



New Public Management reforms in developing countries: the Moroccan case

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Abstract: Since the 1980s, New Public Management (NPM) has been seen as the main basis for public management reforms in the world. Despite published articles on the dysfunctions of this paradigm, several developing countries are still in the process of implementing its ideas. Morocco is among the countries that are still implementing reforms inspired by the NPM. This article attempts to present the major public reform in Morocco inspired from NPM since 1990. Based on an analysis of scientific articles dealing with NPM in other countries, we presented three main factors for implementing NPM reforms in Morocco which are: public debt, the strategy for transferring policies and political factors.

Key Words: New public management, public sector reforms, policy transfer, developing countries, Morocco.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1980, the United Kingdom and the New Zealand have launched a wave of public reforms to modernise their States by the adoption of practices inspired by the private sector. These reforms, gathered under the term "new public management" (NPM), aim to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector, the flexibility of its organisation, and the accountability while caring more about citizen's expectations. Several countries have implemented these reforms with the help of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank (WB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Although the basic theoretical principles remain the same in the world, the application of the NPM has varied from one country to another, depending on the context and the circumstances of implementation of each country.

In Morocco, the essential reason for adopting an NPM-type reform policy has been the heavyweight of the public debt in the budget. As a result, Morocco has launched a series of reforms aimed at modernising the management of its administration at the organisational, budgetary and human levels. Thus, through this paper, we desire to answer the following questions: what are the Moroccan public reforms inspired by NPM? And what are the circumstances of the application of these reforms? To answer these questions, we will begin by presenting the universal trend of public sector reforms since the early 1980s. We devote this section to the context of the diffusion of NPM principles, the different circumstances of its application and the rise of a new paradigm of reform. In the second part, we will study the evolution of the Moroccan public sector since its independence. Then, we will devote the third part by examining the different components of public sector reform compatible with the principles of the NPM paradigm. Finally, we will propose the principal factors that pushed Morocco to implement the NPM reforms.

2. PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS: AN ALL-TIME PROJECT

The public sector reform is always a topical issue. Since the end of the seventies, a recent wave of reforms has appeared in the Anglo-Saxon countries under the name of NPM. These reforms aim to introduce market mechanisms within the public sector to improve the performance of public organisations (Box, 1999). The fundamental assumption of the NPM is that the public sector is inefficient, rigid, expensive, non-innovative and hierarchical, too centralised because of the bureaucratic principles that govern it. Thus, to modernise it, it is necessary to transpose the management methods of the private sector to the public sector (Van Haepelen, 2012), considered superior to those of the public sector. This current finds its ideological origin in the neo-liberal laboratories (Merrien, 1999). They often describe it as a doctrinal puzzle (Hood 1991, Merrien 1999) because of

the diversity and instability of its theoretical foundations.

NPM come up with a large menu of choices (Manning, 2001). This paradigm is characterised by the reduction of the weight of the State and introducing market mechanisms to the public sector to improve the performance of public organisations. This is done through introducing budget cuts, the launching of privatisation waves, the starting of projects in the public private partnership's framework-, and the reduction of the number of civil servants (Hood and Dixon, 2015). The State accompany these techniques by introducing new forms of ex-post control and performance appraisals based on accountability and responsibility that emphasise the centrality of the citizen or customer (Gruening, 2001).

NPM reforms were begun in the UK, which was living in a difficult economic situation. At that time, Margaret Thatcher's government started, in the early 1980s, several waves of privatisation of State-owned enterprises to lighten the State budget and reduce the public sector sphere in the country. Then, many executive agencies with specific missions were created to improve services to citizens while reducing costs through its "Next Steps program". In parallel, New Zealand has introduced similar reforms as early as 1984 to address the financial difficulties faced by the country. To this end, several sectors have changed in their organisation, financial management and human resources management (Boston, 1996). France was among the countries that were later to adopt such reforms (Bezes, 2008). Besides the important weight of its public sphere (it occupies nearly 25% of the active population against 15% on average in Europe), the French administration represented the real simulation of the bureaucratic model. The effective introduction of NPM reforms was noted with the new Organic Law (LOLF) of 1 August 2001, which aims to modernise administrations through results-based management.

Contrary to what its proponents claim, NPM has serious negative consequences that far outweigh the positive results (Diefenbach, 2009). Despite all its buzz and promises, it has become clear that this managerial approach raises more and more questions and problems for public sector organisations and their collaborators with the came of the digital revolution (Hood and Dixon, 2015).

The most critical aspects of NPM are those related to the agencification of the civil service. Indeed, the intensive creation of autonomous agencies has led to increased complexity of their interrelationships and strengthened policy steering difficulties (Van Haepelen, 2012). This tendency to create "single-purpose units" is strongly criticised as it leads to poor coordination between the activities of public organisations and hurt the public administration's communication capacity and resulted in information deficiencies.

While minimising administration costs were among the prime objectives of the NPM, administration costs have raised -no less than 40% - substantially over the 30 years of NPM in UK despite the reduction of third civil service numbers (Hood and Dixon, 2015).

The use of results-based budget documents largely depends on the quality of the information they contain. However, several Supreme Audit Institutions have reported that the quality of the non-financial information in the budgets is not satisfactory (Sterck et al., 2004). The policy objectives formulated in the budget documents are too abstract and vague, and performance information is not specific enough and is not planned over time.

Since the late 1990s, post-NPM has become a generic term (Christensen, 2012) describing the reforms to mitigate the negative consequences of NPM. The Post-NPM is not the only concept that has proclaimed the end of the NPM. We found that the post-NPM is closely related to other "big ideas", such as "Whole of Government Approach", "Open Government", "Neo-Weberian State" or "Era Governance digital " (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2017 in Reiter and Klenk, 2019).

In summary, developed countries have chosen the path of NPM reforms to create "a government that works better and costs less" (Hood and Dixon, 2015). The "relative" success of these experiences prompted International organisations to transpose these reforms into developing countries to speed up their development.

3. NPM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The doubts concerning the NPM also concerned its universal application. In fact, circumstances of the diffusion of NPM principles in developing countries differ from those of developed countries.

Developing countries have adopted the principles of NPM to integrate the private sector in the development of the national economy through foreign direct investment (FDI) to improve their efficiency, rather than opting for weight reduction of the State (Samaratunge, Alam and Teicher, 2008). Today, the international development agencies (IDA) that are submitted to the WB insist on a new condition for receiving foreign aid that is only the implementation of NPM reforms. While the IMF and the WB have had a direct influence because of their financial power, the OECD's function is to pinpoint flaws and propose good practices (Sezen, 2011).

Schick (1998) believes that developing countries should not attempt reforms of developed countries because sophisticated reforms such as market tests and single markets are unlikely working outside developed economies (Minogue, 2004). Indeed, the adoption of NPM principles in these countries may even worsen complexity levels (Hughes and Teicher, 2004). Furthermore, the introduction of performance-based management in a developing country may be very

difficult because of the predominance of the informal public sector.

Thus, "Successful reform depends primarily on a country's institutional and political characteristics" (McCourt, 2002). In fact, Sarker (2006) has proposed four preconditions to ensure the success of NPM reforms in any developing country. First, any country considering implementing these reforms must have a reasonable level of economic development and experience of the operations of markets to ensure that the new reform could be applied correctly. Second, while markets are ineffective without the rule of law, a well-developed judicial system is required to apply NPM reforms. Third, before applying the NPM reforms, the country must have applied the Weberian model to ensure an efficient control system. Finally, the State capacity is a precondition to ensure that the State can take any reform measure decisively using its powerful institutions, its highly qualified staff and its organised administration.

Although the NPM has designed new management measures, the reform assessments of most of the developing countries have shown that government functions are still governed by the Weberian bureaucracy with some traces of the NPM (Manning, 2001).

4. MODERN MOROCCO: FERTILE GROUND FOR NPM REFORMS

At the dawn of its independence, the Moroccan public sector has been the key driver of the country's economic and social development. The Moroccan State has become the leading investor and allowing organised in all domains. This period was marked by the construction of a powerful centralised administration that acts because of the economic relay of a public sector that will soon become invasive (Rousset, 2004).

Then, in the early 1980s, the country experienced a pronounced deterioration in its macroeconomic equilibrium. This is justified by the structural weaknesses of the Moroccan economy (the dependence of agricultural production on climatic hazards, the fragility of exports facing international prices,...) and also by an unfavourable international situation (the rise in the dollar's price, soaring oil prices...). Following this delicate situation, international donors (notably the IMF and the WB) proposed to Morocco a structural adjustment program (SAP) advocating the government's withdrawal from economic and social sectors and giving priority to the private sector to create added value and achieve economic growth. They based the reform of the program on the control of internal demand, the mobilisation of local savings, the optimisation of the allocation of resources, and the modification of exchange rates to maintain the competitiveness of the national economy.

Essentially, the SAP has reduced the country's internal and external imbalances with introducing several reforms aimed at modernising the national economy. However, instead of improving living conditions and correcting the economic equilibrium, SAP has had the opposite effect of contributing rather to aggravating the social exclusion and poverty of the disadvantaged social groups. The employment sector has the most negative spillovers, with an unemployment rate rising from 10.7% in 1982 to 12.1% in 1991. Furthermore, there was a drop in enrolment in primary education in rural areas during the period 1983-1988. Morocco has sought to remedy this situation through successive economic and social development plans that have also shown their weaknesses. In front of this situation, the country has started a series of reforms to facilitate the transition from the entrepreneurial State to the regulatory State through the redefinition of its role (Rousset, 2004).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, awareness of the need to reform the administration has been formalised in government guidelines. Then, the alarm came with the famous diagnosis of the WB on October 1995 on education and administration that issued structural criticism on the organisation of the public service. The Moroccan administrative system has been severely judged, and the WB has specified that the administrative reforms must go towards reducing the weight of the administration through the improvement of its efficiency and effectiveness by budgetary restrictions, compressing wages and restructuring the public service (Boumediene, 2010). This caused an intervention with international organisations, in particular the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), through the National Governance Program (PNG) in 1996. The program makes up a normative device that guides developing countries in their administrative, economic and social strategies to promote State efficiency (Tamkou, 2008). Unfortunately, the PNG has not the desired success. Afterward, the government conceived in the 2000-2004 economic and social development plan. This plan had given an important place to the modernisation of the administration by insisting on its restructuring toward decentralization, the rationalization of the management of the human resources and the improvement of the relations between the administration and the users.

In 2003, the government launched a Public Administration Reform Support Program (PARSP) aimed to modernise the Moroccan administrative system through improving the efficiency of the public financial management, the control over the evolution of the wage bill in the civil service and the simplification of administrative procedures. Profiting from the financial and technical support of the WB, the African Development Bank, and the European Union, PARSP spanned four phases (from 2004 to 2011) with phase-specific measures.

At 2011, the country reached an important step in its process of building the Rule of law with the adoption of a

new constitution in response to the demonstrations of the 20 February movement that represented the Moroccan version of the Arab "spring". Through this constitution, Morocco wanted to establish the principles of democracy, transparency, good governance, accountability and equal access of citizens to public services.

5. THE MOROCCAN PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS INSPIRED BY NPM

The reform in Morocco is an all-time project that follows an often unclear approach and incoherence between policies that generate resistance and socioeconomic obstacles. At the beginning of the 1990s, and following the difficulties of its public finances, the Moroccan State has given up its classic missions as an employer State, centralised and nationalistic aspirations to become a strategist, regulator and facilitator State (Catusse, 2010). As a result, the Moroccan government resorted to "advanced regionalisation" and proceeded with several waves of privatisation. Besides, the Moroccan State has chosen the path of modernisation of its administration and its budgetary management. The Government has also started reforms of its compensation fund to adjust its budget deficit. It refers most of these actions to NPM principles.

5.1. Privatization

Because of the colonial influence, the private sector did not have the means either to develop. At the dawn of its independence, and to create the conditions for strong economic growth, Morocco has made the public sector as the country's leading investor since its private companies could not take over. Thus, Morocco has created a panoply of public companies in diversified sectors of activity to keep the attributes of sovereignty and the public services of vital importance in the hands of the State. This period of Moroccanization¹ has seen a rapid multiplication of public enterprises. The result was a portfolio, in 1996, comprising 707 public establishments and companies, spread over almost all sectors of economic activity with a share of public investments representing 45% of total investments. The problem that arose was that this increase in public wealth was neither the result of a planned and programmed logic nor sound management of these enterprises (Bouachik, 1993). In 1983, the Moroccanization was cancelled with all its limits on the profits made by non-Moroccan companies. This termination came to give place to a new strategy of promotion of foreign investments.

¹Between 1973 and 1975, the State decided to recover the lands of private colonization and to nationalize its economy still controlled in part by the foreign capital in order to create more opportunities for the Moroccans and to generate more jobs. At that time, a foreigner could no longer hold more than 50% of the capital of a company active on the national territory.

In addition, Morocco has chosen a privatisation policy to promote the national economy and reduce the burden on the budget. The privatisation program aimed to improve the industrial and financial performance of companies while reducing the budgetary burden to support public enterprises (Belghazi, 1999). More, Morocco wanted to encourage shareholding for new social categories to stimulate new generations of entrepreneurs.

According to data from the Ministry of Finance, the period from 1993 to 2012 saw a transfer of 48 companies and 26 hotel establishments to the private sector. Total revenues from these operations exceeded 11, 4 billion dollars, which helped to drain Foreign Direct Investment and revitalise the Casablanca Stock Exchange. Since 2001, the recipes of this process were intended for the social and economic promotion of the country through the Hassan II Fund for Economic and Social Development.

5.2. Decentralization

In Morocco, given the revealed weaknesses of the excessive centralisation of the administration, the WB in its 1995 report recommended that it adopt a decentralisation project (Boumediene, 2010). The decentralisation project passed a milestone in 2009 through the Moroccan model of advanced regionalisation. In 2015, Morocco has adopted a new territorial division, announced by the advanced regionalisation project. This recent law has set up a new territorial organisation replacing the 16 regions of the kingdom by 12 regions, gathering 75 prefectures or provinces (13 prefectures and 62 provinces). This project gives the region the role of contributing effectively to its economic, political, social, cultural and environmental development. A Social Upgrading Fund is being set up which will be dedicated to upgrading regions in the health, education and road infrastructure sectors. The regionalisation project aims to progressively reduce the prior control over the regions in the management of regional projects. To support the work of the advanced regionalisation, several measures have been launched in this direction.

The advanced regionalisation project is not yet completed; efforts are still being made to merge the logistics and human capacities of the regional administration in terms of taxation, to develop the resources necessary for the region to carry out its missions and responsibilities. Decentralisation may raise problems of expensive and complex separate management hierarchies. Decentralisation is thus a change in the economic and political role of the State which no longer considered as the decisive actor of development, as a "developer" State (Lokrifa et Moisseron, 2014).

5.3. Public-private partnership

Because of the enormous investments needed to build a solid infrastructure in the country, and in the face of

ongoing budget constraints, governments are often turning to finance methods such as a public - private partnership (PPP). Indeed, the PPP makes it possible to attract FDI and to ensure good management of public services. In Morocco, although the legal framework for PPP contracts was only promulgated in 2015, the use of PPPs dates back to 1914, with concessions granted in the infrastructure sector. However, this method of financing has seen significant growth with the construction of major projects such as the "Tangier Med port" and "the Noor solar" plant in Ouarzazate. This has put Morocco in 2nd position in Africa in terms of PPP for infrastructure with \$27.5 billion, according to the report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development of June 2016.

5.4. Public Service Reform

Following the unbalanced distribution of the workforce and the heavyweight of the wage bill (13% of GDP), Morocco carried out a "voluntary departure operation" in 2005 which aims to reduce the number of civil servants by offering favourable conditions for leaving their jobs (Catusse, 2010). This downsizing operation was one of the most important measures put in place by the government to restructure the public service workforce. The operation was voluntary and general and took place within 6 months. This made it possible to achieve immediate objectives such as the reduction of the wage bill from 11.8% of GDP in 2005 to 10.4% in 2009, the rejuvenation of the civil service workforce and the partial reduction of over-staffing. However, these results were not sustainable. Between 2008 and 2016, the payroll increased by 59% while the increase in staff was only 9% over the entire period because of the various salary adjustment decisions that were often taken in response to exceptional circumstances in social dialogue.

Despite the practice of Human Resource Planning in the public service since 2006, most of the salary enhancement and exceptional promotion measures have sometimes resulted in overruns of available appropriations. The public service has thus become an instrument of social policy to the detriment of its public service function. These "social recruitments", which go against the principles of recruitment and the allocation of human resources based on skills has undermine productivity and undermine the nascent efforts to rationalise the public service based on reference skills jobs. In the long term, this situation poses problems of rigidity and balance of public finances, both in terms of expenditure and pension funds that are already in a delicate situation.

In 2011 the government adopts new reforms such as the adoption of the competition as a general rule for access to the civil service, introducing an alternative recruitment system by contract and the establishment of strengthening the mobility of civil servants. An intention to set up a new statute is expressed by the government

since 2016 to modernise this Statute. The new Staff Regulations search to incorporate several principles related to the remuneration for the employment actually occupied, the consideration of performance, the merit and individual motivation issues, the strengthening of equity and the transparency as well as the restoration of the meaning and prominence of wages in the remuneration of civil servants. The alternative remuneration system should guarantee public servants the right to remuneration based on equity. The remuneration reform will have to be set according to the level of qualification, the nature of the responsibilities, the complexity of the job and the effort really provided by the employee based on the Human Resource Planning. Actually, Morocco has launched a national plan of reform of administration (2018-2021) to propel the process of reform towards structural changes in the administration at the organisational, managerial, digital and ethical levels, to develop public services and building trust between citizens and the administration.

5.5. Results-based management

Since the onset of the international economic and financial crisis, the budgetary policy has seen an impressive deal of interest in academic arenas and policy-makers debates in both advanced and developing countries. For a developing country like Morocco, the importance of budget policy lies in the potential it offers for stabilising the economic cycle and stimulating economic activity during a recession. Since 2001, Morocco has set a budget reform based on performance and transparency principles. This reform is part of the PARSP framework to further strengthen the efficiency of public spending. The modernisation of budget management has gone through two primary stages: the first is to conduct an experiment of results-based budgeting reform; the second is to proceed with the promulgation of a new organic law on the finance law (LOLF).

The new (LOLF) is a major component of the reforms proposed by PARSP. It introduces program-based budgeting under a new budget nomenclature, where general budget expenditure is presented within programs. The logical framework of the performance approach must foster dialogue between all the actors and contributors throughout the process of production, analysis, evaluation and possibly readjustment of public action. This will empower more and more managers. The LOLF has introduced several measures to improve the rationalisation and optimisation of public spending in order to further control the wage bill. The appropriations for staff costs have become limiting. The LOLF has also limited the carryovers to 30% of the payment appropriations opened by the finance law of the year under the investment budget for each ministerial department or institution to fix the problem of low implementation rates of the investment expenses.

Implementing the LOLF took a progressive approach to allow the various actors to adapt to the changes accompanying this LOLF (for example, introducing general accounting and cost analysis accounting). Implementing the LOLF began in 2016 to extend to all departments in 2020 according to the pre-established schedule. Today, the new budget nomenclature is already applied to the General State Budget and general accounting is being adopted. However, it is too early to draw conclusions about the impact of this organic law on the fiscal governance of the public sector.

5.6. Reform of the compensation fund

Since the end of the 1930s, Morocco has opted for the creation of a compensation system to preserve the purchasing power of the population by fixing the selling prices of certain products of basic necessities (sugar, wheat and, oil) by supporting the companies producing these products. This price support has negatively affected the national economy. On the one hand, it has made the burden of compensation expenditure insupportable in relation to GDP and consequent by depriving the economy of resources that could be allocated to productive investments (The Court of Auditors, 2014). On the other hand, the distribution of compensation expenditure has led to unequal redistribution favouring middle and rich populations at the expense of the poor. Finally, the clearing mechanism has over time created opportunistic behaviours that have reduced the effect of clearing expenses by improving purchasing power. Thus, the system as conceived as the source has lost its coherence. Similarly, compensation could no longer work without massive recourse to the State budget. From 2009 to 2012, the share of the State budget to cover the compensation charge increased by 258%. It went from 15 billion DH to 56.3 billion DH. Faced with this delicate situation, the government launched in 2012 the reform of the compensation fund through a first price adjustment. In 2013, they took two measures to control the effect of the rise of oil prices on the national economy: the partial indexation of oil prices to world prices and the conclusion of a risk hedging contract (The Court of Auditors, 2014).

This action contributed to the reduction of the budget deficit by 20.6% in 2013. The effects of the reform were felt from the budgetary point of view through the reduction of the overruns of the compensation expenses to the allowed thresholds by the law of finance. However, these data do not seem to offer a sustainable solution to the problem of compensation because of its bill, which is still heavy.

6. WHY MOROCCO HAS CHOSEN NPM REFORMS?

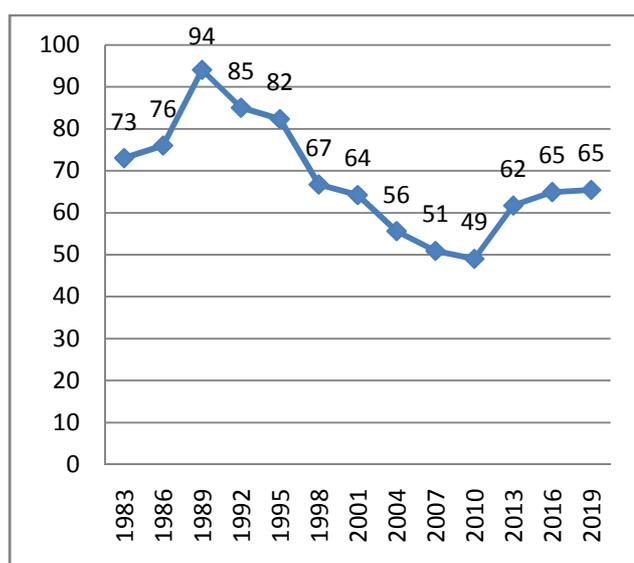
Several factors have pushed Morocco to reform its public management, including its financial management and its management of human resources. However, Morocco is considered among the countries delayed in the

application of these reforms. Nevertheless, the new strategy that has been put in place based on the principles of NPM is based on reducing the weight of the State in the economy while introducing the principles of the market in public administration. In this section, we try to highlight the factors pushing Morocco to choose the path of the modernisation of its management based on the NPM.

6.1. The Public debt and the structural deficit: a macro-economic vicious circle

The analysis of the evolution of the public Moroccan landscape cannot be dissociated from the question of the structural deficit and its continuous implications. As we have seen, the Moroccan State was the first investor in the country to increase its economy. This had led Morocco to a policy of expansion of the investment (Plan 1973-1977). This policy was coinciding with the petrol shock of 1973 and the decrease of the phosphate prices. In addition, the rate of growth of consumption of the State was sped up (41.7% between 1974 and 1977) following an increase of 26% of civil servants' salaries. All these factors caused to explode public spending. Thus, the revenues no longer cover expenditures on previously launched investment projects, which forced Morocco to resort to external loans. Thus, the direct indebtedness rate of the treasury, which was only 22.4% of the GDP in 1974, amounted to 64.7% in 1982. This excessive indebtedness and these unprecedented deficits led to a situation of the rescheduling of the external debt and the necessity of structural adjustment. This adjustment has led the country to reduce the weight of the State by privatising public companies, creating agencies and reforming the public service to reduce its charges.

Chart -1: The evolution of the Debt-to GDP ratio



Source: Ministry of Finance (2020), El Mokri, Ragbi, et Tounsi (2015)

After falling steadily in the previous period, Morocco's public debt-to-GDP ratio rose in 2010 following the deterioration of economic performance. The rise in world commodity prices has contributed to a noticeable widening of the fiscal deficit, mainly through the cost of increased subsidies for essential products and fuel (doubling offsetting expenditures between 2009 and 2010). To reduce the deficit, Morocco has been forced to reform its compensation fund and its budgetary policy.

6.2. The role of international organisations: the policy transfer strategy

Morocco is an excellent example of countries that have been submitted to policy transfers through international organizations such as the IMF, WB and, OECD. Moreover, the influence of these institutions is still more marked in countries dependent on loans, foreign aid, or foreign investment. As we have seen, the deficit in 1984 had led Morocco to ask for a credit from the WB with the condition of application of the SAP. The SAP has transformed the policies and public orientations (the example of the Moroccanization of the economy). This "proposal" of the WB fits into public policy transfer strategies defined by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) as « a process by which knowledge about how policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting ». These strategies can be classified according to their voluntary or imposed nature. With inspiration from foreign experience, the policy-importing country seeks to provide more effective or less costly answers to the problems it is in charge of outside any exogenous constraints. At the other extreme, we can identify situations where transfers are imposed by an external power: this is the case of ex-colonized countries that are forced to adopt institutions similar to those of the occupier. Or with lending by funders: this is the case of negotiated transfers linked to so-called "conditionality" practices (Delpeuch, 2008). In the Moroccan case, the government has implemented the "good practices" inspired by NPM principles as a condition of receiving loans from international funds.

6.3. Political factors

Through the NPM reforms, Morocco aims to redefine the missions of its administration in the light of regionalisation which allows to grant of the necessary autonomy to the different regions of the kingdom for better management and to reduce the burden of bureaucracy on region-specific decisions. The advanced regionalisation is also a political decision more than an organisational or economical decision. It has a strong relationship to the conflict of the Sahara. This conflict has sometimes been perceived as an obstacle to the democratisation of the country. Today, regionalisation is an opportunity for the democratic transition and invites the country to rethink the relationship between the

State, society and territory. Since the advanced regionalisation, Morocco hopes to reconcile the national unity and the aspirations of the Saharawi populations. Moreover, regionalisation can be seen as a response to the crisis of representative democracy, which is reflected, in particular, by a growing disinterest in public affairs and which is reflected in the high rates of abstention at the national level elections. For the Arab countries, in the Arab Spring, regionalisation is a way to anchor democracy in its local and regional dimensions and to build the foundations of real participative democracy (Lokrifa and Moisseron, 2014). Thus, Morocco has been among the lucky Arab countries that have gone beyond the Arab Spring period with the minimum of damage.

The Moroccan experience has enabled us to come out with several observations concerning the reform of the public sector. The first observation that we cannot pass without mentioning is the incoherence of the Moroccan public policies (OECD, 2018). We can easily see the variety of reforms launched each period without taking into account the evaluations of previous reforms. In addition, these reforms lack collaboration among different ministries.

Furthermore, the internalisation of NPM-inspired reforms in developing countries can have adverse effects. These reforms should be tailored to the country's circumstances and their level of development and their financial capacity. To modernise the public sector, the political and cultural context of each country must first be considered to achieve better results. Actually, several authors (Crook 2003, Polidano 1999) insist on the elimination of corruption and the strengthening of integrity and accountability to achieve real public sector reform.

7. CONCLUSION

Morocco is a developing country that sought to develop its economy and its public management based on the NPM principles already applied by developed countries through global organizations or international experts. This path does not seem to be the best way to ensure sustainable development for the country because of several reasons. First of all, these "experts" can't take into consideration the culture and informal values of the country. Since reforms are directly involved in changing the rules, reform programs must give crucial importance to the cultural differences that influence compliance with these rules (Pillay, 2008). The success of an implemented reform depends largely on the extent to which it is compatible with the identity of a public institution or country. Among the most worrying scourges that undermine the Moroccan public sector, we find the question of integrity. Indeed, the country ranks in the 81st position out of 180 countries, according to the world ranking of the Corruption Perceptions Index of 2017. This situation has led Morocco to make significant efforts that still do not tackle this problem. In any case,

the change of mentality within public organizations does not come overnight. Education must build the principles and values of integrity in society.

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