Implication of Ethiopian Civil Service Reforms on Performance Management

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Abstract

Ethiopian civil service is characterized by uninterrupted organizational reforms intended to improve performance through experiment with different management models. This paper analyzes changes occur in performance management system of the public sector in Ethiopia as a result of adoption of public sector reform programs. The research draws on government policy documents, legislations, reform studies, BSC-based plans, performance reports and study reports to assess the improvements achieved in transforming performance management to result oriented approach. The findings show a systematic organizational performance management with clear target, acceptable measurement and accountability for performance had never appeared in Ethiopia. Before the third phase reform in 2003, Government had given little attention to performance management; despite its key role for achieving the capacity building and enhancing performance. Since 2003 the adoption of BPR, BSC, Citizen Charter and change army have brought in to public sector principles that focus on results, but due to failure of implementation of such management tools, result oriented performance management approach that comprises goal setting, measurement and use of performance information for learning, reward and accountability was not realized in the civil service system of Ethiopia.

Introduction

This paper analyzes the Ethiopian public sector experience in result oriented performance management approach in due course of public sector reforms. Ethiopian civil service is characterized by uninterrupted organizational reforms aimed at improving civil services performance through adoption of different management models. Among others, the application of strategic planning and management, quick wins, total quality management (TQM), business process reengineering (BPR), management by objective (MBO), integrated performance management system, balanced scorecard (BSC), kaizen and civil service change army were promoted by the Ethiopian government (MoCS, 2013). Indeed, the current performance management system of the civil service is a product of different past institutional reforms. As such, exclusion of a 'reform' from the study of performance management system of Ethiopian public service may lead to an incomplete portrait of the Ethiopian civil service, since the performance management system of the public sector is results of different reforms being introduced in the past.

The impacts of reform and performance management are huge, but the topic is under researched. Mengesha and Common (2007) has indicated the research gaps in performance management and civil service reform. Yet, there is no adequate response from researchers to uncover the profound effects of reforming performance management system. 20 years ago, the contribution of the civil service in Ethiopia was studied by Ayenew and Chanie (2000) and the challenges of the civil service reform in Ethiopia by Chanie (2001), based on initial observations of the civil service reform initiatives. Since then, the civil service system has undergone many reforms. Beside this, a pessimistic conclusion about the outcomes of civil service reform by Chanie (2001) was refuted by Mengesha and Common (2006). Unlike Chanie (2001), Mengesha and Common (2006) were optimistic about the contribution of reforms in improving service delivery in the public sector.. Mengesha and Common (2006) attempted to understand the dynamics of reforms in a country based on pilot study of a single reform episode. They conducted a study at a time when BPR was implemented only in one department of Ministry of Trade and one department of Ministry of Education, merely as a prototype, it was too early to determine the outcomes of BPR. The significance of studying the consequences of reform programs is become clear because the Ethiopian civil service has seen several reform initiatives over the last two decades. Beside the time gap, absence of convergence of researches on the potential results of reforms shows existence of research gap.

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Mulu (2008) demonstrates that systematic inquiry about the effectiveness of the practice of Result Oriented Performance Appraisal (ROPA) is either scant or utterly missing. Meanwhile Debela and Hagos (2012) made earnest contribution for understanding of performance management system of Ethiopia by conducting comprehensive study on Result Oriented Performance Appraisal System (ROPAS), which was later replaced by BSC. Therefore, there is a research gap to grasp changes in performance management system as ROPAS had been replaced by BSC. As far as result oriented performance management system is concerned, it is important to investigate changes brought by the implementation of reform tools such as BPR, BSC, Change Army and Citizen Charter, because these reform tools are directly concerned with changing the system of performance management.

Researches being conducted since these reform tools were adopted are case studies. For example Miruth (2014) studied civil service of Tigray Regional state and Kebede (2018) focused on Oromia Regional state, while other researchers focus even on a single city. With this regard, Sime (2016) studied a civil service of Sebeta City Administration and Gebre & Nigussie (2016) studied modernization of Addis Ababa city civil service. Focusing on single administrative/government unit has advantage of looking at depth, however study on a single case may not adequate to generalize to the Ethiopian civil service system as whole, because disparities exist among different governments in the Ethiopian Federal setup. For example, the study by World Bank (2016) indicates that regional governments and the central government differ in successfully implementing different reform tools. According to the World Bank study, there was a believe that relatively change army is the most successful among reform tools implemented in the civil service systems of regional governments, while in the Federal government civil service BSC was believed to be the most successful among reform tools being adopted. Such finding implies that any study based on data taken from a single region is not adequate to generalize to the system of Ethiopian civil service. The disparities among different governments became clear, particularly after cracking of the unity of EPRDF.

While some of the reforms are part of efforts to introduce result oriented performance management (Meskerem et. al., 2019), there is no adequate study on the changes in performance management system in Ethiopia in the due course of civil service reform. The present research is a response to research gap on changes in performance management system following the continuous reform of the civil service. It is appropriate to assess the path of civil service reform programs and synthesizes the lessons that can be used to improve performance management system. Specifically, this paper examines the research question "How does the adoption of BPR, BSC, Citizen's Charter and Change Army alter the system of performance management of the public sector in Ethiopia?" The paper describes in short the trend of reform programs introduced in the public sector, the parallel changes in a system of performance management and show the gap between policy and practice in implementation of result oriented performance management system.

As given by Williams and Yecalo-Tecle (2019), reform can be defined as strategic and intentional structural or managerial change to the internal administration of civil service organizations aimed at improving performance. Among other aspects of public sector reforms, this paper focuses on those element of reforms intended on changing performance management system of the public sector in Ethiopia.

Data were drawn from secondary sources. These are 1) government policy documents, legislations, reform directives and manuals; 2) organizational level documents like the citizen's charter, BPR and BSC studies, BSC-based strategic plans and annual plans, quarterly and annual performance reports; 3) academic studies, most of which are case studies of single reform or analyses of a specific aspect of public management in central, state or local governments in Ethiopia; 4) reform evaluation reports by donors, consultants, academicians and by government. Study materials were collected through search engines using a combination of words in 'civil service reform and performance management in Ethiopia'. Additionally, Addis Ababa University institutional repository, conference proceedings of Civil Service University and conference proceedings of Ethiopian Management Institute were used to obtain studies conducted on reform and/or performance management. Furthermore, the author traced citations in these articles to obtain other relevant studies. Finally electronic and print documents from civil service commission were collected. These materials were screened to exclude materials that were irrelevant for the purpose of current study. To reduce bias the accuracy of materials were checked before use and they were triangulated across each other.. This rich array of data allows the examination of the relation of civil service reform with performance management in breadth and in depth. The qualitative analysis of civil service reforms and organizational performance management in Ethiopia was made on the basis of these evidences.

This section identified research gap by highlighting limitations of researches conducted on reforms and performance management in Ethiopia, set the research goals and methods. The next section presents theoretical relations between reform and performance management.

The remaining parts of this paper discuss the establishment, institutionalization and reforms of civil service under different regimes and the implication of such reforms on performance management. Finally, the paper concludes major findings and ends with showing implications for future research.

Performance Management Reform From Theoretical Perspective

Performance Management is a main component of NPM, but it has also a long history in public administration (Lægreid, Roness & Rubecksen, 2006). Bureaucratic forms of control and monitoring in public sector organizations always exist; while, NPM has introduced additional systems and processes of auditing, control, regulation, assessment, inspection and evaluation (Diefenbach, 2009). Performance management in the traditional public administration and performance management in the NPM have different orientation. The traditional system of performance management in government is oriented towards control of amount of input used and compliance of rules and regulations in usage of resources. While this kind of control satisfies the considerations of economy of inputs and compliance with process regulation, it fails to indicate the results achieved by the activities of government. In fact, in traditional performance management system, managers are rarely held accountable for the outcomes of their activities (Saxena, 2013).

Performance is pivotal in contemporary public management (Van Dooren, Bouckaert and Halligan, 2015). As one of the key components of the NPM movement, performance management has been universally adopted in the public sector across the world (Ma, 2017). Gao (2015) indicates performance measurement has been a main theme and key instrument of public administration reform. Thus, since 1990s, the enthusiasm for government reform via performance measurement remains high, with the focus shifting from measurement to management. Essentially, the reforms shift a focus of performance management from administrative procedures and processes to managing for results (Hood, 2012).

Result oriented performance management is a type of management that incorporates performance measure and uses performance information for decision-making (Van Dooren et al., 2010). All result oriented performance management reforms share as common feature, the use of performance indicators, which are mainly quantitative measures of the inputs, outputs, throughputs, and outcomes of government work, often expressed in the form of targets, rankings, or intelligences (Hood, 2007). Result oriented performance management, as conceptualized in this paper, constitutes a set of three step activities: setting organizational performance goals and targets, performance measurement using indicators like efficiency, effectiveness, service quality and customer satisfaction and the use of performance measurement information for applying performance based reward, ensuring accountability and enhancing organizational learning. The ultimate outcome of performance management is improved organizational performance.

Performance management has positive contribution to improve organizational results. Diefenbach (2009) argues systematic, regular and comprehensive performance management activities such as capturing, measuring, monitoring and assessing organizational and individual performance will lead to positive consequences such as increased efficiency, productivity and quality, higher performance and motivation. He argues the explicit targets, standards, performance indicators, measurement, and control systems make management to be based on 'facts' and provide decisions a rational basis. Courpasson (2000) shows performance management increases the chance to hold people accountable and to reduce 'illegitimate privileges'. Likewise, Ma (2017) holds the view that performance management is an effective instrument to improve government performance and to raise citizen satisfaction. Similarly, Gao (2015) argues, performance measurement is effective way to make government 'work better and cost less'. Ma (2017) analyzes the effects of multiple performance management components on citizens' perceptions of government performance across 19 major cities in China. The results reveal that performance management does have a positive impact on citizen satisfaction. In addition, citizen participation, performance feedback and accountability, and information openness are positively associated with citizen satisfaction along various performance dimensions in different magnitudes. Taking account of and mitigate its unintended consequences, it is still promising for public organizations to implement performance management (Ma, 2017). The study of Performance management in Ghana and Zambia by Williams and Yecalo-Tecle (2019) indicates the mere acts of discussing responsibilities, setting targets, and assessing performance help organizations do their jobs better; even without the associated carrots and sticks, but by letting go of the idea that they should be linked to incentives.

The daunting challenges remain in performance management is the difficulty to make performance measurement work in broader context (Gao, 2015). Additionally, organizations in many countries collect and submit information to a higher level, but such information is not used for taking corrective and remedial action or for analysis. As performance report is often not verified or collected through independent sources, organizations are prone to reporting inflated data and renders monitoring be ineffective.

Public officials are thus able to escape from any sense of accountability (Saxena, 2013). In assumption of NPM, a market-orientation can help to fit services better to requirements; a stakeholder-orientation can contribute to higher levels of accountability; and a customer orientation might improve the quality of services (Diefenbach, 2009). Regardless of such assumptions, research evidences from both developed and developing countries show, most reforms achieve only mixed results, with both costs and gains and with daunting challenges (Gao, 2015).

Nevertheless, Saxena (2013) is certain of the possibility for correction of daunting challenges, if governments show greater transparency in record management and made all relevant information accessible, and if frequent field inspections are made by an independent body, and beneficiary stakeholders. Saxena (2013) argues government must learn to empower people and be able to work with them, as traditional vertical accountability systems can act as a major impediment to working across boundaries. The principles of best practice in the result oriented approach includes measure sensibly and develop user friendly information systems, use performance information for learning and managing, as well as for reporting and accountability and build an adaptive regime through regular review and update (Knox, 2019).

Knox (2019) examines researches on the impact of public sector reform in developing countries and identifies four recurring themes. First understanding context is critical to the success of public sector reforms. Reforms should take account of the economic, social, cultural, constitutional and political context of the state in which they are implemented. Similarly, Saxena (2013) argues that reforms that have evolved in some developed countries and have improved accountability of their civil service cannot be replicated elsewhere unless local social and political conditions are kept in mind. Likewise, Gao (2015) indicates contextual differences determine the effectiveness of a particular performance measurement and management system. Second, Knox (2019) believes insufficient attention is paid to the implementation phase of public sector reforms. Knox (2019) holds past reforms do not fail because, once implemented, they yield unsatisfactory outcomes. They fail because they never get past the implementation stage at all. The third recurring theme in the literature of impact of reform is an overemphasis on institutional reforms which are necessary but insufficient in creating efficient and effective governance, including an improvement in public services. Finally, Knox (2019) indicates the impact of the donors influence in setting the course of a reform agenda in line with Western style public management approaches is being challenged.

Table 1: Overview of the Trend of Ethiopian Civil Service Reforms and Performance Management

Reform program	Key Reform measures	Performance management
Establishment of civil service system (Emperor Minilik II 1889 – 1913)	Beginning of modern government, introduction of infrastructure and modern technologies.	Absence of impersonal treatment of clients in service provision, interference of the nobility, culture of tribute and bribe, and non-merit personnel practice made performance based management impossible.
Instituting of centralization and modernization in civil service system (Emperor Haile Selassie I 1917 - 1974)	Establishment of agency for coordination of uniform practices and successive legislations for rule bound administration	Failure to adhere to established rules and unwarranted political interference that undermined standard administrative procedures and soured nepotism undermined professionalism and performance based management.
Central economic planning (Dergue 1974 to 1991)	Creation of new administrative bodies and nationalization of private enterprises that increased the size of the civil service	Fusion of party, state and government and domination of civil service by military officers derided the professionalism and merit principles. Civil service that based on neutral competency was not established to manage organizational performance.
Creation of federalism and liberalized economy (EPRDF first phase public sector reform program 1991 to 1996)	In line with new political and macroeconomic policy, government made institutional reform that focus on restructuring of government institutions and retrenchment programs	Retrenchment reduced duplicative positions. However, since the retrenchment was not based on proper performance measurement, this reform did not bring strategic change in a system of performance management.
Capacity building second phase Civil Service Reform Program	Induced by acknowledgement of capacity constraints and international pressure for structural adjustment	Efforts mainly focused on addressing internal administrative issues (developing legislations, and working systems). The

(1996 – 2003)	program, government introduced reform to improve performance through creation of enabling legislation, developing operating systems, and providing training.	reform did not alter performance goal setting, performance measurement and the use of performance information, because performance management was not the subject of the reform.
Capacity building (3rd phase civil service reform 2003 to 2007)	District level decentralization, adoption of Developmental state ideology, renewal of TPLF/EPRDF and the acceptance of weak performance of the second phase civil service reform creates the need for further reform. By this time reform program targets on Development of a Service Delivery Policy, the implementation of a Result Oriented Performance Appraisal, and the introduction of Strategic Planning and Management.	Performance management got attention in the reform of this time. The strategic management approach requires setting higher level organizational goals, mission, vision, and strategies. The employee Result Oriented Performance Appraisal System (ROPAS) introduced formal performance targets to be agreed upon by staff and supervisors. The development of Service Delivery Policy encourages the civil service to be more customer focused through the 'Quick Wins' initiative.
Since 2005 Adoption of management techniques	Government adopted BPR, BSC, Citizen Charter, Change Army and other management techniques	Introduction of System of Result oriented management approach

Source: Compiled from review of reform programs

Performance Management in the Continuously Changing Public Sector

The existing evidences reveal that in a period before 1991 the concept of result oriented performance management was not appeared in Ethiopian Civil Service. Emperor Minilik II has established modern government and started civil service, while Emperor Haile Selassie I strengthened the modernization and centralization of the civil service system of Ethiopia. The Dergue expanded the civil service but also fused party and government, and created a civil service dominated by military personnel. In the three successive regimes, a systematic organizational performance management with clear target, acceptable measurement and accountability for performance had never been implemented.

Reform in the civil service was intensified, since the EPRDF had come to power.. Since 1919s, Ethiopia stands out as a country that has deployed a range of reforms (World Bank, 2016). The first phase civil service reform during EPRDF was typically downsizing the civil service though a retrenchment program. It had a motive to reduce the size of civil service in line with "the small government" principle of neo-liberalism and on the way to expel remnants of the predecessor government. Since the criteria for retrenchment was not related to individual performance, the first phase civil service reform did not alter organizational performance management system of the public sector.

The second phase CSRP sought to build a fair, transparent, efficient, effective, and ethical civil service; primarily by creating enabling legislation, developing operating systems, and training staff. Performance management was neither being the target of reform nor being considered as means of achieving the then goals of CSRP. As a result, there was no substance change in performance management during the second phase public sector reform. Except the development of some new legislation as well as operating systems, the implementation of second phase reform was not satisfactory due to the internal party problem and the external boarder conflict.

The third phase public sector reform was a program aimed at building the capacity of the Civil Service through development of service delivery policy, introduction of result oriented performance appraisal and strategic management approach. The development of Service Delivery Policy, was required to encourage the civil service to be more customer focused through the 'Quick Wins' initiative. The Quick Wins approach brought about customer orientation in government offices through the introduction of name tags, information counters, suggestion boxes, labeling of offices, posting of the office's mission, vision, and values in a visible manner. The employee Result Oriented Performance Appraisal System (ROPAS) introduced formal performance targets to be agreed upon by staff and supervisors, while the strategic planning process established higher-level objectives within public organizations (World Bank, 2016).

Among the three initiatives, ROPAS is identified as one of the key modalities for the success of the CSRP (Mulu, 2008). Since its formal launching in 2003, numerous Ethiopian public sector organizations had adopted the initiative. But, critical evaluation of ROPAS by Debela and Hagos (2012) contests the honesty of Government in the implementation of result oriented performance management system in the public sector. While, result oriented performance management at micro level is expected to logically starts at organizational level and trickle down to process/division and team/individual, ROPS focus only on the relationship between supervisors and employees, leaving top-management aside. The study by World Bank (2016) also shows the link between performance targets to be agreed upon by staff and supervisors, and the strategic goals of the organizations were weak.

Debela and Hagos (2012) question the logic of focusing on the "contract" relationship between the supervisor and their staff without setting a contract that makes the management of the organization accountable for fulfilling the strategic objectives of the organization. The system missed the simple logic of setting organizational performance standards that could be cascaded to the individual or team level for appropriate appraisal of individual performance. Such limitation has also been revealed in study of civil service of Nigeria by Eneanya (2018). In Nigerian civil service, departments were made accountable without including the body higher to it; though in principle, accountability trickles down and never trickles up (Eneanya, 2018). Thus, holding the department responsible is unlikely to make the whole system responsible, whereas holding the whole organization responsible will ensure that all departments are also accountable (Eneanya, 2018).

As a means to overcome the above shortcoming of ROPAS and to ensure accountability, Debela and Hagos (2012) suggested conducting performance measurement at organizational level, department or division level, and team or individual level. Measurement at all levels make accountability for performance to fall upon the management that has the responsibility of dividing organizational works among divisions and individuals.

Mulu (2008) identified other pitfalls of ROPAS, which were emphasizing on measurable and quantifiable dimensions of performance rather than the outcomes and societal impacts. Furthermore, ROPAS favors the interest of government and donors at the expense of employees and service users. As revealed by Mulu (2008), performance measure should balance the quantity, quality, time, and cost dimension of performance. Additionally, it is essential to ensure that the perspectives of all major stakeholders be considered in performance targets setting. Based on these pitfalls in ROPAS, Mulu (2008) concludes much of the desired behaviors from result oriented performance management were not displayed at the early stage of the third phase civil service reform.

One of the results of PSRP was amendment of existing legislations. For example, Proclamation No. 262/2002, establish the purposes of performance evaluation to be enabling employee's effectiveness in discharging their duties in accordance with the expected standards by identifying their strengths and weaknesses and improving their future performances. The proclamation requires transparency and employees participation in the process of performance evaluation. This proclamation was amended as a consequence of the reform. The amended Federal Civil Servants Proclamation No. 515/2007 provided additional purposes of performance evaluation, which was to identify training needs; to give reward based on result; and to enable administrative decisions based on concrete evidences. The additional provisions in Federal Civil Servants Proclamation No. 515/2007 that require using performance measurement information for training, reward and other administrative decisions are important elements of result oriented performance management. However, the legislation narrowly focused on employee performance appraisal, instead of establishing organization wide performance management system that can provide clear goals and indicators for performance measurement. Performance management systems are supposed to create a self-reinforcing annual cycle of meaningful target-setting, assessment, and differentiated incentives that reward good performers and sanctions bad performers (Williams &Yecalo-Tecle, 2019). Therefore, the changes introduced were not adequate to establish result oriented performance management system.

As the third phase reform program was going on, the Government has continued introducing different reform tools to achieve goals of public sector reform program. Among this change tools: BPR, BSC, Change Army and Citizen Charter are discussed in the next section.

Adoption of Different Management Techniques for Realization of Reform Objectives

Despite all the three phases of reform efforts, the EPRDF faced challenge to get expected vote in the 2005 parliamentary election, which divulges the lack of good governance and the unsolved public grievance in service provisions. The evaluation of government performance identified plethora of problems to be solved. This led to the launching of BPR by MoCB in 2005.

BPR was conceived as a reform tool for achieving the Performance and Service Delivery Improvement Policy of the third phase public sector reform program (Kassahun, 2012). BPR is a management technique that attempts to bring significant improvements in performance through radical redesign of business processes. Business process is the primary object of reengineering, so that a network of end-to-end business processes constitutes organization (Hammer & Champy, 1993). In accordance with Kettinger and Grover (1995), the institutionalization of process management involves not only the redesign of business processes, but also changes in other management domains to create a process orientation such as process-based measurement and information systems, process-based organizational structures, process based management approaches. Consequently, BSC as a strategic management, evaluation and communication tool has been found its way to follow BPR in the public sector in 2008. As part of the BPR process, public sector organizations established service standards in consultation with users. In pursuit to formalization of the service standards, which have been developed in the BPR design process, the Citizen's Charter was found important instrument by the government organizations (Adebaye, 2008). Citizen's Charter is a document that represents the commitment of public service providers to their users with respect to standards of service, information and grievance handling mechanisms (Adebaye, 2008).

Later on, the change army were added in the trail of Civil service reform tools. Change Army in Ethiopian civil service is a system in which public servants were made to form a group of five individuals to conduct daily or weekly peer reviews and evaluate their work performance. This was expected to create a mechanism to coach junior staff and to bring change in attitudes by putting peer pressure on public servants. Civil servants who had membership in the ruling part play important role in leading this group of five civil servants. The outcomes of these weekly discussions are presented to the lower-level leadership, which constitutes the lead public servants from each five-member groups. The highest level management is expected to meet at least monthly to discuss on performance reports and to resolve matters arise from performance reviews of public servants and middle level management. The highest level management is also expected to meet with the public wing on a quarterly basis (Tadesse, 2011). While both BPR and BSC are classic NPM style reforms, and also widely found in other countries seeking to strengthen civil service performance, the Change Army is a more Ethiopia-specific approach (World Bank, 2016).

Unlike other countries where organizations implement reform by their own initiative, in Ethiopia, the driver for adopting reform tools was part of the government's aim to reform the public sector and the work culture of its civil servants to realize the public service delivery improvement program (Kassahun, 2012). In this way, BPR, BSC, Citizen's Charter, kaizen and Change Army have been adopted universally in all government organizations at all levels (Ministry of Civil Service, 2012), while justice sector reform, tax system reform and education sector development program were sector specific reforms (Kebede, 2018). The reform initiatives were centrally planned within the EPRDF party and rolled-out in accordance to a predetermined plan (Gebre & Nigussie, 2016). in Ethiopia, BPR, BSC, Citizen's Charter, kaizen and Change Army have been adopted universally in all government organizations at all levels (Ministry of Civil Service, 2012). Justice sector reform, tax system reform and education sector development program were sector specific reforms(Kebede, 2018). The reform initiatives were centrally planned within the EPRDF party and rolled-out in accordance to a predetermined plan (Gebre & Nigussie, 2016). The implementations of these reform tools continue to be government agenda in both first and second five years Growth and Transformation Plans (GTP I 2010 to 2015 and GTP II 2015 to 2020). The former Ministry of Capacity Building, Civil Service Commission, Ethiopian Management Institute and the Ethiopian Civil Service College (now university) played a great role in promoting the design, implementation and evaluation of reform tools by providing research, training and consultancy services (Sime, 2016).

Adoption of Business Process Reengineering in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, BPR has been considered as instrument to improve service delivery performance through redesigning organizational structure, work process and staffing (Ministry of Civil Service, 2018). Such belief led government to issue a directive that intends to guide the design and implementation of BPR in the public sector organizations. Government used the planning stage of BPR to create customer oriented values and the attitudes and to demonstrate these values and attitudes to customers. The attempt to create such values and attitude was followed by an effort to create understanding of the causes, effects, and magnitude of the problems associated with old business processes and systems using inputs from both internal and external stakeholders.

In the study stage, public organizations are given direction to conduct baseline study to determine the time, cost and service quality and to use the baseline for measuring changes in performance. BPR design manual require establishing service standards on the basis of customer need analysis and best experiences benchmarking from within and from other organizations.

For achieving radical improvements BPR requires setting challenging objectives on the basis of performance gap analysis, past performance achievement of benchmarked organizations or customer expectations. For each organizational objective, performance indicators in Ethiopian BPR system are time, quantity, quality and cost. The objectives are directly linked to outcomes expected from each job process.

During the redesigning stage, staff and management were encouraged to revise work processes and systems (manuals, legislations, process, charters, etc.) and structures (jobs, and competency), based on best practices, customers' expectations, and the principles of process-based organizations (World Bank, 2016). As a radical change, BPR requires reviewing of existing legislations, directives, job manuals as factors for responsive, efficient, customer-centered service delivery. Additionally, in order to radically renovate the work process, employees are encouraged to question why organization is doing things in the way it is doing now. In the redesign process, interdependent jobs are organized under one work process along the end results they serve and non-value adding jobs are avoided. The result of this process is a process-based organizational structure and decentralization of decision making to the front line bureaucrats.

Beyond performance management, BPR has brought some changes in the working process of public sector organizations (Kebede, 2018). Following adoption of BPR in Ethiopian public sector: organizational structures were redefined to convert from functional based structure to process-based organization structure; work process were redesigned to improve internal flow of work process, to eliminate non-value adding activities and to group related jobs under one process; staff were reshuffled to correct faulty assignments; working place layout was reorganized to align it with flat organizational structure; and awareness creation trainings were offered to inculcate customer oriented values and beliefs in public sectors.

The direction was provided to organizations to evaluate redesigned jobs against compatibility with organizational mandate, potential service quality and customer satisfaction, time saving, learning, transfer of responsibility to process owners, ensuring transparency and accountability, one stop customer service, linkage with other organizations, cost saving and creation of alternatives. According to this directive, organizations are advised to prepare action plan and pilot test before full scale implementation of BPR. The manual also provides directions to give attention to leadership commitment and understanding of the citizens and customers' needs, for the successful design and implementation of BPR.

The BPR designing and implementation manual typically reflects the basic concepts of BPR in theory and requires the establishment of result oriented performance management system. BPR implementation involves performance measure, which is one of the components of result oriented performance management system. In Ethiopia, the Government directive clarifies the importance of performance measure using efficiency, effectiveness and customer satisfaction. Moreover, in line with result oriented performance management, organizations are given direction to measure the result of the work instead of the process of the work. In addition to performance measurement, BPR involves goal setting, which creates a fertile ground for executing result oriented performance management. According to the government manual, organizations are required to set challenging goals, and performance standards in terms of delivery time, cost and service quality. Beside this, the direction given by government shows, in the newly redesigned organization, the goal of performance measurement is not controlling but improving work process.

Above all, the government vowed to link measurement with reward system when full scale implementation of BPR is commenced; though the promise was not yet delivered. BPR designing directive clearly sets the need to change performance measurement and reward system together with change in the whole working system (Ministry of Civil Service, 2018). It provided that individual rewards must be linked to performance measurement, result oriented and be able to motivate employees for higher achievement. The manual states that people are paid on the basis of what they contribute to organizational results. Based on the theory of BPR and the training manual of Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource Development, the successful implementation of management and measurement aspect of BPR is equivalent with successful implementation of result oriented performance management. Conversely, failure in implementation of result oriented performance management is the failure of implementation BPR according to the directive provided.

Close scrutiny of reform process in Ethiopia shows the adoption and the implementation of reform tools have different history. Most of what stated in the directive are taken from the book, with little effort to implement the directive being prepared to guide design and implementation of BPR. The desired change in performance measurement of redesigned organizations is establishment of quality, quantity, delivery time, customer satisfaction and cost standards; measurement of performance against the established performance standards; connection of rewards to of performance measurement; conducting customer survey, gap analysis, and benchmarking to obtain feedback and continuously improve performance; supporting employees for performance

Improvement, and for promotion. The comparison of this policy direction with practical performance measurement shows lack of real commitment. BPR implementations were stacked after early organizational restructuring, personnel reshuffling and making minor changes on work place layouts. The training manual is all about the principles of BPR in books, but in practice BPR implementation is not found as such easy to implement. Many writers argued adoption and implementation have different determinants. Adoption may be driven by external institutional pressures (Moynihan, 2005), whereas implementation is affected by managers, whose reactions may range from support to acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, or manipulation (Modell, 2001; Yang & Hsieh, 2007). It is true that BPR is adopted in Ethiopian public sector organizations, but properly working result oriented performance management system was not established.

According to the principles of result oriented performance management, the government is expected to relax control on input and increase control on results. But a contrary to this principle was reported by research conducted on performance management in the Public sector in Ethiopia. Debela and Hagos (2012) analyzed the extent to which the government of Ethiopia has relaxed its control on inputs and process, by taking control over financial and the human resource activities as a case. Their finding indicates exercise of stringent control over both expenditure and human resource in the civil service system of Ethiopia. They witnessed the lack of shifting of focus from control of inputs and process to results.

The Adoption of Balanced Scorecard BSC

In Ethiopia, the first generation result oriented performance management ROPAS (2002 – 2007) focused on measurement alone and it unable to align the individual performance with the organizational performance. Since, 2008 the public sector organizations have started using BSC as an integrated strategic management system. The BSC of government organization set organizational goals that are linked to the country's five year Growth and Transformation Plan and tries to operationalize these goals through a cascading process of setting targets and disaggregating them by specific units and roles. In BSC designing, public sectors were directed to formulate their mission, vision and values by assessing relevant policies and strategies, legislations, organizational mandates and factors in the external environments.

As business oriented reform tool, BSC gives higher premium to understanding and responding to customer's needs in strategy development. Likewise, in the public sector, strategic issues are identified on the basis of stakeholder analysis and SWOT analysis. The BSC also seeks to create direct links between employees' performance and the strategy of an organization towards its clients/citizens, budget/stewardship, internal processes, and learning and growth (World Bank, 2016). The BSC plans of public sector organizations show, each perspective is linked to performance indicators together with data collection methods and data sources. The Manual prepared by Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource requires the consideration of the interests of key stakeholders in the design of BSC. BSC is serving as planning and reporting instrument.

The reviews of organizational strategies and annual plan of selected organizations show the major problem in using BSC is related to the activities in the implementation stages. Implantation of BSC involves automation, cascading, alignment and actual performance measurements. Like the BPR, BSC also failed at implementation stage. This is similar with prior research by Othman (2007), who estimated that 70% of BSC initiatives have failed. He stated that the difficulties in the BSC are due to the difficulties in implementing certain aspects of the method.

Performance measurement is one of the acute shortages being observed in using the BSC system. Zemenu and Menwuyelet (2016) reported the existence of gaps in setting appropriate performance measures and realistic targets, in the assignment of weights to objectives and measures. The same research reported that individual evaluation is not regular, objective and well documented. Moreover, performance measurement information are not properly documented, and used for learning and developmental purpose. Inadequate alignment of performance information with recognition, reward and learning hindered the results expected from using BSC (Zemenu & Menwuyelet, 2016). The study by World Bank (2016) shows follow-up after performance assessments, remains limited. Performance management and measurement is perceived by majority of employees as non-meritocratic and unfairly biased by personal preferences, while the consequences of good performance and poor performance are limited (World Bank, 2016). The study pinpoints the need to improve fairness and objectivity in assessing performance.

In a cascading stage, the organizational level scorecard (the first Tier) is translated into business unit or support unit scorecards (the second Tier) and then later to team and individual scorecards (the third Tier). Cascading translates high-level strategy into lower-level objectives, measures, and operational details. Team and individual scorecards link day-to-day work with department goals and corporate vision.

Cascading is the key to organization alignment around strategy. A study by Zemenu and Menwuyelet (2016) reveals that in most cases alignment between individual/team objective and organizational objective is lacking. The constraints of cascading are gaps in leadership commitment, and turnover of qualified personnel, inability to make alignments of objectives and operations at the three tiers, and problems in vertical and horizontal coordination. Furthermore, lack of customization of BSC at the design level resulted in cascading difficulty as well as later on measuring organizational performances.

The last step of BSC is monitoring and evaluation. The main purpose of monitoring is to track implementation and to determine whether targets are on track or changes are needed. As observed from organizations' performance reports, there is no proper monitoring of annual performances because of inadequate qualified staff. There is no crosscheck over reports send to higher levels. Capacity limitation hinders data collection and analysis, checking performance reports and giving feedback. Absence of automation for handling huge amount of data that flow between individuals/teams and between different work units make BSC only rhetoric. A corporate sector performance review on weekly, monthly, quarterly and annually basis is not practical due to limitation in using information technologies.

Both BPR and BSC require performance-based rewards, but this is not tried by government of Ethiopia. In theory BSC system set a performance management system, the Ethiopian experience demonstrate it does not offer much in terms of rewards for good performance (World Bank, 2016) and accountability for poor performance. All these observations tell us that BSC is serving as planning tool but with little role as performance management tool.

The Introduction of Citizen Charter in Ethiopia

Ministry of Civil Service launched Citizens' Charter in 2012 with an intention to improve service deliveries in the public sector. In the BPR designing process, organizations were made to establish service standards and these service standards were publicized by adoption of the citizen's Charter (Ministry of Civil Service, 2012). Citizen's Charter is introduced with a hope to enable public organizations to continuously re-engineer service delivery processes using feed-back received from beneficiaries.

To achieve uniform implementation of the Citizen Charter across the public sector, Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource Development has prepared Citizen's Charter Development and Implementation Manual. Citizen's Charter manual requires organizations to include in their charter: service delivery standard, citizen's feedback collection checklist, complaint handling procedure and address of the staff. The Service delivery standard form contains: type of services provided, place in which each types of services is provided, service delivery conditions, service standards in terms of time, cost and quality, and the preconditions required to receive service (Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource Development, 2017).

Like in the case of BPR and BSC, the public sector in Ethiopia adopted the citizen's charter, but challenged in implementation. Our review of empirical studies on the implementation of citizen's charter in Ethiopia reveals the government is far from achieving the intended objectives of the Citizen's Charter. The assessment of challenges and prospects of Citizen's Charter implementation in Federal civil service organizations by Daniel and Worksew (2016) reveals the consultation process in developing Citizen's Charter was minimal, the concept of Citizen's Charter has not been properly understood, most citizens do not have a clear understanding about the Citizen's Charter and in many cases, the concerned staff were not adequately trained and sensitized. In parallel, they found nominal accountability and responsibility (Daniel & Worksew, 2016).

Nigussa (2014) analyzes the conceptualization and implementation of Citizens' Charter and arrive on similar conclusions. He finds as major challenges: bad record track and pick-drop culture of reform implementation, top-down approach, lack of adequate consultation of stakeholders and lack of implementation capacity. Similarly the study by World Bank shows in Ethiopia there was no systematic monitoring of the organization's actual performance against the standards in their Citizen's Charter. This led to significant variance downward from the standards set under BPR. Therefore, Citizens Charter has a limited influence on the daily activities of civil servants (World Bank, 2016).

The Civil Service Change Army in Ethiopia

Change army (other call it reform army) are peculiar to civil service system as it is taken from the military sector (Sime, 2016). Following its pilot in the rural areas, the Change Army has, been streamlined into the civil service since 2012, to bring together the party, the civil servants, and public wings. The Party Wing is responsible for providing orientation programs to enable civil servants to fully grasp and effectively execute government policies and strategies (World Bank, 2016).

The State Wing (civil service) consists of five levels: individual civil servants, 'model' civil servants, lower-level leadership, middle-level leadership, and top leadership. Four individual civil servants are grouped together based on their work processes and made to join one model civil servant to form a team consist of 5 members usually known as '1 to 5'. The model civil servant conducts daily/weekly peer reviews and evaluates the group's performance. This is expected to create a mechanism to coach junior staff and improve attitudes by putting peer pressure on civil servants. The outcomes of these weekly discussions are presented to the lower-level leadership that constitutes of the leader of 1 to 5 groups. The group of 5 lower-level leaders is led by the middle-level leaders to review their performance. The highest level, the Council, constitutes top managers and directors and meets at least monthly. The Council also meets monthly with all staff members to discuss performance reports and resolve internal issues, and with the Public Wing on a quarterly basis (World Bank, 2016). In this way all government employees were made under a straight command of the ruling party.

The Public Wing is a platform that constitutes clients; associations for youth, women, and professionals; cooperatives; private sector representatives; and others groups close to government. On a quarterly basis, top management meet with Public Wing members to discuss strategic plans and their implementation, the objectives set, the service standards agreed upon by the Citizens Charter, as well as new policy recommendations and issues related to good governance and rent seeking (World Bank, 2016). As this platform is not demand driven, it has little contribution to ensure accountability.

However the intention of introducing Change Army in the civil has been highly debated. The indicated purpose of building Change Army in public sector in Ethiopia as shown in (Ministry of Civil Service, 2014) is to create a strong teamwork under a single chain of command which acts as a stand by-armed-force for achievement of organizational goals. Experience of building effective military army is brought in to building public service army in Ethiopia (Kebede, 2018).

Change Army has not been properly understood among its major actors. Gebre and Nigussie (2016) found that many civil servants did not clearly understand the mission of change army. The Change Army is taken as both part of the spectrum of teamwork and group dynamics. But, beyond team building, change army needs to apply some basic disciplines of military science such as acting as a standby-armed-force, which probably borrowed by TPLF from its military experience. It is also known by some employees as an instrument to facilitate a control of ruling party over the civil servants. Some change army members consider forming the change army group and conducting a review meeting as an end itself. Government on its side describes change army as a platform for collective review of performance, identification of leading civil servants in their performance, identification of work challenges, evaluation of problems encountered, and searching the way to solve the problems. The Government equates change army with quality circles established for ensuring quality in Kaizen and Total Quality Management.

The change army makes periodic formal performance appraisal to review the army's performance usually once a week (MoCS, 2014). The process of review is expected to build the capacity of performers through coaching, and feedback. The ideal approach of the change army requires measuring performance and nominating high performers. Based on continues or periodic review, Change army is expected to celebrate success, recognize achievements and reward high performer civil servants to motivate employees and scale up their effectiveness and efficiency (Gebre & Nigussie, 2016). Though it was not uniformly applied, performance appraisal in the civil service organizations was significantly practiced; however, celebration of success was almost not practiced (Gebre & Nigussie, 2016).

Some Achievements and Limitations of the Reform Programs

Among the positive results of civil service reform, one can mention the development of new policies, legislations working system and new institutions. ROPAS brings about the concept of performance agreement; though limited to only lower level of organization. The adoption of strategic management approach made public organizations to identify their vision, mission, values and goals. Similarly the service delivery policy has promoted customer orientation. Moreover, the reform efforts increase awareness on rights and obligations of service users and service providers in services provision. As outcomes of the CSRP, some public organizations (Document Authentication and Registration Office, Ethiopian Revenue and Custom Authority, Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, Ministry of Trade and Industry) have registered initial improvements in their cycle time as reported by (Sime, 2012; Tesfaye & Atakilt, 2011 and; Mengesha & Common, 2006).

However, The Latest researches reported by (Debela & Hagos, 2012); World Bank, 2016); Sime, 2016) evidenced the momentum of changes has not maintained. A study by Jemal (2016) concludes that despite great value in finding ways to improve the effectiveness of a reform effort, many of public organizations in Ethiopia had not achieved desired changes.

Similarly, a research by Amare, Getachew and Fikreyesus (2018) indicates the implementation level of reform at the Federal public organizations falls below average. There were several reasons for failure of reforms to achieve the intended goals.

The sustainability of reforms was not well thought at the stage of adoption of reform tools. Once the redesigned business processes are implemented, complementary continuous improvement practices are essential to maintain performance. The desired effects of reform program do not come only from the one-time intervention, but also results from post reform calibration efforts. Calibrating the change process further deepens the change and prevents backsliding to pre reform ways of working (Kassahune, 2012). Against this principle, the decline of momentum of commitment in the early implementation stage of BPR was observe (Debela & Hagos, 2012). According to different studies, the reasons for declining momentum of change were absence of accompanying job grading and incentive packages, low involvement of professional staff; and lack of strong demand side pressure for reforms or improvements (Debela & Hagos, 2012; World Bank, 2016). Sime (2016) added that sustainability of early improvements was challenged by lack of continued commitment and competency, lack of ICT infrastructure and inefficiency in its utilization, weak monitoring and evaluation, and attitudes of change resistance. Both structural reforms and extensive behavioral changes are required for successful implementation of reforms. Hence continued follow-up and reinforcement is necessary (Daley, 1990).

Performance management and measurement systems always have both a political (that is, ideology, interests, power) and a technological dimension (Diefenbach, 2009). In Ethiopia however, only the political dimension is dominant. For instance, Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource Development (2017) stated in its Citizen's Charter Development and implementation manual, the purpose of the implementation of each reform tool is not about technical improvement of jobs through performance management, rather change tools were intended to be instruments for achievement of 'developmental state' ideology.

Another weak aspect of public sector reform programs of Ethiopia is the lack of popularity and inability to enjoy a reasonable level of commitment at the bottom of the hierarchy where the reform efforts were to be brought down on the ground for implementation and institutionalization (Tadesse, 2019). Due to the low level of acceptance by the civil servants, the desired targets of the reform programs were not met. It is appropriate to note a study by Daley (1990) that argues the importance of restoring employee confidence in the reform to avoid continuing skepticism and hypocrisy.

Finally, the urgency with which the government has pursued reform has at times overloaded the civil service with reform tools (World Bank, 2016). Each government organization strives to use the BSC model to plan, monitor and evaluate its performance from four perspectives: finance (budget utilization), responsiveness to citizens, internal process and organizational learning. On the other hand, MoFED attempts to make civil service organizations implement program-based budgeting model starting from 2011/12. These two management tools require different forms of reporting, but their compatibility was not checked properly (Debela & Hagos, 2012). Along multiplicity of reform tools, the pick-drop experience of different reform tools in the civil service sector perpetuated "a reform tool fatigue/fade" that would be challenging for future efforts to be made. On top of overburden by urgent adoption of many reform tools simultaneously, reforms have tended to be rolled out in a uniform manner, with limited means for flexibility, adaptation, and integration(World Bank, 2016).Reforms must be customized based on the type of organization, tasks being performed or services being rendered, and objectives to be attained (Sime, 2016; Knox, 2019).

Conclusion

A systematic organizational performance management with clear target, acceptable measurement and accountability for performance had never implemented in the three successive regimes in a period before 1991. Likewise, since 1991, the first and second phases reforms did not alter organizational performance management system in the public sector as their objective were not improving organizational performance management. The first phase reform intended to reduce redundancy in the civil service, while the second phase reform sought to build capacity by creating enabling legislation, developing operating systems, and training staff. Like the second phase, the third phase PSRP has also aimed at building capacity and enhancing organizational performance, but with different approaches. The approach of the reform have been changed from improving legislation, improving operating systems and training to developing customer oriented service delivery policy, strategic plan and result oriented performance appraisal (ROPA). These initiatives directly alter some aspects of performance management system of the public sector. Service delivery policy brought to civil service a customer orientation, strategic plan promoted planning and goal setting in government, while ROPA favored performance agreement between lower level management and the staff.

Though the third phase PSRP is different from the previous reforms in transforming performance management system, it has limitation in achieving the result oriented performance management system. ROPAS focused only on employee performance appraisal than providing integrated performance management system at organizational level. Additionally, the integration between organizational goals in the strategic plan and agreed up on targets at the lower level of organization was weak. Furthermore ROPAS exempt tope management from accountability for performance. The system of performance management during this time did not incorporate goal setting, performance measure and use of performance information for reward and accountability. Reforms did not conceive result oriented performance management as means of improving organizational performance.

The consecutively adoptions of reform tools since 2005 has brought the principles of result oriented performance management in to the public sector. BPR popularize setting organizational performance standard, establishing challenge goals, performance measurement, using of performance measurement information for administrative purpose, learning and reward. BSC provided a tool for setting organizational strategy, planning monitoring and communication of organizational performance. If change army is used purely for technical management purpose it would offer opportunity for periodic or continual performance review. The Citizen Charter supports the implementation of BPR by communicating service standards and conditions. It is also an instrument of ensuring accountability through stakeholders' participation. These four reform tools can transform performance management to the result oriented approach in the public sector. However, meager implementation of these reform tools made result oriented performance management only rhetoric. It is important in future research to ask why government is designing a system that it is not willing to implement or system that it is not able to implement.

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