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PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS AND MANAGING CHANGE IN BOTSWANA: THE CASE OF PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (PMS)

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May, 2008

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my late mother, Bontle K. Mothusi and my younger brother, Tebogo Mothusi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am highly indebted to the Chair of my dissertation committee, Prof. Jennifer Alexander for the guidance, advice, support and encouragement that she gave me from the day I requested her to be my supervisor until the day I finished working on the dissertation. The contribution of other committee members is greatly appreciated. I learned a lot from them and will continue to look up to them for guidance and assistance as I continue with my academic journey.

In the same vein, I acknowledge the support and encouragement that I got from my mother, Bontle, my younger brother, Tebogo, my girlfriend, Ruth Molefe, my best friend Kealeboga Pifelo and my colleague, Dr Emmanuel Botlhale. It is through their support that I managed to reach the finishing line.

I also thank the Directors of all the four departments that I used in the study for allowing me to conduct interviews within their departments and for sharing their views with me. The assistance that I got from Mr. Gabakgore (DLGSM), Mr. Malinga (DLGDP), Ms Tumelo (DoL) and Mr. Moatshe (DoH) is greatly appreciated.

Lastly, I want to thank my employer and sponsor, the University of Botswana, for affording me an opportunity to further my studies.

PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS AND MANAGING CHANGE IN BOTSWANA: THE CASE OF PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (PMS)

BASHI MOTHUSI

ABSTRACT

Although public sector reforms have been embraced voluntarily in Botswana, no attempt has been made by scholars and practioners to assess the effect of such interventions and their relationship with the culture that shapes and influences people's behaviour within public organizations. The evaluation of programs and policies formulated and implemented since the attainment of political independence in September 1966 rarely makes reference to the manner in which organizational culture affects the attainment of goals and objectives specified under such interventions. Hence, this study sought to understand the relationship between public sector reforms undertaken in Botswana, particularly Performance Management System (PMS) and organizational culture as well as assess factors that support and impede the implementation of PMS with a view to indicating how change is managed within government departments.

Four government departments in Botswana were studied using a case study research methodology. The study findings indicate that the culture of public servants has changed following the introduction of PMS. The majority of respondents stated that a culture of planning and accountability for one's performance and actions is getting entrenched. This is because PMS makes it mandatory for officers to plan and do their work in a systematic and organized manner through preparation and execution of Performance Development Plans as well as upholding departmental values as reflected in the vision and mission statements.

On the negative side, the study findings indicate that a top-down approach was adopted at the planning stage thus resulting in lack of ownership of the reform. This problem is compounded by the exclusion of Industrial class employees, failure to provide promised incentives and inadequate understanding of PMS concepts and tools by some of the officers tasked with the responsibility of driving it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I provide a brief discussion of the debates within the field of public administration regarding what ought to be done within public organizations for efficiency and effectiveness to be attained. The chapter captures the views of scholars and practitioners who pioneered the establishment of public administration as a self conscious field of study and practice as well as the views espoused by the proponents of the New Public Management (NPM) given the observation that NPM has been embraced as an international phenomenon since the late 1970s. I also discuss, albeit briefly, the connection between various administrative reforms that were undertaken in countries throughout the world and organizational culture.

The definitions of the main concepts used in the study such as public sector reforms, organizational culture, efficiency, performance management system, performance development plans and others will be discussed together with the socioeconomic and political development of Botswana as the case study.

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I present the socio-economic and political development of Botswana for purposes of providing the context within which public sector reforms have been conceived and implemented within the country. I then present the various public sector reforms that have been undertaken in Botswana since the 1980s to date with a view to indicating how the Performance Management System (PMS) was also conceived and implemented. Lastly, I present the problem that the study seeks to investigate as well as illustrate the significance of the study.

1.1 The pursuit of efficiency within public organizations

The desire to attain efficiency and effectiveness within public organizations has without any doubt triggered debates within the field of public administration. Scholars and practitioners who pioneered the establishment of public administration as a self conscious field of study and practice such as Woodrow Wilson, the founders of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Fredrick Taylor, Frank Goodnow, Leonard White, Luther Gulick and others argued that efficiency within public organizations can be attained through separation of politics and administration, the use of scientific methods to make value-free decisions and the adoption of business strategies and techniques (Henry 1987; Fry 1998; Stivers 2000; Stillman, 2000). Wilson (1887) was of the view that, "It is the object of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and the least possible cost either of money or of energy" (p 3). He went further to state that, "The field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics; it at most points stands apart even from the debatable ground of constitutional study" (Wilson, 1887, p 13).

In the same vein, Wilson argued that, "administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices" (1887, p 14). It has to be borne in mind that Woodrow Wilson presented his ideas at a time when the American society was undergoing industrial and economic expansion on an unprecedented scale which resulted in the problems of inefficiency and corruption at both the national and state levels.

It is against this background that Waldo (1984) draws our attention to the observation made by Wilson in 1901 when he (Wilson) stated that, "A new era has come upon us like a sudden vision of things unprophesized and for which no polity has been prepared" (p xxiv). There was need to find ways and means through which a constitutional governmental system adopted for earlier and simpler times can be adjusted to the changes that were taking place during the twentieth century (Waldo, 1984).

In response to the high rates of corruption and mismanagement of public resources by city officials at the beginning of the twentieth century, founders of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research also contended that efficiency can be attained by separating politics from administration, putting more emphasis on managerial expertise and embracing scientific techniques to make informed decisions. For the bureau men, administrative decisions have to be premised on scientific research and facts rather than on values and assumptions. Regarding the adoption and application of private sector strategies and techniques to public agencies, Stivers (2000) notes that, "municipal reform was permeated with the idea that the city is essentially like a business and ought to be run along business lines" (p 25). As far as Frederick Cleveland was concerned, "the elements of successful management of municipal enterprise are the same as the elements of successful management of private enterprise" (Stivers, 2000, p 67). In the same vein, the reformers adamantly believed that, "The requirements for sound government management were business requirements" (Stivers, 2000, p 67). As far as the bureau men were concerned, public and private sector agencies are basically the same.

The man credited with writing the first textbook of public administration, Leonard White, also believed that efficiency within public organizations can be attained through separating politics from administration more so that management can be undertaken through the use of scientific techniques. He held that decisions within public organizations have to be based on facts rather than values. As he argued, "Politics should not intrude on administration; management lends itself to scientific study; public administration is capable of becoming a "value-free" science in its own right; the mission of administration is economy and efficiency, period" (Henry, 1987, p 41- 42)

Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick were of the view that efficiency within organizations, be they public or private, can be attained if Chief Executive Officers are engaged in planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting. These tasks are commonly grouped under the acronym, POSDCORB. Henry (1987) summarizes the views held by Gulick and Urwick by stating that, "Principles were important to Gulick and Urwick, but where those principles were applied was not; focus was favored over locus, and no bones were made about it" (p 44). Just like Wilson, White and the founders of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Gulick and Urwick did not draw any dividing line between public and private agencies.

The proponents of the New Public Management (NPM) or reinventing government movement vehemently expressed similar sentiments in the late 1970s and early 1980s thus influencing governments throughout the world to privatize public organizations, roll back the state and reduce the size of the public bureaucracy. According to the reinventors, the problem is not what the governments do, but how they do it. They argue that public managers should be freed from excessive red tape and should not be burdened with provision of goods and services. Managers should be given the discretion to contract out provision of services and citizens should be treated like customers in the same manner as they are in the private sector (Nikos 2000; Box *et al* 2001; Hope 2001; Denhardt & Denhardt 2003; Terry 2005). Spicer (2004) summarizes the views of the reinventors by stating that, "The reinventors, therefore, see public administration as working best when administrators are allowed the freedom of action to devote their entire attention, resources, and energies to working toward some single well-defined government mission" (p 358).

Regarding separation of politics from administration, Spicer (2004) notes that the proponents of the New Public Management believe that efficiency within pubic agencies can be attained through depoliticizing the governance process and rendering it rational and teleocratic. He illustrates this point by making reference to the sentiments expressed by Osborne and Plastrik (1997) when they argue that,

"steering" or "choosing and evaluating strategies to achieve fundamental goals" is "far easier in a rational, nonpoliticized environment than in the typical political environment one finds" because "in most political environments, elected officials are far more interested in achieving their short-term political goals...than in increasing the government's capacity to choose long-term goals and strategies to achieve them (Spicer, 2004, p 358)

Spicer goes further to sum up the foregoing sentiments by saying that, "In short, the reinventors want our entire government - not just public administrators - to behave in a less political and more rational and teleocratic fashion" (2004, p 359).

It is clear from the preceding paragraphs that all the scholars and practitioners who contributed to the emergence of public administration as a self conscious field of study and practice together with the proponents of the New Public Management strongly believe that there is a right or generic way of learning and practicing public administration. They are of the view that if certain things are present or done within public organizations, then efficiency and effectiveness will be attained irrespective of the organization's size, location, purpose of existence and others.

The search for efficiency and effectiveness within public organizations has without any doubt resulted in countries throughout the world embarking on various forms of public or civil service reforms. In some countries, particularly the developing ones, public sector reforms are usually embraced to address the problems of rampant corruption and mismanagement of public resources, acute shortage of resources (be they human, financial or otherwise), red tape arising from bloated bureaucracies, laxity arising from job security and others. In the developed countries, more emphasis is usually put on the need to have a government that can do more with little resources and a shift towards the use of the private sector to provide goods and services. Former Presidents of the United States of America such as Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton expressed these sentiments during their election campaigns and authorized changes to the manner in which public organizations operate. The current President, George W. Bush, continued the trend as evidenced by the use of private contractors to operate prisons and other institutions that are usually under the jurisdiction of public servants.

It is worth noting that when the winds of change started blowing across public bureaucracies throughout the world, scholars such as Fine 1984; Allaire *et al* 1984; Ouchi & Wilkins 1985; Oluwu 1999; Schein 1985, 1992, 1993, 2004; Owusu 2005 and others started making a concerted effort of finding out how culture is formed, changed and maintained within public organizations as well as the manner in which it affects efforts geared towards the attainment of organizational goals and objectives. Whilst Allaire *et al* (1984) acknowledge that culture within the organization theory literature is "often treated as an undefined, immanent characteristic of any society" (p 194) they contend that it is also regarded "as yet another *contingency factor* with a varying and little understood incidence on the functioning of organizations" (p 194, italics in the original).

The desire to understand how culture influences the manner in which people within organizations work and relate to each other coupled with the observation that different societies have different cultures tempt Allaire *et al* (1984) to argue that, "considerable research efforts were and are still expended in search of culture's influence on the structures and processes of organizations and on the attitudes, needs and motivations of managers" (p 194). A similar observation has been made by Metcalfe and Richards (1993) when they state that, "Of late the emphasis has changed from technique

to culture. The new philosopher's stone, or perhaps management consultants' meal ticket, is organizational culture" (p 107).

Notwithstanding the important role that organizational culture plays in the success and/or failure of new performance enhancing interventions designed within and without public organizations, public administrators in the developing countries continue to pay little or no attention to it as and when public sector reforms are implemented. It is common for public sector reforms to be implemented in the developing countries premised on concepts, mentality and attitudes that are in conflict with the indigenous people, politicians and public administrators. This is compounded by the fact that there is a belief among the donors who mostly sponsor and coordinate public sector reforms in the developing countries that a one size fits all strategy can be used to resolve all the problems that have been identified.

It is on the basis of the importance attached to organizational culture that this study seeks to understand the relationship between Performance Management System (PMS) and organizational culture in Botswana. The other objective of the study is to assess the manner in which change is managed by investigating factors that support and impede the implementation of PMS whose main objective is to improve productivity and inculcate a culture of high performance within the public sector.

The first objective of the study is premised on an important observation made by Metcalfe and Richards (1993) when they state that, "A strong organizational culture offers a means of inculcating the motivation and sense of purpose that more mechanistic management techniques have failed to provide"(p 107). This indicates that organizational culture can be used to explain the decline and improvement of public sector productivity given the observation that mechanistic techniques have not been able to offer the much needed explanation and solutions to the identified problems.

The second objective is premised on the observation made by Popovich (1998) when he states that all people who striving to create high-performance organizations should realize that "the process of transformation and maintaining the change is people-centered in high-performance organizations" (p 11). Furthermore, Popovich (1998) indicates that, "the essential focus is on the people inside the organizations and those on the outside with a vested interest in its performance. The processes, technologies, and technologies are tools to help them perform at a higher level" (p 12). In other words, the interests and welfare of people within organizations should be taken into consideration when new initiatives are introduced with a view to improving their performance. Hence, it is important to assess the manner in which change is managed within the selected government departments in Botswana.

1.2 Definition of concepts

Since the study is mainly on public sector reforms with particular reference to Performance Management System and organizational culture in Botswana, it is imperative that the definitions and the manner in which certain concepts will be used be presented from the onset. Two aspects or components of PMS (performance development plans and balanced score cards) will be used to assess its relationship with organizational culture and their definitions are presented below.

i) Public sector reforms

Public sector reforms in this study are regarded as the process of restructuring or realigning public organizations with a view to making them operate in an efficient and effective manner. Restructuring of public organizations is usually premised on the belief that the government has grown too big and is therefore cumbersome to manage in such a way that the needs and demands of the citizens can be addressed promptly using fewer resources. Hence, the process entails retrenchment of public officers, reducing government expenditure, reducing corruption, elimination of ghost workers, privatizing provision of certain goods and services and a shift towards the use of private sector strategies and techniques in public organizations.

In this vein, public sector reforms will be regarded as "all forms of administrative changes involving processes, policies and procedures which have impacted the entire civil service, and these may or may not necessarily have political connotations" (Corkery *et al*, 1998, p 83). In Botswana, all the public sector reforms have been consciously formulated and directed by the Directorate of Public Service and Management (DPSM) which is responsible for coordinating and directing public service management activities.

ii) Organizational culture

Although the concept of culture provides an important lens to allow people to understand the manner in which organizations operate, Schein (1993) reminds us of the difficulty that we face in trying to come up with one precise definition of culture. This difficulty, as far as Schein (1993) is concerned, is intimately related to the fact that when we talk about culture as it pertains to groups and organizations, we always struggle to define these entities in an unambiguous manner. Isaac (1993) concurs with the foregoing observation and states that, "Organizational culture means an array of things to different people" (p 91). Inasmuch as Isaac (1993) acknowledges the fact that a host of assumptions about organizational culture in the literature provides the reader with a wide variety, he also concludes that, "it certainly fails to clarify and promote understanding" (p 91).

Sackmann (1992) also highlights this difficulty by indicating that research done so far has explored the components and structure of organizational culture "primarily on theoretical grounds or empirically with deductive reasoning" (p 140). Despite the usefulness of these two approaches, Sackmann is of the view that there are many questions that still remain unanswered. Some of the questions that Sackmann (1992) brings to our attention include *inter alia*: Is culture homogenous? Is it heterogeneous? Or is it both? If the latter is the case, which aspects are homogeneous and which are heterogeneous? If culture is composed of subcultures, where do they emerge and what triggers them to emerge?

It is clear from the foregoing paragraphs that organizational culture is a complex and diverse phenomenon. As Sackmann (1992) notes, "the existing conceptual diversity makes it difficult to operationalize culture" (p 140). People belonging to different units within an organization usually have different cultures and may be more committed to attaining the goals of their units than they are to those of the organization as a whole. For example, the values and beliefs shared by the academic staff may be different from those of the non-academic staff even though both parties need each other to attain the main goals of the university. Due to these differences, the possibility of the sub cultures clashing cannot be ruled out given the fact that people within organizations usually compete for resources, power and authority.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of having one precise definition as a result of different people holding different views, a comprehensive definition of culture provided by Owusu (2005) is the one that will be used for this study. He defines culture as:

the underlying assumptions, beliefs, values, attitudes and expectations shared by an organization's members, including unwritten codes of conduct and behaviour, such as practices that are acceptable; practices for which one can be rewarded and those that will cause a reprimand, practices that are tolerated within the organization (Owusu, 2005, p 8).

Drawing on the work of the anthropologist, Mary Douglas (1985), Seel (2000) reminds us that, "culture is not a static 'thing' but something which everyone is constantly creating, affirming and expressing" (p 2). It is in this vein that he defines organizational culture as "the emergent result of the continuing negotiations about values, meanings and properties between the members of that organisation and its environment" (Seel, 2000, p 2). According to Seel, culture is the "result of daily conversations and negotiations between the members of an organisation" (2000, p 2). He goes further to indicate that people within organizations continually agree, sometimes explicitly or tacitly, "about the 'proper' way to do things and how to make meanings about the events of the world around them" (Seel, 2000, p 2).

By the same token, Quinn and McGrath (1985) state that, "Whenever an interaction takes place, valued things (facts, ideas, affection, permission, and so on) are exchanged. These transactions or exchange determine identity, power and satisfaction" (p

325). Quinn and McGrath go further to indicate that the shared values and beliefs pertain to things such as "organizational purpose, criteria of performance, the location of authority, legitimate bases of power, decision-making orientations, style of leadership, compliance, evaluation and motivation" (1985, p 325).

In line with the foregoing discussion, Umeh & Andranovich (2005) conceptualize organizational culture "as the glue that holds an organization together through a sharing of patterns of meaning" (p 108). According to them, culture within organizations focuses on values, beliefs and expectations that members share, the customary and traditional way of thinking and doing things, rituals and ceremonies, rules for behavior and others.

Since organizational culture can be formed and changed by written and unwritten or formal and informal procedures, rules and regulations, Fine (1984) is of the view that, "The cultural forms that characterize an organization fall into numerous traditional genres: slang or jargon, jokes, ideology, sagas and histories, rituals and ceremonies, and stories" (p 243).

It is in view of the foregoing that I conceptualize organizational culture as a people's way of life within a given organization, be it public or private. It depicts the manner in which people within an organization relate to each other, the values, beliefs, ideologies, customs and rituals that they share. It also indicates the manner in which the socialization process takes place and how informal organizations are formed. Hence, in this study, the formal philosophy or mission and vision statements of the selected organizations, artifacts (i.e. posters, pictures, decorations and documents) behavior, language and style or dress code were used as indicators of organizational culture.

iii) The culture of public servants in Botswana

Public servants in Botswana use the Tswana culture together with the Public Service Charter, Public Service Act and General Orders to form and shape their organizational culture. In the Tswana culture, people are expected to show respect for each other irrespective of their color, age, religion, educational background and others. People are expected to greet each other when they meet in offices, hallways, shops, elevators, bus stops and other places. Failure to greet people, particularly when you find them at a certain place or spot irrespective of whether you know them or not, is considered bad manners.

The Public Service Charter, Public Service Act and the General Orders set the parameters within which officers operate and the standards that public servants are expected to maintain. These documents require public servants to uphold certain values such as honesty, integrity, *botho* (being courteous at all times), timeliness and others in the performance of their duties. They also prescribe the acceptable dress code, which is mainly a jacket and tie for men and a formal dress or suit for women. The Public Service Act and General Orders also state the powers that senior officers have, rules and regulations that all officers should adhere to as well as the procedures that should be followed in cases of disciplinary action being taken against those who are deemed to have contravened certain rules and regulations.

The aforementioned documents also state that English and Setswana are the two official languages that should be used for purposes of communicating even though the former is used more predominantly particularly when writing project memoranda, circulars, savingrams, minutes of the meetings and others. In fact, meetings for all permanent and pensionable staff are usually conducted in English even if there is no expatriate among them. Setswana is usually used when addressing Industrial class employees who are not as educated as the Permanent and Pensionable ones. The industrial class group is made up of secretaries, messengers, cleaners, drivers and grounds men.

It is in view of the foregoing observations that public servants in Botswana usually feel bound to greet all the people that they meet in government offices, hallways, corridors and elevators if they have them in their buildings. Some go a step further to ensure that visitors or "clients" as they call them, find the offices and the officers that they are looking for.

In compliance with the General Orders, all men usually wear a shirt, jacket and a tie while women wear formal dresses, suits or blouses and skirts even though the industrial class employees do not feel compelled to dress formally owing to the nature of their jobs. English and Setswana are the only two official languages used within government offices and all correspondences addressed to other departments or ministries are written either on behalf of the Director or the Permanent Secretary as the most senior officers within departments and ministries respectively. Allegiance is therefore to the Director and Permanent Secretary depending on where one is in the structure of the organization.

The relationship between Directors and their subordinates or between Permanent Secretaries and their staff is in most cases formal and rigid. This can be attributed to the fact that most senior officers prefer a top-down approach as it allows them to exercise power and authority as they deem appropriate. The senior officers in all government

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departments have a tendency of taking major decisions without the full participation of junior officers even with regard to issues which have a direct impact on their positions, welfare and performance. Consultation is usually in the form of telling the junior officers about the decisions that have been taken by the senior management.

Although prompt and efficient delivery of services is desired within the public sector, some of the public servants in Botswana are of the view that the effort that they put in their work has to be commensurate with their salaries. As they sometimes put it, one's work rate has to be determined by their salary scale more so that "one cannot finish government work". Hence, some people do not have a sense of urgency and deliberately work at a snail's pace.

Regarding the manner in which people relate to each other, it can be noted that they usually call each other with last names particularly in formal settings such as meetings. First names are used sparingly in informal settings depending on the manner in which the two people involved relate to each other. For example, age-mates or people who went to school together or those who have worked together for some years tend to call each other with first names in an informal setting but would use last names in other fora. The use of first and last names, therefore depends on the setting and the relationship between the people involved. In some cases, people call each other using the names of their children particularly their first-born as it is usually done in the Tswana culture.

It is also worth noting that almost all public servants in Botswana have posters, calendars, circulars and savingrams on the walls of their offices. Some of the posters that they have show Cabinet members, Members of Parliament, Members of House of Chiefs, the Defence Council and Councilors while others are on issues of national interest such

HIV/AIDS, blood donation, domestic violence, children's right to education, Vision 2016 (i.e. the country's vision), corruption, over-speeding and wreckless driving, departmental vision and mission statements, values espoused and others. In some offices, there are photographs of the three Presidents that have ruled Botswana since the attainment of political independence from Britain in September 1966. They also have wall clocks and plants used for decoration.

In an attempt to have a loving and caring nation by year 2016, almost all government departments have morning prayers on different days of the week. The meetings are used to share messages from the bible on how people should care for each other, console people who have been affected by the HIV/AIDS scourge or other debilitating diseases afflicting the nation, brainstorm on how the department can have a positive impact on the lives of the underprivileged members of the department, introduce new members of staff, announce transfers and promotions as well as update members on activities pertaining to the department. The morning prayers are nowadays viewed as important platforms through which harmony, mutual respect and understanding can be enhanced within government departments.

The other interesting thing is that senior officers in government are provided with tea and biscuits in their offices on daily basis. This is regarded as one of the benefits that one gets as they move up the organizational ladder. As it is usually done in the Tswana culture, visitors are normally offered a cup of tea. The middle and junior officers normally get an opportunity to have a cup of tea when they attend meetings in the morning. Otherwise, most of them usually leave their offices between nine and ten o'clock in the morning to go and buy something to eat. In fact, some public servants strongly believe that it is their right to go to the shops everyday to buy food during working hours.

It is in view of the foregoing that I can summarize the culture of public servants in Botswana as being shaped by the Tswana culture, hierarchical structures of their departments, compassion and accountability to the group. Even though public servants come from different tribes in Botswana, all of them share certain things such as greeting people when they meet in the hallway, corridor or elevators. There is respect for elders, colleagues and people in positions of authority. The hierarchical structure of government departments entrenches a culture of obedience, loyalty and accountability as officers pay allegiance to their supervisors who in most cases are the Directors or Heads of Departments and Permanent Secretaries.

iv) Efficiency

In this study, efficiency is defined as all efforts geared towards getting "the most out of scarce resources to achieve whatever goal the organization wishes to pursue" (Sorensen, 1993, p 225). Since there are two types of efficiency (managerial and economic efficiency), this study is mainly concerned with the former as it is a "ratio measure relating outputs to inputs" (Downs and Larkey, 1986, p 6). Managerial efficiency is concerned mainly with the manner in which inputs such as human, material and other resources are used to produce goods and services. Since managerial efficiency is a "relative measure based on previous performance levels or performance levels of other government agencies" (Downs and Larkey, 1986, p 6), it is usually assumed that

efficiency is attained if the cost of producing a particular good or service is reduced over time.

Even though the definition of efficiency given above seems to be simple and straightforward, Sorensen (1993) holds that the usage of the efficiency criteria in the public sector is more complex than in the private sector due to the fundamental differences between the two sectors. This is compounded by the fact that it is usually difficult for public officials to specifically attribute the reduction of costs to a particular input. A similar observation has been made by Hou *et al* (2003) when they state that, "measurement of changes in outputs and outcomes, have proven to be among the most nettlesome of reform issues" (p 296).

v) Performance Management System (PMS)

Wescott (1996) defines performance management within the public sector as a "system which links organizational goals to workplans, appraisal, capacity development, pay and incentives for individuals and teams" (p 26). By the same token, Davies (1999) holds that, "Performance management can be thought of as a set of systematic efforts, initiatives and processes that have a number of characteristics" (p 151). The main goal of these initiatives as far as Davies (1999) is concerned, is to define performance in terms of results, outputs, effects, and impact; set measurable levels of intended achievement (i.e. have performance targets and service standards); determine the extent to which results are achieved using performance indicators (i.e. performance measurement and monitoring); provide an accounting mechanism for achievement of results vis-à-vis the resources

utilized and lastly, to base all decisions pertaining to resource allocation on performance information available.

Borrowing a leaf from the works of Moulin (2002) and de Bruijn (2001), McAdam *et al* (2005) indicate that the objectives of performance management, which are at the heart of the government reform agenda are:

- rationalization in terms of size, cost and functions
- the introduction of more effective systems of financial accountability
- greater transparency in the operation of public institutions
- upgrading the skill base of the public sector and modernizing its functional principles, procedures and systems
- developing a realistic remuneration policy based on performance

Davies (1999) is of the view that the format used by different organizations to identify their intended results, how they measure them, how they report on them and how they intend to use the information that they have to make decisions, "typifies the way many jurisdictions define performance management" (p 151). He illustrates this point by presenting the definitions offered by the National Academy of Public Administration and US General Accounting Office. According to Davies (1999), the former defines performance management as "a process of defining a mission and desired outcomes, setting performance standards, linking budget to performance, reporting results, and holding public officials accountable for those results" (p 151). The latter defines performance management as "managing and reporting based on what programmes are achieving for citizens at what cost. This implies agreeing on expected outcomes, measuring progress toward them and using that information to improve performance and report results" (Davies, 1999, p 151).

Since PMS can be viewed as an aspect or component of the New Public Management, which has been embraced as an international phenomenon in both practice and study (Jones and Kettl, 2003), Botswana like other countries started implementing PMS in 1999 in an attempt to improve productivity as well as to ensure that the country is competitive in the international arena. Following in the footsteps of the developed countries such as New Zealand, Botswana introduced Performance Agreements for senior public servants as evidenced by the fact that Permanent Secretaries are hired on contracts. These officers are rewarded according to their performance and can be sacked if they fail to measure up to their task.

In Botswana, PMS seeks to change the mindset of government senior officers together with their subordinates to perform their responsibilities diligently in a competitive global environment. It is a performance enhancing strategy that requires all ministries and departments to have clearly written mission and vision statements. Public servants are expected to have well defined plans and programs of how they intend to execute their duties and responsibilities and their performance is to be assessed on the basis of such plans and programs. Rewards in the form of promotions, further training and salary increments are determined by one's ability to attain the goals or targets set for them. Hence, it is not surprising that in Botswana, PMS is viewed as "a change and quality management process that facilitates a comprehensive management of performance at all levels in an organization" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 1).

It is on the basis of the foregoing observations that I contend that PMS, like public management is premised on the belief that public organizations can be run and managed in the same manner as private organizations as evidenced by the use of things such as balanced scorecards. One of the central themes or values of PMS is that citizens should be treated as customers as is done in the private sector. The proponents of PMS and other public sector reforms are basically calling for a paradigm shift from the traditional model of public administration that is heavily premised on Max Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy which is deemed to be impersonal, slow, oppressive and rigid (Alexander, ?) to one that is based on the principles and ideals of the private sector. There is more emphasis on clear definition of roles, accountability as well as maximum utilization of the available resources. Just like public management, PMS is geared towards the attainment of established goals as well as efficient service delivery.

In an attempt to understand the relationship between organizational culture and PMS as well as investigate factors that support and impede the implementation of PMS with a view to indicating how change is managed within government departments, this study will examine the manner in which Performance Development Plans (PDPs) and balanced scorecards have changed the way public servants execute their tasks and responsibilities. A brief explanation of each is given below.

vi) Performance Development Plans

This is a schedule of activities that all public servants are expected to have at the beginning of every year. The workplan does not only reflect the activities that the officers have to undertake, it also indicates the timeframe as well as the goals that are to be

achieved. Individual workplans have to be in harmony with the responsibilities, mandate, mission and vision statements of the departments and ministries.

The plans are regarded as the first step of Performance Based Reward System (PBRS) geared towards setting in motion the activities of the coming year. They are mainly intended to provide the supervisors with an opportunity to "fully disclose what is expected of the employee in the coming year and to set standards of performance that will provide a reference point from which to decide the performance level achieved at year-end" (DPSM, 2004, p 8). In other words, "The performance and development plan is an agreement signed by the employee and supervisor, which establishes work objectives for the employee" (DPSM, 2004, p 8). Hence, supervisors and their subordinates are expected to have a good discussion on what is expected of them, competencies and the objectives that have to be attained.

vii) Balanced scorecards

According to Arveson (1998), the balanced scorecard was developed by Kaplan and Norton in the early 1990s as a new strategic management tool which seeks to address some of the weaknesses and vagueness of previous management approaches. Hence, the balanced scorecard is deemed to provide ä clear prescription as to what companies should measure in order to 'balance' the financial perspective'' (Arveson, 1998, p 1). Arveson goes further to explain that, "The balanced score card is a *management system* (not only a measurement system) that enables organizations to clarify their vision and strategy and translate them into action" (1998, p 1, emphasis and italics in the original).

As far as Arveson (1998) is concerned, the balanced scorecard approach is premised on key management concepts such as Total Quality Management (TQM), customer defined quality, continuous improvement, employee empowerment as well as measurement based management and feedback. It is also premised on the belief that one cannot improve what they cannot measure. Thus metrics must be developed in line with the priorities of the organization's strategic plan. As Arveson (1998) states, "Processes are then designed to collect information relevant to these metrics and reduce it to numerical form for storage, display, and analysis" (p 3). This makes it easy for decision makers to examine the outcomes of the measures, processes and strategies and track the results of the company as well as provide the much-needed feedback. Hence, the longterm strategy of the organization can be articulated and defined in terms of measurable goals. Balanced scorecards are performance management and measurement tools. They enable decision makers to constantly monitor the quality of their products as well as make enlightened decisions about the long-term strategies that their organizations should embrace.

1.3 Socio-economic and political development of Botswana

Botswana is a semi-arid, landlocked country in Southern Africa nestled between South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Zambia. It measures 581,730 square kilometers and is deemed to be the same size as the state of Texas or France and Belgium combined (Corkery *et al*, 1998). The 2001 population census indicates that the country has a population of 1.7 million sparsely distributed throughout its territory.

This makes Botswana one of the least populated countries in the world and a significant proportion of the population lives in the eastern part of the country.

When Botswana attained political independence from Britain on the 30th September 1966, she was one of the poorest countries in the world¹. The country's economy was highly dependent on subsistence agriculture particularly cattle rearing, foreign aid and remittances from migrant laborers to the South African mines. This state of poverty is evidenced by the fact that the country's per capita income was US\$80 (Coclough & Fallon, 1980). There was virtually no infrastructure in place as shown by the fact that the country only had 8 km of tarred road, 22 university graduates and 6000 civil servants (Corkery *et al*, 1998).

The severe and protracted drought that the country experienced in the years leading to independence and thereafter pushed a significant number of people into poverty given the fact that most of them relied and still rely on arable and pastoral farming. This unfortunate state of poverty led to the country being described and dismissed as a "hopeless basket case" (Mogalakwe, 1997, p 25).

The neglect of the protectorate by the British administration between 1885 and 1966 has been attributed to the fact that prior to independence, there was uncertainty as to whether the protectorate should be integrated into the Republic of South Africa or become a sovereign state. Due to this uncertainty, Britain on one hand did not take an active role to develop the protectorate because she could lose it to South Africa. South Africa on the other hand was reluctant to commit resources towards the development of

¹ Prior to the attainment of independence, the country was called Bechuanaland Protectorate. It was a British protectorate from 1885 until 1966.

the protectorate because it was still under the jurisdiction of British government. As a result of this "almost total neglect from 1885 to 1966" (Harvey & Lewis, 1990, p 18), the independent government inherited an economic structure that was under-developed even by African standards.

Due to the bleak economic and political future that the country faced at independence, the state assumed a leading role in the process of development. National Development Plans (NDPs) which "placed the state at the centre of economic and social planning, primarily because no other sources of development were evident or readily available" (Edge & Lekorwe, 1998, p 334) were prepared and implemented. The development process was premised primarily on a set of four objectives: sustained development, rapid economic growth, economic independence, and social justice. These objectives were complimented by a set of four national principles: democracy, development, self-reliance, and unity (NDP 8, 1996/7 – 2002/03).

The discovery of diamonds in 1967 ushered in a new era in the history of the country as the government's financial muscle was strengthened significantly. Numerous parastatals such as Water Utilities Corporation (WUC), Botswana Power Corporation (BPC), National Development Bank (NDB), Botswana Telecommunications Corporation (BTC), Air Botswana (AB), Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) and others were established over the years to enhance provision of essential services in urban areas. These parastatals provide potable water, electricity, financial assistance to farmers, telecommunications in the form of telephones and Internet, air transportation and agricultural marketing network respectively.

Local authorities in the form of urban and district councils, land boards, tribal administration and district administration were also established at the district level. Councils provide primary education, health, potable water, construction and maintenance of ungazetted roads, sanitary and recreational facilities, fire services and others. Land boards manage and allocate tribal land while the district administration is mandated to oversee implementation of all developmental activities at the district level. Tribal administration deals with the administration of customary law and conservation of traditional values and norms.

The strength and influence of a strong developmental state that emerged after independence are felt in all the spheres of the society, be it social, economic and political thus tempting Edge & Lekorwe (1998) to argue that, "the public sector development administration is at once broader and more focused than the traditional public administration because the state itself serves both as an engine of growth within the economy and as the primary source of social development nationally" (p 337).

Tsie (1996) also notes that the bureaucrats are powerful and greatly play an influential role in formulating and implementing policies geared towards promoting economic growth and development. As he puts it, "The bureaucratic elite in Botswana is powerful and generally effective in formulating and executing development policy. As a result, much of the development that has occurred in Botswana has been state-sponsored and directed" (Tsie, 1996, p 601).

As a result of the revenue accrued from minerals, particularly diamonds, Harvey and Lewis (1990) note that, "Botswana experienced the most rapid rate of growth of GNP per capita (8.3 per cent) of any country in the world" (p 1) between 1965 and 1985.

Formal sector employment grew at a rate of 9.6 percent per year within the same period. Total labor force grew by 48 percent to 651 465 between 1995/96 and 2005/06 while total employment went up by 59 percent to 548 594 during the same period (Budget Speech, 2007). The percentage of people living below the poverty datum line has declined from 47 percent in 1985/86 to 30.2 percent in 2002/03 and the rate is expected to decline to 23 percent by the end of 2008/09 financial year (Budget Speech, 2005).

The unemployment rate has dropped from 21.5 to 17.6 percent between the 1995/96 and 2005/06 financial years (Budget Speech, 2007). Initiatives such as the agricultural support scheme, Citizen Entrepreneurship Development Agency (CEDA) Young Farmers Fund and other citizen empowerment schemes have been introduced to reduce unemployment as well as contribute towards the achievement of the United Nations Millenium Development Goals of "*Eradicating Poverty and Hunger, Achieving Gender Equality, and Creating a Global Partnership for Development*; and at the same time meeting the Vision 2016 pillar of *A Prosperous, productive and Innovative Nation*" (Budget Speech, 2007, p 6, italics in the original).

The quality of life of the citizens has without any doubt improved due to the state's ability to accelerate provision of services as evidenced by the formulation and implementation of numerous policies and programmes such as the Destitute Policy, Drought Relief Programme, Financial Assistance Policy, Arable Land Development Programme, Labour Intensive Public Works, Remote Area Development Programme, Township Services, Old Age Pension Scheme, Primary Health Facilities and others. Corkery *et al* (1998) capture the development or transformation that has taken place within the country by stating that,

In 1970 Botswana had 23 km of paved roads, but by 1990 this figure was up to 2,311 km. In 1975 the country had 5,000 telephone lines, while by 1990 it had 26,367 main connections. In 1960 Botswana had 634 km of railroad track and by 1990 this figure had risen to 714 km. In 1970, 29% of Botswana's total population had access to safe drinking water, while in 1990 this figure was up to 90%, with 88% of the total population having access to sanitation (p 79)

Free education at primary and secondary levels was provided between 1988 and 2006. Although school fees were reintroduced in junior and senior secondary schools in January 2006 as a way of reducing costs, parents pay only five percent of the costs while children from poor families are exempted from paying. As Korte *et al* (2004) note, "Nearly 100% of children are enrolled in primary schools and 76% of adults are literate" (p 1). Health care is free and accessible to more than 75 percent of the citizens. Anti-retroviral drugs for people living with HIV have been provided freely to the citizens since January 2002 (Korte *et al*, 2004). The number of people enrolled in the Anti-Retroviral Therapy stood at 54 378 in 2005 and rose to 75 785 in 2006. The Botswana AIDS Impact Survey conducted in 2004 posited a national prevalence rate of 17.1 percent for age groups of 18 months and above (Budget Speech, 2007).

On the political front, Botswana is the longest surviving multi-party democracy in Africa, having held free and fair elections after every five years since 1965. Unlike other countries in Africa, Botswana did not fight for her political independence and the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has not only ruled the country since 1966, but has also dominated the political landscape. Although the country has several opposition parties such as the Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana Congress Party (BCP), Botswana People's Party (BPP), National Democratic Front (NDF), Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM) and others challenging the BDP for state power, they have so far failed to topple it owing to a high degree of disorganization, fragmentation and internal fights that characterize their operations.

The fragmentation of opposition parties has therefore been identified as one of the main factors that has allowed the BDP to dominate the political landscape. This situation has been captured succinctly by Taylor (2003) when he states that, "Opposition parties are generally weak due to interminable intra-party faction-fighting, internal splits, an unfavorable electoral system (i.e. 'first past the post'), feeble organizational structures, and poor capacity to promote alternative policies" (p 216). The split of the first political party formed prior to independence (Bechuanaland People's Party that became Botswana People's Party) culminated in the formation of the now defunct Botswana Independence Party (BIP) whereas BCP and NDF are products of serious internal fights and irreconcilable differences that now characterize the BNF. The two parties were formed in 1998 and 2003 respectively.

When commenting on the political situation prior to the 1999 general elections and the failure of opposition parties in Botswana to unite and wrestle power from the BDP, Swatuk (1999) expressed his disappointment by stating that,

The opposition remains split, even more so than it has been for many years; and this time over issues of substance in addition to those of regional and ethnic differences. And with all of this in-fighting, it is not always clear what is left of the Left" (p 30).

In an attempt to put their house in order, opposition parties started deliberation in 2006 with a view to coming up with a model that they can use to remove the BDP from power.

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Unfortunately, the cooperation talks collapsed towards the end of 2006 as the major players, (i.e. BNF and BCP) had fundamental differences as to how best the goal can be attained. This unfortunate situation has heightened animosity and rivalry between BNF and BCP, thus allowing the BDP to attend to its warring factions, regroup and continue to dominate the political landscape. Taylor (2003) bemoans the failure or opposition parties to unite when he states that,

The failure of opposition parties to unite and the propensity of opposition leaders to put their egos before everything has meant that Botswana is, and has been since 1966, a de facto predominant - party system where the incumbent BDP has won each and every election by a landslide victory (p 216).

Notwithstanding the domination of one political party, Botswana has never had political prisoners and numerous international organizations such as Transparency International rate Botswana as one of the least corrupt countries in Africa that respects fundamental human rights and freedoms of the citizens (Budget Speech, 2007). All citizens are free to run for political office and they can also seek redress from the courts of law for any decision or policy made by the government deemed to be injurious or in violation of their human rights and freedoms as enshrined in the country's constitution.

All the milestones that have been discussed in the preceding paragraphs have been achieved mainly because of the pivotal role played by public servants in the development process. As Tsie (1996) notes, public servants in Botswana not only formulate development-oriented policies and programs, they also implement them. The slow growth of the private sector and its contribution to national development are still overshadowed by the dominance of the public sector in the corporate landscape as most of the muchneeded goods and services are largely provided by the latter. This unique situation is the opposite of what happens in most of the developed countries where the private sector and non-governmental agencies are highly involved in the provision of essential services.

1.4 Public sector reforms in Botswana

Public sector reforms in Botswana have been undertaken at macro and micro levels. Macro level initiatives deal with decentralization and the creation of institutions such as the Botswana National Productivity Center (BNPC), Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC), Ombudsman and Public Enterprises Evaluation and Privatisation Agency (PEEPA). As a way of indicating how public sector reforms in Botswana have been undertaken, I now discuss the circumstances that resulted in the establishment of each of the afore-mentioned agencies as well as their mandates.

Botswana National Productivity Center was established by an Act of Parliament (BNPC Act) of December 1993. The main responsibilities of this institution include *inter alia*, stimulating and generating productivity consciousness within the country, improving standards of management, fostering good labor-management relations, promoting the concept of employer responsibility toward the welfare of employees, helping organizations to identify areas where they are deficient and how performance can be improved and others. All these aspects are geared towards facilitating and improving growth, improved quality, lower cost, quicker delivery, higher output and better service (Hope 1999; Segwati 2005). This explains why Segwati (2005) presents the main function of BNPC succinctly by stating that, "The BNPC is Botswana's advocate of productivity, quality and service excellence" (p 7).

The Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) was established through an Act of Parliament (Corruption and Economic Crime Act) of 1994. DCEC was established after a series of corruption scandals involving senior government officials and ministers in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Several Presidential Commissions of Inquiries were appointed and tasked with the responsibility of investigating the improper and dubious manner in which public resources were allocated or used for personal gain. For instance, in 1990 a Presidential Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the award of a lucrative contract to International Project Managers (IPM) to supply teaching materials for primary schools even though the company was deemed inexperienced to do the job. The commission established that the contract was not approved by the Central Tender Board and that due to gross errors committed by some senior civil servants, an amount of Pula 27 million (approximately US\$ 6 000 000) was dissipated (Good 1994; Fombad 1999).

In 1991, the Kgabo Commission of Inquiry revealed that some parliamentarians and ministers were involved in illegal land allocations in peri-urban areas near Gaborone. The implicated ministers (the late Peter Mmusi who was the Vice President and Minister of Local Government, Lands and Housing and Daniel Kwelagobe who was the Minister of Agriculture) resigned from Cabinet in March 1992 and challenged the findings of the commission at the High Court. It was held that the commissioners erred by conducting the investigations behind closed doors contrary to the terms of reference. The appellants were cleared of all the charges and were reappointed to Cabinet. In yet another case relating to the activities of Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC), a Presidential Commission chaired by Richard Christie presented its report in November revealing that millions of Pula were lost in "questionable projects to construct a headquarters for the corporation and to put up several high-cost houses in Lobatse" (Fombad, 1999, p 243). Ministers and senior civil servants were found not only to have made irresponsible decisions, but also used the opportunity to enrich themselves as evidenced by the fact that,

Spectra Botswana had granted an unsecured loan of P500,000 to one of its three directors, the Assistant Minister of Local Government, Michael Tshipinare, and thereafter its parent company, the Premier Group of South Africa, made a successful tender-bid to construct a new headquarters for the BHC, at a planned allocation of P53 million (Good, 1994, p 503).

When explaining the importance attached to the establishment of DCEC in 1994, Fombad (1999) states that the then Vice President, Festus Mogae² described the situation as a "serious matter which required extraordinary measures" (p 244). Hence, the institution is empowered to investigate all suspected cases of corruption and mismanagement of public resources reported to it by the citizens. The agency also has the power to investigate cases pertaining to economic crime such as tax evasion, which result in government losing the much-needed revenue.

The office of the Ombudsman was established through an Act of Parliament (Ombudsman Act) of 1995 as a result of an International Seminar held in 1993 on "The feasibility of the Ombudsman institution in Botswana" (Fombad, 2001). The first Ombudsman, Lethebe Maine, was appointed by the President of Botswana on December

² Festus Mogae became the third President of Botswana on April 1st 1998 and his term ended on March 31st 2008

18th 1997 in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly (Republic of Botswana, 2007). Since the Ombudsman is appointed for a period of four years, he/she can only be removed from office for misconduct and the procedures used to remove High Court judges should be followed.

The main responsibility of the Ombudsman is to investigate complaints of injustice or maladministration within the public service that are reported to him or her by members of the public or corporate bodies. The Ombudsman is also empowered to investigate cases of human rights violations, complaints from people in legal custody and inmates in hospitals. Even though "maladministration" has not been defined in the Ombudsman Act, Fombad (2001) explains that the generally accepted guide to the meaning and scope of the same is the one that was given by a British Minister, Richard Crossman when presenting the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration Bill to the House of Commons. He is quoted saying that maladministration includes "bias, neglect, inattention, delay, incompetence, inaptitude, adversity, turpitude, arbitrariness and so on" (Fombad, 2001, p 6).

Notwithstanding the fact that the independence of the Ombudsman is provided for in the Act, members of opposition parties have questioned it as the President of Botswana appoints the office bearer and is therefore assumed to be loyal to the President. Fombad (2001) is of the view that the existence of a weak opposition in Parliament is detrimental to the independence of the office of the Ombudsman as the President can exploit the situation to the advantage of government or the ruling party. The strength of the Ombudsman has also been questioned on the basis of the President's decision to allow the Vice President, Ian Khama to continue flying military aircrafts even though he (Khama) retired from the military in 1998 to join politics.

The complaint about the use of military aircrafts by the Vice President was made to the Ombudsman by leaders of Botswana Congress Party arguing that such an activity contravenes the Military Act as it stipulates that only people employed by the Botswana Defence Force can do so. Although the Ombudsman ruled that such actions contravene the Military Act, the President authorized the Vice President to continue flying them, a decision that one may view as undermining the independence of the Ombudsman.

The Public Enterprises Evaluation and Privatisation Agency (PEEPA) is an autonomous agency of the Government of Botswana that was established in 2001 in terms of the Privatisation Policy of Botswana (Government Paper No. 1 of 2000). PEEPA is mandated to "advise on and oversee all aspects of the implementation of commercialization and privatisation on behalf of Government as well as to monitor the performance of public entities with a view to assess whether they are meeting their objectives and targets" (PEEPA, 2007, p 1). The agency also advises government on the appointment of the directors of public enterprises as well as monitors their performance. To this end, the four core activities of the PEEPA are divestiture, public private partnership, performance monitoring of public enterprises as well as contracting out and commercialization.

Divestiture entails the partial or outright sale of public assets to the private individuals or companies whereas public private partnership entails the signing of a contract between a public and private institution for the latter to perform an institutional function in compliance with the agreed output specifications. Contracting out and

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commercialization basically entails transferring the provision of public services to the private sector with the government retaining the responsibility of ensuring that the goods and services are provided efficiently and are also of the agreed quality.

Since its creation, PEEPA has carried a major review of operations and activities of public enterprises, central governmental departments and local authorities with a view to identifying opportunities for the participation of the private sector. As a result of the review exercise that has been carried out, a Privatisation Master Plan, which outlines strategies, principles and practices that have to be followed as well as the regulatory, institutional and legal changes that are required to ensure effective privatisation has been developed and adopted (PEEPA, 2007).

At this juncture, I now turn to the micro level initiatives that have been undertaken to date. These include Organization and Methods (O&M), Job Evaluation, Parallel progression, Work Improvement Teams (WITS), Performance Management System (PMS), Computerization of Personnel Management Systems, Performance Based Reward System (PBRS) and others (Kaunda 2004; NDP 9, 2003). Job evaluation and Organization and Methods focused mainly on job analysis, organizational structures and grading levels since their main objective was to motivate officers through creating competitive rewards and improved conditions of service. Corkery *et al*, (1998) present the main goals and objectives of job evaluation as "to provide a systematic method of appraising the value and contribution of each job in relation to other jobs and to establish a system of benchmark grading and to grade and reward accordingly" (p 88). Since Job evaluation was undertaken over a period of ten years beginning in 1984, the exercise resulted in Ministries and departments producing organizational charts reflecting the reporting relationships, job descriptions as well as the grading of each job. Rewards were tied to the levels of responsibility and to different decision-making and information-processing levels (Corkery *et al*, 1998).

Organization and Methods (O&M) is basically a continuous review and reorganization of ministries and departments to ensure that "their corporate objectives, goals and functions correctly reflect the current government policies, priorities and programmes. The exercise should also ensure ministerial structures and operational systems remain efficient and effective" (Corkery *et al*, 1998, p 89). New and relevant structures and posts can be established through the reviews as the main objective is to ensure that ministerial corporate objectives and functions are well defined and are in line with current government policies, priorities and programmes. The O&M studies also go along way in showing "discrepancies and inadequacies in terms of numbers and skills across various departments, thus feeding into the human resource planning system" (Corkery *et al*, 1998, p 89).

Parallel progression was implemented as one of the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on the Review of the Incomes Policy. The main objective of the reform is to improve career development prospects of officers with scarce skills needed for economic and technological development of the country. These officers were enabled to progress to the top through a professional route rather than an administrative one as it used to be the case. Hence, the main focus of the reform is to retain scarce, highly trained and experienced professionals, technicians and artisans within the public sector. For example, artisans were enabled to progress to a C2 scale, while technicians can progress to a D3 scale. Scientific officers and professionals can progress to E1 and F2 scales respectively (Corkery *et al*, 1998).

The concept of Work Improvement Teams (WITS) was borrowed from Singapore in 1993. WITS are groups of public servants from the same work unit irrespective of divisional status. They meet regularly to identify, examine, analyze as well as come up with possible solutions to the problems that they believe affect their operations negatively. They also strive to identify ways and means through which their working environment can be improved to increase efficiency, effectiveness, knowledge, skill, teamwork and other aspects of their work. Each team is expected to start and complete two projects each year (Corkery *et al* 1998; Hope 2003).

1.5 Performance Management System (PMS)

Following the review of public service performance and the evaluation of past reforms by AED consultants coupled with the need to complement the concept of WITS, the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM) admitted that there is need for a new system and a new way of carrying out government business. The need for a new system of carrying out government business was clearly expressed by DPSM in 2002 when it reminded public servants and the nation at large about the rationale behind the introduction of PMS in April 1999. As DPSM states, "We desperately need to "leap frog" and forge ahead, and the PMS has been identified as the appropriate system to facilitate this necessary transition" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 4).

In view of the fact that reforms adopted prior to 1999 such as Organization and Methods (O&M), WITS, parallel progression and job evaluation were fragmented and dealt mostly with specific aspects and problems of ministries and departments rather than with all the areas of the organization, PMS seeks to provide the public service with a "holistic and sustainable approach to improve productivity, manage performance and achieve set goals and objectives" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 5). It is against this background that the main objective of PMS is "improvement of individual and organizational performance in a systematic and sustainable way" (Hope, 2003, p 8).

In the PMS Philosophy Document of 2002, the then Permanent Secretary to the President, Molosiwa Selepeng states that PMS is a "change and quality management process that facilitates a comprehensive management of performance at all levels of the organizations" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 1). According to Molosiwa, PMS seeks to provide a "planning and change management framework which is linked to budgeting and funding process; to enhance Government capacity; and to inculcate the culture of performance and accountability to manage at higher levels of productivity so as to provide efficient service delivery" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 1).

In an attempt to achieve the aforementioned goals and objectives, ministries and departments are expected to come up with vision, mission and value statements that will guide the public service. They also have to prepare Strategic Plans from which Annual Performance Plans would be developed. At the individual level, target outputs and agreements between supervisors and their subordinates have to be agreed followed by regular progress reviews with a view to enabling supervisors to identify problematic areas as well as take appropriate action in a timely fashion. In fact, some ministries and departments are reported to have started implementing their Annual Performance Plans in April 2001 (Republic of Botswana, 2002). It is worth noting that the Strategic Plans and Annual Performance Plans are used not only to present clear ministerial and departmental goals and priority areas in the delivery of national plan obligations, they are also used for justification of budgets and funding requirements.

Since PMS was implemented in a phased manner, the process of rolling it out to all the ministries and central government departments was completed in March 2004. A performance based reward system was put in place in April 2004. As DPSM states, "the *Performance Based Reward System* provides a process that allows a linkage between the Performance Management System and individual accountability through the development of performance objectives and employee performance reviews in a manner that will encourage continuous improvement"(DPSM, 2004, p 3, italics in the original).

In view of the fact that the problem of productivity is also common within local authorities (district and urban councils, district administration, land boards and tribal administration), PMS was rolled out to them in a phased manner in November 2004 and work started in the Southern District Council (Segwati, 2005). Southern District Council was used as a reference site or a pilot project before other districts could be covered.

It is worth noting that all Permanent Secretaries³ signed performance contracts at the beginning of the 2005/06 financial year⁴. During the same year, all public servants below the level of Head of Department signed performance based reward system

³ Permanent Secretaries are the most senior administrators in all the ministries.

⁴ A financial year in Botswana starts on April 1st and ends on March 31st

agreements. The following guidelines are used to assess the performance of public servants:

- Exceptional (above 100%): the employee consistently exceeds performance objectives and expectations, makes significant contributions beyond agreed objectives or responsibilities and requires very little supervision.
- 2. Expected performance (100%): the employee consistently meets all objectives, is a competent performer and requires very little supervision.
- 3. Satisfactory (75-99%): the employee exhibits a reasonable level of competence and requires occasional support.
- 4. Fair (50-74%): the employee meets at least half of the targets or set objectives and should improve performance within a designated period.
- 5. Unsatisfactory (49% and below): the employee performs below average, requires continuous support and must improve performance within a designated period.

It is on the basis of the above-mentioned performance levels that the supervisors can decide as to whether their subordinates can be promoted to a particular post within their organization or the civil service at large; whether they need specific training to enhance their performance; whether they can be confirmed or whether the probation period should be extended and most importantly; whether they deserve any monetary rewards for the

manner in which they execute their duties and responsibilities. Employees who are rated at exceptional or expected performance levels qualify for monetary rewards.

In an attempt to demonstrate the impact of PMS on the public servants particularly those deemed to be performing below par, I deem it appropriate to make reference to the Ministry of Education given the fact that it served fourteen secondary school headmasters with letters in May 2007 declaring them non-performers who should show cause as to why they should not be forced to go on early retirement. According to a report in the Mmegi newspaper dated May 9th 2007, the Director of Teaching Service Management, Opelo Makhandlela, is quoted saying that, "These are issues of Performance Management System (PMS). Our concern is whether we are getting value for money from the service" (Mmegi, 2007, p 1). Makhandlela went further to say that, "We were following the trend of performance of the individual and we are not talking about a freak accident" (Mmegi, 2007, p 1). As far as Makhandlela is concerned, the main question that needs to be addressed is: "Can the system continue keeping non-performers?" (Mmegi, 2007, p 2).

Although PMS was implemented in Botswana in 1999, very little work on it has been done by academics and practitioners in terms of assessing its relationship with organizational culture or the factors that support and impede the implementation of PMS. This makes it very difficult for me to discuss the manner in which the initiative has generally been viewed since its inception. So far, only three studies have been done; one by Ernst & Young in 2002 and another one by The IDM Consortium in 2005, which were an evaluation of the PMS pilot project that was started in 1999 and an evaluation of the implementation of PMS respectively. Dorothy Mpabanga did the third study in 2005 for her PhD dissertation when she investigated the manner in which the Department of Administration of Justice adopted and implemented PMS.

Despite the fact that the evaluation report presented by Ernst & Young in 2002 comments briefly on the culture and values of people within public organizations, it does not shed light on the relationship between PMS and organizational culture. The closest that the consultants come to discussing the two variables is when they state that, "Organisation culture and values have not changed significantly in practice" (Ernst & Young, 2002, p 23). In other words, the implementation of PMS within the pilot ministries was deemed to have a less profound effect on organizational culture.

Regarding the study that was conducted by Mpabanga in 2005, she notes that when PMS was formulated, designed, implemented and reviewed in the Department of Administration of Justice, the organization's internal and external environment was assessed with a view to identifying performance management needs. She notes that due to increased demand for better service delivery, complaints relating to poor productivity, slow delivery of service and lack of accountability, various techniques such as SMART (specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time bound targets) and SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) were used to identify PMS needs as well as facilitate its formulation and implementation within the Department of Administration of Justice.

One of the important findings of Mpabanga's study is that PMS within the Department of Administration of Justice was embraced without integrating it with the Human Resource Management (HRM) policies and practices even though the latter should be used to support the former. Integration of PMS and HRM policies and practices

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is important taking cognizance of the fact that public officials are expected to realign their way of doing things with the strategic vision of the department. As Mpabanga (2005) states, "Strategic integration in the Department of Administration of Justice would entail alignment of employee management processes and objectives with the overall strategic vision and objectives of the department" (p 356). Realignment of the management processes and objectives obviously means that employees have to change the manner in which they have been undertaking their responsibilities. This tempts me to assume that the values, attitudes and beliefs shared by members of the department were altered or changed in one way or the other by the introduction of PMS.

The foregoing assumption is given currency by the observation made by Mpabanga when she states that a top-down approach was adopted to introduce PMS within the department. As she states, "Findings from this research suggest limited involvement and participation of junior managers and non-management staff in the PMS process in the department. There were indications of limited involvement in the PMS process by junior managers and non-management staff" (Mpabanga, 2005, p 358). Other gaps that were identified by Mpabanga (2005) include *inter alia*; no linkage between the departmental vision, strategy and goals to individual and team goals and aspirations; limited involvement of lower managers and junior staff in PMS as well as lack of adequate training and development of managers and staff in PMS. The existence of no linkage between the department's vision, strategy and goals and individual and team goals and aspirations has the potential of creating conflict in terms of what public servants do.

1.6 Statement of the problem

That public servants in Botswana have played a pivotal role in transforming the country from one of the poorest in the world in 1966 to an upper middle-income category in the 1990s cannot be disputed. Fombad (1999) argues that the exceptional economic growth attained by Botswana has been "matched, and indeed sustained, by competent and efficient management within a civil service praised for its 'commendable attention to detail, discipline and dedication' and a public sector management of development as 'one of the most successful in Africa" (p 243). The manner in which the public servants execute their responsibilities tempts Hope (2003) to point out that, "During the past three decades, the country has acquired a reputation for sound development management and good governance" (p 1).

Notwithstanding the significant contribution made by the public servants to the development of Botswana, it is generally agreed that their performance started to decline in the late 1980s and the early 1990s even though there is no data to support this observation or perception given the difficulties encountered by the reformers in trying to quantify public sector output. Despite the unavailability of data to support the argument that productivity within the public sector started declining in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Mpabanga (2005) notes that slow delivery of services and lack of accountability on the part of public officials resulted in citizens calling for better service delivery.

The Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM), which oversees the formulation and implementation of productivity enhancement strategies, acknowledges the problem of productivity within the Botswana public service by stating that, "What started off as murmurs by the public about non-delivery of services by Ministries and Departments of Government has now become loud accusations of "insensitivity" against the Government at large, including local authorities" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 3). Hope (2003) presents this disturbing trend succinctly when he states that a "culture of indifference and outright laziness has crept into the public service, leading to serious bottlenecks in service delivery" (p 1). Kaunda (2004) expressed similar sentiments by stating that low productivity and weak implementation capacity within the public service in Botswana "constrain the realization of public policies that are otherwise clear and comprehensive" (p 1). Most importantly, low productivity within the public sector is in stark contrast to the public service mission statement which reads thus:

The Botswana Public Service exists to provide efficient and cost effective services for its customers and stakeholders through the formulation and management of Government policies. The Public Service will implement sustainable performance improvement programmes; provide essential services that are not otherwise accessible to the public; and create a sustainable and conducive environment for quality service delivery (DPSM, 2004, p 3).

Slow delivery of services and lack of accountability on the part of public officials obviously pose serious problems for the country because it is the public sector that provides the foundation needed to support economic growth through promotion of foreign investment, privatization and regulation. The consequences of unsatisfactory performance of public servants and the need for a change of mindset has been captured by Corkery *et al* (1998) when they state that,

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The poor quality of service they provide, the bureaucracy and the delays have cost the country many opportunities for business investment and there is recognition that Botswana must change, as reiterated by HE the President in his launch of the Productivity Movement in August 1995 (p 84)⁵

Low productivity and tardy implementation of government projects forced the former President of Botswana, Festus Mogae, to assign the then Vice President Ian Khama the task of overseeing the implementation of government projects in 2000. Despite this noble move by the President, implementation of government projects continues to be problematic as evidenced by the fact that when presenting the draft National Development Plan 9 covering a six year period from 1st April 2003 to 31st March 2009 to Parliament in 2002, the Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Baledzi Gaolathe, attributed the increase of the Total Estimated Cost (TEC) of the planned projects to delays in starting projects, extensions of projects' completion dates, expanding the scope of the projects and fluctuations of the exchange rate (Presentation Speech on Draft NDP 9, 2002).

The Minister of Finance and Development Planning also admitted in his 2007 budget speech presented to Parliament on 5th February 2007 that productivity within the public sector continues to be problematic by saying that, "Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, the slow pace of the implementation of Government projects remains a major concern to the Nation" (Budget Speech, 2007, p 16). The former Assistant Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Duncan Mlazie, also put poor performance within the public sector into perspective when he was responding to questions from Members of

⁵ HE stands for His Excellency

Parliament as they debated the 2007 budget speech. Mlazie informed Parliament that during the 2004/05 financial year, 1082 projects were planned but only 250 were completed and commissioned whereas 1177 projects were planned for the 2005/06 financial year and only 213 were completed and commissioned (Mmegi, 2007).

In view of the foregoing, it did not come as a surprise when the editor of the independent Mmegi newspaper stated that service delivery was once again brought under the spotlight at the public service convention held in August 2006. He bemoaned poor service delivery as it was discussed at the convention by stating that, "It emerged that our service delivery in productivity levels has been rated at a paltry 25 percent as compared to 75 percent international benchmark" (Mmegi, 2006, p 1).

When presenting a motion on citizen economic empowerment to Parliament in February 2007, the Member of Parliament for Shoshong, Duke Lefhoko, with the full support of his colleagues, decried the unbecoming behavior of public servants by saying that they do not have discipline to the extent that "when they are in a bad mood they do not provide service to their customers (Mmegi, 2007, p 2). He was quoted saying that, "We need a firm leadership and discipline, discipline and discipline" (Mmegi, 2007, p 2). The Editor of Mmegi newspaper expressed similar sentiments when he stated that as people move up the organizational ladder, they tend to abdicate their responsibilities and become very arrogant. As he puts it, "In many instances, the ascendancy to high office translates into indescribable arrogance resulting in some officers running whole departments as personal fiefdoms" (Mmegi, 2006, p 2).

It is very clear from the foregoing discussion that the government of Botswana is grappling with the problem of dwindling productivity within the public sector. Hence, numerous performance enhancing strategies such as Work Improvement Teams (WITS), Job Evaluation, Organization and Methods (O&M), Performance Management System (PMS), computerization of personnel records, privatization, decentralization of decisionmaking power and authority and others have been formulated and implemented since the beginning of the 1990s to date.

Despite the fact that P30 155 521 (approximately US \$5 million) has already been spent on PMS and Performance Based Reward System since April 1999 on training of leaders, workshops, travel, time and other logistical costs, the performance of public officers still remains problematic as evidenced by the fact that the people's representatives continue to bemoan and lament the manner in which public servants execute their responsibilities. This situation is even more disturbing given the fact that there is an institution (Botswana National Productivity Centre) that was established in 1993 specifically to improve productivity in the public and private sectors.

Although the various reforms implemented to date have been evaluated, no attempt has been made either by scholars or practitioners to investigate as well as understand the relationship between the adopted interventions and organizational culture and how changes to organizational culture in turn affect the success and/or failure of the adopted interventions. In other words, the evaluations of all the reforms implemented usually focus on whether the goals and objectives of the reforms have been achieved and totally ignore the concept of organizational culture. Hence, I deem it imperative that a study of this nature be undertaken to understand the relationship between PMS and organizational culture. The factors that support and impede the attainment of the goals and objectives set under the intervention will also be investigated so as to shed light on the manner in which change is managed in the selected government departments.

By focusing on organizational culture, I hope that I will find out if certain aspects of culture have impeded efforts geared toward enhanced productivity within the Botswana public service more especially that almost all the reforms undertaken so far have failed to yield the expected positive results despite the massive support given by the politicians and citizens at large. As Corkery *et al* (1998) rightly state, "Reforms in Botswana have enjoyed the political support of the state leadership, Cabinet Ministers, Parliament, the Permanent Secretary to the President and the implementing Permanent Secretaries from the ministries" (p 85).

There is no denial that the high levels of efficiency and effectiveness that characterize the private sector continue to elude the Botswana public service even though resources have been mobilized towards implementation of various public sector reforms. Hence, this study seeks to assess and understand the relationship between an important, albeit ignored component of public organizations (i.e. organizational culture) and Performance Management System (PMS).

1.7 Research Significance

Since public servants in Botswana are actively involved in the implementation of developmental policies and programs, this study is important in terms of assessing and understanding the relationship between PMS and organizational culture. The study will be restricted to PMS as inclusion of all the public service reforms undertaken so far will

make it difficult if not impossible for me to easily determine the linkage or connection between PMS and organizational culture as different organizations respond differently to different reforms.

I selected PMS for this study mainly because it is destined to have a profound impact on the behavior and culture of public servants as their performance is to be assessed using the criteria developed under the reform. Promotions, remunerations and training of all public servants are to be determined solely by their compliance with the requirements of the reform put in place. As the Directorate of Public Service Management states, "The system is designed to be a permanent process in ministries and departments, and will be enhanced by self-sustaining and self-reinforcing characteristics built in it" (Republic of Botswana, 2002, p 5).

Since PMS has been conceived as a permanent strategy geared towards improving the performance of public officials, it is deemed appropriate that its impact and relationship with organizational culture be understood, lest the success or failure of the intervention is wrongly attributed to other factors that have little effect on the behavior and mindset of public officials. This study, therefore departs from the commonly accepted ways of evaluating public sector reforms that have been undertaken so far as it seeks to develop a proper understanding of the relationship between PMS and organizational culture.

This is the first study to focus specifically on the relationship between public sector reforms and organizational culture in Botswana. Other studies that have been done by scholars such as Hope (1999, 2003) and Sebusang & Moeti (2005) focus on employee perceptions of leadership, management of human resources with an emphasis on what has

been done to enhance productivity and on whether the public sector is customer centric or not. There has been no discussion or any attempt to investigate and understand the relationship between public sector reforms and organizational culture in Botswana. Hence, this study will go a long way in filling the existing gap in literature and shed light on the connection between these two variables within the context of Botswana.

An additional concern that has to be borne in mind is that the formulation and implementation of PMS together with other public sector reforms in Botswana has been done without duress from donor agencies and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as it is usually the case with other African countries and the developing world at large. This makes Botswana different from other developing countries that have undertaken and are still undertaking public sector reforms on the terms and conditionalities determined by the aforementioned financial institutions and the donor community at large. PMS and other public sector reforms in Botswana have been embraced to address identified problems and deficiencies rather than to satisfy the conditions for financial assistance given to countries by international financial institutions.

This study enabled me to assess public sector reforms undertaken in a country that is not under pressure from outside actors. It shed light on how change is managed in a country that has achieved phenomenal economic growth and political stability in a continent well known to be grappling with a plethora of problems. Most of the studies that have been conducted so far in the developing world seem to concentrate on countries which are experiencing economic, administrative and political crisis. Hence, I contend that the use of Botswana as a case study offers us an opportunity to investigate issues in a country that is different from other developing ones in terms of economy as well as the administrative and political structures in place.

Finally, the failure of the state in most of the African countries is unparalleled in Botswana. The strong developmental state formed at independence continues to spearhead, dominate, direct and determine the pace and pattern of development through the formulation of policies and programs that are implemented by the public servants. Although some African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Liberia and Sierra-Leone have natural resources similar to those that are available in Botswana, their economies as well as their political and administrative structures are ailing as a result of the failure of the state. As the longest surviving multi party democracy in Africa with a public service that is adequately resourced in terms of human resources, finance and equipment, Botswana qualifies to be used in a study of this nature as public servants operate in a friendly and more stable environment that is different from other African countries.

1.8 Conclusion

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that scholars and practitioners who pioneered the emergence of public administration as a self conscious field of study believed that there is a right way of practicing public administration. As Stivers (2000) points out, "A quest for administrative efficiency and effectiveness, which were the bureau men's watchwords and the basis of their attack on existing governments, strongly implied the existence of correct answers to administrative questions" (p 66). However, numerous scholars within the field have challenged this view particularly the one that public organizations can and

should be managed in the same manner as private organizations for efficiency to be attained.

Even though the perception that productivity in the public service in Botswana has declined is not supported with data, it continues to be a thorny issue for citizens and politicians. The implementation of numerous public sector reforms during the past two decades demonstrates the importance of this study in attempting to understand the relationship between organizational culture and PMS with a view to sensitizing those tasked with the responsibility of overseeing implementation of public sector reforms to give the former the attention that it deserves in so far as the operations of public organizations is concerned.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I review the literature on public sector reforms and organizational culture. The review focuses on the rationale or factors that compelled both the developed and developing countries to undertake public sector reforms. I then present the underpinnings or values of the New Public Management (NPM) since it has been embraced as an international phenomenon, the desire to measure and monitor performance within the public sector and the gap between rhetoric and reality how. This is followed by a discussion of what organizations ought to do to improve their performance.

The connection between public sector reforms and organizational culture will also be presented given the fact that this study seeks to understand the relationship between PMS and organizational culture in Botswana. Lastly, I will briefly discuss the concept of formal and informal organizations as presented by Chester Barnard in 1938. This is done for purposes of illustrating how formal and informal relations formed within organizations affect and at times determine the direction of the organization.

2.1 The rationale for public sector reforms

Governments throughout the world have embarked on some form of restructuring or realignment of public agencies with the main intention of enhancing productivity and efficiency. Kelly (1988); Kettl (1997) and Thiel and Leeuw (2002) note that it was during the late 1970s and early 1980s that people started asserting that government and business needed to be more efficient. The call for a paradigm shift emanated from the observation that public sector agencies were failing to meet the needs and demands of the citizens. As Jones & Kettl (2003) state,

Critics have alleged that governments are inefficient, ineffective, too large, too costly, overly bureaucratic, overburdened by unnecessary rules, unresponsive to public wants and needs, secretive, undemocratic, invasive into the private rights of citizens, self-serving, and failing in the provision of either the quantity or quality of services deserved by the taxpaying public (p 1).

A similar observation was made by Downs and Larkey (1986) in reference to the United States when they state that, "Most people believe government is doing things that it should not do and not doing things that it should do. Almost everyone believes that government bureaucracies are inefficient and ineffective" (p 1). Hence, it is not surprising that Ingraham and Romzek (1994) state that, "Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Brian Mulroney proclaimed that government was not the solution to societies' ills but a major part of the problem" (p 1). Ingraham and Romzek (1994) also state that the public service system in the United States and elsewhere, which was "created to perform limited and routine tasks struggled to adapt to new functions, more complex problems, and increasingly turbulent political and economic environments" (p 1-2). Due to the economic and fiscal crises that engulfed the developed countries during the 1970s, Larbi (1999) states that the role and institutional character of the state and the public sector came under pressure to be more "market-oriented and private sector-oriented" (p 1). He holds that the crisis in the Keynesian welfare state in the developed countries led to the "search for alternative ways of organizing and managing public services and redefining the role of the state to give more prominence to markets and competition, and to the private and voluntary sectors" (Larbi, 1999, p 1). As Larbi (1999) puts it, "The Keynesian paradigm was confounded with stagflation, and this led to the ascendancy of the monetarist alternative. This paradigmatic shift meant that the market economy was best left to correct itself without active government intervention" (p 2).

According to Larbi (1999), the influence of the neo-liberal ideas coupled with the criticism of the old public administration, changes in the political and ideological context as well as the development of information technology in the developed countries contributed to the need to restructure the public sector. The main objective as far as Larbi (1999) is concerned, was and is still to improve the manner in which the public sector is managed as well as the way in which services are delivered. Hence, there is more emphasis on efficiency, economy and effectiveness.

In Britain, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher spearheaded public sector reforms in the early 1980s as evidenced by the fact that a significant number of public organizations were privatized and business strategies were used in agencies that could not be privatized. Public organizations in Britain were deemed to be immobile and ungovernable, hence there was need to embark on a process of scaling down the public

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sector and transfer responsibilities to the private sector (Ferlie *et al*, 1996). According to Ferlie *et al* (1996), "There was an increased emphasis on financial control, such as securing efficiency, effectiveness, and value for money. Administrators became managers. Where markets did not exist, quasi-markets were introduced" (p 31).

The Next Step initiative was launched publicly in February 1988 in Britain with the main objective of establishing executive agencies or units within departments to deliver public services (Hogwood, 1993). The initiative is usually seen as "following on other developments concerned with public expenditure and public management introduced by the Conservative government which came into office in Britain in 1979" (Hogwood, 1993, p 207). According to Hogwood (1993), the initiative focused mainly on results, satisfying the customers of government services, costs and throughput. The Chief Executive Officers of the units established to provide goods and services to the public were rewarded for their success and penalties were imposed for failure.

In countries such as France, Sweden and New Zealand, Peters (1993) and Kettl (1997) are of the view that the changes to the public sector in those countries have been no less profound. Peters (1993) singles out New Zealand as one of the countries where public sector reforms were "more extensive and have altered fundamentally the nature of the public sector" (p 46). By the same token, Kettl (1997) presents the reform process in New Zealand succinctly when he states that, "It is a relatively pure model of reform: large-scale, forceful changes implemented in a relatively small nation with a straightforward political system. Its reformers have been unusually thoughtful about what they have tried to do and reflective about the results" (p 446). Kettl goes further to argue that other countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom have also proved to be

"the world's most aggressive reformers and have widely been viewed as models" (1997, p 446).

Kelly (1988) indicates that efforts to improve productivity within the public sector in the United States were premised on two strategies: "a market strategy and a performance evaluation strategy" (p 5). The former, which consisted of two major thrusts, entailed contracting out the production and delivery of goods and services to the private sector with government being responsible for monitoring the contract and paying the bills. The second aspect was to use tax or user charges on private transactions that had either a positive or negative spillover effect on citizens or groups. The intention was to encourage private entities to pursue public objectives.

In the developing countries, Grindle (1997) states that public sector reforms in these countries have been embraced mainly because public organizations perform poorly and barely function in some cases. This situation is compounded by the economic and political crisis engulfing some countries, corruption, the collapse of the state and organizations charged with the responsibility of carrying out routine and development-oriented functions. Although more attention has been given to the efforts made during the 1980s and 1990s, Kaunda (2004) indicates that public sector reforms in the developing countries date back to the post-independence era. Kaunda (2004) argues that in an attempt to reorient "colonially-bequeathed systems that were perceived to be inimical to the rapid political, economic and social development of the newly independent states" (p 1), administrative and political reforms were undertaken.

Administrative reforms introduced procedures and various institutions such as district councils, district development committees and development planning departments while political reforms "introduced processes of decentralization and participatory or community development, as well as various forms of state direction of political, economic and social processes (including the introduction of one-party systems)" (Kaunda, 2004, p 1). Even though the reforms in most African countries used to focus mainly on the economic sphere, they now encompass democratic imperatives of good governance, participatory forms of policy making, accountability, and transparency.

Despite the fact that public sector reforms in Africa vary from one country to another, Oluwu (1999) is of the view that they can be classified into two broad types: the core and non-core elements. The core elements deal mainly with organizational restructuring, personnel management, budgetary and financial reforms. Organizational restructuring entails the reduction of government ministries, departments and agencies as well as strengthening of central coordinating organs. It also entails elimination of "nonessential functions, unnecessary paperwork and regulations" (Oluwu, 1999, p 5) and the reduction of excessive red tape. Personnel management on the other hand, entails improving management of personnel records, retrenchment, ministerial reviews and pay reform. Management of personnel records seeks to facilitate ministerial reviews and most importantly, elimination of ghost workers.

According to Oluwu (1999), in Ghana, personnel management reforms integrated payroll and personnel records whereas in Uganda and Tanzania, the system was developed further into "Personnel Control systems as the records are now computerised" (p 5). Retrenchment simply entails dismissal of redundant civil servants while ministerial reviews seek to identify ways and means through which the structure and functions of government agencies can be realigned to enhance efficiency. These reviews are sometimes used to determine the number of people who qualify for dismissal from the public service and the exercise is usually extended to the local authorities.

Regarding budgetary and financial reforms, Oluwu (1999) observes that on the revenue side "the objective is to try to identify additional revenue sources and methods of increasing revenue collections from present sources" (p 6). Hence, countries usually broaden their tax bases, develop user chargers, consumption taxes and taxes on businessmen and others who are outside the public sector. On the expenditure side, efforts are made to identify activities which can be undertaken and which should not be undertaken. The main objective is to reduce the government wage bill by minimizing or eliminating some expenditures in preference for those which are more cost-effective. This enables the government to have resources which can be used for stimulating growth as well as maintenance and sustenance of some of the on-going activities. Lastly, the financial reforms entail "moving away from the traditional accounting methods to zero-based and Planning Programming and Budgetary Systems" (Oluwu, 1999, p 7).

The non-core elements focus mainly on strengthening the capacity of policymaking institutions such as the Cabinet. As Oluwu (1999) states, "Other related measures include efforts to improve the relationships between ministers and civil servants, the public, stakeholders, parliament and the prime minister's office" (p 7). A concerted effort is also made to improve the responsiveness of top civil servants as well as build capacity within the civil service. Capacity building is done through training of human resources so as to facilitate efficient service delivery. It is the desire to attain greater efficiency within the public sector in both the developed and developing countries that private sector models and strategies such as cost-effectiveness analysis, cost-benefit analysis, planning-programming-budgeting systems and others have been embraced. To this end, Ingraham and Romzek (1994) state that, "Since the inception of public administration and public management, both as an activity and as a field of study in the United States, the private sector model has served as a guide for effective public management" (p 3). A similar observation was made by Jones and Kettl (2003) when they explain that, "Accompanying the demand and many of the recommendations for change has been support for the application of market-based logic and private sector management methods to government" (p 2).

It is the shift towards the private sector that tempts Kelly (1988) to point out that countries made a concerted effort to "create public sector entities that would be as similar as possible to the characteristics of the private sector firm in terms of intermeshing the demand and supply for public goods" (p 5). The performance evaluation strategy that was developed for the public sector was also influenced by the desire to imitate the private sector as evidenced by the use of the latter's decision analytic techniques. As Kelly (1988) puts it, "In essence, concrete measurable goals and objectives are set for administrative units; and executives are expected to reward and punish public employees on the basis of their efficient attainment rather than on other, 'political', criteria" (p 5).

One of the things that can be deduced from the foregoing discussion is that public agencies are usually changed from time to time in an endeavor to make them more efficient in the execution of their mandates. Kiel (1994) captures the changes within the public sector succinctly when he states that, "The pressure for improved performance and quality in service delivery has brought demands for fundamental and qualitative changes in government organizations and work methods" (p 1). Due to the rapidity of change and increasing environmental instability, public managers are usually placed at the center of a whirlpool and also find themselves operating in a "world turned upside down" thus requiring them to learn to "thrive on chaos" (Kiel, 1994, p 2). Hence, it is not surprising that Mascarenhas (1993) notes the significance of public sector reforms during the 1980s by stating that they are,

more comprehensive and aimed at altering the relationship between the public and private sectors of the economy by essentially re-examining the role of the state in the economy and promoting fundamental values such as freedom of the individual, consumer choice, and greater initiative for the private sector in economic development (p 319).

Since the reforms were geared towards reducing the role of the state in development through deregulation, privatization and economic liberalization, Mascarenhas (1993) holds that they essentially marked a "radical shift from a public service whose purpose was to promote public welfare to an enterprise culture based on efficiency and economy" (p 319). Kiel (1994) holds a similar view when he states that, "Proponents of the expanding "total quality" movement in government argue for a complete transformation of government work and methods and a revolution in management thinking" (p 1-2). Kettl (1997) concurs with the foregoing observations and even presents this radical shift aptly when he states that, "a remarkable revolution swept much of the world. Governments around the globe adopted management reforms to squeeze extra efficiency out of the public sector – to produce more goods and services for lower taxes" (p 446).

Even though public sector reforms have been undertaken in countries throughout the world, Hou *et al* (2003) hold that, "Efforts to improve performance have foundered on different shoals" (p 296). According to Hou *et al* (2003), the main difficulty is that of "determining what improved performance would really be and which trade-offs might be acceptable to attain it" (p 296). They go further to argue that despite the fact that improved efficiency and productivity are usually stated as the main goals of the reforms, "linking improvement in either one to specific changes in government – or to attributes of government - is difficult" (Hou *et al*, 2003, p 296). Hence, questions such as: "Has performance improved? and "Why" are rarely answered to the satisfaction of all stakeholders.

2.2 Underpinnings of the New Public Management (NPM)

A move towards the New Public Management in a number of OECD countries during the 1970s and 1980s centered around a shift towards "accountingization" which is defined as "the introduction of ever-more explicit cost categorization into areas where costs were previously aggregated, pooled or undefined" (Hood, 1995, p 93). Thus the cutting of budgets, adoption of market mechanism such as privatization of public agencies deemed to be wasteful, contracting out of public services, competitive tendering, introduction of vouchers and converting some departmental units into quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations became the focal point of the administrative reforms undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s throughout the world (Hood, 1995).

According to Nikos (2000) and McLaren (2002), the New Public Management is heavily premised on the notion of service to the customer. Hence, the advocates of the New Public Management believe that public agencies should be realigned and reoriented with a view to embracing a mentality akin to that of the private sector entities. To this end, Nikos (2000) captures the basic principles of the New Public Management by stating that,

New Public Management highlights the adoption of a business outlook and this is manifested through a set of techniques and methods related to performance evaluation and measurement and by a set of values such as productivity, profitability, competitiveness, and quality. Business logic is the dominant one which underlines in our days the core values of administrative culture (efficiency, effectiveness, quality) without replacing the traditional values of legality, impartiality and quality (p 40).

In line with the foregoing quotation, Larbi (1999) states that the New Public Management shifts emphasis from the traditional public administration to public management as it pushes the state toward managerialism. As he puts it, "The traditional model of organization and delivery of public services, based on the principles of bureaucratic hierarchy, planning, centralization, direct control and self-sufficiency, is apparently being replaced by a market-based public service management or enterprise culture" (Larbi, 1999, p 12).

The Weberian bureaucratic model is deemed to be rigid, rule-bound, slow, costly, inefficient and unresponsive to the needs of the customers. Hence, the New Public Management is touted as a model providing a "future for smaller, fast moving service delivery organizations that would be kept lean by the pressures of competition and that would need to be user-responsive and outcome-oriented in order to survive" (Larbi, 1999, p 16). A shift towards the private sector model is also captured by Kaboolian (1998) when she states that,

The institutional reforms of the New Public Management are heavily influenced by the assumptions of the public choice approach, principal-agent theory, and transaction cost economics. Political roles such as voter, bureaucrat, elected representative, and interest groups, as well as the relationships among them, are modeled using market analogies (Kaboolian, 1998, p 190).

Since the proponents of the New Public Management contend that the problem is not what governments do, but how they do it, they argue that public managers must be freed from an oppressive bureaucratic system characterized by senseless red tape for them to drastically improve productivity within the public sector. The failure of public institutions to provide long-term solutions to the socio-economic and political problems faced by numerous countries is usually used to justify the need to embrace private sector management techniques and strategies.

Scholars and practitioners who extol the virtues of the New Public Management simply believe that market mechanisms should be used to guide public programs and public managers are expected to learn from their private sector brethren (Terry, 2005). According to Kettl (1997), it is usually argued that the existing structures make managers reactive as well as chain them to standard operating procedures and limit their vision. Hence, there is need for managers to be given the flexibility that they need to solve their problems so that they can promote "organizations that can adapt and governments that work better" (Kettl, 1997, p 447). As Denhardt and Denhardt (2003) put it, public managers "are urged to "steer, not row," meaning that they should not assume the burden of service delivery themselves, but, wherever possible, should define programs that others would then carry out, through contracting or other such arrangements" (p 13). Thus it is not surprising that in countries such as Australia and Sweden, "government reformers preached the need to "let managers manage" (Kettl, 1997, p 447) because they know the right things to do but are constrained by the existing rules, procedures and structures.

It is against this background that Spicer (2004) is of the view that the proponents of the New Public Management have revived the age-old dichotomy between politics and administration as they claim to focus primarily on "*how* government should work, not on *what* it should do" (p 357, italics in the original). They contend that the principles that they espouse can be applied to all organizations irrespective of the political party in power and its ideology. As Spicer (2004) notes, the proponents of the New Public Management believe that their strategies "work in small cities and large nations, in parliamentary systems and presidential systems, in strong mayor cities and councilmanager cities" (p 357). Hence, he summarizes the central doctrines of the New Public Management succinctly as:

the elimination of red tape, holding administrators accountable for measurable results, emphasizing customer satisfaction in agency dealings with the public, empowering front-line managers to make their own decisions, contracting out whenever possible with the private sector for public-service delivery, and so forth (Spicer, 2004, p 357).

It has to be borne in mind that a call for greater efficiency and responsiveness within public organizations was made by high profile members of the business community, large international management consultants, academics, financial institutions, accountancy firms, politicians, the general public, supranational organizations such as Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and European Commission. An increase in the number of public managers and analysts trained in business schools and management programs also fuelled debates regarding the application of private sector techniques and strategies in the public sector (Jones and Kettl, 2003).

As a result of the power, financial and technical resources as well as the influence that the aforementioned actors have in international affairs, the New Public Management was embraced by governments throughout the world with the belief that productivity within the public sector can be attained in the same manner as is done in the private sector. All the aforementioned actors played a significant role in "globalizing" the New Public Management reforms as they were actively involved in "packaging, selling and implementing NPM techniques as state agencies contemplating institutional change or strengthening often enlist the services of expert consultants to clarify available options – and recommend courses of action" (Larbi, 1999, p 5).

2.3 **Performance monitoring and measurement**

It is the quest for efficiency and effectiveness within the public sector that has without any doubt resulted in performance management systems being embraced in both the developed and developing countries. As Davies (1999) observes, "That governments should apply themselves to continuously improving their performance, particularly with respect to the management of public funds and the stewardship of public assets, appears now to be a generally accepted principle of good governance" (p 150). Similar sentiments were expressed by Behn (2003) when he states that, "Everyone is measuring performance. Public managers are measuring the performance of their organizations, their contractors, and the collaboratives in which they participate. Congress, state legislatures, and city councils are insisting that executive-branch agencies periodically report measures of performance" (p 586).

The need to monitor and manage performance within public organizations has been emphasized by Wholey and Hatry (1992) when they state that, "elected officials and citizens are entitled to regular reports on the performance of major public programs – not only information on program costs and the amount of work completed but also information on the quality of service delivery and on program outcomes" (p 604). Wholey and Hatry (1992) go further to argue that, "In the absence of adequate attention to service quality and program outcomes, government too often becomes wasteful, ineffective, and unresponsive – and government credibility sinks ever lower" (p 605). They contend that since performance monitoring should be done on quarterly or annual basis, such an exercise must cover the medium and long term outcomes of program activities as well as "compare the performance of different units, compare current performance with prior performance, or compare actual results to targeted performance levels" (Wholey and Hatry, 1992, p 605). In an attempt to demonstrate the importance of performance management or monitoring within public organizations, Wholey and Hatry (1992) indicate that state and local governments in the United States have developed useful performance monitoring systems in program areas such as economic development, elementary and secondary education, higher education, hospital care, mass transportation, police and fire services, public assistance, public health, road maintenance, and solid-waste collection. They cite South Carolina as one of the states that has been successful in terms of stimulating improved school performance as it monitors the performance of schools through the use of performance indicators such as student and teacher attendance rates, dropout rates and student achievement test scores in reading, writing and mathematics. As Wholey and Hatry state, "Schools that show greater than expected gains in student achievement receive financial rewards and deregulatory incentives" (1992, p 606).

At the federal level, Wholey and Hatry (1992) hold that performance monitoring in the United States has focused on issues such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Food Stamp Program, Child Support Enforcement, measuring progress toward national goals of education, monitoring of Medicare patient outcomes and others. Wholey and Hatry (1992) cite the US Department of Labor as one of the federal agencies that joined hands with state and local government officials to develop a system for monitoring the implementation of Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 (JTPA). This initiative tempts Wholey and Hatry (1992) to hold that, "The JTPA performance monitoring system has focused state and local attention on program results and has helped improve the credibility of federally funded job training programs" (p 606).

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In an attempt to measure and monitor the performance of government institutions in the United States of America, Heinrich (2002) states that, "The Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 made formal, outcomes-based performance evaluations mandatory for federal programs" (p 713). Heinrich (2002) indicates that the Act specifically requires federal agencies to develop strategic plans specifying their goals and how they will be achieved; an annual performance plan specifying quantitatively measurable goals, performance indicators as well as levels of performance to be achieved; and lastly an annual program performance report that compares actual performance with performance goals.

Heinrich (2002) goes further to indicate that program performance reports are meant to provide political accountability for the results and the opportunity for increased responsiveness to the target beneficiaries or constituents. According to Heinrich, these changes were part of the Clinton administration's early pledge to find out "what works, and what doesn't work" among the multitude of federal programs with overlapping objectives and target populations" (2002, p 713).

Although Heinrich (2002) is of the view that it is too early to come to a decisive judgment regarding the effectiveness of the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, she is mindful of the criticism that has already been levelled against it by some observers such as Radin (2000). The latter is quoted saying that the act's "use of administrative rhetoric has caused it to collide with institutional, functional, and policy/political constraints that are part of the American decision-making system. The resulting collisions have bred a sense of cynicism and a complaint attitude within the federal government" (Heinrich, 2002, p 713). Heinrich goes further to cite Mintzberg

(1996) as having identified the following impediments to administrative reforms premised on outcome-based performance management:

absence of strong leadership or coalitions supporting a results orientation, measures that constrain flexibility and are not well linked to goals or consequences, mutual distrust between agencies and legislators about gaming of measures, and employee concerns that their responsibility is not commensurate with their authority (Heinrich, 2002, p 714).

By the same token, Heinrich (2002) also states that a review of the performance plans of federal agencies that was done by the General Accounting Office in the United States in 1999 revealed that "mission fragmentation" is widespread in the federal government, and that it is difficult to get stakeholders to think beyond their own program operations to how diverse activities are related to a common outcome" (p 716). Heinrich (2002) holds that the multiplicity or conflict and fragmentation among goals are sometimes inherent in the originating legislation as it is the case with JTPA Act of 1982. According to her, Heckman and Smith (1995) have confirmed that there is a trade off between equity and efficiency goals in the JTPA program.

Despite promises made by the proponents of the New Public Management and other actors critical of national governments that the proposed reforms will result in the establishment of a smaller, less interventionist and more decentralized government, improved public sector efficiency and effectiveness, responsiveness and accountability to citizens and others, Jones and Kettl (2003) contend that success can only be associated with financial management and accounting reforms, better management of public organizations and the ability to hold public officials accountable for results. According to Jones and Kettl (2003), there is no consensus regarding other aspects of the reforms.

A pertinent point raised by Kettl (1997) is that many of the ideas presented by the proponents of the New Public Management "collide with existing governmental processes, especially for budgets and personnel" (p 449). Resistance, competition and conflict become inevitable. Christensen and Laegreid (1999) mince no words in their criticism of the New Public Management when they state that its doctrines have weak empirical foundations. As they put it, "We regard NPM as a rather incoherent reform wave, consisting of a combination of ideological and instrumental elements that are partly inconsistent and contradictory" (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999, p 169).

In line with the foregoing, Kaboolian (1998) is of the view that, "While the New Public Management encourages public managers to be entrepreneurial and to use incentives to guide and to enhance the performance of people and systems, public managers have been excluded from the political arena" (p 190). She argues that public managers are given more discretion in deciding on "how" public organizations will achieve their performance goals rather than in defining "what" is preferred by the public. Thus she opines that the private sector model is problematic for democratic governance more especially that it is premised on the belief that public managers are motivated by self-interest as well as act opportunistically.

Smith (1990) is of the view that most leaders and analysts usually make a mistake of looking at performance at a particular time without taking into consideration the fact that some organizations pursue long-term objectives. Using education as an example, Smith argues that it is wrong to assess the performance of schools by simply looking at the examination results for a given year as that may only reflect a snapshot rather than a holistic view of the organization. As he puts it, "the fruits of years of investment in the education of pupils" (Smith, 1990, p 68) may not be captured if assessment focuses only on the results of only one year.

Even though performance within public organizations has been done for purposes of improving productivity and accountability, the results attained throughout the world are mixed. Scholars and practitioners still argue over the success and failures of attempts geared towards monitoring and measuring the performance of public organizations. The following section sheds light on the difficulties that the reformers in the public sector face.

2.4 The gap between rhetoric and reality

Despite the attractiveness of private sector models and strategies, Kelly (1988) is of the view that at first glance, improving productivity within the public sector using private sector techniques and strategies seems to be simple and reasonable even though in reality, productivity within the public sector is harder to identify and measure given the absence of profitability which is the hallmark of the private sector. Hence, he holds that the bone of contention within the field of public administration is whether the concept of efficiency can mean the same thing in the public sector as it does when applied or used in the private sector. The fact that the meaning of efficiency can vary with the area of application even within the private sector compounds the problem thus tempting Kelly to argue that,

Attempts to transfer such productivity measures to the public sector have faltered not only because of the conceptual incompatibilities in the meaning of economic efficiency between the two sectors but also because of two unique characteristics of outputs in the public sector (Kelly, 1988, p 9).

The first unique characteristic of public goods that Kelly refers to is that they are not divisible into discrete units such that they can be packaged for purposes of ensuring that only those who have paid for them can enjoy them. Once the service is provided, all citizens irrespective of whether they pay their taxes or not stand to benefit. The second characteristic is that production and consumption occur simultaneously thus making it difficult and sometimes impossible for one to measure the output accurately.

When summarizing the views of his colleagues in a book entitled "*Promoting Productivity In The Public Sector*", Kelly (1988) states that, "In the eyes of our authors the attempts to transfer efficiency and productivity concepts and tools from the private to the public sector have not been resoundingly successful" (p 11). A similar observation is made by Downs and Larkey (1986) when they argue that attempts by all national, state and municipal administrations in the United States to improve government performance have so far failed to yield the expected positive results. As they state, "Yet, despite the promises, the history of attempts to make government more efficient and effective seems largely one of futility. In the wake of campaign after campaign, reform after reform, the incidents of bureaucratic stupidity and waste seem only to multiply" (Downs and Larkey, 1986, p 1).

Metcalfe and Richards (1993) make a similar observation when they state that, "The record of administrative reform is poor. Its political appeal is much greater than its administrative impact" (p 113). As far as Kettl (1997) is concerned, there is a gap between what the reformers promise and what obtains on the ground. As he puts it, "The ideas, no matter how powerful, have not proven strong enough to stand on their own. In part, this is because reformers' rhetoric has sometimes outstripped their ability to produce results" (Kettl, 1997, p 449). Metcalfe and Richards (1993) also attribute the failure of public sector reforms to the tendency of politicians to promise citizens more than what they can offer and the misplaced belief that the public sector can be managed in the same manner as private entities.

As far as McAdam *et al* (2005) are concerned, the main problem that the reformers have to contend with is that the public sector is characterized by multiple stakeholders who at times have conflicting interests and requirements. This problem is compounded by the fact that "politics and administration are inextricably intertwined" (Downs and Larkey, 1986, p 4). According to Downs and Larkey, inefficiency and ineffectiveness within the public sector can be attributed to a situation where conflicting objectives are pursued simultaneously. As they state, "Politically justifiable – but inherently inefficient - decisions about which programs to operate and what constraints the programs must satisfy are often a more important source of poor performance than bad management" (Downs and Larkey, 1986, p 4). The complexity of multiple stakeholders pursuing different interests makes it difficult for things such as balanced scorecards and business excellence models to be applied successfully within the public sector in an attempt to improve productivity. As McAdam *et al* (2005) argue,

Simply translating the language of the private sector with minor modifications is unlikely to be sufficient. Such an approach could result in the public sector reality being subsumed within that of a contorted private sector reality, which does not accurately or appropriately represent the interests and needs of the stakeholders (McAdam *et al*, 2005, p 257).

Jones and Kettl (2003) also indicate that reforms in New Zealand, which is regarded as one of the vanguards of the New Public Management, have attracted criticism from Robert Gregory (2001). Gregory has been cited saying that, "a price has been paid for the overly narrow theoretical framework used to design state sector reforms" (Jones and Kettl, 2003, p 5). Gregory went further to argue that, "state sector reforms in New Zealand, especially in their application to the public services, have been too "mechanistic" and too blind to the important "organic" dimensions of public organizations" (Jones and Kettl, 2003, p 5). Hence, Gregory is said to have concluded that it is difficult for one to state that the reform process has all been good as there is evidence to the contrary.

In the same vein, Tooley (2001) is also quoted saying that there is a gap between what is said about decentralization and democratization and the reality on the ground in New Zealand as evidenced by the fact that the central government continues to have a tighter control over schools. Due to the gap between rhetoric and reality, people who were to be empowered to make timely and pertinent decisions about their schools have now been restricted in many respects by the Education Review Office. Hence, Jones and Kettl (2003) argue that, "These changes have reduced citizen choice in school education, turned principals into managers instead of skilled leaders and, ultimately, wrestled control over education from educators and into the control politicians" (p 6). Tooley (2001) is cited saying that there is need to reverse the educational experiment in New Zealand given the observation that the system is unable to deliver the outcomes promised when the reforms were undertaken.

An important observation made by Metcalfe and Richards (1993) is that people tasked with the responsibility of coordinating public sector reformers seem to assume that public organizations are homogenous and can therefore be handled in the same way. According to them, it is important to note that, "Governments are not unitary hierarchical structures. They are multi-organizational systems. They consist of networks of interdependent organizations" (Metcalfe and Richards, 1993, p 114). The main challenge facing public managers and the reformers is that of managing organizational interdependence, a thing that private sector managers do not always have to contend with.

Downs & Larkey (1986) sum up the debate succinctly when they state that, "regardless of how many times and how loudly those who have not tried it assert the contrary, running a government bureaucracy is not the same as running a business" (p 3). According to Downs and Larkey, "Government goals aren't chosen on the basis of what *can* be done but on what *should* be done" (1986, p 3, italics in the original). By the same token, Sorensen (1993) states that, "Governments pursue a more complicated and less tangible set of social objectives than that of the private company, and the efficiency criteria are different from those of private business" (p 224).

2.5 Managing change

An important observation made by Kiel (1994) is that pressures for change and increased productivity within the public sector usually produce instability, disorder and uncertainty. As Kiel (1994) puts it, "Implementing new work methods inevitably adds to disorder as organizations learn the new processes and systems. Managers experience uncertainty as they learn how to administer the unfamiliar work and service delivery systems" (p 2). Kiel (1994) goes further to state that, "The public clamor for "continuous improvement" in government performance means that work processes must constantly be altered, reordered, and improved. As soon as some semblance of order in work methods has been attained, they must again be changed" (p 3).

Since Kiel (1994) is of the view that "Change in public organizations was evolutionary and slow" (p 2), he argues that attempts to break the traditional bureaucracies are "heretical and inappropriate as their purpose was to provide orderly government and services" (p 2-3). Kiel (1994) explains the foregoing observation by drawing on the work of Lindblom (1959) when he (the latter) stated that traditionally, change to public management has to be piecemeal and incremental. A similar observation presented by Christensen and Laegreid (1999) when drawing on the work of Selznick (1957) is that public organizations develop slowly and gradually through evolutionary rather than revolutionary processes and more through informal means as opposed to formal ones.

According to Christensen and Laegreid (1999), when organizations adapt to internal and external pressures and conditions, "*the institutionalization process*, creates a unique culture, identity, or spirit in each organization" (p 172, italics in the original).

They go further to indicate that, "The unique cultural norms and values create integration, stability, and resistance against rapid change" (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999, p 172).

By the same token, Christensen and Laegreid (1999) argue that reforms implemented within public organizations have to be put through a compatibility test. As they state, "those that are incompatible with the traditional political-administrative cultural norms and values will be modified or opposed, whereas those that are more compatible gradually will be implemented" (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999, p 172). Since public organizations usually put more emphasis on consistency as well as what is known and preferred, Christensen and Laegreid (1999) remind us that, "Public organizations undergoing reform will try to solve some instrumental problems while keeping some basic cultural norms, and they will implement those parts of the reforms that are adapted to existing tradition or melded together with it" (p 173). This indicates that people within public organizations can embrace newly proposed reforms for as long as they do not threaten their cultural norms and values.

The turbulent environment within which public organizations operate tempted Norton Long (1946) to state that public administrators can only succeed to execute their responsibilities as expected if they have a proper understanding of the political environment in which they operate and the political resources at their disposal. As Long (1946) notes, "The lifeblood of administration is power. Its attainment, maintenance, increase, dissipation, and loss are subjects the practitioner and student can ill afford to neglect" (p103). A proper understanding of power dynamics is important as organizations usually compete for resources. Thus it is of paramount importance that all organizations, be they public, private or non-profit should have mechanisms in place that can enable them to adapt to their changing external environment as well as to changes that emanate within their structures. Schein (1992) holds that organizations should maintain a coping cycle in relation to their changing external environment. The elements of this coping cycle as he presents them include having a common understanding on the mission and strategy, operational goals, means to achieve goals, measurement of results and correction or remedial strategies.

Along the same vein, Schein (1992) argues that the achievement of tasks by an organization with the main objective of adapting to the external environment calls for the development and maintenance of a set of internal relationships among the members. Internal integration, as far as Schein (1992) is concerned, can be achieved if members of an organization have a common language that can be used for purposes of communicating; if each group is able to define itself by indicating who qualifies to be included, who does not and the criteria used to determine membership; if every group has a pecking order, its criteria and the rules explaining how members gain, maintain and lose power; if every member of the organization fully understands the kind of behavior that may result in one being regarded as a hero or heroine or as a sinner and if a concerted effort is made to explain the unexplainable (for example, ideology and religion) so that other members can respond to them.

Wescott (1996) is of the view that performance management can be successful if government agencies develop a vision, reform strategy and clear objectives of what is to be attained, how and by whom. It is of paramount importance that an organizational map, which reflects the tasks that have to be undertaken, the organizations that have to undertake them, the relations between different stakeholders and others have to be drawn and followed without fail.

Osborne and Plastrik (1998) hold that since reinventing public institutions is "Herculean work", the process can only be successful if public managers find "levers that can move mountains" (p 33). As they put it, one must be "strategic" and make a concerted effort of finding strategies that set off chain reactions within organizations, "dominoes that will set all other falling" (Osborne and Plastrik, 1998, p 33). Although they explain that being strategic does not necessarily mean coming up with detailed plans given the fact that there is no recipe that one can follow to reinvent government, Osborne and Plastrik (1998) also argue that efficiency within public organizations can be attained if their purposes are clearly spelt out; if they are put in the marketplace with a view to making them dependent on their customers for revenue; if they are made accountable to the customers; if the decision making power is pushed down the hierarchy and at times to the community (i.e. loosening the grip of central control agencies) and if the culture of people within organizations is reshaped with a view to giving them new experiences, new kinds of work and interactions with new people.

Popovich (1998) is of the view that change within organizations cannot take place if employees are not put at the center of the process. Thus he argues that employees should be empowered "to apply their skills, creativity, ability to adapt to change, and capacity to be continuous learners to achieve the organization's mission" (Popovich, 1998, p 18). According to Popovich, the manner in which employees rise to the challenge of applying their skills to fulfil their organizational goals, develop new skills and continue learning determines to a greater extent the success of the organization.

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In the same vein, Popovich (1998) argues that employees should be "empowered to form alliances and working relationships based on their interest in meeting the outcomes and mission of the organization. They are not limited by organizational boundaries" (p 18). As new performance enhancing innovations are embraced, it is important that senior management should make a concerted effort of seeing to it that employees trust and believe in the new interventions. In other words, they have to buy into the new innovation.

Another important observation made by Popovich (1998) is that even though change within an organization does not necessarily need to be spearheaded by leaders, they have a crucial role to play in helping their subordinates to achieve the goals of the organization as well as to continue learning. As he puts it, "Leadership does not simply sit at the peak of tall command-and-control structure. Rather, leaders are in the business of helping their employees learn how to do things better. And leaders make certain that they are learning from employees at all times" (Popovich, 1998, p 32).

Since different countries undertake public sector reforms for different reasons and use different strategies and mechanisms, there is no one best way of managing change. To this end, Jones *et al* (1996) brings to our attention the difference between African and Western industrialized countries in terms of how they manage change by stating that, In western societies conflict and confrontation of idea tend to be accepted as normal and even desirable as the source of creativity. Because the support of employees is considered essential, the need to secure commitment and high morale is emphasized. Trust and openness are asserted as desirable organizational features. Many African societies, in contrast, retain strong elements of traditional values emphasizing a concern for the quality of relationships, the desirability of consensus, and tolerance of individual weakness (Jones *et al*, 1996, p 466)

In relation to PMS in Botswana, Washington and Hacker (2005) state that it is important for senior government officials to make sure that people tasked with the responsibility of leading change have a proper and detailed understanding of change. They should have a positive view of change for them to be effective change agents. In a study that they conducted in 2004 in Botswana, Washington and Hacker found that respondents who understood change were less likely to resist organizational change, were excited about change and less likely to think that change will fail. Those who did not have a proper understanding of PMS faced difficulties leading their subordinates and were more likely to believe that it will fail.

Notwithstanding all the positive things presented in the preceding paragraphs, Downs and Larkey (1986) are of the view that, "attempts to reform government are almost never informed sufficiently by past attempts at reform" (p 3). They argue that the same strategies are usually renamed and tried again and again without much success. This is compounded by the fact that it is rare for the reformers to ask why previous attempts achieved modest success. According to Downs and Larkey (1986), the result is that "the ideals of government efficiency and effectiveness are being pursued very inefficiently and ineffectively" (p 3). Thus it is not surprising that Metcalfe and Richards (1993) hold that, "For the foreseeable future improving the performance of large, complex and highly interdependent public organizations will remain a crucial task" (p 107).

2.6 Public sector reforms and organizational culture

Owusu (2005) is of the view that some of the public sector reforms undertaken during the 1980s and 1990s in the developing countries succeeded only in reducing the size of the public service and its wage bill but failed to improve performance. Even the reforms that focused on improving the quality of public sector employment also failed to produce the desired results. According to Owusu (2005), the failure of various public sector reforms justifies the need to adopt a different approach that is "flexible enough to accommodate country-specific constraints on the organizations" (p 5).

Drawing on the works of Schein (1992) and Grindle (1997), Owusu contends that the manner in which organizations adapt to internal and external forces should be given the attention that it deserves mainly because, "The ways in which organizations adapt to the *external environment* and ensure *internal integration* create the culture and corporate identity of the organization" (Owusu, 2005, p 8, italics in the original). In the same vein, Owusu (2005) argues that public sector reforms cannot yield the much-desired results if a concerted effort is not made to understand how organizational culture is created, sustained, changed and transmitted as well as its effects on performance. According to Owusu, "public sector reforms must be viewed as changing, or in some cases sustaining, organizational culture" (2005, p 3). A similar argument was made by Seel (2000) when he stated that changing the culture of people within organizations means changing all or at least the majority of their daily conversations and negotiations. But according to Seel (2000), "changing conversation is not the focus of most change programmes, which tend to concentrate on organizational structures or reward systems or other large-scale interventions" (p 2). For Seel (2000), as long as we continue to overlook and fail to change the paradigm at the heart of culture, then all efforts geared towards changing the structures, systems and processes of public organizations will continue to have limited success. This is because he defines a paradigm as a "constellation of concepts, values, perceptions and practices shared by a community, which forms a particular vision of reality that is the basis of the way a community organises itself" (Seel, 2000, p 3).

This compelling observation regarding the need for a proper understanding of organizational culture was also made by Parker and Bradley (2000) with regard to the change process that takes place within public organizations. Commenting on public sector reforms implemented in Australia since the 1980s with the intention of attaining cost-efficiency, budget accountability and improved customer focus, Parker and Bradley (2000) argue that, "These changes have been pursued with relatively limited empirical understanding of organizational culture in the public sector and are, therefore, potentially lacking in sensitivity to the culture characteristics of public organisations" (Parker and Bradley, 2000, p 125).

By the same token, Parker and Bradley (2000) indicate that, "Concern has been raised that the new management techniques will conflict with the attitudes, values and culture within public sector organisations" (p 125). They go further to state that, "There is

a further argument that organizational strategies designed to achieve new forms of public management need to be developed with an awareness of existing organisational culture within public sector organisations" (p 125).

The foregoing sentiments have been amplified by Alas and Vadi (2003) when they assessed the impact of task and relationship orientations of organizational culture on the preference for individual and collective learning in groups made up of people with different socio-demographic characters in Estonia. In their study, which was prompted by the merger of six hospitals in Tallinn in 2002 as recommended by Swedish consultants, Alas and Vadi state that there is a mutual relationship between organizational learning and organizational culture. According to Alas and Vadi (2003), the process of learning that takes place within organizations depends on "beliefs and norms, which have been considered as a core of organizational culture (OC), providing the context for meaning or the collective programming of the mind" (p 86).

In the same vein, Alas and Vadi indicate that organizational culture plays an important part in bridging the gap between individual and collective learning. As they point out, "Cultural change is intimately tied to individual change: without individuals willing to engage in new behaviours, without an alteration of the fundamental goals and values of individuals, change remains superficial and short-term in duration" (Alas and Vadi, 2003, p 86). One of the most important observations made by Alas and Vadi is that organizational culture can be viewed from a "functional perspective as an adaptation mechanism which helps an organization to adapt and survive in a changing environment" (p 86).

The foregoing observation is in harmony with the definition of organizational learning that has been provided by Lipshitz *et al* (1996) when modifying the one given by Nonaka (1991). According to Lipshitz *et al* (1996), organizational learning can be defined as a "process through which organization members develop shared values and knowledge based on past experience of themselves and of others" (p 293). This view resonates with the one expressed by Cook and Yanow (1993) when they conceptualize "organizational learning as a cultural rather than a cognitive phenomenon" (Lipshitz *et al*, 1996, p 294).

An assessment of the relationship between organizational commitment and organizational culture and subculture tempt Look and Crawford (1999) to argue that all the studies that have been done with regard to the former have paid little or no attention to the influence of the latter. In an attempt to indicate the manner in which culture and subculture influence or affect the commitment of employees, Look and Crawford (1999) contend that, "Although there is little evidence to suggest that there is a strong relationship between organizational culture and commitment, characteristics of organizational culture such as corporate values and beliefs have been suggested to be related to commitment and performance of organizations" (p 366).

In a study that was intended to investigate the commitment of nurses to their wards and the hospital at large, Look and Crawford found that both organizational culture and subculture variables were "significantly correlated with commitment" (1999, p 371) even though subculture had a stronger association with commitment. In other words, the nurses were found to be more committed to their wards than the hospital. This indicates that subculture in the hospital used for the study is positively related to the nurses'

commitment. The wards, which are an embodiment of the hospital subculture, are given priority over the hospital that was used to represent organizational culture in so far as commitment is concerned.

When using organizational culture to probe the paradoxical nature of the public administration environment in the United States and the consequences for public managers, Whorton and Worthley (1981) state that the public manager "faces a more complicated challenge than the business administrator, and that inadequate understanding of the culture of public administration is a key obstacle to managerial improvement in government" (p 357). These scholars contend that since organizational culture affects individuals and group behavior in a predictable way, it determines "perceptions of what the organization really is, what its prospects for success are, and who counts" (Whorton and Worthley, 1981, p 358). They opine that in cases where the culture of an organization is well-defined and articulated, individuals usually find themselves under pressure to support the "norms and beliefs of the culture rather than voicing beliefs that run counter to the culture" (p 358).

Regarding the effectiveness of new budget techniques such as program budgeting, PPBS, MBO and ZBB which were embraced in the past twenty years or so with the belief that they will cure public bureaucracies of a "plague of bloated budgets, waste and inefficiency," Whorton and Worthley (1981) attribute their failure to bring the much needed change to the fact that those tasked with the responsibility of implementing them "ignore or underestimate the paradoxical environment that limits management flexibility, and the norms and attitudes of the organizational culture that, if unaddressed, produce behavior unconducive to success" (p 361).

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that an improved understanding of organizational culture is important as it provides managers with a platform to explain and assess the appropriateness and outcomes of the strategies embraced to improve organizational performance. Drawing on the work of Bergquist (1993), Alas and Vadi (2003) argue that any effort geared toward changing the manner in which people within public organizations perform their duties should be premised on a proper understanding of all the cultural components of the affected people. They aptly state that, "efforts to bring about change in post-modern organizations typically focus on the domains of process and attitude; and attitudes are embedded primarily in culture. So in order to change the organization, cultural components should be more fully understood and addressed" (Alas and Vadi, 2003, p 84). In fact, Davies et al (2000) hold that the current UK government has adopted the activist view premised on the realization that managing the culture of organizations is one route towards improving health care. In other words, management of organizational culture is used as an important tool in all efforts geared towards improving organizational fitness.

In a similar vein, a study on perceptions of leadership and management in the then Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (MLGLH) in Botswana established that, "The cultural and organizational dimensions were evidently important factors in relation to the improvement and reform of the public sector" (Jones *et al*, 1996, p 455). According to Jones *et al* (1996), successful development and reform depends on the "adoption of measures rooted in the specific organizational environment concerned" (p 455). One of the most important observations made by Schein (1993) is that understanding the cultural dynamics of organizations goes a long way in helping people outside the organization to be less puzzled and irritated by what they may view as "unfamiliar and seemingly irrational behavior of people in organizations, and we will have a deeper understanding not only of why various groups of people or organizations can be so different but also why it is so hard to change them" (p 361). He states that culture is an important concept as it helps us to understand some of the hidden and most complex aspects of the organizations.

Efforts geared towards enhancing performance and accountability within the public sector can yield the expected positive results if the concept of culture is given the attention that it deserves. This is very important in the sense that Schein (1993) reminds us that culture is nowadays used by organizational researchers and managers "to indicate the climate and practices that organizations develop around their handling of people or to refer to the espoused values and credo of an organization" (p 360). That public organizations exist and operate in environments that change from time to time is not in dispute given the fact that they are in constant competition with others for resources (be they human, financial or otherwise), power and influence.

2.7 Formal and informal organizations

At this juncture, I contend that all the arguments that have been presented by various scholars on the manner in which people interact within organizations as discussed in the preceding paragraphs resonate with the views expressed by Chester Barnard in 1938 when he brought to our attention the importance of addressing basic questions of why we

need organizations as well as their essentials. Barnard (1966) argues that without answering these questions and exploring the nature of organizations, we lack a solid foundation on which to discuss more specific questions. In demonstrating the need to learn and understand the manner in which people relate to each other within organizations, Barnard (1966) states that,

Careful inspection of the observable actions of human beings in our society – their movements, their speech, and the thought and emotions evident from their action and speech – shows that many and sometimes most of them are determined or directed by their connection with formal organizations (p 3).

Barnard (1966) notes that the formation of organizations is usually premised on the shared objective of attaining efficiency and effectiveness. In his theory, efficiency within this context is viewed as mainly concerned with satisfaction of individual motives whereas effectiveness relates to accomplishment of the cooperative purpose. Cooperation within an organization can be attained if the goals and desires of all the individuals can be met or satisfied in one way or the other. Satisfaction of individual needs can be attained by giving people various incentives such as money for the work done, giving them an opportunity to present their views, ideas and grievances regarding the organization and operationalization of their entity, giving them respect as well as appreciating their membership to the organization.

In an attempt to ensure that there is a coherent and systematic way of operationalizing the organization, formal and informal organizations have to be formed. Barnard (1966) defines formal organizations as "that kind of cooperation among men that is conscious, deliberate, purposeful. Such cooperation is omnipresent and inescapable nowadays, so that it is usually contrasted only with "individualism", as if there were no other process of cooperation" (p 4). Formal organizations are based primarily on clearly defined lines of communication, procedures, authority, chain of command and explicit rules.

As far as Barnard (1966) is concerned, informal organizations on the other hand, are structureless in form and involve interactions that occur without any specific predetermined purpose. He defines informal organizations as "the aggregate of the personal contacts and interactions and the associated groupings of people" (p 115). He goes further to state that an informal organization "establishes certain attitudes, understandings, customs, habits, institutions and it creates the conditions under which formal organization may arise" and operate (Barnard, 1966, p 116).

One of the basic tenets of Barnard's theory pertaining to the establishment of organizations is that authority within institutions flows from the bottom to the top. This observation contradicts the popular belief that authority flows from the organizational apex downwards. Barnard (1966) argues that it is the subordinates or people at the lower end of the organizational ladder who can decide as to whether they accept and adhere to the orders given by the top management. Subordinates, therefore, are the ones who grant those above them authority to perform their duties. In other words, the authority of the top management is contingent upon acceptance or rejection of orders by the subordinates. Afterall, Barnard (1966) is of the view that, "The vitality of organizations lies in the willingness of individuals to contribute forces to the cooperative system" (p 82).

2.8 Conclusion

The pursuit of efficiency and effectiveness within the public sector has without any doubt generated debates within the field of public administration regarding the appropriateness of adopting private sector techniques and strategies to the public sector. Even though such debates can be traced back to 1887 when Woodrow Wilson wrote his famous essay entitled "The Study of Administration", scholars and practitioners within the field of public administration still fail to reach a consensus on the issue. The emergence of the New Public Management movement as an international phenomenon in the late 1970s and the debates generated thereafter, tempts me to conclude that it has failed to make public organizations to be as efficient and effective as one would like them to be. Most importantly, the mixed results attained by different countries throughout the world indicate that there is no one best way of undertaking public sector reforms and managing change.

Despite the fact that organizational culture is a complex and diverse phenomenon, it is not in dispute that it plays an important role in the manner in which organizations function and operate on daily basis particularly when public sector reforms are implemented. Since culture is the glue that keeps organizations intact, it is of paramount importance that it should be given the attention that it deserves. Formal and informal relations should be given equal attention and significance within organizations, be they public or private if the concept of culture is to be appreciated.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology that I used to collect data as well the justification for using it. Since the study seeks to understand the relationship between PMS and organizational culture, I deemed it appropriate to use a case study research as it gave the respondents in all the selected departments an opportunity to present their views and explanations for what they do and how. To this end, I demonstrate the appropriateness of using a case study for a study of this nature. Furthermore, I discuss the manner in which validity threats, reliability and credibility issues were handled during the collection of data as well as how the same were handled during the interpretation stage.

3.1 Purpose of the study and research questions

The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the relationship between PMS and the culture of public servants in Botswana. It also investigates factors that support and impede the implementation of PMS. Since PMS has many aspects or components, the assumption that I made is that each component affects or alters organizational culture in a certain way. Hence, this study assesses the connection between PMS and organizational culture by focusing mainly on Performance Development Plans (PDPs) as well as balanced score-cards as some of the PMS tools that public servants have to develop and work with. Thus, a concerted effort was made to answer the following research questions:

- What is the relationship between organizational culture and Performance Management System in Botswana?
- ii) What factors support or impede the implementation of PMS in Botswana?
- iii) How does organizational culture support or impede the implementation of PMS in Botswana?
- iv) How does PMS affect organizational culture in public organizations in Botswana?

The main proposition of this study is that the manner in which PMS was conceived and implemented did not take into consideration the concept of organizational culture and therefore those tasked with the responsibility to spearheading it may encounter resistance as public officers try to preserve their organizational culture. This proposition is based on the observation made by Mpabanga (2005) that a top-down approach was adopted when PMS was formulated and implemented within the Department of Administration of Justice. The other proposition is that the success or failure of PMS largely depends on the effect that it has on organizational culture. If the reform is deemed to have a positive effect on what is understood and perceived as organizational culture, then it will attain its objectives and vice-versa.

3.2 Case selection criteria and justification

I used purposive sampling to select the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Lands and Housing for this study. As Silverman (2005) explains, "Purposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested" (p 250). The Ministry of Local Government was selected for two reasons. Firstly, it is lagging behind in terms of implementing PMS. Thus, it was interesting to find out if the slow progress can be linked or attributed to the nature of the relationship existing between PMS and organizational culture.

Secondly, the Ministry of Local Government was selected because all local authorities with the exception of Land Boards fall under its jurisdiction. The ministry contends with pressures from the local authorities and the Directorate of Public Service Management as the agency spearheading public sector reforms. The ministry deals directly with the local authorities in terms of financial and human resources. It sources funds and human resources needed by the local authorities to execute their responsibilities as well as supervise them. By the same token, it is expected to oversee the implementation of PMS at district level. Hence, I deemed it appropriate that it be selected for the study as it serves many stakeholders at the same time.

The Ministry of Lands and Housing is selected because the former Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration reported to Parliament in March 2007 that it is successful in terms of implementing PMS. Its inclusion is important as it shed light on how its departments have responded and adapted to changes brought by PMS. Most importantly, factors that have facilitated satisfactory implementation of PMS, which are absent at the Ministry of Local Government, were also brought to light. The selection of

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two ministries which are at different stages of implementing PMS, helped me to compare them in terms of their mandate, mission and vision statements, goods and services provided as well as the nature of the people served.

The existence of a strong developmental state, adequately resourced public service and voluntary adoption of public sector reforms in Botswana make it an interesting case to explore given the fact that most of the states in African countries have dismally failed to facilitate the process of development. Unlike other countries in the developing world, Botswana implemented PMS and other reforms to improve productivity rather than to satisfy the conditions set by international financial institutions. Hence, the use of Botswana as a case study gives us an opportunity to assess the impact of PMS on organizational culture in an environment where public servants are not under pressure from the international organizations.

3.3 Data collection methods

Due to the objectives of the study and the complex nature of organizational culture, a case study research method was used to collect data. I randomly selected the Department of Local Government Service Management (DLGSM) and Department of Local Government Development Planning (DLGDP) from the Ministry of Local Government whereas the Department of Lands (DoL) and Department of Housing (DoH) were randomly selected from the Ministry of Lands and Housing. I interviewed the junior, middle and senior officers, made observations about their behavior, dress code, language and the artifacts.

A case study research method is helpful as it provides an in-depth analysis and description of the environment within which the participants work, how they relate to each other and how PMS has changed the manner in which they perform their duties and responsibilities. Yin (1994) presents the importance of case study succinctly by stating that it "contributes to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena" (p 1). He goes further to state that, "the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries" (Yin, 1994, p. 3).

Another important thing that has to be borne in mind is that public administration deals with the establishment and operationalization of public institutions embodying social elements such as values, beliefs, norms, morals and others. It is a field that draws no dividing line between theory and practice as it is geared towards resolving real life societal problems arising as a result of interactions between individuals. Hence, I believe that since this study looks at deeper issues of culture and how it influences implementation of PMS, then the use of case study research is appropriate. It allowed me not only to observe, but also to interact with people within the departments and appreciate the social elements that are at play. This is important given the fact that social elements that influence the behavior of people in different settings and the complexity of human societies are not easy to capture through explanatory research.

Due to time constraints, the study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews using open-ended questions. Since the use of in-depth interviews is a limited way of understanding how people behave and relate to each other within organizations, focus group discussions were used to complement them. Focus group discussions are important, not only in terms of complementing in-depth interviews, but also because they enable one to find out if there is any kind of relationship that emerges through a group discussion. In other words, focus group discussions enabled me to observe the manner in which people relate to each other within government departments.

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions are deemed adequate as they allowed me to probe and seek clarifications from the participants. The participants, in this case, also had an opportunity to discuss and explain life as they experience it within their organizations. As Ritchie and Lewis (2003) remind us, an in-depth interview "gives participants a direct and explicit opportunity to convey their own meanings and interpretations through the explanations they provide, whether spontaneously or in answer to the researcher's probing" (p 57).

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) further state that one of the key features of in-depth interviews is that "They provide an opportunity for detailed investigation of each person's personal perspective, for in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomenon is located, and for very detailed subject coverage" (p 58). Silverman (2005) concurs by stating that interviews "offer a rich source of data which provide access to how people account for both their troubles and their good fortune" (p 114). There is flexibility on the part of both the researcher and the respondents as the former can control the interview situation and conduct it in the manner that he/she wants without compromising the quality of the study or causing any discomfort to the latter. In an attempt to ensure that the views of the participants are captured properly, I took notes during interviews and permission was sought from the participants to use a small, unobtrusive tape recorder. The use of a tape recorder made it easier for me to cross check and analyze the collected data given the fact that ninety-five percent of the respondents allowed me to record our conversations.

Secondary data was obtained through perusal and analysis of the available government records as captured in the files and reports. The available evaluation reports of other public sector reforms such as Work Improvement Teams, Organization and Methods and PMS were used to ensure that an accurate record of the various reforms undertaken so far is captured.

Drawing on the work of Sackmann (1992) and Schein (1997), this study used formal philosophy or mission and vision statements of the selected four departments, artifacts, behavior, language and style as indicators of organizational culture. It was assumed that the culture of people within organizations can be shaped and altered by the manner in which they pursue the formal philosophy or mission and vision of their organizations.

Since artifacts are mainly things that one can see, the study used posters, pictures, plants, decorations and documents to learn about the culture of public servants within the selected departments. In other words, the internal environment of the organizations was assessed with a view to finding out if there is something peculiar in the offices. The behavior of people within the selected organizations was assessed by the manner in which they relate to each other, manners of address as well as the language used. Given the fact that the language used within organizations can be formal and informal, a

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concerted effort was made to observe the manner in which people communicate with each other. Lastly, attention was paid to the manner in which people within the selected organizations dress.

3.4 Pre-testing of questionnaires

As a way of ensuring that the interview schedule is structured appropriately, the same was pre-tested before it could be used for the study. Pre-testing enabled me to eliminate ambiguities that could have caused confusion to the participants and affect the results negatively. For example, in the original draft, the first question was: "What does this department stand for"? When I pre-tested the instrument, I realized that the respondents did not understand the question thus prompting me to change it to read thus: "What is the mandate of this department"?

3.5 Data analysis

Since the study sample was made up of officers who are rated as high and low performers, the responses of each group are discussed separately. This has enabled me to easily identify factors that facilitate and hinder the implementation of PMS within the selected departments. Separating the responses also enabled me to compare the two groups with a view to explaining the existing disparities between them. The responses of the senior management helped me to have a proper understanding of the attitudes, mentality, beliefs and values of the leaders in so far as PMS and organizational culture are concerned. The use of focus groups enabled me to observe the manner in which people relate to each other within the selected departments.

I compared the mandate, mission and vision statements of the two ministries as well as compare the goods and services that they provide. It is very common for scholars and practitioners to rate some departments and ministries above others without necessarily taking into consideration the nature of the work that they do, the target groups that they deal with, the resources at their disposal and others. Hence, comparing the two ministries enabled me to shed light on their similarities and differences.

3.6 Limitations of the research method

The main limitation of in-depth interviews is that some participants felt intimidated to discuss their experiences with me. Even though some of the selected participants were reluctant to be interviewed, they agreed mainly because they were asked by their superiors to assist me in everyway possible. They participated in the study for fear of being viewed as uncooperative and not necessarily because they genuinely wanted to take part. Hence, the possibility of some participants giving dishonest answers cannot be ruled out. This is compounded by the fact that in-depth interviews are characterized by lack of anonymity in the sense that the researcher knows the identity of the participants and this may cause some discomfort to them.

Self-reporting bias by the participants cannot be ruled out as some people usually strive to give the researcher an impression that their organizations are doing everything that they are expected to do to implement the reforms successfully. In other words, in an attempt to give the impression that they are not against the implementation of PMS, some of the respondents may have portrayed a rosy picture of their organizations. This problem may have been exacerbated by the fact that the conversation between the researcher and the interviewees was recorded. By the same token, the use of a voice recorder may have unsettled some of the respondents even if they consented to the recording. This can result in the respondents giving misleading answers.

Since values and preconceived beliefs about a certain concept or phenomenon within the field of public administration and in social sciences are difficult to discard when undertaking research or writing about them, it is appropriate to state that prior to the commencement of the study, the problem of researcher's bias could not be ruled out. This is because at the time when PMS was introduced in 1999, I was a public officer stationed at the Ministry of Local Government and therefore has first hand experience about the reform. Hence, it was of paramount importance that I make a concerted effort to ensure that the study focuses on the relationship between PMS and organizational culture rather than allow it to be tainted by my views and ideas. In fact, I realized during the interviews that some of the ideas that I had about PMS were wrong.

3.7 Validity threats, reliability and credibility issues

Since the study used in-depth interviews, pre-testing the interview schedule helped me to ensure that internal validity and reliability are not compromised. Pre-testing the interview schedule helped me to clarify questions that could mislead or confuse the respondents. As Silverman (2005) advises, "it is very important that each respondent understands the questions in the same way and that answers can be coded without the possibility of uncertainty" (p 229).

Given the fact that notes were taken during the interviews and focus group discussions and that the interviews were recoded to ensure that everything is captured appropriately, reliability and credibility were enhanced as other researchers can use the same records to analyze the relationship between organizational culture and PMS in Botswana. Construct validity was maintained through proper operationalization of the main concepts (public sector reforms and organizational culture). Caution was taken to ensure that the participants do not attribute changes to their organizational culture to other public sector reforms. Even though the sample size is not big enough for me to claim that it is representative of government agencies, I have no doubt in my mind that the findings of the study can be generalized to theory. The ability to generalize to theory indicates that construct validity is not threatened.

3.8 Ethical issues

In compliance with ethical conduct of research, no participant was coerced into the study. Participation and withdrawal was purely voluntary even though none of the identified participants withdrew from the study. A consent form was designed and presented to all the participants for signature before the interview started. The consent form provides a clear and brief statement explaining the purpose of the study and the rights of the respondents particularly the one informing them that their participation is voluntary and withdrawal can be done at any time without any reprisal whatsoever. In an attempt to maintain confidentiality, names of all the people interviewed and their unique identifiers will not be revealed to anyone.

3.9 Access

Letters indicating the purpose of the study, the kind of participants needed and the positive contribution that it may make toward better implementation of PMS were sent to all the four selected departments and follow-up trips were undertaken to make sure that all the relevant officers have a proper understanding of what is to be done. In compliance with research guidelines and requirements in Botswana, an application for a research permit was submitted to the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs and the same was approved.

No problems were experienced with regard to accessing secondary data given the fact that reports dealing with some of the reforms that were undertaken in the past have already been made available to the public. Information needed from the officers was also obtained without any problem as one of the conditions usually attached to the research permit is that the agencies used in the study should be furnished with a copy of the findings and recommendations made. This condition is deemed to be one way through which government agencies ensure proper usage of the available reports and data on their operations. The researcher is held responsible for any misuse of the same.

3.10 Timing and resource constraints

Since this study was undertaken once and does not entail a huge sample, it was completed within four months (November 2007- February 2008). Due to time constraint, it was not possible for me to do observations for a long time even though they could have gone a long way in helping me to better understand relations within organizations and how they are affected by public sector reforms.

This chapter has presented the methodology that I used to collect data, how it was analyzed, how I handled the validity threats and other important aspects of conducting a credible research. The use of case study research is greatly determined by the objectives of the study which are to understand the relationship between PMS and organizational culture as well as an examination of factors that facilitate or hinder the implementation of PMS.

CHAPTER IV

KEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

In this chapter, I present key findings of the study and discussions of the same. The first section covers findings from the Department of Local Government Service Management while the second section covers the Department of Local Government Development Planning. The third and fourth sections cover the Department of Lands and the Department of Housing respectively. The fifth section is a comparison of the two ministries (i.e. Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Lands and Housing) while the sixth and seventh sections analyze findings from all the four departments using Kurt Lewin's change model.

In striving to achieve the first objective of the study, which is to understand the relationship between organizational culture and PMS, I made a concerted effort to understand the culture of public servants within the four departments by asking them to state the mandate of their departments, values espoused, how power is exercised, how new members are socialized, the dress code, the meanings that they attach to the posters, pictures and plants that they have in their offices and the language used to communicate with others.

Regarding the second objective, which is to assess factors that facilitate and impede implementation of PMS with a view to finding out how change is managed, the respondents were asked to state the role that they played in the formulation and implementation of PMS, how Performance Development Plans (PDPs) and balanced score-cards changed the manner in which they performed their responsibilities prior to the implementation of PMS, what they gain and lose by implementing PMS and factors that they consider to be facilitating and hindering the implementation of PMS. Appendices A and B reflect all the questions that were used in the study for the junior and senior officers respectively.

4.1 Department of Local Government Service Management

4.1.1 High performers

All five respondents graded as high performers clearly stated and understood the mandate of their department as well as the values espoused. They explained that the department is responsible for recruiting and training manpower for district and urban councils. According to the respondents, the values promoted within the department are derived from those of the Ministry of Local Government. These include customer care, fairness, transparency, commitment, "*botho*" (being courteous and magnanimous), teamwork and timeliness.

Four out of five respondents stated that prior to the arrival of the current Director in 2007, a top-down approach was widely used. Junior officers played no role in the decision-making process, a situation that the fifth participant believes still obtains. They explained that instead of being engaged in the decision-making process, junior officers were told by the senior management what has been decided and who is to do what. Notwithstanding the foregoing, they believe that there is paradigm shift as the new Director is trying to involve all officers in the decision-making process by encouraging them to be innovative. As they pointed out, officers are encouraged to think of better and easier ways of undertaking their responsibilities or how the department as a whole can achieve the set targets.

The respondents noted that the Director does not put more emphasis on having a formal and rigid relationship with her subordinates as evidenced by the fact that she can easily share her social background with them and even introduce herself to them using her first name. These things are not common in some government departments as leaders only discuss work related issues with their subordinates.

The five respondents also agreed that there is nothing in place to socialize new members in the department. There is no formal orientation except that people are taken to all the offices and introduced to other members of the department. The introductions are also made at the Wednesday morning prayers. It is at these meetings that people pray together for their sick colleagues and their families, pray for people who have been affected by the HIV/AIDS scourge throughout the country, share messages of how to care for each other, share messages from the bible as well as decide on projects that they can undertake as a department to uplift the lives of disadvantaged members of the community.

After the introductions, new members rely on officers within their units or divisions to guide them on how things are done and whom they can contact if they need help. They are usually given the General Orders to read and learn about things such as the dress code and the parameters within which they have to operate. The manner in which they communicate with other members of the department is mainly premised on the Tswana culture of showing respect for all people that they interact with on daily basis irrespective of their age, religion, educational background and others. It was revealed that sometimes officers use first names, nicknames or surnames to call each other depending on the manner in which the concerned officers relate to each other.

In relation to the behavioral norms that a visitor or a newcomer to the department can quickly notice, all five respondents stated that officers greet each other and the people that they meet in the hallway as well as go further to inquire if they have been helped. All officers dress formally in an attempt to portray a corporate image and most of them are usually in their offices before 7:30am and leave after 4:30pm (official government working time). Some officers go an extra mile of serving their clients beyond the normal working hours.

It was also revealed that most officers have a tendency of having tea in their offices particularly around 10 o'clock in the morning. The middle and junior buy their own tea, coffee, sugar and milk and keep them in their offices because they are not provided with "official tea" as it is the case with the senior officers. But the respondents were quick to point that officers do not have their tea in the presence of clients. They serve clients first and then have tea later.

The respondents went further to state that the senior management usually encourages officers to treat clients in a respectful way and serve them as diligently as they possibly can. They revealed that officers who act as per the expectations of the senior management are usually given a pat on the back during the Wednesday morning prayers whereas those who are deemed not to have behaved well are usually called to the supervisor's office and reprimanded verbally. Congratulating officers in a meeting attended by almost all the members of the department is seen as one way of motivating and encouraging them to behave in a professional and responsible manner.

Regarding posters, pictures, savingrams and circulars that they have in their offices, all five respondents explained that the aforementioned things are meant to remind them about the national vision (i.e. Vision 2016), why they are in government offices and the rights of the people that they serve. Savingrams and circulars are mainly used as reference points in the execution of responsibilities. They went further to state that some of the posters are mainly used to decorate the offices rather than to portray a certain message either to the person occupying it or the people who are assisted in those offices. They also stated that the pictures of the three Presidents who have ruled Botswana since independence symbolize national pride, allegiance and commitment to the goals and aspirations of the government of the day.

On the role that they played in the formulation and implementation of PMS within their department, four out of five respondents indicated that they were not working at the department when the reform was introduced in 2000. Hence, they were not in a position to share with me the role that they played when the reform was introduced. The other respondent explained that he was a junior officer and was told about the reform by his supervisor and what was expected of him. In his words, he was just a recipient of the reform and had no role to play in determining the manner in which it has to be implemented.

Notwithstanding the foregoing observation, the respondents stated that as members of the department, their role is to develop and discuss their Performance Development Plans (PDPs) with their supervisors at the beginning of each year, create data base for district and urban councils, assist in the preparation of divisional plans as well as prepare divisional reports indicating the set targets, what has been achieved and how things that have not been achieved will be undertaken in the future.

Regarding what they gain and lose by implementing PMS, all five respondents are of the view that they are more focused in their work as the activities that they have to undertake are clearly stated together with the timeframe unlike in the past when they used to work without a plan. According to them, PMS has taught them to plan their work and manage time well. Most importantly, they stated that PMS allows them to monitor their performance as the activities that have not been undertaken can easily be identified together with the remedial action that has to be taken. They are of the view that PMS has instilled a culture of high performance and a sense of urgency as officers can easily be held accountable for failing to achieve their targets or objectives. They opine that all officers now know that they have to provide services promptly and in a professional way more so that they are expected to plan their activities in such a way that they facilitate the attainment of the departmental vision and mission statements. By the same token, all respondents indicated that the balanced scorecard is an important tool that eliminates lying as targets are clearly stated. In the event that certain things are not done, one can easily state the reasons as well as the remedial action that will be taken. Notwithstanding this positive response one respondent stated that the concept is difficult to operationalize particularly when dealing with administrative issues. The respondent was adamant that their administrative tasks are hard to quantify for balanced scorecard, an argument that PMS Facilitators do not agree with. An example of things that was presented is the difficulty that administrators face when trying to quantify the routine tasks of some of the people that they supervise such as Secretaries, Drivers and others.

On factors that facilitate implementation of PMS, all five respondents agreed that the reform is leader-driven. All the leaders within the public sector have no option other than to walk the talk. All Permanent Secretaries as administrative heads of ministries report to the Permanent Secretary to the President (PSP) who is the head of the public service about the progress that they have made within their ministries, challenges that they meet as well as how they intend to overcome them. This means that all Heads of Department have to see to it that the reform is embraced and implemented within their departments so that the ministerial vision and mission can be pursued without fail. If Heads of Department fail to achieve the goals of their departments, this may jeopardize the chances of the Permanent Secretaries attaining the goals of their ministries, a thing that may portray them in bad light. The negative attitude of people towards the reform was identified as one of the main factors that impede implementation of PMS. The five respondents believe that there are people within their department and the public sector in general who deliberately do not want to embrace PMS. According to them, this situation is compounded by the fact that in some cases, there is lack of manpower and funds to do their tasks.

They believe that one of the most important things that should be done to facilitate smooth implementation of PMS is that senior officers driving the reform should use a language that can easily be comprehended by all officers. In other words, there should be a common language that can be used for communicating with each other. According to them, it is sometimes difficult to quantify some of the things that they do particularly administrative issues, thus making it difficult for some people to appreciate and buy into the reform. This calls for people to be assisted with ways and means through which they can quantify the things that they do, lest they lose faith in the reform.

One respondent suggested that the implementation of PMS can be facilitated by having early exit packages for non-performers as well as ensuring that people who are recruited into the public service are ready to embrace the reform. According to him, vacancies must be filled with people who have a positive attitude towards PMS and that leaders must build strong teams where people's competencies can be used to the fullest.

4.1.2 Low performers

The respondents in this category clearly articulated the mandate of the department. All of them with the exception of one also showed a clear understanding of the values espoused within the department. They stated the ones that were presented by the five high performers and as written in the department posters depicting the vision and mission statements. The respondent who said that she did not understand the values of the department stated that she has heard people talking about honesty and has no idea about others, what they mean and how they were embraced. One respondent lamented the weakness of the values that they alluded to and even stated that they are rarely observed within the department.

All respondents agreed with high performers that the department does not have a formal way of socializing new members. New members are introduced to other officers in their offices and at the Wednesday morning prayer meetings. Thereafter, they are left to people within their divisions for guidance. They indicated that people learn about the dress code, language as well as the rules and regulations governing their operations from their colleagues and by reading the General Orders, Public Service Charter and the Public Service Act. They also indicated that officers greet each other in the hallway and offices, greet visitors, dress formally as well as use first and last names to call each other.

On how power is exercised within the department, all five respondents are of the view that a top-down approach is used. According to them, general staff meetings are rarely called where people can be given an opportunity to comment on newly proposed changes or on the manner in which things are done within the department. They stated that meetings are usually restricted to senior and middle managers while the junior officers are left in the lurch.

In the same vein, they revealed that complaints and grievances have to be channeled through the divisional head before they can be forwarded to the Assistant Establishment Secretary, Deputy Establishment Secretary and finally to the

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Establishment Secretary. They bemoaned the practice as some of the senior officers have a tendency of blocking them so that their complaints and grievances do not reach the Deputy Establishment or the Establishment Secretary. According to the respondents, this is an indication that their supervisors do not take the junior officers seriously.

One interesting thing revealed by four respondents is that they do not attach any importance or meaning to posters, pictures, savingrams and circulars that they have in their officers. They all stated that the same are used just to decorate the offices. As one of them put it, the manner in which things are arranged or the manner in which the office is decorated only gives visitors an idea of the kind of a person occupying it. One respondent stated that she has the pictures of the three former Presidents because they were given to her and not necessarily because they have any meaning or message other than to indicate how political power has been transferred from one person to the other. The only respondent who had a plant in her office explained that it is for decoration and at the same time signifies life and happiness.

Regarding the role that they played in the formulation and implementation of PMS, all the respondents indicated that they are just recipients of the reform and not much has been done by the senior management to see to it that they are thoroughly trained and buy into the new idea of planning and doing work. According to them, they were only told that they have to attend a workshop on PMS where they were taught about the vision and mission statements of the department as well as the need to prepare PDPs. One respondent revealed that she has never attended a single workshop on PMS and has only heard about it from her colleagues. She therefore has no idea of what she has to do

and how. According to her, PMS has no impact on the manner in which she has been doing her work, a view that is held by other four respondents

They went further to state that they have never been trained on PMS or balanced scorecard and only heard about it from their colleagues in the hallways. Their view is that the tool has no bearing on their work given the fact that they do not have an idea of what it is all about, how it is prepared and how beneficial it can be to them and to the department as a whole.

4.1.3 Views from senior management

The leaders concurred with officers within the department that the values espoused are drawn from those of the Ministry of Local Government They revealed that in an attempt to uphold their values, officers are encouraged to greet visitors, inquire about the type of assistance that they need as well as go an extra mile and assist people even beyond working hours.

They stated that the senior management has the responsibility of making important decisions about the direction that the department has to take as well as ensure that there is a clear plan of what has to be done, how and by whom. According to them, this is important given the fact that they are the drivers of PMS within the department as evidenced by the fact that the Establishment Secretary has the responsibility of appointing people who drive the reform whereas the Deputy Establishment Secretary supervises and assesses four Assistant Directors as well as advises in setting realistic departmental targets. In an attempt to take all officers on board in so far as the decision-making process is concerned, a deliberate decision has been made to appoint Junior Departmental Performance Improvement Coordinators (JDPICs) whose main responsibility is not only to assist the Departmental Performance Improvement Coordinator (DPIC) to drive PMS but also to get the views of junior officers and present them at senior management meetings. They admitted that as it happens in all organizations, some of the ideas from junior officers are accepted while others are rejected after a careful consideration of their merits and demerits.

According to them, PMS has resulted in people being alive to their performance as a culture of accountability and responsibility has been inculcated. They believe that PMS has inculcated a culture of planning which in turns makes it easier for people to perform their duties. Most importantly, they believe that PMS has changed people's perception that government work cannot be finished given the fact that they can measure their output or use certain yardsticks to monitor their performance. This makes it easier for them and other members of the department to know the direction that they are taking.

On the negative side, there is what they call "innovation overload". This means that officers have been given too many things to learn, internalize and apply in their daily work within a short period of time. As they argue, people were given numerous PMS tools in the form of PDPs, Performance Based Reward System (PBRS), systems thinking and balance scorecard within a short period of time thus making it difficult for them to grasp and comprehend each one of them. This situation is not helped by fear and anxiety instilled in public servants by Directors, Permanent Secretaries and the Permanent Secretary to the President. They lamented the fact that people are not given rewards as promised under the Performance Based Reward System (PBRS). This development discourages people to work hard because they know that there are no immediate rewards that they will get for the effort that they put in their work. This situation is compounded by the fact that the assessment criteria is to some extent subjective even though they consider it to be better that the one used prior to the introduction of PMS.

It is on the basis of the foregoing observations that the leaders believe that the implementation of PMS can be facilitated by rewarding good performers and taking action against the poor performers who in some cases deliberately decide not to embrace the reform. They hold that the decision to promote and train people should be determined to a large extent by their performance and that early exit packages for poor performers should be introduced.

In terms of whether PMS has facilitated or hindered people's understanding of the vision and mission of the department, they believe that on one hand, it has clarified them thus making it easier for people to understand them. But on the other hand, they think citizens simply view PMS as endless meetings that result in officers having little time to help their clientele.

4.1.4 Discussion

There are different posters at the entrance of the department as well as on notice boards along the hallway. These posters are on different issues such as HIV/AIDS, the ills of corruption, Vision 2016, mission and vision of the department and others. In the same vein, the positions and names of officers are written on the doors of the offices they

occupy. According to officers that I interviewed, the intention is to make it easy for people seeking help to locate the officers that they want. The vision of the department as displayed on the notice board at the entrance is the same as that of the Ministry of Local Government and reads thus: "A centre of excellence in local governance and social service provision for improved quality of life".

In an attempt to present a corporate image, male officers within the department wear shirts and ties (some with jackets) while female officers wear formal dresses and suits even though some of them wear formal pants. Even officers who work in the Registry dress formally unlike in other government departments where it is argued that the nature of their work does not allow them to dress formally.

It is clear from the interviews that officers graded as high performers have been adequately trained on PMS and its tools whereas the low performers have not been trained on PMS and therefore have a scant idea of what it is all about. This disparity, which has been acknowledged by the leaders of the department during the interviews, is attributed to the fact that when PMS was introduced, senior management focused mainly on the Permanent and Pensionable employees and failed to take the Industrial Class employees on board. The two groups are therefore not on the same wave length as far as the reform is concerned thus making if unfair for them to be held up to the same standards.

Failure by the senior management to take all the employees on board has created a brick-wall between those who embrace PMS and those who do not understand it. Adequate training on how PDPs are prepared, how people's performance is to be assessed, how rewards are awarded, how balanced scorecards are prepared and others

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should be made available for all members of the department so that Industrial Class employees can appreciate and embrace PMS rather than view it as something only meant for the Permanent and Pensionable staff. It is of paramount importance that the contribution made by all employees in the department is appreciated.

In line with the bureaucratic structure presented by Max Weber indicating clear channels of communications, the same structure obtains at the Department of Local Government Service Management. The main consequence of having such an arrangement is that low performers believe that there is a clear line separating them from the senior management. This brings to light an important point raised by Barnard (1966) when he reminds us that workers within an organization have a social-psychological zone of acceptance or zone of indifference, meaning that senior officials derive their authority from their subordinates as the latter can decide what to accept and what to reject from the former.

According to Barnard (1966), the success of senior officials is contingent upon the subordinates accepting their orders. Milakovich and Gordon (2004) explain this point succinctly when they state that, "Whatever the amount of legal, political or organizational authority leaders possess, their *operating* authority is granted, in effect, by followers" (p 162-163, italics in the original). Hence, it is imperative that senior management should make a concerted effort of attending to the grievances and views of the junior officers as they may sabotage all efforts geared towards attaining the goals and objectives of the department. An interesting point worth noting at this juncture is the management style of the Establishment Secretary. According to the respondents, particularly high performers, the new leader does not put too much emphasis on formal relationships because she tries to create an informal environment by discussing her social background with them, use her first name when introducing herself and even take new members out for lunch. The respondents indicated that this paradigm shift from the common rigid and top-down style of management premised on Max Weber's type of bureaucracy to a more relaxed and friendly approach helps officers to express their views freely.

Whilst the Establishment Secretary knows that she has to make pertinent decisions on what should be done and how, she also wants her officers to be in a position where they can make empowered decisions. By so doing, she can be said to be operating in line with the advice given by Barnard (1966) when he states that decision-making is one of the functions of the executive since it is a conscious and deliberate means of attaining or reaching an end. As a way of empowering her subordinates, those who have the requisite knowledge and understanding of the organization are given an opportunity to make decisions.

By the same token, the introduction of a new management style means that the Establishment Secretary, as the leader of the organization, is directly involved in the creation of a new organizational culture. As Schein (2004) rightly points out, "Culture is created by shared experience, but it is the leader who initiates this process by imposing his or her beliefs, values, and assumptions at the outset" (p 225).

4.2 Department of Local Government Development Planning

4.2.1 High performers

All the five respondents were able to state the mandate of their department in clear terms. They indicated that the department, which was established in 2005 following the Organization and Methods (O&M) exercise that was undertaken, deals with issues pertaining to local government policy development and analysis, local government statutory matters (i.e. review of existing council bye-laws and council standing orders), local economic development, drought relief program as well coordinate the preparation and implementation of District and Urban Development Plans.

Since the department has to work towards fulfilling the responsibilities of the Ministry of Local Government as well as taking cognizance of the fact that it was established in 2005, the respondents indicated that they do not have any values that they may call theirs. Instead, the values that they espouse are derived from those of the ministry and these include timeliness, accountability, *botho*, integrity, customer service, teamwork and transparency.

Four out of five respondents lamented that when the Department of Local Government Development Planning was established, the three officers who were given the mandate of leading it used a top-down approach in deciding on who should do what, when and how. As one of the respondents put it, "There was a strong boss-junior, authoritative style of management. Power was centralized in the Acting Director's office and junior officers were made to feel inferior and could not discuss things with the senior officers in an informal and relaxed atmosphere". An example that was given is that messengers and officers in the registry could not have an informal conversation with the senior officers.

According to the respondents, it was difficult for them to plan their work as they could be called anytime and be given tasks that had to be done within a stipulated timeframe. The other thing that frustrated them was that they were not given an opportunity to be creative or innovative in the manner in which they did the assigned tasks. This situation was compounded by the fact that in some cases they were kept in the dark about the decisions taken with regard to some of the tasks or responsibilities assigned to them. According to them, it was common for senior officers to take decisions about what should be done without soliciting the input of the affected officers. Hence, they sometimes found themselves in a position where they could not support the adopted decisions, a thing that put them in a collision course with their leaders.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, all four respondents indicated that things have changed drastically following the appointment of a new Director in 2007. According to them, the new Director has an open door policy where people can walk into her office anytime and discuss things pertaining to their work with her. They regard her as one of their colleagues given the fact that she does not put more emphasis on formal and rigid relationships that usually exists between the senior and junior officers in government offices. They indicated that the new Director expects people to respect each other, work as a team, consult each other and avoid the use of belittling words. Most importantly, she encourages people to make decisions about the things that they do as well as share information with each other so that the right hand knows what the left hand is doing. All five respondents unanimously agreed that there is no formal way of socializing new members in the department. People are just introduced to their colleagues on their first day at work and are thereafter left to the heads of their divisions or units to help them settle down. Further introductions are usually made at the prayer meetings held every Wednesday morning. New members learn about the dress code, values espoused and language as they interact with their colleagues on daily basis.

Four respondents explained that they have posters, pictures, savingrams and circulars on their office walls because some are work-related and therefore use them as reference points to advise their colleagues and local authorities on certain matters. They went further to state that some of the pictures and the cartoons that they have are for fun and to some extent depict the environment within which they work. Some are for information dissemination with a view to raising people's awareness on the deadly diseases afflicting the nation, helping people to know and understand the mandate of the department, its vision and mission statements, making sure that public servants know Members of Cabinet, Members of Parliament, Members of House of Chiefs and marketing of new products such as the non-motorized transport system that is being promoted. They also admitted that the same are used simply to decorate the offices. However, the fifth respondent differed with his colleagues and stated that there is no message or significance that he portrays or attaches to the things that he has on the wall of his office. As he put it, "They are just papers on the wall".

In relation to the behavioral norms that an outsider or a newcomer can quickly notice, the five respondents stated that all officers dress formally, use or call each other with surnames and nicknames, welcome and serve all people with respect, address their

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clients in a formal way, always greet the people that they meet in the hallways or offices and make sure that they see the officer(s) that they are looking for. In view of the importance of the foregoing things that portray the department in good light, the respondents indicated that the senior management tries to sustain them by encouraging members of staff to continue serving people with *botho*. The Wednesday morning prayers are usually used by the leaders to implore officers to keep up the good work.

Regarding the role that they played in the formulation and implementation of PMS within their department, the respondents stated that they were just recipients and played no role other than to comply with what they were told to do. As one of them stated, "The reform was forced down our throats and all the decisions were taken by the Ministry Performance Improvement Committee. People were given deadlines irrespective of whether they fully grasped the concept or the fundamental principles of PMS". They indicated that the closest that they came to being involved was when they were asked to formulate the vision and mission statements of their old departments. Unfortunately, the vision and mission statements were discarded on the basis that they were not compatible with those of the ministry.

Even though the five respondents were sidelined at the initial stages, they all stated that they like the way PMS makes things clearer as activities are listed together with the goals to be achieved and the timeframe within which they have to be undertaken. People now act systematically, promptly and talk about concrete and measurable things unlike in the past when they used to work without any plan. Most importantly, one of the respondents held that they work as a team and that they are now exposed to key management tools. On the negative side, the most important resource that they lose when they implement PMS is time in the sense that there are too many meetings and workshops to attend and there is too much paper work to do. One respondent argued that the reporting format used has resulted in a loss of the framework that linked the department with local authorities. Prior to the introduction of PMS, officers at the Ministry of Local Government used to state the amount of money approved and disbursed to district and urban councils, progress made, problems encountered and expected completion date. This framework, according to the respondent, has been lost even though it enabled them to have a direct linkage with projects undertaken by the councils.

Four out of five respondents stated that implementation of PMS is facilitated by the fact that it is leader-driven as it is pushed by the Permanent Secretary to the President. It also has the support of the political leaders particularly the country's President. Hence resources have been made available to train and equip officers to perform their duties diligently. One respondent went further to state that once the fundamental principles of PMS are understood and accepted, then officers find it is easy to use.

They also stated that more fear, anxiety and resistance to change hinder the implementation of PMS. They explained that due to the top-down approach that has been used since the adoption and inception of PMS, senior officers have on several occasions used it to threaten their subordinates that they will be kicked out of the public service. This results in some officers embracing PMS just to save their jobs and not necessarily because they like it.

In the same vein, it was reported that the time allocated to train members of staff is usually inadequate even though PMS Facilitators are given more time to learn and grasp the tools and underpinnings of the reform. The Facilitators are said to have a tendency of presenting many concepts to the officers within a short period of time thus making it difficult for them to grasp, internalize, appreciate and apply them in their dayto-day activities.

This is not helped by the fact that all respondents believe that the current assessment criteria is highly subjective and allows supervisors to award high marks to people who are not necessarily high performers. According to them, the system does not eliminate favoritism and can be misused in the selection of officers to be rewarded with promotions or furthering their studies.

One burning issue that was raised by all the respondents is that rewards promised when the PBRS was introduced have not been given to officers graded as high performers. This has resulted in officers not putting more effort in their work as they know that the rewards will not be forthcoming. They referred to PBRS as an initiative with unfulfilled promises and wondered why it was introduced in the first place if the rewards are not availed.

Two respondents revealed that they have never been trained on the balanced scorecard and have never used it. The other three respondents explained that even though they are not using it, they have been trained on how to use it. They regard it as a good tool for reporting especially when dealing with one or two projects. However, they indicated that it is not easy to use when dealing with qualitative things. They admitted that it is more technical than it was originally thought. It is also deemed to be confusing and time consuming as people have to design forms and perfect the measurement criteria. The respondents went further to state that it is high time all the PMS Facilitators realize and accept the fact that not everything within the public sector can be quantified as they sometimes think. An example that was given is that the routine tasks performed by Secretaries, Cleaners, Drivers are not easy to quantify.

The respondents strongly feel that PMS should not be used as a threat and a punitive tool. They believe that it should be used to help and empower all officers to meet the objectives of their department. According to them, it is important for everyone to be taken on board and that a concerted effort should be made to train all new members of staff together with all other officers who do not understand the underpinnings of the reform.

4.2.2 Low performers

Four respondents in this group stated the mandate of the department and the values espoused in very clear terms whereas the other respondent struggled to do the same. They are also mindful of the fact that the same have been drawn from those of the Ministry of Local Government. They explained how the department is linked to the district and urban councils in so far as the formulation and implementation of local government policies is concerned.

They stated that the arrival of the new Director has given them a new lease of life because she is shifting from a top-down to bottom-up approach to decision-making. In their view, the new leader is trying to take every officer on board in so far as the decision making process is concerned. They went further to state that as a result of this paradigm shift, the flow of information has improved thus enabling them to be more informed about what their colleagues are doing.

They concurred with high performers that officers greet visitors and each other in the hallway, address visitors in a respectful way, treat each other with respect, have a mixture of formal and informal dress code, people call each other with nicknames and surnames, officers have tea at around 10 o'clock in the morning and that people usually use different tribal languages to communicate with each other. In an attempt to ensure that the aforementioned things are sustained, the respondents revealed that senior officers lead by example as well as encourage officers during the Wednesday prayer meetings to continue behaving in a good way and to continue respecting each other.

The respondents also admitted that there is no formal way of socializing new members in the department apart from introducing them to their colleagues on their first day at work and during the Wednesday morning prayer meetings. Newcomers learn about the rules and regulations, dress code, language and others from the people that they interact with on daily basis as well as by reading the General Orders given to them. As they put it, people just adapt to their new environment without necessarily being given a formal orientation.

All five respondents also revealed that the posters and pictures that they have on the walls of their offices are for information dissemination particularly on issues of national importance such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic, national Vision 2016 and others. They went further to state that some of the posters are meant to demonstrate the manner in which the department interacts with other stakeholders especially district and urban councils. Since four out of five respondents were not members of staff at the time when PMS was formulated and implemented, they found everything in motion and simply jumped on the bandwagon. Their main responsibility is to prepare and execute their PDPs and do not participate in the decision-making process. Despite the fact that they are just recipients of the reform, all of them acknowledge the fact that the reform helps them to plan their work better and manage their time well. According to them, the reform has brought in a systematic way of doing things unlike in the past when people used to work without following a particular plan.

The two things that were brought to light by one respondent in the form of losses are that PMS has diminished the spirit of teamwork and that it restricts people in terms of how they can do their work given the fact that there are certain things that one has to observe in preparing and executing their PDPs. Many officers now concentrate solely on their work and forget about teamwork as failure to undertake the tasks reflected in their PDPs results in them getting low marks. By the same token, officers are forced to find ways and means through which they can quantify the things that they do even if it is difficult to do that in the public sector.

All the respondents bemoaned the subjectivity of the assessment criteria. They feel that in some cases, their supervisors do not appreciate the contribution that they are making to the department irrespective of how hard they try. According to them, there are instances where poor performers have been awarded high marks whereas high performers are awarded low marks. They view this as one of the factors that discourages them from working hard as they do not get anything in return.

Along the same vein, the respondents believe that for as long as people are not given the rewards promised when PBRS was introduced, then people will continue to regard PMS as one of the many reforms that have been undertaken for no good reason. "Unfulfilled promises" as they call them, make it difficult for people to work hard as the benefits of doing that are not easily realized. One of the respondents even went further to say that some of the leaders are not passionate about PMS and do not give it the attention that it deserves.

Four respondents had no story to tell about the balanced scorecard as they have never been trained on it. Only one revealed that he was trained for three days which were not enough to allow him to grasp the concept and use it in his work. According to him, the balanced scorecard is not easy to comprehend and use within the public sector given the nature of issues that they deal with on daily basis. Hence, he has decided to ignore it.

Regarding how the implementation of PMS can be improved, the respondents gave varying responses. Three of them believe that more training should be given to all officers and that the weekly prayer meetings should be used to sensitize people about the reform. One of them believes that there should be more interaction between the Director and the staff so as to ensure that everyone is taken on board while the other respondent is of the view that the salaries of the public servants should be increased and that slots for further studies should also be increased as a way of motivating people to work hard.

4.2.3 Views from senior management

The respondent concurred with other officers on the mandate of the department and the fact that it draws its values from those of the Ministry of Local Government. She went further to state that even the Strategic Plan that is used is derived from that of the ministry. The same applies to the various rules and regulations used for purposes of procuring things even though the ones developed by the Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Board (PPADB) are also used. The recommendations of various Commissions of Inquiry that have been appointed in the past to look into local governance issues are also used for the day-day management of the department in its relation to district and urban councils.

She revealed that both top-down and bottom-up approaches to decision-making are usually embraced depending on the nature of the issue at hand. According to her, the fact that all officers are allowed to plan their work and set targets for themselves through PDPs indicates that they are empowered to make pertinent decisions about their work and the objectives of the department in general. The involvement of officers in the formulation of the Departmental Strategic Plan was also presented as an example of how people are involved in issues pertaining to their work. In her account, all officers including the Industrial class group have attended workshops on the preparation of the same and were actively involved.

She went further to explain that the main role of leaders within the department is to drive the Departmental Annual Plan, drive the vision and mission of the department as well as manage change. In striving to achieve the aforementioned goals, she admitted that the senior management may take some decisions without involving other officers

particularly when they have a deadline to meet or when they are expected to respond to a particular issue promptly.

On socialization of new members in the department, an admission was made that there is no formal arrangement in place. New members of staff are usually attached to the senior officers for guidance. This also gives them an opportunity to be told about the manner in which things are done within the department, important procedures, rules and regulations that they have to observe when dealing with financial, manpower and other important issues. She indicated that people are usually told that they have to dress formally and look presentable as they can be called by the Deputy Permanent Secretary, Permanent Secretary or the Minister at anytime.

Contrary to the views expressed by members of staff that power used to be centralized in the offices of people who were holding the fort prior to the appointment of the new Director, the respondent insisted that they have an open door policy where people can walk into their offices and discuss issues with the senior management. According to her, they always strive to create a friendly and relaxed environment even though most people are usually in a hurry owing to the heavy workload and the deadlines that they have to meet. Notwithstanding the pressure that people work have to contend with, she stated that officers do not lose sight of the fact that they are expected to greet the people that they meet in the hallway, committee rooms, registry and serve them in the best way possible.

Just like some members of staff, the respondent stated that PMS has enabled her to be more focused as she plans her work at the beginning of every year. She is very clear about her core business, what is expected of her by her superiors, where she wants to go

and how she will reach her destination. In her view, a self-conscious culture is emerging within the department as officers are fully aware of what they are expected to do. Officers are alive to their performance and know that they will be held for the things that they do. By the same token, she reckons that one positive thing that has come out of PMS is that officers now appreciate the importance of asking questions.

On the negative side, she regretted that officers are not on the same wavelength thus making it difficult for all of them to pull in one direction. More time is spent explaining the principles of PMS to the officers rather than concentrating on the things that they have to do. She also decried the decision by the drivers of PMS to introduce many PMS tools (PDPs, balanced score card, systems thinking and others) at the same time as it has caused confusion to some members of staff. In the same vein, she revealed that the decision to lump reforms together, particularly Work Improvement Teams (WITS) and PMS together has compounded the situation even though they are supposed to compliment each other.

The other factor that she identified as hindering implementation of PMS is that some officers simply resist change and do not want to embrace PMS. In the same vein, she has observed that some officers believe that if one is not their immediate supervisor, then they are not bound to update them about their activities even if they are part of the senior management.

Despite the negative factors that hinder the implementation of PMS as alluded to in the preceding paragraph, the respondent believes that the reform has to a greater extent clarified the vision and mission of the department as members of staff now know where they are going and how they can reach their destination. By the same token, she believes that citizens now have a better understanding of the mandate of the department as well as how it relates to other stakeholders particularly district and urban councils.

In her view, productivity can be improved if officers desist from drawing a dividing line between themselves and others. In other words, people should move away from the mentality or attitude of "You" and "I" if they are to pull in one direction. According to her, it is of paramount importance that a concerted effort is made by the senior management to change the mindset of officers who still resist change. She also believes that all officers should strive to set realistic goals for themselves.

4.2.4 Discussion

As a relatively new department that is still using porta camps as temporary offices outside the Ministry of Local Government building, the department's vision and mission statements were not posted on notice boards as it is done in other ministries. There are no signs to show visitors and newcomers that they are entering offices or premises used by staff from the Department of Local Government Development Planning. Officers do not have their names and designations written on the doors thus making it difficult for one to locate them with ease.

Notwithstanding the foregoing difficulties, which are due to refurbishments that are on-going within the ministry building, almost all officers had posters, circulars, cartoons and other things on the walls of their porta camps. The posters included those of Members of Cabinet, Members of Parliament, Councilors and others. In two offices, there was a cartoon showing a person working with a laptop while answering the call of nature, a thing that was said to indicate that some people have taken the issue of productivity improvement too far. All officers, with the exception of the Registry staff, Cleaners and some of the Drivers, dress formally (shirt, tie and a jacket for men) and formal dresses or suits for women even though some of them wear formal pants. The reason for the difference is that officers in the Registry are of the view that the nature of their work does not allow them to dress formally given the fact that sometimes they have to move stationery and equipment around the ministry. They feel that it is only important for them to look presentable and in their view, this does not mean wearing a shirt and a tie or jacket. Drivers and Cleaners also feel that they are not obliged to dress formally even though some Drivers dress formally simply because they want to look presentable.

One of the common things within the department is that most people use nicknames to call others. Some of the nicknames used are Ron, Lingos, Poster, MmaG and others. There are no fast and hard rules regarding the manner in which people address each other. There is an informal but respectful approach that is used to communicate with each other. However, all visitors and senior members of the ministry such as the Deputy Permanent Secretaries, Permanent Secretary, Honorable Minister and the Assistant Minister are always addressed in a formal and polite way.

One thing that is evident from the interviews about high and low performers within the department is that they have all been trained on PMS even though they were not involved at the formulation stage. Since a top-down approach was used, they were expected to accept the reform and do what they were told to do. A top-down approach where coercion rather than persuasion is used has been identified among the low performers as an important factor that explains the disparity between high and low performers. Even though low performers use PMS tools availed to them, they are not necessarily passionate about their work. They are complying mainly for purposes of saving their jobs.

Despite the fact that most of the officers within the department have been trained in PMS, it emerged during the focus group discussion that such training has only been availed to the Permanent and Pensionable officers whereas the Industrial class employees have been excluded. Exclusion of the Industrial class employees has frustrated them to such an extent that they strongly believe that PMS is only meant for the senior management and the Permanent and Pensionable staff. It is therefore not surprising that they have a negative attitude towards PMS and strongly believe that it has no impact on their day-to-day activities. The subjectivity of the assessment criteria that has been brought to light by both the high and low performers compounds the situation as Industrial class workers strongly believe that it is used to reward non-performers for as long as they are in the good books of their supervisors.

The other thing that was revealed during the interviews is that there is a belief within the department that everything done should be quantified even though some officers argue that it is difficult to do so. This observation is not surprising given the fact that PMS is one of the reforms that seeks to introduce private sector techniques in the public sector. It is premised on the belief that public organizations can be managed and run in the same manner as private entities. Hence, public servants are expected to quantify the things that they do as evidenced by the fact that some of them have already been trained on the use the balanced scorecard which is used mainly in the private sector. The foregoing observation is in line with the explanation given by Kelly (1988) when he states that as the shift towards the use of private sector techniques in the public sector gains momentum, administrative units are given concrete measurable goals and objectives. When this happens, leaders are expected to reward and punish public employees on the basis of whether they attain such goals efficiently. Political issues that may make it difficult for public servants to attain their goals and objectives are completely taken out of the equation.

In view of the foregoing observations, it is imperative that all officers must be on the same wavelength and speak the same language on PMS. Having a common language with regard to PMS will go a long way in reducing uncertainty, frustration and the negative attitude that some of the officers have towards it. Schein (1992) underscores the importance of having a common language and understanding on a particular concept or topic when he states that the meanings attached to these words and the assumptions undergirding their importance "ultimately become one of the deepest layers of that group's culture" (p 75).

4.3 Department of Lands

4.3.1 High performers

Four out of five respondents were able to state that the mandate of the department is to allocate state land in urban areas, ensure sustainable use of the same, acquisition of farms for subsequent allocation to the citizens, property valuation, provision of office accommodation for government departments and others. They went further to state that the values espoused within the department are mostly drawn from Vision 2016 and those

promoted by the Ministry of Lands and Housing. These include empathy, patience, commitment, caring, transparency, accountability, respect and fairness among others.

Even though some of the respondents explained that a top-down approach is used in most cases, others stated that it is a mixture of top-down and bottom-up depending on the preferred management style of the numerous supervisors within the department. Whilst some are said to prefer a top-down approach, some of them consult with their subordinates and give feedback on the things that affect them. Two officers in the Deeds unit bemoaned the fact that some of the Lawyers that they work with only focus on legal issues and fail to appreciate the contribution made by the administrative staff particularly in the preparation of title deeds.

Regarding socialization of new members in the department, the respondents unanimously agreed that the department does not have any formal way of assisting new members to be part of their new family. New comers are usually taken on a round tour of the offices and introduced to their colleagues. They are also introduced at the Friday morning prayers. Thereafter, they are given the General Orders to read and familiarize themselves with the things that they are expected to do such as the acceptable dress code, language used for communication and others.

The respondents gave varying reasons for the posters, pictures, calendars and plants that they have in their offices. One of them stated that he keeps the picture of his family in his office so that people can see that he is loving family man. He said that every time he looks at it, he is reminded of his responsibilities as the head of the family. Three respondents explained that the plants that they have in their office are a sign of life, love and happiness. They view them as a source of inspiration for them and also use them for decorating their offices. According to them, working in a decorated office inspires and motivates them to work hard.

In terms of the behavioral norms that a visitor to the department can quickly notice, the respondents indicated that people within their department treat each other like family and are mainly concerned about the welfare of other staff members. They went further to explain that people respect each other, greet each other in the morning, address each other in a formal and informal way and that some officers dress formally while others dress casually as a result of the nature of work that they do. The Technicians, Registry staff, Drivers and Cleaners usually dress informally whereas the rest of the officers dress formally. In the same vein, it was explained that the majority of staff members wear departmental T-shirts on Fridays. The T-shirts have a departmental logo in front and are written "*Lefatshe boswa*" at the back, meaning that land is a valuable resource that can be passed from one generation to the other.

The respondents went further to indicate that the senior management has nothing in place used to promote the good things that have been alluded to in the foregoing paragraph. According to them, the fact that it can take the senior management six months to call a staff general meeting is an indication that they are not fully aware of the manner in which people within the department relate to each other on daily basis.

Regarding PMS, all the respondents explained that they are mainly recipients of the reform and have to do as expected. According to them, training was started at the top and then cascaded to the middle and junior officers. Four respondents are of the view that PMS has helped them to plan and organize their work because they now have a clear map of what they have to do and the time frame within which to do so. The respondents

admitted that they are now more aware of the output and know better how they can serve their clientele. In their view, the only factor that can be regarded as facilitating the implementation of PMS is the fact that it is leader-driven even though the flipside of it is that leaders use it to instill fear and anxiety in the lives of their subordinates.

Contrary to the foregoing, one respondent strongly believes that PMS has not added any value to her work and that people should just revert back to the old system. Despite PMS, there is no feedback from supervisors even though the number of meetings and workshops that they attend in a year continues to increase, no rewards for high performance as promised and there is lack of understanding of what exactly is to be done owing to the fact that PMS was copied from another country without making an assessment of whether it is relevant to Botswana public service or not.

In fact, the issue of rewards was presented by all the respondents as one of the factors that hinder the implementation of PMS given the fact that the promise has not been fulfilled since the introduction of PBRS. It was further stated that the assessment criteria is subjective and allows supervisors to award high marks to people who have not performed satisfactorily. In the same vein, the respondents indicated that most of the officers spend a lot of their time attending meetings and workshops thus leaving them with little time to serve their clientele. This situation is not helped by the fact that the reform has diminished the spirit of teamwork as most people focus on their work and do everything possible to achieve the objectives that they have stated in their PDPs.

Four respondents revealed that they have never been trained on the balanced scorecard and are therefore not using it. The only respondent who has been trained on it is of the view that it is a good tool for measuring output even though he is not using it.

According to him, the thing that will make it difficult for the tool to be embraced and used widely within the public sector is the difficulty that people encounter in trying to quantify the things that they do.

The respondents suggested that productivity can be improved within the department if they are given the thirteenth check, if high performers are promoted without delay, if communication between the supervisors and their subordinates is improved, if supervisors lead by example and show their subordinates that PMS is not only meant for the junior officers and if they involve all officers in the decision-making process irrespective of their position in the department.

4.3.2 Low Performers

All the respondents in this category were able to clearly state the mandate of the department as well as the values espoused. Just like the high performers, they explained that all these values are derived from those of the Ministry of Lands and Housing as well as from the Public Service Charter. They all explained that the department is responsible for allocating land in urban areas as well as ensuring that all government departments have the much needed office accommodation.

Even though all the respondents agreed that there is consultation between the senior and junior staff, two of them argued that it is done mainly to legitimize some of the decisions that have already been taken by the senior management. They contended that junior officers are not as involved in the decision making process as they would like. Hence, it is appropriate in their view to say that the senior management embraces a top-down more than a bottom-up approach.

They unanimously agreed that the main thing done to socialize new members in the department is to take them from one office to the other introducing them to their colleagues. Further introductions are done at the Friday morning prayers. Thereafter, it is the responsibility of the divisional heads to tell them how things are done as well as the procedures, rules and regulations that they have to follow in the execution of their duties. Nothing on dress code and acceptable language is usually communicated to the new members. They only learn about them as they interact with their colleagues on daily basis.

Regarding the posters, plants and pictures that they have in their offices, one respondent who had a poster of wild animals and circulars said that they indicate his love for wild animals, use them to brighten up his office, indicate the things that he has to do, and most importantly, they demonstrate his appreciation of life. The other respondent said that the pictures of the country three Presidents indicate national pride and respect for the leadership. The other respondent who did not have anything on the wall said that it is a personal choice not to have things on the wall. According to her, it is not important for her to have things on the wall when she does not attach any importance or meaning to them.

All five respondents also indicated that it is given that people greet each other, greet visitors with a smile and help them find their way around and that people communicate with each other in a formal and informal way using first names, nicknames, surnames and even the names of their children. They went further to say that most of the officers are usually busy and have little time to spend with their colleagues.

The respondents explained that when they joined the department, implementation of PMS was on going and they had no role to play other than to do what they were told to do. One respondent expressed her dislike for the reform by stating that she plays no role and is not interested in doing so because PMS is of no use to her. The only respondent who admitted that he played a role at the initial stages explained that he is the Divisional Focal Person or WITS team leader tasked with the responsibility of organizing weekly staff meetings to help his colleagues to solve or address one of the burning platforms within the division. He assists his colleagues to think of projects that they can undertake to resolve some of the problems that they have identified as hindering efficient and effective delivery of service.

Regarding the gains that accrue to them when they implement PMS, four respondents indicated that they are more organized in terms of planning their work, have a better understanding of the relationship that they have with their clients, it is easy to collect information from their colleagues as everyone is fully aware of their responsibilities and there is more ownership of work. In other words, people take responsibility for their work.

They went further to explain that the implementation of PMS has so far been facilitated by the fact that it is leader driven. The fact that the Permanent Secretary to the President, all Permanent Secretaries and all Directors are actively involved is the main thing that sustains implementation of the reform. They also stated that the flow of information has improved, thus facilitating implementation. On the negative side, respondents argued that PMS is time consuming as people have to attend many meetings and workshops as well as prepare reports. This is not helped by the fact that some of the concepts are not easy to comprehend, thus making it difficult for people to be on the same wavelength. By the same token, the respondents complained that the assessment criterion is subjective in the sense that the majority of officers usually get high marks even though their department is never ranked above other departments. Lastly, all the rewards promised under PBRS have never been delivered.

Only two respondents indicated that they have received training on the balanced scorecard even though they are not using it. One of them stated that it is an excellent but difficult and challenging tool to use in the public sector whilst the other one stated that she is not interested in learning about it because it will not add any value to the way she performs her duties.

The respondents believe that productivity within the department can be improved if promises made under PBRS are fulfilled, if the senior management is more open, if junior officers are involved in the decision making process, if more training is provided for staff members to sensitize them about the reform, if the assessment criteria is improved to make it objective and if people tasked with the responsibility of managing change (i.e. change agents) make a concerted effort of helping officers to appreciate and embrace PMS.

4.3.3 Views from senior management

The respondent clearly articulated the mandate of the department and the values espoused. According to him, the department is tasked with the responsibility of managing

and ensuring sustainable use of land in urban areas, secure office accommodation for government departments, acquire freehold farms for subsequent allocation to citizens, legitimizes transfer of land from one owner to the other, property valuation as well as advise government on land related matters.

Since land is a very sensitive resource that should be used and allocated fairly to all citizens, it was revealed that officers are expected to follow all the procedures laid down for allocating land and should not interfere with the allocation system because it is easy for one to find out who logged in and when. All officers are also expected to adhere to the financial regulations particularly those relating to imprest applications and retirement. In the event that people act in a manner deemed inappropriate, they are usually given a verbal warning before a letter of reprimand is written.

The respondent explained that his Deputy and Heads of Divisions are actively involved in the decision-making process and are empowered to make decisions about their divisions. They have the authority to decide on the course of action in the event that people within their divisions are not cooperative. As a way of keeping abreast with the activities of the various divisions within the department, the respondent indicated that he has monthly meetings with the Heads of Divisions. The decisions taken at these meetings are usually communicated to the junior officers.

He explained that when new officers join the department, they are usually introduced to their colleagues in offices and at the Friday morning prayers. He admitted that they do not have a formal induction of new members as it used to be done in the public sector. People, therefore, learn about the operations of the department as they interact with their colleagues.

The respondent went further to indicate that officers within the department always greet each other and help visitors to find the officers that they want. He also stated that due to the pressure that officers have to contend with on daily basis, sometimes people fail to communicate with each other in a friendly and respectful way. Hence, senior management encourages officers to treat each other in the same manner as they would like to be treated. They also encourage people to work as a team and channel their energies on charting the way forward. That is, think of how best they can move the department forward and provide quality service to all citizens.

As part of senior management, the respondent indicated that when PMS was started during the 2000/2001 financial year, he was involved in formulating the vision and mission of the department together with Key Result Areas (KRAs), Strategic Plan and Annual Performance Plan. He admitted that following the preparation of the aforementioned documents, they were cascaded to the middle and junior officers. In other words, they did not have any role to play at the initial stages except to do what they were told to do by the senior management.

Regarding the gains that accrue to him by implementing PMS, he indicated that prior to the implementation of PMS there was no common purpose, no focus and no convergence of objectives. According to him, PMS has introduced coherence and strategic planning as officers can now identify specific areas to focus on. He argued that the department had no vision and mission prior to the introduction of PMS. Hence, it can be held that PMS has facilitated people's understanding of the mandate of the department and the route that it wishes to take to attain its goals and objectives. According to the respondent, one of the factors facilitating the implementation of PMS is committed leadership. The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Lands and Housing is said to be passionate about the reform and is leading by example. Regular meetings and workshops are held to see if all departments are still on course to achieve their goals and objectives. On the negative side, he noted that unfulfilled promises under PBRS, preference for financial rewards, subjective assessment criteria and a situation where there is no link between the PDP of the supervisors and their subordinates hinder the implementation of PMS.

The respondent is of the view that productivity within the department and the public sector as a whole can be improved if people stop taking their work and country for granted. According to him, it is imperative for the senior staff to change their mindset and work ethics. He even suggested that all public servants should be hired on contracts as it is the done with Permanent Secretaries.

4.3.4 Discussion

Since the Department of Lands is housed at the Ministry of Lands and Housing Headquarters, the vision and mission statements of the ministry and those of the department are displayed at the entrance. The vision of the department is stated as, "We, the Department of Lands, will excel in the delivery of services in land administration in order to promote sustainable development". The mission reads thus: We, the Department of Lands, exist to provide competitive services in land Administration. These services are provided through informed and trained human resources for customer satisfaction and national prosperity using appropriate technology and effective policies and legislation. We dedicate ourselves to deliver these in a timeous, transparent, courteous, disciplined, fair, reliable and accountable manner

At the entrance of the department, there are posters and pamphlets on various issues such as HIV/AIDS, Vision 2016 and others. There is an officer at the entrance whose main responsibility is to assist visitors to find the officers that they want. Visitors tell her the service that they need or the officer(s) that they want and she tells them the office numbers promptly. Alternatively, one can look at the board displayed at the entrance that has names and office numbers of all the officers within the department. There is a complaint and suggestion box at the entrance that members of public can use if they are not satisfied with the service that they received.

All members of staff dress formally with the exception of a few. Officers communicate with each other in a casual but respectful manner and both English and Setswana are used as the official languages even though some people use their tribal languages. As reported by the respondents, officers greet visitors and make an effort of assisting them to find the officers that they want.

The disparity between high and low performers in the Department of Lands can be attributed to the negative attitude that some officers have towards PMS. All the officers who were interviewed have been trained on PMS and have been preparing and executing PDPs. However, as a result of the fear that has been instilled by the senior management, low performers believe that they have to comply to keep their jobs even though they feel that PMS has no impact on the manner in which they do their work. One of the respondents stated that she has no interest in PMS and its tools such as the balanced scorecard because they do not add any value to her work.

The subjective assessment criterion compounds the situation as low performers feel that the system rewards poor performers. This clearly calls for a concerted effort on the part of senior management to improve the assessment criteria as well as ensure that all people agree on the manner in which their performance will be assessed and the kind of remedial action that can be taken when things do not go according to plan. This is in line with the observation made by Schein (1992) that the accepted criteria used for assessing performance becomes an important component of the culture of people in a given organization. Failure to have a consensus may lead to misunderstandings, antagonisms and chaos thus compromising the organization's ability to cope with its external environment.

It is worth noting that one of the issues brought to light during the focus group discussion is that the senior management does not differentiate between the different responsibilities of officers on the same salary scale. For example, when Senior Administration Officers for different sections of the department such as Transport, Human Resource Management and Supplies are assessed, their different responsibilities are not taken into consideration. In their view, this has often resulted in a situation where one officer is regarded to be more productive than the other officers even though the things that they do on daily basis are different and in some cases unrelated.

One of the observations made during the interviews is that officers graded as low performers have created a sub culture within their units which makes it hard for them to openly discuss issues pertaining to the department with officers from other divisions or

units. They do not socialize with other officers as much as one would expect them to even though it is important for people in an organization to share ideas and experiences about the problems that they encounter on daily basis. They are of the view that most of the officers are always busy and therefore have little or no time to talk to them.

4.4 Department of Housing

4.4.1 High performers

All respondents under this category clearly explained the mandate of the department as delivery of housing for both central and local government employees throughout the country. The department also provides housing for the low-income group through a program called Self Help Housing Agency (SHHA) in both urban and rural areas. In executing its mandate, the department works closely with urban and district councils, Botswana Housing Corporation, District Administration and citizens who are willing to rent their houses to government.

They also explained that the values espoused within the department are transparency, timeliness, accountability, honesty, integrity and caring for customers and colleagues. One respondent indicated that even though they are required to have values that they espouse within the department, there is a gap between what is written on paper and what obtains on the ground as officers do not necessarily observe them as expected.

The respondents were of the view that a top-down approach is used widely as it is very rare for junior officers to be given an opportunity to initiate things or fully participate in the decision-making process. They indicated that when important things such as the Annual Performance Plan and departmental budget are prepared, the input of junior officers is rarely sought thus denying them an opportunity to learn and have a voice in the manner in which things are done even though they are expected to draw their PDPs from the Annual Performance Plan. According to them, the demands and concerns of the junior officers such as office accommodation, unavailability of computers and others are not given the attention that they deserve.

According to the respondents, new members usually meet the Director first when they report for duty and are then taken on a tour of the offices where they are introduced to their colleagues by the Heads of the Divisions that they are joining. They are also introduced at the Monday and Friday morning prayer meetings. Thereafter, they are left in the hands of their supervisors to show them how things are done, who they have to work with, where they can get stationery and others. There is no briefing on the dress code, language used or the manner in which they have to address each other. It is assumed that all people know that they have to dress formally when going to work and that they have to respect all the people around them.

By the same token, the respondents indicated that officers within the department usually greet each other, address each other with respect, dress formally and informally as well as communicate with each other in a formal and informal way. Two of the respondents stated that it is not necessary for them to dress formally. According to them, the most important thing is for them to be presentable taking cognizance of the fact that they spend most of the time outside offices overseeing departmental projects. The other three respondents explained that since they are usually assigned tasks by the Director and the Permanent Secretary on regular basis, it is important for them to dress formally more so that they also interact with people from outside the department and even outside the country. Hence, they believe that being formal portrays their department in good light and gives them a sense of responsibility.

All the respondents agreed that senior officers usually use the Monday and Friday morning prayer meetings to encourage officers to treat each other in a good way, respect and love each other as well as assist clients with a smile and in a respectful way. Laxity in the execution of responsibilities is usually discouraged at these meetings.

With regard to the posters and directives that were on the walls of the offices, the explanation that I was given is that they are used to decorate the offices and also serve as reference points. The Directives and circulars are used to guide officers so that they do not act outside the parameters set or determined by senior government officials such as the Director, Permanent Secretary, Director of Public Service Management or Permanent Secretary to the President.

In view of the fact that when all the respondents joined the department, implementation of PMS was on-going, they stated that their role so far has been to do what they are expected to do by their supervisors (i.e. prepare and execute their PDP). They play no role in the decision-making process. Notwithstanding the foregoing observation, one of the respondents revealed that he has been trained to be a team leader and a change agent. According to him, his main responsibility is to drive PMS and help officers to be aware of the need to embrace the reform and the tools used. He also helps officers to bridge the gap between their PDPs and the things that they do on daily basis.

Although the respondents play no role in the decision-making process, they believe that PMS assists them to plan their work in a systematic way unlike in the past when they used to do things in an uncoordinated way, be more focused in their work,

know what their colleagues are doing, brings supervisors closer to their subordinates and makes them to be aware of the need to meet the targets that they have set for themselves.

Notwithstanding these positive things, the respondents bemoaned the fact that they have lost the freedom and ability to manipulate the system when it comes to things such as retirement of imprests. This is because the financial rules are now enforced without fail unlike in the past when one could retire the imprest after the stipulated time of fourteen days with no action being taken against him/her. They have also lost the freedom to go and do their personal things during working hours as they now have deadlines that they have set for themselves.

According to the respondents, implementation of PMS has so far been facilitated by the fact that it is leader-driven as the Permanent Secretary is passionate about the reform. They also explained that high performers have been given certificates by the Permanent Secretary as a token of appreciation, a gesture that motivates officers and makes them realize that their contribution is recognized and appreciated. The setting of realistic targets was also presented as one of the factors that facilitate implementation of the reform.

On the negative side, the respondents stated that in some cases there is a gap between the departmental Annual Performance Plan and the objectives of the individuals thus making it difficult for people to pull in the same direction. They also identified unfulfilled promises made under PBRS as one of the factors hindering implementation of PMS. This situation is compounded by the subjective assessment criteria that is used. By the same token, they stated that some of the officers given the responsibility of driving the reform have not been relieved of some of the duties that they were performing prior to their appointment, thus resulting in a heavy workload for them. Hence, they argued that it is necessary for more officers to be employed so that those who are mandated to drive the reform can focus solely on it while other duties and responsibilities are given to other officers.

Three respondents indicated that they have been trained on the balanced scorecard even though they are not using it. One explained that he has never been trained whereas the other one stated that he has been trained in his capacity as a change agent and is trying to update the objectives of his division as well as change the departmental Annual Performance Plan even though he has differences with his superiors on how to do it.

Some of the things proposed by respondents in this category on how productivity can be improved within the department include *inter alia:* adequate training for all people so that they are fully aware of what they have to do and how, fulfill promises made under PBRS and give rewards to high performers, strive for inclusion of all officers in the decision-making process so that there can be consensus on departmental objectives or targets and that all officers should be made to buy into the reform.

4.4.2 Low performers

All respondents in this category were able to explain the mandate of the department and the values espoused. Two respondents believe that a top-down approach is widely used in the decision-making process. Their main contention is that they are supervised by someone who is not in their cadre thus making it difficult for her to understand what they are doing or how they are supposed to do it. According to them, this arrangement usually puts them at loggerhead with their supervisor who believes that they are undermining her, a thing that forces her to push her weight around.

The other three respondents believe that their supervisors usually make a concerted effort to consult them on issues that they can take to the senior management meetings. They also explained that their supervisors usually give them feedback on decisions taken by the senior management. In their view, they have a good working relationship with their supervisors as there is mutual understanding and respect.

Even though one of the respondents stated that new members are sometimes given a cold shoulder by the Administration Officers, the other four respondents indicated that new members are usually taken to the Director's office and then introduced to their colleagues in their offices. The introductions are also done at the Monday and Friday morning prayers in the event that some of the officers were not in when the new member was taken on a tour of the offices. One respondent indicated that they sometimes have meals with the new members and also have a social club called "Let's mingle".

They also indicated that the posters, pictures and flowers that they have in their offices are used as a point of reference (procedures to be followed, vacancies within the department, allowances, rates at which officers can claim and others), information dissemination on issues that are of national interest, highlight the vision and mission of the department, national pride, respect for leaders and to decorate the offices.

In the same vein, the respondents revealed that officers within the department always greet each other, greet visitors and assist them to find the officers that they want and mostly use Setswana to communicate with each other. Some officers dress formally while others dress informally depending on the work that they do. Most of the officers wear departmental golf T-shirts on Fridays. One respondent stated that most officers usually have a cup of tea between nine and ten o'clock in the morning as long as they do not have any client to attend to. Another respondent stated that due to the pressure that officers have to contend with on daily basis, it is common for them to quarrel in offices or even in the hallway.

According to the respondents, the senior management uses the Monday and Friday meetings to encourage officers to work together harmoniously as well as implore them to respect and cooperate with each other. In some cases, short courses on customer care are organized with a view to sensitizing officers about the concept and others that are deemed important to the operations of the department.

Three respondents who were already working for the department at the time when PMS was introduced explained that a top-down approach was used as middle and junior officers were simply told what to do. There was no consultation on what has to be done, how it was to be done or the implications thereof. Officers were told to comply and draw their targets from the departmental Annual Performance Plan that was prepared by the senior management.

Despite their limited involvement at the initial stages, three respondents agreed that they have learned to manage their time properly, plan and execute their tasks in a systematic way and that they are more disciplined in the manner in which they behave and perform their duties and responsibilities. Two respondents are of the view that they are not gaining or losing anything by implementing PMS. In their view, PMS has not brought any change to their work. Regarding factors that facilitate implementation of PMS, only one respondent stated that there is transparency in the manner in which things are done, that leaders are exemplary and that people want recognition and therefore work hard. Things identified as hindering implementation of the reform include: unfulfilled promises under PBRS, subjective assessment criteria, lack of proper understanding of the reform, failure to treat officers seconded from other departments and those belonging to the department as equals, poor health of some of the officers or their close relatives and the inability of junior officers to change the manner in which things are done within the department.

Three respondents said that they have been trained on the balanced scorecard but have not used it while the other two respondents had no idea of what the tool is all about. Those who have been trained on the same admitted that it is a very difficult tool to use more so that they do not have a proper understanding of how it works owing to the fact that they have attended only one workshop.

Four respondents believe productivity within the department can be improved by getting rid of Work Improvement Teams as it is time consuming to build teams and work as a collective. Rewarding high performers, changing the mindset of people who have not embraced productivity improvement initiatives, striving for an assessment criteria that is objective, giving officers enough information on PMS, ensuring that Facilitators thoroughly understand PMS and its tools and ensuring that senior managers consider the interests of officers seconded from other departments as well as appreciate their contribution were also presented as things that have to be done to improve productivity. The fifth respondent stated that he has nothing to say on this issue.

4.4.3 Views from senior management

The respondent explained that the department is mandated to formulate and implement housing policies with a view to providing shelter for central and local government employees. This mandate is undertaken in partnership with the private sector, local authorities and citizens. According to him, values espoused within the department are derived from those of the Ministry of Lands and Housing and the Public Service Charter.

He explained that since they encourage shared responsibility and individual accountability, all officers are usually encouraged to participate in the decision-making process. He regretted that when officers are given an opportunity to participate, some of them misconstrue this as confirmation on the part of senior officers that they do not know what to do or how to do it. Some get carried away and think that they have the authority to make final decisions about the department. He went further to explain that the Monday and Friday prayer meetings are also used as a platform through which officers can present their views to the senior management. In his view, there is a cordial relationship between the senior management and staff even though the latter are usually fatigued as a result of heavy workload, a situation that they have discussed with higher authorities such as the Permanent Secretary.

By the same token, the respondent explained that the prayer meetings are used to welcome new members. In some cases, members of staff cook lunch and share it with their colleagues as a way of showing affection and love. He indicated that a relaxed atmosphere within the department has been created by allowing officers to wear departmental T-shirts on Fridays, organize Christmas parties as well as assist each other in times of need such as when they or their loved ones succumb to some of the dreadful

diseases afflicting the Tswana society. Due to the relaxed atmosphere, there is no fast and hard rule of how officers should call and address each other. They know when they can call each other with first names, surnames and nicknames.

Since he joined the department in 2006, he was not involved in the formulation and implementation of PMS in 2002. However, as part of senior management, he explained that his responsibility is to cascade the reform to the lower levels of the department, see to it that officers buy into the reform as well as ensure that PDPs are aligned to the departmental and ministerial vision and mission. Even though he admits that at the initial stages, the middle and junior officers were not directly involved, he holds that they are currently involved as evidenced by the fact that they prepare and execute their PDPs. According to him, their views and suggestions are also taken into consideration when major decisions are made.

The respondent is of the view that the only thing that has been lost is the spirit of working together as most officers now tend to concentrate mainly on the objectives and targets that they have set for themselves. But on the positive side, he reckons that PMS has assisted him to plan and perform his responsibilities in a systematic way as the objectives are clearly stated. He also believes that it is easy to assess the performance of officers and everyone knows what to expect. In other words, there are no surprises as people are graded on the basis of what they said they would do vis-à-vis what they have done.

In his view, implementation of PMS is facilitated by the fact that the departmental objectives and targets are clearly spelt out thus making it easy for all officers to work towards the same goal. He went further to state that since officers are able to monitor

their performance, they appreciate the gains of embracing PMS more so that they want to be seen to be working hard and contributing towards attainment of the departmental goals and objectives.

Regarding factors that hinder implementation of PMS, he noted that some people have a misplaced belief that there is a right way of doing things thus resulting in some officers resisting change. Fear of the unknown compounds the situation as some people keep on asking themselves as to where PMS is taking them. Some officers are of the view that since other reforms tried in the past have failed to yield positive results, the same thing will happen with PMS and is therefore not worth investing time and other resources into it. Unfulfilled promises made under PBRS were also noted as one of the factors that makes it difficult for the senior management to convince officers to embrace PMS and use its tools.

Notwithstanding the foregoing observations, the respondent strongly believes that PMS has clarified the vision and mission statements of the department, thus making it easy for senior management to drive them. By the same token, he believes that the reform has facilitated citizens' understanding of the vision and mission statements of the department. According to him, all officers now know where they are going and how they will reach their destination whereas citizens have a better understanding of the services provided by the department.

He strongly believes that productivity within the department can be improved by giving training and progression of officers the attention that they deserve. High performers should be allowed to progress rather than restrict them by sticking to the existing rigid procedures of promoting officers. As he explained, officers are expected to

serve for a certain period of time in one salary scale before they can be promoted thus making it difficult for high performers to progress quickly up the organizational ladder. In his view, this system counters productivity as it takes a long time for high performers to be rewarded. According to him, all initiatives geared towards improving productivity within the public sector cannot yield the expected positive results when senior officers are still holding onto the old system of doing things.

4.4.4 Discussion

At the time when I conducted the interviews, the building used by the Department of Housing was renovated. This made it difficult for me to learn about the department's artifacts (i.e. the manner in which posters, pictures and others are displayed). Notwithstanding this difficulty, I observed that all posters depicting the mandate of the department as well as the mission and vision statements were displayed in the committee room. I made this observation when I was attending two prayer meetings: one on Monday and the other one on Friday. The vision of the department reads thus; "We, the department of housing, will be an effective and efficient facilitator in the delivery of basic shelter for all within a safe and sanitary environment". The mission is presented as: "We commit to facilitate delivery of shelter in an honest, transparent, timeous, impartial and courteous manner, through formulation of appropriate policies, use of qualified manpower and information technology".

As stated earlier, the prayer meetings are used to introduce new members of staff, share messages of love and compassion, talk about the projects that can be undertaken for the poor members of the community and others. Each officer within the department is

given an opportunity to conduct the meetings and share their message with their colleagues. One officer is asked to pray when the meeting starts and another one is asked to do the same when the meeting is closed. Thereafter, all officers sing and shake hands as a sign of love and happiness.

It was evident during the interviews that English, Setswana and tribal languages are used within the department. Officers communicate with each other in an informal but respectful manner and some of them dress formally while others dress informally. The explanation given is that some officers spend most of their time out of the office, either assessing houses or supervising their maintenance and are therefore not expected to dress formally. Just like in other government departments, officers in this department have a cup of tea every morning between eight and ten o'clock and visitors are treated with respect.

Regarding the differences between high and low performers, one factor that stifles the performance of the latter is that officers seconded from other departments particularly those in the Registry are supervised by an officer (Administration Officer) outside their cadre whom they believe is not well conversant with their job. This arrangement has resulted in some of the officers having a negative attitude towards work and PMS in particular more so that they believe that their contribution to the department is not appreciated. Their belief that a top-down approach dominates emanates from the strained relationship that they have with their supervisor. The fact that decisions regarding their promotions, opportunities for further training, transfers and others are made by the Director of Archives compounds the situation as such decisions are usually taken on the basis of the feedback given by the immediate supervisor, who in their view, does not have a proper understanding of what their jobs entail.

It is also evident that some of the low performers have not embraced PMS. They are mainly complying because they know that failure to do so may result in them losing their jobs. The fact that one of them stated that he does not gain and lose anything by implementing PMS bears testimony to this. The same can be said about the respondent who said that he has nothing to suggest in terms of how productivity can be improved within the department.

It is worth noting that some of the low performers admitted that they do not have a proper understanding of PMS. Officers who perform their responsibilities well have a good understanding of the reform whereas the opposite obtains in the case of the low performers. A suggestion by one of the respondents that Work Improvement Teams should be disbanded owing to the fact that the process of forming them is long and tedious indicates that the officers have a different view from that held by people mandated to drive the productivity improvement reforms. It is evident that some of the low performers have drawn a dividing line between WITS and PMS, despite the explanation that is always given by the Facilitators that the latter is not a substitute of the former. PMS is used to compliment WITS.

4.5 Comparison of two ministries

i) Ministry of Local Government

The ministry gives policy direction and guidance in the provision of socio-economic development at the local level. It provides physical and social infrastructure in the form of primary schools, clinics, fire stations, boreholes, community halls and others. Since all the aforementioned services are provided to the communities directly by local authorities particularly district and urban councils, the ministry has to ensure that all the local authorities operate in an efficient way by providing policy direction, capacity building and supervision.

By the same token, the ministry serves as Government's focal point of policy and operational matters as they pertain to local governance, coordinates the activities of Central Government at the district level and facilitates community participation in the development process given the fact that it has a direct link with the citizens. To this end, the vision of the ministry is presented as: "A centre of excellence in local governance and social service provision for improved quality of life". The vision reads thus, "The Ministry of Local Government exists to improve the quality of life of communities by:

- Creating an enabling environment for Local Government Institutions to provide basic social services
- Providing policy guidance, resources as well as monitoring and evaluation of performance/delivery".

The core values of the ministry are customer care, employee focus, time management, *botho*, cooperation and teamwork, integrity, communication and people centred

development. As a way of ensuring that all the values of the ministry are observed and promoted, Ministry Performance Improvement meetings are usually held to discuss issues pertaining to performance and behavior of the officers. In the same vein, leaders are assisted by the Performance Improvement Coordinators (PICs) on strategies that they can use to change the mindset of their subordinates, how they can help them have a purpose in life as well as help them realize that they are also leaders. Leaders are also sensitized about the importance of allowing people to give them feedback on how things are done within the ministry.

It is worth noting that the ministry started implementing PMS in 2000 and the process of cascading it to the local authorities started in 2003. The main role of leaders (i.e. Permanent Secretary, Deputy Permanent Secretaries, Directors, Performance Improvement Coordinators and Divisional heads) is to drive the reform, ensure that the principles of PMS are enshrined in the day-to-day activities of the officers, help people to understand the various tools of PMS such as PDPs, balanced scorecard and systems thinking. They manage change and as such can be regarded as change agents.

When PMS was introduced, focus was mainly on the senior management staff as evidenced by the fact that they were trained first whereas the middle and junior officers were not involved. The middle and junior officers were recipients of the reform and only participated in the preparation of the strategic plans as well as the vision and mission statements of their departments. This way of doing things has sown seeds of discord among some of the officers as evidenced by their negative attitude towards the reform. Some of the senior leaders within the ministry believe that PMS has to a great extent changed the vision of the ministry in the sense that it implores people to look at where they are, look into the future and think of how best they can serve their clientele. People now know that they have to develop Annual Plans and their awareness has been raised with regard to the vision and mission of the ministry. According to them, PMS has changed the mindset of the majority of officers within the ministry as they now appreciate the importance of having PDPs as well as Strategic and Annual Plans. Officers nowadays think and act as a collective because there is a chain reaction, meaning that the manner in which one officer operates has an impact on the work of his/her colleagues and the performance of the ministry as a whole.

The implementation of PMS in the ministry is hindered by people's negative attitude towards it. As it is usually the case when new things are introduced in organizations, there is resistance to change. This situation is compounded by the long procedures that officers have to follow in performing their duties such as reviewing policies pertaining to local governance. In the same vein, it has been noted that some of the leaders who are expected to drive the reform do not have a proper understanding of how it works thus making it difficult for them to lead confidently while others are said to be slow in terms of thinking and performing their duties. As explained by one respondent, they fail to make things happen and are not in control of their environment.

It was also stated that the public sector culture of doing things slowly still prevails in some quarters thus making it difficult for all people to be on the same wavelength. The old culture that has been adopted by officers, particularly those who joined the public sector before PMS was introduced, results in some people being slow to realize the positive results of PMS. Some people still move and act slowly, hence there is need for them to be awakened so that they can take control of their situation, be aware of what they are expected to do as well as assist them to realize that they need to have a purpose in life.

Regarding the manner in which productivity can be improved within the ministry, it was stressed that all officers have to be on the same wavelength. It is believed that there should be courses tailor made to assist all officers, particularly the slow ones, to be on the same wavelength with their colleagues. Most importantly, it was stated that all the reforms undertaken within the public sector can be effective only if the human elements are given the attention that they deserve. People should be assisted to master themselves and to be in control of their day-to-day activities (i.e. self mastery).

ii) Ministry of Lands and Housing

Following the decision to split the then Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing into two ministries, the Ministry of Lands and Housing was created in 1999. It is mainly responsible for management of land related functions as well as facilitate the delivery or provision of houses throughout the country. The vision of the ministry is presented thus: "We, the Ministry of Lands and Housing will be providing excellent service in management and development of Lands as well as the facilitation of housing delivery".

The mission reads thus: "We, the Ministry of Lands and Housing exist to provide excellent services in management and development of land, as well as facilitation of housing delivery with and for Batswana and our partners in development. We dedicate ourselves to deliver these services in a timeous, caring, fair, effective policies and legislation, and appropriate and legislation, and appropriate technology". The values espoused are transparency, commitment, accountability, caring, discipline, employee motivation, excellence, integrity, teamwork, timeliness and impartiality.

The Permanent Secretary as the most senior administrative officer in the ministry is said to be very passionate about PMS and instills a culture of performance in the officers. There are three Performance Improvement Coordinators (PICs) who have been given the latitude by the Permanent Secretary to drive PMS. Regular meetings are organized and there is constant feedback and review of progress. Since there is free flow of information between the PICs and Heads of Departments and between PICs and the Permanent Secretary, there is mutual understanding and respect. All officers given the mandate of driving PMS are therefore on the same wavelength and speak the same language.

As a way of cascading PMS to departments within the ministry, a deliberate decision was made to appoint focus persons or Departmental PICs. One important thing that was avoided is the appointment of officers on the basis of their rank. Instead, all officers who were appointed had shown that they are passionate about the reforms, results-oriented and have analytical skills. At the district level, officers were also selected using the same criteria and have been trained to drive the reform. A process of reengineering in which steps and procedures deemed unnecessary are removed from the policies was also undertaken with the intention of shortening the process of providing services to the citizens. An example used is that the deeds title registration process was reduced from three months to nine days and subsequently to three and half hours.

Any reengineered process is reviewed after every three months to see if things are working properly and to take remedial action if the need arises.

Just like at the Ministry of Local Government, negative attitudes hinder the implementation of PMS within the Ministry of Lands and Housing. It was revealed that some officers can go to the extent of sabotaging others so that they fail to achieve their goals knowing very well that by so doing the whole department will suffer. In response, the senior managers have taken it upon themselves to involve all officers in the decision-making process. Officers now have easy access to the Directors, PICs, Deputy Permanent Secretary and Permanent Secretary. This process is to be improved by ensuring that general staff meetings are held at the departmental and district level with minutes being forwarded to the PICs at the ministry headquarters. Furthermore, there is a plan to cascade the reform to each and every corner of the ministry so that everyone embraces it.

Senior leaders at the ministry believe that PMS has changed the vision and mission of the ministry in the sense that they used to be long and tedious, whereas today they are short and clear even though the message has not changed. There were too many details which could be misinterpreted, hence there was need to shorten the same. Since officers were involved when the vision and mission were developed, it is believed that they now know and understand them better than in the past. The national radio is used to inform citizens about the responsibilities of the ministry as well as its vision and mission.

iii) Discussion

Both ministries draw their values from the Public Service Charter and the nation's Vision 2016. This explains why the same are almost the same as the two ministries are expected

to work towards the attainment of Vision 2016 as well as serve citizens according the standards prescribed in the Public Service Charter.

One important strategy used by the Ministry of Lands and Housing with regard to the implementation of PMS, which has not been embraced by the Ministry of Local Government, is the decision to disregard the rank or position of officers appointed Departmental Performance Improvement Coordinators. The decision to appoint officers who have demonstrated that they are passionate about the reform, result-oriented and have analytical skills is definitely the right way of ensuring that the reform is driven by officers who care about productivity and who are willing to channel their energy towards making a change. The officers perform their responsibilities from the bottom of their hearts rather than for purposes of saving their jobs.

Although the leadership of both ministries is very committed to the success of PMS, the Ministry of Lands and Housing has an advantage given the fact that it has been under the leadership of one Permanent Secretary since it was established in 1999. The Ministry of Local Government on the other hand, has been led by four Permanent Secretaries with different management styles and attitudes between 2000 and 2008. It is the consistency of leadership at the former that explains why most of the planned things have been undertaken.

The other important factor that should be taken into consideration when talking about the performance of the two ministries with regard to implementation of PMS is that the Ministry of Local Government provides citizens with all essential services (portable water, primary education, health, community services, fire services, drought relief, roads, justice and preservation of customary law) at the district level. The Ministry of Lands and Housing on the other hand, manages and allocates land and provides employee housing. The latter concentrates mainly on two important projects (i.e. lands and housing) whereas the former has to provide a wide range of essential services through institutions, (district/urban councils, district administration and tribal administration) which have grown considerably since their establishment in the mid 1960s and early 1970s. Cascading any reform to local authorities is much more challenging than doing the same to entities such as Land Boards, which are smaller and easier to manage. In other words, it is much more challenging to reform the Ministry of Local Government given its size and mandate as compared to the Ministry of Lands and Housing.

In view of the foregoing observations, it is imperative that when a comparison is made between the two ministries, their responsibilities and the challenges that they meet in the delivery of essential services are given the attention that they deserve. Assessing the performance of two ministries in the same manner can be misleading given fundamental differences in responsibilities. The most important thing to do is to look at the targets that each ministry has set for itself and see whether the same have been attained or not.

4.6 Analysis of study findings

4.6.1 A shift towards the private sector

All four departments selected for this study have Annual Performance Plans, Strategic Plans and clearly articulated values in their vision and mission statements, in an attempt to inculcate a culture of high performance. This is in line with the observation made by Wescott (1996) when he explains that performance management can be successful if

government agencies develop a vision, reform strategy and clear objectives of what is to be attained, how and by whom. He goes further to state that it is of paramount importance that an organizational map, which reflects the tasks that have to be undertaken, the organizations that have to undertake them, the relations between different stakeholders and others have to be drawn and followed without fail.

The foregoing observation is also in line with the argument made by Osborne and Plastrik (1998) when they state that efficiency within public organizations can be attained if their purposes are clearly spelt out and if the decision making power is pushed down the hierarchy and at times to the community (i.e. loosening the grip of central control agencies) and if the culture of people within organizations is reshaped with a view to giving them new experiences, new kinds of work and interactions with new people.

The manner in which PMS has been embraced and implemented in Botswana indicates that there is a desire by the senior management to manage the public sector in the same manner as private organizations. In fact, Washington & Hacker (2005) argue that PMS is a variant of Total Quality Management (TQM) designed to provide systematic thinking to implement change. Hence, it is not surprising that all public servants are required to prepare and execute PDPs as well as quantify the things that they do so that it can be easier for one to measure and assess their performance. The introduction of balanced scorecard further reinforces the desire to shift towards the private sector model. Insistence on the preparation of PDPs and quarterly reports by the senior management indicates that the introduction of PMS has made formal and outcomes-based performance mandatory within the public sector in Botswana as it has been done in the United States through the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993.

In the United States, federal government agencies are expected to develop strategic plans, state their goals and how they wish to achieve them, prepare performance plans stating quantitatively measurable goals and performance indicators (Heinrich, 2002). In Botswana, the introduction of PMS has resulted in these requirements and demands being placed on all central government departments. The process of cascading PMS to local authorities (District/Urban councils, Land Boards, District Administration and Tribal Administration) will definitely be accompanied by the same requirements and demands.

The foregoing observation is in harmony with the argument made by Wholey and Hatry (1992); Davies (1999) and Behn (2003) when they state that performance monitoring seeks to ensure that public servants are accountable to the elected officials and citizens. In Botswana, politicians and citizens decried poor service that they were getting from government departments and units. Hence, PMS has been embraced as a performance-enhancing tool that will also force public servants to account for their performance.

It is clear from the study findings that following the introduction of PMS, there is emphasis on performance measurement and customer satisfaction as illustrated by the fact that all the study participants referred to citizens as "customers" or "clients". The values espoused in all the four selected departments and the wording of the vision and mission statements clearly indicate that they intend to provide services in a transparent, honest and timely manner. This new way of doing things seeks to transform and

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rationalize government work and therefore resonates with the observation made by Kiel (1994) when he states that public sector reforms are usually undertaken with the intention of transforming government work. Hence, it is of paramount importance that all leaders within government departments and units should fully understand that the implementation of PMS requires "different skills and capabilities than required in a traditional bureaucracy" (Washington and Hacker, 2005, p 402). In other words, a shift from Max Weber's type of bureaucracy to a private sector model requires officers to acquire new skills and capabilities as well as change the manner in which they do their work.

Moreover, one can argue that the paradigm shift from the Weberian type of bureaucracy to a private sector model is also in harmony with the observation made by Kelly (1988); Kiel (1994); Larbi (1999); Jones and Kettl (2003) and Spicer (2004). When presenting the underpinnings of the New Public Management, Spicer (2004) indicates that its proponents are mainly concerned with "the elimination of red tape, holding administrators accountable for measurable results, emphasizing customer satisfaction in agency dealings with the public..." (Spicer, 2004, p 357). Public servants in the four departments now use the language promoted by scholars and practitioners who extol the virtues of the private sector such as Osborne and Plastrik (1998).

4.6.2 Organizational culture

Despite the fact that the culture of people within organizations should be taken into consideration when new management processes are introduced, it is clear from this study that no consideration was given to organizational culture by the drivers of PMS at both the planning and implementation stages. The adoption of a top-down approach and the use of PMS to threaten officers bear testimony to this observation. Failure to give organizational culture the attention that it deserves is counter-productive taking cognizance of the fact that Owusu (2005) has argued that public sector reforms should be viewed as changing and in some cases sustaining organizational culture.

Failure to consider the culture of public servants within the selected departments has resulted in a situation whereby rejection of PMS is simply regarded as people having a negative attitude towards the reform because it exposes their inability to perform up to the expected standard. Since the drivers of the reform have not made a concerted effort to get to the bottom of the issue by examining the things that public servants cherish such as values, beliefs and attitudes as well as the manner in which they relate to each other, some of them are puzzled by the fact that some officers are still refusing to embrace PMS.

The inability of leaders to examine the culture existing within their departments can be viewed as failure to heed the advice given by Schein (1993) when he states that culture helps us to understand some of the hidden, intricate and complex aspects of organizations. The foregoing observation is important as Whorton and Worthley (1981) point out that inadequate understanding of the culture of public administration is a key obstacle to managerial improvement in government. Seel (2000) also believes that failure to change the paradigm at the heart of culture has the potential of jeopardizing all efforts geared towards changing the structures, systems and processes of public organizations.

It is also clear from the study findings that the main purpose of introducing PMS is to inculcate a culture of high performance. Notwithstanding this noble intention, the study findings reveal that the socialization process is not given the attention that it deserves. Newcomers in all four departments, meet their Directors, introduced to their colleagues and are left to learn from the people in their divisions about the manner in which they should relate to others, dress code, language used, values espoused, shared beliefs and others. This is not in harmony with the views held by Kreitner and Kinicki (2004) when they state that, "organizational socialization is a key mechanism used by organizations to embed their organizational cultures" (p 97). They go further to highlight the importance of socialization by stating that, "organizational socialization turns outsiders into fully functioning insiders by promoting and reinforcing the organization's core values and beliefs" (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2004, p 97). In a similar vein, Fine (1984) holds that, "For most groups, their culture serves as a central focus for group reference, and the new member who wishes to enter a group must remain in the background until a substantial portion of the group's culture has been mastered" (p 249).

The other observation worth noting is that all the people tasked with the responsibility of driving PMS in all four departments concentrate on the formal organization (rules, regulations, procedures etc) and pay no attention to the informal organization. This contradicts the observation made by Barnard (1966) when he presents the linkage between the formal and informal organizations. According to Barnard, informal organizations are structureless in form and involve interactions that occur without any specific predetermined purpose. He goes further to state that they are "the aggregate of the personal contacts and interactions and **the associated groupings of**

people" (Barnard, 1966, p 115). Hence, he presents their importance as establishing "certain attitudes, understandings, customs, habits, institutions and it creates the conditions under which formal organization may arise" and operate (p 116).

Even though there is failure by the leaders in all four departments to appreciate the importance of informal organizations as revealed in the foregoing paragraph, the respondents revealed in a focus group discussion at the Department of Local Government Service Management that in some divisions, people are usually charged and penalized by their colleagues whenever they are deemed to have uttered a word or behaved in such a way that shows lack of respect for the other member(s) of the group. When this happens, a brief meeting is organized and charges are read to the accused person. As they explained, once the charges have been read, chances of one being acquitted are nonexistent and penalties are usually in the form of one being ordered to buy members of the group soft drinks, bread, tea, coffee or anything that the group may deem appropriate at that time.

Notwithstanding the fact that this practice, which is to a greater extent based on the Tswana tradition of ensuring that people always use proper words when addressing each other lest they get punished, no attempt has been made by leaders to see how the informal organization affect the manner in which people interact and if there is any correlation between such an organization and the way in which they perceive productivity initiatives or even perform their responsibilities. The same thing can be said about the common use of nicknames at the Department of Local Government Development Planning or the decision by members of staff at the Department of Lands and the Department of Housing to wear departmental golf T-shirts on Fridays. Even though the study findings do not indicate the effect of informal organizations on the performance of the respondents thus making it difficult for me to say that PMS has thwarted an informal purpose or mission, it is not in dispute that they constitute an important aspect of organizational culture and therefore influences people to behave, think and act in a particular way. It is imperative for leaders to be aware of informal organizations as well as bear in mind that they (leaders) create culture within their organizations through the strategies that they present, the ideas and views that they espouse, the manner in which they relate to their subordinates and others.

4.6.3 Implementation issues

An issue that emerged in all four departments is the fact that a top-down approach was used when PMS was introduced in the public sector given the hierarchical nature of government departments. Middle and junior officers were not involved in the decisionmaking process thus making it difficult for some officers to easily buy into the reform more so that little or no attempt was made by the senior management to sell it to their subordinates. It was imposed on them and has in some cases been used to threaten people. The use of PMS as a threat is unfortunate as it forces officers to comply rather than to embrace it.

In the same vein, the study findings indicate that Industrial class employees have not been taken on board since the implementation of PMS started. The exclusion of these officers has without any doubt resulted in them regarding PMS as a reform that is mainly intended for the Permanent and Pensionable staff. Their rejection of the reform cannot be attributed simply to resistance to change or negative attitude, but rather to their alienation from the change process. This observation is presented succinctly in the evaluation report when the consultants state that;

The initial failure to address the integration of Industrial Class into the PMS process was found to have threatened the inclusiveness of PMS, the development of a culture of participation, consultation and teamwork so essential to the success of a PMS approach to service delivery (The IDM Consortium, 2006, p VIII).

Another thread that runs through all the four departments is that government has so far made empty promises under PBRS that all officers graded as high performers will be rewarded in different ways. In fact, the consultants who were engaged to evaluate the implementation of PMS also report that, "To date, the reward component of PMS has yet to be finalized at the design stage. This has been identified as a serious flaw in the design and installation of PMS" (IDM Consortium, 2006, p VII).

Since people join organizations for purposes of satisfying their needs, a situation where promises are not fulfilled discourages them to work as hard as one would expect them to because they know that there are no immediate benefits of doing so. As Barnard (1966) argues, satisfaction of individual needs can be attained by giving people various incentives such as money for the work done, giving them an opportunity to present their views, ideas and grievances regarding the organization and operationalization of their entity, giving them respect as well as appreciating their membership to the organization.

The adoption of a top-down approach, exclusion of Industrial class employees, subjective assessment criteria and the use of PMS as a threat can be attributed to the fact that the public service in Botswana as it is the case in most countries around the world, is premised on the ideal type of bureaucracy presented by Max Weber. As Mpabanga (2003) points out, "The public sector bureaucracy in Botswana confirms to Weber's legal-rational type of authority, which is characterised by job specialisation, authority, hierarchy, impersonality, rules and procedures, and recording" (p 24). Junior officers do what their leaders tell them to do as evidenced by the fact that all the respondents indicated that they are just recipients of PMS and played no role at the planning stage.

The hierarchical structure of government departments gives some leaders an impression that power and authority flow from the apex of the organization thus giving them the divine right or power to make decisions for their departments without involving all the affected people. This explains why some of the leaders are said to be using PMS as a threat rather than a tool to assist their subordinates to improve their performance. This style of leadership and line of thinking contradict the observation made by Barnard (1966) when he argues that power and authority flow from the bottom of an organization given the fact that subordinates have the ability to accept or reject orders from their leaders. This makes the authority of the leaders to be contingent upon acceptance or rejection of their orders by subordinates, a point which I believe is not usually taken into consideration when leaders make decisions within their departments.

Even though the Tswana culture encourages consultation (*therisano*), some leaders use the culture to do things their way given the fact that sometimes citizens or public servants do not have the courage to challenge the decisions of people in leadership positions. In fact, challenging the decisions of leaders can sometimes be interpreted or misconstrued as insubordination or lack of respect for the leader(s) in the Tswana culture. Hence, some leaders usually take advantage of this situation and impose their views on their subordinates knowing very well that it will be difficult for them to be challenged.

4.7 Lewin's change model

In an attempt to indicate how change is managed in the selected departments following the introduction of PMS, I use the change model developed by Kurt Lewin in 1951 to put things in perspective. According to Schein (2005), Lewin's model basically indicates that, "human change, whether at the individual or group level, was a profound psychological dynamic process that involved painful unlearning without loss of ego identity and difficult relearning as one cognitively attempted to restructure one's thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and attitudes" (p 2). The three stages of the model presented by Lewin are unfreezing, changing and refreezing (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2004; Schein, 2005).

The unfreezing stage focuses mainly on encouraging individuals to replace their old behaviors and attitudes with those desired by the senior management (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2004). At this stage it is of paramount importance that all officers should be motivated to change as a result of the dissatisfaction or frustration "generated by data that disconfirm our expectations and hopes" (Schein, 1995, p 3). This is to say that the employees have to be dissatisfied with the old ways of doing things and must be motivated to change. They must realize the benefits of change and must buy into the new strategy. As Schein (2005) puts it, "In order to become motivated to change, we must accept the information and connect it to something we care about" (p 3). He goes further to state that disconfirmation must arouse what he calls "survival anxiety" or the feeling that if we do not change we fail to meet our needs or fail to achieve some goals or ideals that we have set for ourselves" (Schein, 2005, p 4).

The changing stage "entails providing employees with new information, new behavioral models, new ways of looking at things" (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2004, p 678). Employees are helped to learn new concepts and new points of view. At this stage it is important to deal with what Schein (2005) calls "learning anxiety" which he defines as the feeling among employees that if they allow themselves to enter a learning or change process or accept that something is wrong, then they will lose their effectiveness, self-esteem and even identity. Schein (2005) notes that at this stage, the senior management gets an opportunity to create what he calls some degree of "psychological safety" (p 4). According to Schein, it is important for sufficient psychological safety to be created because failure to do so may result in employees denying disconfirming information and feeling no survival anxiety thus resulting in no change.

The refreezing stage entails stabilizing change by helping employees to "integrate changed behavior or attitude into their normal way of doings" (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2004, p 679). According to Kreitner and Kinicki (2004), employees are given the chance to exhibit new behavior or attitude. The exhibited behavior and attitude are then reinforced positively with a view to reinforcing the desired change. There is need for additional coaching and guidance so that the stability of change can be reinforced.

The study findings indicate that it is the senior government officials who came to the conclusion that public servants must change the manner in which they perform their responsibilities. The desire for change emanated from the top and no data or justification was provided to the middle and junior officers for them to appreciate the need to change their way of doing work. The reform was imposed on the middle and junior officers and little or no effort was made to find out if the officers agree or disagree that their way of doing things should be changed. Hence, one can argue that the unfreezing of public servants in the four selected departments and probably throughout the public service in Botswana was done in a way that is incoherent with Kurt Lewin's model of change as no effort was made by the senior management to sell the reform to their subordinates in such a way that they get excited about the need to change.

The study findings also suggest that senior officials provided training to the Permanent and Pensionable staff as a way of providing them with new information and new ways of looking at things. The fact that more than fifty percent of the respondents admitted that PMS enables them to plan and perform their duties and responsibilities in a systematic and coherent manner tempts me to believe that the senior management has to a greater extent succeeded in helping officers to learn and embrace new concepts even though their effectiveness in terms of improving the performance of public servants could not be established as it was not one of the study objectives.

On the negative side, one can also argue that the exclusion of Industrial class employees and lack of training means that learning anxiety will continue to be a restraining force as the affected employees do not see anything wrong with the manner in which they do their work. The senior management has created no psychological safety for the Industrial class employees as advised by Schein (2005). The same argument can be extended to some of the Permanent and Pensionable employees who are still pessimistic about PMS, particularly its suitability to the Botswana public service given the fact that it has been copied from other countries. The fact that PMS is sometimes used as a threat and that officers comply mainly to save their jobs also indicate that little or no attempt has been made by senior officers to give their subordinates the assurance that they need for them to change their way of doing things and embrace PMS. Hence, it is not surprising that there are pockets of resistance in all the selected four departments.

Regarding the unfreezing stage, the findings of this study suggest that the majority of respondents have new behavior and attitude towards their work. They all exhibit their new behavior by preparing and executing Performance Development Plans, displaying the vision and mission statements in the hallways and offices, embracing the language used by the proponents of the NPM as well as striving to uphold departmental values such as honesty, transparency, timeliness, *botho* and others. Whilst some officers still leave their officers to do their personal things during working hours, it has been found that all of them are fully aware of the things that they have to do and the deadlines that they have to meet.

In line with the foregoing, it has also been observed that leaders of all the selected departments are making a concerted effort of encouraging their subordinates to strive for cooperation, teamwork and high performance. The Establishment Secretary and the Director of Local Government Development Planning can be singled out as having embraced a management style which encourages all officers to be innovative and creative. Officers are given an opportunity to make empowered decisions, a thing that can be viewed as reinforcing the new behavior of public servants.

4.7.1 Force Field Analysis model

The Force Field Analysis model presented by Lewin (1951) indicates that in every organization, there are driving and restraining forces that influence any change that may occur. Driving forces on one hand, affect the situation by pushing in a particular

direction, initiate change, promote change and keep it going. Examples of driving forces include *inter alia;* pressure from a supervisor, customer demands, incentives and competition. Restraining forces on the other hand, seek to maintain the status quo by counteracting or reducing the driving forces (Schein 1995; Kumar 1999; Wells 2006). Examples of restraining forces include apathy, hostility, low levels of trust in management and poor maintenance of equipment among others.

Since organizations are characterized by a tug of war, Lewin (1951) holds that there is a dynamic balance or equilibrium of the driving and restraining forces. An equilibrium means that the forces acting for change are balanced by those that are acting against change. Hence, change cannot occur in an organization if the driving and restraining forces are equal or if the restraining forces are stronger than the driving forces. Change can occur if the driving forces overcome the restraining forces and this requires an effort to diminish or reduce the latter (Schein, 1995). The diagram below indicates the manner in which the driving and restraining forces oppose each other.

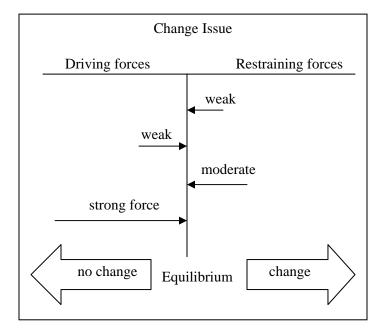


Diagram 1: Force Field Analysis Diagram (Adopted from Lewin, 1951)

In this diagram, equilibrium is represented by the point or line where the driving and restraining forces meet. If the restraining forces increase, there will be no change. But an increase in the driving forces will result in change. An increase in either the driving or restraining forces will shift the equilibrium to the right or left.

With regard to PMS, one can state that pressure from leaders, training, promised monetary incentives, an opportunity to go for further studies, the desire to succeed at the workplace and compliance are the driving forces used to promote and sustain change within the selected four departments. On the negative side, empty promises made under PBRS, lack of training, top-down approach to decision making, exclusion of Industrial class employees from the change process, fear and anxiety as well as negative attitudes towards the reform constitute some of the restraining forces. A brief discussion of both the driving and restraining forces with regard to PMS is provided below.

4.7.2 Driving forces

i) Pressure from leaders: the Permanent Secretary to the President as the head of the public service has the responsibility of ensuring that all Permanent Secretaries drive and implement PMS without fail. Permanent Secretaries rely on Performance Improvement Coordinators and the Directors of all the departments within their ministries to ensure that all public servants embrace PMS. The preparation and implementation of Annual Performance Plans and Strategic Plans together with PDPs at the departmental and individual levels respectively is mandatory thus forcing officers to accept PMS as part of their public service life.

ii) Training: all Permanent and Pensionable officers in all the four departments have been trained on PMS tools, particularly the preparation and execution of PDPs. Some officers have also been trained on the preparation and use of balanced scorecard even though they are not using it owing. In view of the foregoing, training can be regarded as one of the important driving forces as officers appreciate the benefits or advantages of embracing PMS. In fact, 54% of the officers interviewed by the consultants in 2005 are said to have indicated that there are "positive gains emerging due to the introduction of PMS into the public service" (IDM Consortium, 2006, p 12).

iii) Rewards: following the introduction of PBRS in which various incentives were outlined, the majority of public servants have been making an effort to perform their tasks as diligently as expected so that they can be given the rewards. None of the interviewed respondents revealed that they are not interested in getting the promised rewards. In fact, some of them suggested that one of the things that can be done to improve productivity within their departments and the public service in general is to give all high performers rewards as stated when PBRS was introduced.

iv) Further studies: one of the things that are usually taken into consideration for one to go for further studies is performance. Officers are aware that if they perform up to the expected standard, then there is a higher probability of them being afforded an opportunity to further their studies. They know that one way through which they can move up the organizational ladder or to make them more marketable is to have higher academic qualifications. v) The desire to succeed: even though it is usually assumed that money is the main incentive for people to work hard, it can also be contended that there are officers who are driven by the desire to succeed at their workplace. The senior officers interviewed indicated that the majority of officers do not want to be seen as useless members of their departments who are not committed to their work. Hence, they undertake their responsibilities seriously more especially that they are aware of the fact that their performance is assessed at the end of every quarter.

4.7.3 Restraining forces

i) Top-down approach: all the respondents including the leaders of the selected departments stated that a top-down approach was used when PMS was introduced. The middle and junior officers were not involved at the planning stage and were only told about the reform when it was time for it to be implemented. A top-down approach makes it difficult for some officers to buy into the reform and have a negative attitude towards it as evidenced by the fact that some of the respondents regard it as a tool used by senior officers to threaten their subordinates. Since there is no ownership of the reform in some quarters, it is viewed in the same light as reforms undertaken in the past which did not yield the expected positive results. They believe that senior government officials will one day give up on PMS and either revert back to the old system or try something new.

ii) Inadequate training: even though training has been provided for the Permanent and Pensionable staff, the study findings indicate that some of the officers are still grappling with the issues pertaining to the preparation and execution of PDPs. Some of the leaders tasked with the responsibility of driving the reform are deemed to be less competent in the sense that they do not have a clear idea of what has to be done, how and by whom. This is not helped by the fact that some of them think and act slowly as one of the Performance Improvement Coordinators stated during the interview.

Moreover, some of the respondents indicated that the PMS terminology used by the Facilitators is not easy to comprehend. This is compounded by the fact that various PMS tools such as PDPs, balance scorecard, systems thinking and others were introduced within a short period of time thus making it difficult for officers to comprehend all of them.

iii) Exclusion of Industrial class employees: a grave mistake that was made by senior government officials at the planning and implementation stages of PMS in all the four selected departments is the exclusion of Industrial class employees from the change process. Since they do not have any training on PMS, they regard it as a tool meant for the Permanent and Pensionable staff and are not interested to know what it entails or how it can help them to improve the manner in which they perform their responsibilities. There is lack of ownership among the Industrial class employees as a result of their exclusion from the change process.

iv) Unfulfilled promises: when PBRS was introduced, public servants were given an impression that if they perform up to the expected standards, then various rewards in the form of promotions, salary adjustments, further studies, getting certificates, having lunch or dinner with their Permanent Secretary and others will be availed to them.

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Unfortunately, high performers have not received rewards from their leaders. Failure by the decision makers to reward good performers has resulted in some officers arguing that PMS is premised on empty promises, hence they do not see the reason why they should work hard when their employer is not fulfilling the promises made.

v) Negative attitude: the study findings have also revealed that there are some officers who simply do not want to embrace PMS. In fact, some of the respondents at the Department of Lands and Department of Housing stated that PMS is not important, as it has not changed the manner in which they do their work. They use the subjective criterion to support their argument that PMS has not added any value to their work.

vi) Fear and anxiety: despite the fact that PMS is meant to improve performance within government offices, the study findings indicate that some leaders use it to instill fear and anxiety in the hearts of their subordinates. Some of the respondents indicated that it is common for some leaders to tell their subordinates that they will kick them out of the public service if they do not do as instructed. Fear and anxiety compel officers to comply for purposes of saving their jobs not necessarily because they appreciate the fact that they have perform their tasks and responsibilities in a diligent manner or in line with the guidelines formulated following the introduction of PMS.

vii) Loss of freedom: even though the majority of the respondents stated that they do not lose anything by implementing PMS, one respondent raised an important issue of loss of freedom to work at her own pace and do things in a relaxed manner. According to the respondent, prior to the introduction of PMS, officers had the freedom to do their personal things during working hours. She explained that most officers used to switch their computers on in the morning, hang their jackets on their chairs, open the office door slightly and then leave to do their personal things. She also stated that even though the financial regulations stipulate that all public servants must retire their travel imprests within fourteen working days, such regulations were not strictly enforced thus allowing officers to spend the money on their personal things and retire the imprests whenever they had money such as at the end of the month when they get their salaries.

The respondent stated that even though most of the officers still leave their offices to do their personal things during working hours, the introduction of PMS has reduced their freedom in the sense that they are now more conscious of their responsibilities and the deadlines that they have to meet. A care-free attitude of doing things that used to characterize government departments is being replaced by a culture of planning, responsibility and accountability, much to the discomfort of some officers.

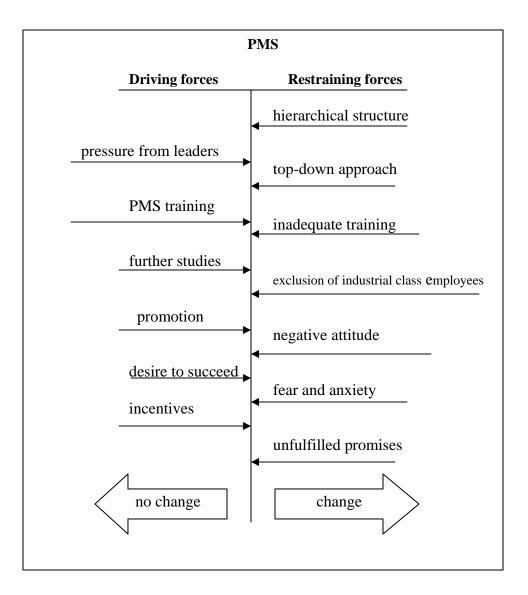


Diagram 2: Driving and restraining forces in the implementation of PMS

Since the study findings and the evaluation done by the IDM Consortium in 2005 indicate that there is progress in terms of pushing the implementation of PMS as evidenced by the emergence of a new culture of planning and accountability premised on the desire to measure and monitor performance, it means that the weight of the driving forces so far is greater than that of the restraining forces. The equilibrium has moved to the right. In this chapter I presented the key findings of the study. It is evident from this chapter that all the four departments have similar values as they draw them from those of the ministries that they fall under which are also drawn from the Public Service Charter and the nation's Vision 2016. The chapter highlighted the fact that due to differences in people's attitudes and way of thinking, they interpret and make sense of their environment in different ways.

It also indicated how PMS has changed the manner in which public servants execute their tasks and responsibilities. It is clear from the findings that officers now have a systematic way of doing their work, have a way of tracking or monitoring their performance and can easily identify problems and the remedial action that can be taken.

Lastly, the chapter shed light on how change is managed by revealing factors that facilitate and hinder the implementation PMS in the selected four government departments. Since there is a comprehensive evaluation report on the implementation of PMS in Botswana, I hope that senior government officials will take note of the recommendations as they call for the reduction of restraining forces by taking the Industrial class employees on board, enhancing participation of all officers in the decision making process, ensuring that high performers are rewarded as promised and others (IDM Consortium, 2006).

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CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDATIONS, ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I provide a brief discussion of the observations that have been made regarding efforts geared towards rationalization of public organizations with a view to making them efficient and effective. I then present recommendations of how things within the four departments can be improved on the basis of the study findings as discussed in Chapter Four. Lastly, I present issues for further research with a view to shedding light on areas or things that the study could not cover that other scholars can explore.

5.1 General observations

As we strive for efficiency within public organizations, it is important for us to bear in mind the fact that the history of public administration as a self-conscious field of study and practice is a history of administrative reforms. When the field emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States, various movements such as the municipal reform movement, scientific management movement, the efficiency movement, research bureau movement and social welfare reformers movement were established with a view to finding ways and means through which local and national governments can be made efficient and effective. As Stivers (2000) states, "Each was devoted partially or wholly to the improvement of municipal government structures and procedures; all were spurred by the prospect of rationalizing and systematizing public life" (p 23).

As a result of the ideas and beliefs that the reformers presented, the debates on how public sector organizations should be structured and managed for them to be efficient and effective have to a greater extent shaped and defined the contours of the field. Since different countries have used different methods to restructure their public sectors, the reforms have produced mixed results in both the developed and developing countries. This can be attributed to the fact that, "Governments pursue a more complicated and less tangible set of social objectives than that of the private company, and the efficiency criteria are different from those of private business" (Sorensen, 1993, p 224).

Thus it is not surprising that Hou *et al* (2003) hold that, "Efforts to improve performance have foundered on different shoals" (p 296). Hou *et al* (2003) go further to remind us that questions such as "Has performance improved? or "Why" are rarely answered to the satisfaction of all stakeholders due to the difficulties encountered in determining what improved performance would really be, the trade-offs which might be acceptable to attain it (for example, a trade-off between efficiency and democracy) and

linking improvement in a specific area to changes in government or attributes of government.

In fact, Waldo (1984) states succinctly that there is an irresolvable tension between efficiency and democracy as far as the operation of public organizations is concerned. When making a careful analysis of public administration as a field of study and practice in 1948, Waldo stated that it is a political philosophy grappling with issues and questions similar to those that were tackled by philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, Locke, the framers of the American constitution and the authors of the Federalist Papers. All the aforementioned figures tried to answer questions such as: "How do we make sure the good people govern"? "How should society be organized and governed"? "Who is making the rules"? "Whose interests do they serve"? Hence, it is not surprising that scholars and practitioners within the field of public administration are still failing to reach a consensus on the use of business techniques and strategies in public agencies.

It is on the basis of the fundamental differences between the public and private sectors that Stivers (2003) implores us to note that,

There is something profoundly open – unresolvable - about public administrative work, which can be traced to the kinds of questions it addresses and the kinds of problems it tackles, which are not just "messy" but "public" in the sense that they are of shared concern and endlessly arguable (p 243).

Since there are no clear-cut answers to the issues handled by public servants, it is imperative for us to take note of the advice given by Wholey and Hatry (1992) when they caution us that performance management within public organizations is neither a panacea

to the identified problems nor is it an end in itself. According to them, "It is one important step to help public managers to improve public programs and be accountable to elected officials and citizens" (Wholey and Hatry (1992, p 60). The implementation of PMS in Botswana should be viewed and understood within this context.

As senior public officials continue to strive for efficiency and effectiveness within the public service, Waldo (1984) draws our attention to the observation made by the President's Committee on Administrative Management when it stated that,

Government is a human institution...It is human throughout; it rests not only on formal arrangement, skill and numbers, but even more on attitudes, enthusiasms, and loyalty. It is certainly not a machine, which can be taken apart, redesigned, and put together again on the basis of mechanical laws. It is more akin to a living organism. The organization of government is not a mechanical task. It is a human task and must be approached as a problem of morale and personnel fully as much as a task of logic and management (Waldo, 1984, p 166-167).

It can be deduced from the foregoing quotation that any change process that takes place within an organization should take into account the needs, aspirations and interests of public servants. Their values and beliefs should be taken into consideration and they should be afforded an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process as failure to do so may result in lack of ownership of the new reform. In other words, public servants should be at the center of any change process within public organizations.

Another important thing to note is that the process of managing change can sometimes be complex and requires the active involvement of strong leaders within organizations. Leaders have the responsibility of analyzing and interpreting a myriad of issues that they encounter on daily basis. They have to understand the kind of change needed as well as implications of change for the organization. Most importantly, they must lead change and prepare people for change. They should build effective teams, encourage innovation, reward success and accept the fact that change is a process and not an event. A situation where leaders do not have a proper understanding of the reform and are not passionate about it is worrisome as they are likely to face difficulties trying to convince their subordinates to embrace change. As Washington & Hacker (2005) point out, "While they might not sabotage the change effort, it would be hard to understand how they would be "leading the charge" of the new change" (p 409).

5.2 **Recommendations**

Since the majority of the respondents indicated that the assessment criteria is not as objective as they would like it to be, it is important for leaders and their subordinates to strive for the design and implementation of an assessment criteria that is embraced by every member of staff. It is crucial to develop a consensus on the manner in which their performance is assessed as well as the kind of remedial action that can be taken when things do not go according to plan. As Schein (1992) states,

how an organization decides to measure its own activities and accomplishments – the criteria it uses and the information system it develops to measure itself – become central elements of its culture as consensus develops around these issues. If consensus fails to develop and strong subcultures form around different assumptions, the organization will find itself in serious conflict that can potentially undermine its ability to cope with its external environment (p 65).

By the same token, it is imperative that a good working relationship between the leaders and their subordinates be developed and sustained through improving hierarchical communication as it entails communication in which the former communicates information on "job instructions, job rationale, organizational procedures and practices, feedback about performance, and indoctrination of goals" whereas the latter communicates information "about themselves, co-workers and their problems, organizational practices and policies, and what needs to be done and how to do it" (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2004, p 540).

Failure by senior management to make a concerted effort of taking all the officers on board will perpetuate the current problem of some officers failing to appreciate PMS and desisting from seeing it as something that is meant only for the Permanent and Pensionable staff. It is of paramount importance that senior management appreciates the fact that if there is free flow of information and constant feedback, everyone within the department will benefit in the same way as having one person with a burning candle lighting the candles of other people. All people with candles will have light and the person who lit their candles does not and will not lose anything in the process. Instead, everyone gets empowered.

In view of the negative attitudes that some officers have towards PMS, there is need for senior management to change their culture of hierarchy premised on the desire to impose things on their subordinates. Changing the leadership style can assist officers to change their mindset and appreciate the benefits that can be derived from PMS. One of the characteristics of a good leader within an organization is to ensure that people buy into the new things that are introduced. Hence, it is important for them to ensure that all officers have a common language and understanding about the reform in line with the observation made by Schein (1992). According to Schein (1992), if different members of an organization have different attitudes and views about how things should be done, then misunderstandings and antagonisms will ensue. Hence, it is imperative that all officers must speak the same language and should be on the same wavelength if PMS is to be embraced by all officers and if productivity is to be improved, not only within the four departments but throughout the public service.

5.3 Issues for further research

In view of the fact that the study sample was mainly drawn from four departments in two ministries, a similar study can be undertaken using a bigger sample in which other stakeholders such Office of the President, Directorate of Public Service Management and local authorities are included. Inclusion of Office of the President and Directorate of Public Service Management in the study can shed light on the views and attitudes of officers who are responsible for seeing to it that PMS is implemented without fail. A study focusing on the manner in which the disciplined forces such as Botswana Police, Botswana Prisons Service and Botswana Defence Force utilize PMS tools can also be undertaken with a view to finding out how officers in these organizations deal with the orders that they receive from their superiors that they cannot question.

Despite the fact that all the interviewees and the leaders of all the selected departments admitted that there is no formal way of socializing new members save to introduce them to other members of staff in their offices or at the weekly prayer meetings, the exact impact of not having a proper orientation for new members could not be established by this study. A study can therefore be undertaken to assess the impact that the absence of a formal socialization process has on the ability of new members to assimilate and embrace productivity improvement initiatives.

By the same token, this study also revealed that informal organizations that function with formal organizations have not been given the attention that they deserve. A study to examine the extent to which informal organizations affect formal organizations in public entities in Botswana must therefore be undertaken.

Despite the fact that all the four departments selected have Annual Performance Plans, Strategic Plans as well as clearly written vision and mission statements, the study could not establish the impact of having all the aforementioned things on the performance of departments. This is because the main objectives of this study was to understand the relationship between organizational culture and PMS as well as identifying factors that facilitate and hinder the implementation of PMS rather than to establish if performance has improved as a result of the presence of all the things mentioned above. Hence, a study can be undertaken with a view to assessing the impact of having the aforementioned things on the performance of departments.

5.4 Conclusion

The first objective of this study was to understand the relationship between organizational culture and PMS. The second objective was to assess factors that facilitate and hinder the implementation of PMS with a view to understanding how change is managed within the selected departments. In view of the study methodology used and the findings presented in Chapter Four, the aforementioned objectives have been achieved.

It is evident from the findings that the manner in which public servants have been performing their duties and responsibilities has been changed by the introduction of PMS. As the majority of respondents revealed, PMS enables them to plan their work systematically and places them in a better position to monitor their performance. They are now alive to their performance and a culture of accountability has been inculcated.

Even though the reform enables the majority of public servants to plan and execute their responsibilities in a systematic way, it has also been shown that organizational culture affects the implementation of PMS in a negative way. This is evidenced by the fact that some of the leaders still embrace the rigid and bureaucratic style of management where a boss-junior relationship exists. Lack of proper understanding of the principles undergirding PMS by some leaders and their subordinates compounds the situation.

Factors that support the implementation of PMS have been identified and discussed with a view to indicating how change is managed inside four government departments. The most important ones are that the reform is leader-driven and that resources have been made available to train and equip public servants. On the negative side, lack of understanding of PMS tools, exclusion of some groups from the training program, unfulfilled promises under PBRS and the use of PMS to threaten officers have been identified as some of the factors that impede the implementation of PMS.

It is against this background that this study has laid a foundation for academics and practitioners to assess and have a better understanding of some of the important aspects of organizations that are usually taken for granted. It will go a long way in sensitizing senior government officials about the importance of paying attention to the

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concepts of organizational culture and change management given the fact that if they have a proper understanding of the same, then they will understand why officers within their departments and ministries behave and act the way they do. The study departs from the common strategy of analyzing and evaluating new management interventions as it draws the attention of senior government officials to hidden and complex things that shape and influence the behavior and thinking of people within government departments.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview questions for all public servants

- 1. What is the mandate of this department?
- 2. What values does this department espouse?
- 3. How do people exercise power within this department?
- 4. How are new members socialized in this department?
- 5. What message is conveyed by the posters or decorations that you have on the wall?
- 6. What are some of the behavioral norms of this department that an outsider or a newcomer would quickly notice?
- 7. How do the leaders of this department reinforce or discourage these norms?
- 8. When was PMS implemented in this department?
- 9. What was your role in the implementation of PMS?
- 10. When you started implementing PMS, what did you gain and what did you lose?
- 11. What factors support and impede the implementation of PMS?
- 12. Tell me a story about using balanced scorecards

13. What changes do you think should be made to facilitate smooth implementation of PMS?

APPENDIX B

Interview questions for senior management

- 1. What is the mandate of this department/ministry?
- 2. What values do you espouse in this department/ministry?
- 3. What are the main rules that everyone has to follow in this department/ministry?
- 4. How do people exercise power in this department/ministry?
- 5. How do you socialize new members in this department/ministry?
- 6. What behavioral norms would you say an outsider or a newcomer can quickly notice?
- 7. How do you reinforce or discourage these norms?
- 8. When was PMS implemented in this department/ministry?
- 9. What role did you play in the formulation and implementation of PMS?
- 10. To what extent were the middle and junior officers involved at the formulation and implementation stages?
- 11. What do you gain and lose by implementing PMS?
- 12. What factors support and impede the implementation of PMS?
- 13. Has PMS changed the mission and vision of your department/ministry?

- 14. In what ways would you say PMS has facilitated or hindered people's understanding of the mission and vision of your department/ministry?
- 15. How can productivity within your department/ministry be improved?