Reform Commission (PARC) were clearly influenced by the New Public Management movement. PARC provided some innovative ideas, submitting 70 short-term and 37 long-term recommendations, including considering citizens as customers, among other things, the improvement of public service delivery, reform and downsizing of the civil service, taking measures to combat corruption, among others (GoB, 2000). Privatization of public enterprises, contracting out of public services, users, reduction of manpower in the public sector, meritocracy in the public service, professionalism, performance standards, citizen's charter, market-based salary structure, devolution of authority to local elected bodies, e-governance, and combating corruption were some of the recommendations that reflected the spirit of NPM to a greater extent (Rahman et al., 2013). But few of these recommendations have been implemented so far in public administration in Bangladesh due to various problems. The Asian Development Bank Report (2007) the problem of implementation of reform recommendations in the following manner (1) outside interference in administrative decision making; (2) politicization of the civil service; (3) nepotism and favoritism; (4) a lack of delegated authority by mid-level and local level public officials; (5) a lack of public scrutiny of public administration; and (6) a paucity of citizen demand for improvements in public administration. ADB Report (2007) also reported, "the lack of significant progress in administrative governance is exacerbated by the failure of successive governments and the civil service itself, to pursue the reform agenda."

At present Bangladesh public service system is overly centralized, unaccountable, inefficient, underpaid, coercive, unethical, rent seeking and non-transparent. Therefore, the reform attempt should incorporate the elements of the NPM model in public administration that are; the rigid, hierarchical, bureaucratic form of civil service which has predominated for last few decades after independence should be changed to a flexible, people and service oriented, market-responsive one. This should not be seen as simply a matter of reform or minor change in management style, but a change in the role of government in society as a whole, the relationship between government, civil service and citizenry (Kim and Monem, 2009). While trying to receive public services, people experience unnecessary harassment, discourteous behavior of the civil servants, who keep customers

waiting for hours before attending to their needs, the members of the civil service are, by and large, unwilling to correct mistakes, and often make unabashed approaches for pecuniary benefits. Therefore, restructuring civil service and other public institutions to restore and sustain their images and effectiveness by bringing about fundamental qualitative changes which should be simultaneously supported by necessary regulatory and legal reform measures and making civil servants truly responsive to the needs and demands of the citizen. In fact, change their mindset in a way that they serve the citizens-the way citizens want to be served rather than the way the civil servants want to serve them. Besides, it is needed to treat citizens as customers based on the principle of NPM consumer right. Moreover, the public service system of Bangladesh suffers from all sorts of institutional shortcomings capacities which could be overcome through promoting and sustaining service system which will remain free from the clutches of narrow partisan political influence and through a strengthening of civil society, private sector and other key governance participants. In addition, encouraging an environment of pay for performance in the public service and an appropriate compensation package and a realistic incentive system must be in place.

In the near future, various changes should take place in a proper public service system in administration of Bangladesh followed by the elements of NPM. Some of the key changes should be: (1) generalist traditions should be changed to specialized generalists strengthening of expertise and openness; (2) from seniority-based promotion, to promotion based on performance evaluation and competition; (4) from inadequate performance management, to strengthening of performance management through more articulated review systems; (5) from frequent rotation of posts to a new practice strengthening of specialization through the career development programs.

However, the NPM approach has been established in some developed countries and disseminated to the rest of the world and also many developing countries have usually only selected some items from the NPM menu. NPM is not confined to the originating countries, but it is a global phenomenon and has also been disseminated to other OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) and developing countries (Hughes, 2003) contend that it is possible for developing countries to adopt managerial alternatives to the traditional model of public management. Since the early 1980s, significant efforts have been made in sub-Saharan Africa toward the reform and transformation of public sector management. Those efforts have been driven primarily by the fact that state bureaucracies in Africa underperform; are invariably too large and corrupt; and lack a sense of responsibility and accountability (Hope, 1997, 2001; Hope and Chikulo, 1999). Perhaps the most influential factor has been the economic/fiscal

crises that the African states have had to endure since the mid-1970s. The specific factors influencing the NPM reforms in sub-Saharan Africa are derived from the crisis of governance that has been plaguing most of the countries in the region (Hope, 2001). Within the context of the NPM, decentralization is seen as the means through which governments are able to provide high quality services that citizens value. Privatization in Africa has taken many forms. It has included the commercialization of government services which are contracted out to an outside agency. Contracting out was increasingly adopted in the delivery of public services including urban services such as solid waste management, ancillary health services such as cleaning, laundry and catering in Zimbabwe, and road maintenance in many developing countries (Larbi, 1997). Besides, a number of sectors including utilities, transport, telecommunications and agriculture adopted joint ventures between government agencies and ministries and private entities in Ghana, Bolivia, and Senegal. The primary reason for pursuing privatization in Africa is that state-owned enterprises tend to be loss-making and divert scarce public funds that could be put to better use in meeting other public policy goals such as better health care and education services.

Although some African governments had, from time to time embarked on civil service reform, for the majority, the efforts became concentrated in comprehensive strategies that were included in the economic liberalization packages of structural adjustment that were facilitated by the World Bank and IMF (Hope, 2001). Downsizing was most widely introduced, especially in Africa closely associated with structural adjustment and autonomous agencies within the public sector were created in some countries. Examples included autonomous hospitals in Ghana, Zimbabwe and Sri Lanka, as well as the hiving-off of the customs, excise and internal revenue departments to form executive agencies in Ghana and Uganda. Performance contracts have been used in a number of African countries, including Ghana and Senegal, for example, particularly in their public enterprises. Other countries, such as Botswana, for example, also employ performance contracts to measure and assess the performance of Permanent Secretaries (Hope, 2001).

Reforming the civil service in Africa through NPM-style strategies is, ultimately, intended to make the civil service accountable, transparent, and responsive to the public in the delivery of public goods and services. The lessons of experience of civil service reform in developing countries, including those in Africa, suggest some mixed results with the application of strategies from the NPM menu (Manning, 2000). Nonetheless, like the developed countries, reforming the civil service in Africa is a work in progress and better assessment indicators will be available over the next few years, and there will be even further gains recorded as a result of the application of the

NPM-type reforms.

### **Criticism of NPM Model**

Holmes and Shand (1995) described NPM as 'a good managerial approach', contending that a good managerial approach is result-oriented (efficiency, effectiveness and service quality). NPM is intended to improve the quality of public services, save public expenditure, improve the efficiency of governmental operations and make policy implementation more effective (Aucoin, 1990). However, a number of criticisms have been leveled at NPM; Savoie (2002) and Singh (2003), who argue that NPM is basically flawed because private sector management practices are rarely adopted into government operations. For them, NPM is inappropriate for the public sector as it has more complex objectives, more intricate accountabilities and a more turbulent political environment than the private sector. Moreover, the relationship between public sector managers and political leaders is of a different order to any relationships in the private sector. In support of the above mentioned argument, Painter (1997) contended that there is danger in using private business models in the public sector because of the contextual differences. Cheung and Lee (1995) noted that NPM ideas have limitations in terms of using private techniques for the public sector. They argue that in the public sector there is not the same degree of freedom as there is in the private sector. General criticism of NPM involves ethical issues. It is argued by Hughes (2003) that perhaps the new managerialism offers greater transparency so that unethical or corrupt behavior can be detected more easily; the greater stress on measurable performance may impose its own kind of behavioral standard. Even though NPM provides transparency for the public sector, it can nonetheless lead to corrupt practices (Barberis, 1998). NPM can undermine ethical standards and lead to corruption that increased managerial autonomy has brought blurred accountability and higher risk for public managers to become corrupt. It's the remarkable criticism ever that, NPM reform model originated in a small group of rich countries, the model may not be directly transferred from them to poorer non-Western countries because of contrasting environmental features such as political culture and practice (Minogue, 2001a).

Polidano (1999) argued that the NPM does not suit developing countries since governments in these countries may lack the necessary expertise and have unreliable information systems. Caiden and Sundaram (2004) noted along the same line that developing countries have lacked the resources and management capacity to adopt rather sophisticated NPM reforms. The NPM principle of decentralization has diffused from rich countries into developing countries, governments in developing countries often retain centralized decision



making. Leading public managers still have authority to make all decisions within their organization. This centralized decision making can generate its own pressure for arbitrary action and corruption (World Bank, 1997).

## Conclusion

The end of the twentieth century has seen a revolution in public administration that is every bit as profound as that which occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century, when Weberian bureaucratic principles began to influence many governments around the world (Kamarck, 2000:251; Huages, 2003:42). Both in developed and developing countries, the NPM doctrine was proposed as an appropriate response aimed at making the public sector administration more efficient, effective and responsive. A number of measures such as small government, professional management, output orientation, performance-based accountability system, performance measures, strategic planning, quality management, contracting out, privatization, output budgeting, accrual accounting, contract employment and so forth have been suggested for improving the performance of the public sector in both developed and developing countries (Ehsan and Naz, 2003), although, the result may increase greater inequality, poor public services and greater corruption. This requires that corruption is minimized, that reforms are made more credible and irreversible. Moreover, New Public Management (NPM) is a new paradigm of public management that puts forward a different relationship between governments, the public service and the public and also effective public service delivery through the building and strengthening institutional capacity, and by introducing results-oriented management techniques. The modern public manager should have discretion in decision making within his or her particular area of responsibility. Unlike the traditional public administrator, who operated in accordance with established rules and regulations, and who implemented the policies of government with little or no discretion and with no direct responsibility, the public manager is a much more active individual, with decision making authority over, and responsibility for, the public service he or she delivers (Falconer, 1997). The new public management system may not be a cure for all the problems of public service, but a wise selection and

<sup>4</sup> In the late 1800s, Max Weber criticized organizations for running their businesses like a family, or what some of us might refer to as 'mom and pop'. Weber believed this informal organization of supervisors and employees inhibited the potential success of a company because power was misplaced. He felt that employees were loyal to their bosses and not to the organization and believed in a more formalized, rigid structure of organization known as a bureaucracy followed a formal structure which was characteristics of appropriate management practices (<http://education-portal.com/academy/lesson/bureaucracy-max-webers-theory-of-impersonal-management.html#lesson>).

adoption of some elements of the NPM may be beneficial.

## Conflict of Interest

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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