Performance appraisal in Uganda's civil service: Does administrative culture matter?

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bergen, in partial fulfillment of the degree Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to you,
my dear wife FAUSTINE NAKAZIBWE,
for your love and support,
for putting your own ambitions on hold,
for accepting my doctoral studies as your 'co-wife'
Faustine, thank you!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study explores administrative culture and examines its impact on the reform of performance appraisal in Uganda's civil service, an area which has received little attention from researchers. It reveals that Uganda's bureaucracy is characterized by large power distance, strong uncertainty avoidance, high ethnicity and political neutrality. Evidence for this study gathered from 147 questionnaires, 29 interviews and various documents for eight months indicates that these cultural variables influence the introduction of performance appraisal by sabotaging its actual conduct and undermining its institutionalization. The study supports the use of power distance and uncertainty avoidance by various scholars to analyze the linkage between administrative culture and instruments of management. The additional dimensions of political (neutrality) biasness and ethnicity pursued by this study are a highly relevant addition to the literature on administrative culture, and the linkage between administrative culture and instruments of management.

Findings further indicate that administrative culture in Uganda's bureaucracy is quite unified and integrated. Background variables such as age, type of education, duration of service, studying abroad, birthplace and gender have limited or no influence on administrative culture. It is only the level of education which has a strong negative correlation, i.e. higher levels of education is associated with low power distance, low uncertainty avoidance, low political neutrality, and low ethnicity.

The thesis argues that for the successful introduction of performance appraisals, culture matters because the performance appraisal is imposed from abroad and requires a compatible host administrative culture in order to take root. In this case, the host administrative culture was not compatible in many respects with the values underlying the appraisal reforms. Although the Ugandan government successfully introduced the appraisal reforms, the incompatibility between the values embedded in the appraisal and the host administrative culture watered down the reform.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARC	Administrative Review Commission
ARS	Administrative Reform Secretariat
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DFID	Department for International Development – United Kingdom
EFMP	Economic and Financial Management Project
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFMS	Integrated Financial Management System
IDA	International Development Assistance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MBO	Management By Objectives
MOFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MOJCA	Ministry of Justice and Constitution Affairs
MOLG	Ministry of Local Government
MOPS	Ministry of Public Service
MOWHUD	Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NPM	New Public Management
NRM	National Resistance Movement
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
PA	Performance Appraisal
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PS	Permanent Secretary
PSPRS	Public Service Pay Reform Strategy
PSRP	Public Service Review Programme
PSRRC	Public Service Review and Reorganization Commission
PSRSF	Public Service Reform Strategic Framework
PSSRC	Public Service Salaries Review Commission
ROM	Result Oriented Management
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Agreeable, Realistic and Time bound
TIMB	The Implementation and Monitoring Board
UACE	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education
UNCST	Uganda National Council of Science and Technology
UNDP	United Nation's Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

In the last two decades there has been a spate of reforms for the public sector which have been designed alongside market oriented mechanisms. These reforms have revolutionized performance measurement on a global scale, and involve a growing interest in 'new' performance tools, techniques and approaches. Of special interest for this present study, *New Public Management* (NPM) has promoted the use of result-oriented performance appraisals. For a long time these were seen as an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon because the early reformers were from Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia and to some extent the USA. However, during the 1980s and the 1990s a number of these reforms were carried out almost all over the world (Sahlin-Andersen 2005).

It has long been recognized that performance appraisals play an important role in organizations and serve a variety of purposes. For instance, they provide the basis for making selection and promotion decisions, determining salary increases, and they are a vehicle for feedback between supervisors and employees. Until recently most research has been directed toward establishing methods for improving the psychometric properties of performance ratings (Johnston et al. 2002; Mount 1984). Although a few studies concerning performance appraisals and culture have been published (György 2004; McCourt and Foon 2007), research on culture and performance appraisals is generally thin and more studies are required in order to understand them (Murphy and Cleveland 1995).

In this thesis I argue that *for the successful introduction of performance appraisals, culture matters*. This is because institutions or systems imposed from the centre *or abroad* – even democratic ones – do not take root by themselves. They need soil in which to grow. Cultural values and norms that are compatible with performance appraisal may suggest the sort of soil that is needed (Baldersheim et al. 2001:52). My study analyses the relationship between administrative culture and the introduction of performance appraisal

reforms in the Ugandan civil service. It seeks to explore the extent to which performance appraisal reforms are introduced and institutionalized in terms of their acceptance and/or rejection by the civil service. My research focuses on the relationship between administrative culture and the performance appraisal, an area which has received little attention from researchers. The discussion in this thesis is based upon an analysis of the introduction of performance appraisal in the Ugandan bureaucracy and on how the actual appraisals are conducted.

The study is based on 176 interviews conducted in Kampala, Uganda over a period of eight months, (February to August 2007, and June to July, 2008). The study uses 147 structured interviews for quantitative data and 29 qualitative interviews. Most interviewees were civil servants from four central government ministries: a) Public Service, b) Local Government, c) Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and c) Finance, Planning and Economic Development. Due to time limitations I purposely chose four out of the twenty four ministries. These ministries represent the civil service and at the same time each of them is particularly relevant for this study. First, the Ministry of Public Service is responsible for implementing the performance appraisal reforms in all government ministries. Second, the Ministry of Finance funds the appraisal reforms. Third, the Ministry of Local Government is responsible for making sure the local government offices carry out the reform at the local level. Fourth, the Ministry of Justice designs procedures and rules for the successful implementation of the performance appraisal. I am more interested in the similarities than in the variations between these four ministries because my work focuses on aggregated behavioural patterns and shared cultural characteristics amongst the bureaucrats. To this end, the study also gathers secondary data from various official documents and other sources.

Scholars have hailed Uganda as a success story in the implementation of some NPM reforms (Katorobo 1999; Therkildsen 2000), but many more have argued that apart from decentralization, the country has failed to implement any other administrative reforms (Polidano 1999; Wescott 1999). Gerald Caiden (1991) attributes this failure to inherent bureaucratic resistance to change, while Latham and Wexley argue that appraisal systems are like seatbelts: we know we should use them, but often we do not want to do so (Latham and Wexley 1981).

Given that most reform measures have not had the results reformers have hoped for, what possible explanations are there for the undesirable and unintended consequences? Although explanations can range from lack of resources to political conditions (Meter and Horn 1975), some studies on performance appraisal (e.g., on policy transfer in Malaysia) indicate that successful transfer requires an understanding of cultural factors (McCourt and Foon 2007). More interestingly, it has been argued that 'the state-of-the-art human resource management practices need to be modified or their mode of implementation adopted to 'fit' the cultural values and beliefs of developing countries' (Mendonca and Kanungo 1996:68).

1.1 Statement of the problem

Uganda's government has had an ongoing Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) since 1992. Considerable progress has been made and the successful Uganda experience is virtually unparalleled in sub-Saharan Africa (Tidemand and Ssewankambo 2008). The strategic framework of the PSRP (2005 – 2010) concludes that public services have changed for the better, but what remains is to keep up the momentum of the reform (MOPS 2006b). Despite self-congratulation, this reform process needs to be analyzed more critically, especially given the dismal success of the performance appraisal system.

Scholars point out that reforms in Uganda throughout the ministries have gone into a state of dormancy. Graham Harrison (2001) argues that the Ugandan reform process started off with an explosive and effective beginning but then tailed off. This indicates that the reform process has not been a complete success as hailed by the ministry documents. My study, which examines the performance appraisal reforms put in place in July 2002 and phased out in July 2007, looks closely at administrative culture and its impact on performance appraisal. Information obtained from the Ministry of Public Service's result oriented management (ROM) implementation-evaluation report for the year 2005/6, notes that performance appraisal systems are still low, at the level of about 30%[1] (MOPS 2006a; 2006b:30). By any record of performance, 30% may not be claimed to be a success.

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[1] According to the ministry of public service, out of 100%, the implementation of the performance appraisal scored 30% in an evaluation exercise.

It has been argued that although the performance appraisal system under review is far better than the one it replaced, it is still wanting in many respects. In fact, the ministry has even gone ahead and replaced it (see chapter five, section 5.7.5, for a comparison between the two performance appraisal instruments). If the performance appraisal was a success, it would have not been necessary to model another staff performance appraisal (MOPS 2006b:30). It may have fallen short of expectations. Otherwise why did the public service consider a new performance appraisal system in the short spell of time between 2002 and 2007? Furthermore, the head of public service and secretary to the cabinet has noted that one of the challenges of this performance appraisal system is a lack of responsiveness amongst some civil servants (Mitala 2006). This also indicates that this particular performance appraisal system may not have functioned properly.

Additionally, an independent review of the PSRP reveals that it is *still* not meeting expectations: 'When the new appraisal was introduced, the relevant parties did not prepare annual performance plans for individual staff, which is the basis for conducting a results oriented performance appraisal exercise…' Moreover, there are still inadequate incentives for filling in the performance appraisal forms in a timely manner: 'The results of the performance appraisal are not immediately analyzed and used to inform individual, department and organization-wide development and capacity building planning and budgeting processes. Performance appraisal exercises are often conducted ex-post, when staff are to be confirmed or promoted'(Tidemand and Ssewankambo 2008). It may therefore be argued that the appraisal system leaves a lot to be desired and has not met its intended expectations.

Even with the studies cited above, a fundamental question remains unanswered: Is the kind of appraisal tool used in more developed countries suitable for a developing country like Uganda? A review of Uganda's PSRP so far indicates that the performance appraisal as a reform measure has not had the desired outcome. Is this because the performance appraisal is embedded in the Western context where there are well established bureaucracies, rule of law, and a supportive administrative culture? Is it possible that the implementation failure is a result of different kinds of cultural constraints and cultural conflict between the ideas behind the performance appraisal and core values in Uganda's administrative culture?

Empirical studies of organizational culture have mostly dealt with industrial firms or business corporations, but the same questions can obviously be asked about the civil service. Though the Ugandan bureaucracy has been studied from various angles (Crown-Agents 2001; Katorobo 1999; Langesth 1996; Mugaju 1996a; Olum 2004; Van de Walle 2001), the research usually does not seek to reveal the existence and nature of administrative culture or its importance in relation to performance appraisal.

The bureaucracy cannot be fully analyzed without underscoring the values, beliefs, norms, and attitudes that move it. Jamil (1995) contends that social relations and cultural biases are reciprocal, and that when people adhere to certain patterns in their social relationships, this generates distinctive ways of looking at the world. In order to understand how bureaucrats respond to performance appraisal reforms, it is imperative to explore not only whether they are enthusiastic or reluctant to implement the reforms, but also why they respond the way they do. What is the impact of the civil servants' cultural background when new policies are introduced? From a cultural perspective, it could be interesting to find out which underlying norms and values are inspiring the bureaucrats.

If the performance appraisal is not closely related to or compatible with the implementers' cultural values and disposition, it may have difficulty taking root or becoming institutionalized. The disposition of implementers – their cognitive maps, incentives, the resources available to them and the key policy provisions – is one of the key factors that may facilitate or hamper effective implementation of public policies and must be researched more thoroughly (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975). Bureaucrats' cognitive maps are thus of interest for this present study because they refer to the mental models, belief systems, values and norms that can be used to perceive and contextualize the performance appraisal reforms.

This study addresses how performance appraisal is received in the Ugandan bureaucracy. It also seeks to understand how and why such appraisal fails or succeeds by analyzing how it is affected by the local culture. To this end we need to examine how some of the basic features of administrative culture influence the performance appraisal reforms. Specifically, I investigate the following interrelated concerns: a) performance appraisal reforms introduced in Ugandan public administration, b) the extent to which the performance appraisal is entrenched in the civil service, c) the administrative culture of

the civil service, and d) administrative cultural responses to performance appraisal reform with respect to the extent and level of compatibility.

1.2 Objectives of the study

My main objective is to analyze the impact of culture on performance appraisal reforms in the Ugandan bureaucracy. Specific objectives include:

- To analyze the state of performance appraisal introduction in the Ugandan civil service.
- To identify and examine administrative culture in Uganda's bureaucracy and draw a relationship between Ugandan societal and administrative culture.
- To analyze how administrative culture affects performance appraisal in the civil service.

1.3 Research questions

My study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. *What is the nature of performance appraisal reforms[2] introduced in the Ugandan civil service? To what extent is this performance appraisal entrenched in the Ugandan public service?* These questions are based on the presupposition that performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service is based on instrumentalism; it is assumed that if there are resources, a formal structure, clear goals and rules, then the appraisal's implementation should succeed. Because the appraisal has had little success, we need to understand its form and substance. We need to know the subject of the investigation, i.e., the dependent variable.

2. *What are the basic features of administrative culture of Ugandan civil service?* This study explores the dominant characteristics of Ugandan administrative culture. It examines how this culture has developed and its possible relationship with societal culture. It also analyses how civil servants' perceptions are influenced and rooted in the wider societal culture.

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[2] In this study, the focus will be on the result-oriented performance appraisal as a case of NPM inspired reforms. It is on the basis of findings pertaining to the performance appraisal that analytical generalizations will be inferred with respect to NPM as a whole.

3. *Is the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service receptive or resistant to the performance appraisal, and how? Which cultural values in the bureaucracy are more resistant to appraisal reforms, and why?* This third set of questions concerns the relationship between administrative culture and performance appraisal. It investigates how culture affects the introduction of performance appraisal and unravels which cultural norms in the host administrative culture may be conducive for introducing such reforms. The model for the research could be conceived as in Figure 1.1

Figure 1.1 Influence of administrative culture on appraisal in Uganda

Administrative culture ➡ Introduction of performance appraisal (success or failure)

1.4 Rationale

The rationale of this study is to contribute to understanding administrative culture in Uganda and its impact on performance appraisal systems. I hope the study will elevate the understanding of bureaucracy and be useful for improving policy formulation and analysis in the country. Such insight would be instrumental for Uganda, other bureaucracies in the South, and for any comparative studies between the North and the South. Although empirical works focusing on administrative culture are plentiful, they do not explain NPM inspired reforms like the performance appraisal. Worse still, although there are studies on the interconnections between NPM reforms and culture, the subject remains 'a largely unexplored field' (György 2004). This study is an attempt to explore and map out part of that very field. The study is theoretically significant because it shows the extent to which a bureaucracy, creates and sustains its administrative culture. Moreover, it reveals how the bureaucracy influences or succumbs to its environment. But most importantly, this study shows how administrative culture impacts the transferability of performance appraisal reforms *from* the international arena *to* a developing county. By using evidence from the Ugandan civil service, my work differs substantially from other studies on the Ugandan civil service that refer to culture as a hindrance to reforms but do not clarify the nature of that hindrance. Although some works do address cultural influences on managers' decision-making in sub Saharan Africa (Munene et al. 2000),

this empirical study is more specifically focused and attempts to map out the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service. As such, it contributes new understanding on how NPM inspired reforms such as the performance appraisal might be adapted to benefit developing nations.

Linking performance appraisal with administrative culture is important because researchers have proposed that managerial practices can be analysed by using culture as an independent variable (Aycan 2005), and performance appraisals provide an excellent opportunity to examine the possible effects of culture upon administrative practice; (Vallance 1999:78). This is because appraisals provide prospects to study interpersonal relationships and behaviour at the work place. They also take time to become established and institutionalized, unlike administrative practices such as reduction in staff, which can be almost instantaneous. Meanwhile, to what extent are performance appraisal reforms designed in the West suitable for implementation in countries with different cultures? This question is raised in the wake of globalization and administrative reforms sponsored by Bretton Woods institutions. In addition to the problem of cultural unsuitability, other reasons why such reforms fail have also been researched and identified; these include lacking resources, poor coordination, weak human capacity, the way reforms are structured and the characteristics of implementing agencies. Despite this, relatively little research has been done on the relationship between performance appraisals and administrative culture in Uganda.

Lastly, this study might help us to understand why reforms aimed at changing norms and values fail. In other words, why institutionalized 'norms and values' are so difficult to change. The saying that *it is easier to learn than unlearn* may well apply to the public administration arena because it presupposes that employees will tend to respond negatively to a human resource activity that does not fit the dominant culture, but will respond positively to an activity that fits well with the national culture (Aycan 2005).

1.5 The need for cultural explanations
1.5.1 What is culture?
Culture is a phenomenon that encompasses people's behaviour patterns, solutions to problems, moral values, ethnic consciousness, attitudes and traditions. In this study the assumption is that although the civil service values stability, integrity, accountability,

standardization, and meritocracy (Caiden and Sundaram 2004), the way bureaucrats operate or relate may be shaped and conditioned by culture (Jamil 2002). Yet within political science and public administration, studies exploring the influence of culture on performance appraisal reforms have been much less common, given that researchers tend to think cultural analysis falls mainly under sociology and anthropology rather than their own professional field. After the seminal work by Almond and Verba (1960) on political culture across countries, the issue of culture became popular among students of political science. This research interest increased further after Hofstede's analyses (Hofstede 2001) of organisational culture across 50 countries. Culture as a variable may be utilized to explain a number of public administration and political issues, especially reforms aimed at administrative change.

Culture as a concept is both complex and elusive. Scholars have made many attempts to define it. There are over 200 definitions of culture, some of which include social class difference, minorities, social groups, nationalities and geographical units (Dodd 1998: 36). Certain scholars have even argued that culture has come to mean everything and nothing (Diagne and Ossebi 1996). A definition from UNESCO well illustrates this point:

> Culture is a …set of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or a social group. Other than arts and the humanities, it covers modes of life, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions and beliefs (UNESCO 1982).

This and related definitions have been dismissed as incapable of allowing systematic conceptualization, so researchers who maintain this view favour an approach that provides concrete variables (Gilbert 1989; Segall 1984). Meanwhile, Jahoda (1984) and others contend that the 'concrete variable approach' is problematic because of 'the sheer number of potentially relevant variables and the absence of a theory for understanding their interrelations, organizing them, and choosing among them' (Munene et al. 2005: 44).

Other definitions, including Douglas', hold that 'culture consists of internally consistent patterns of affirmations, restrictions, and permissions that guide people to behave in sanctioned ways, and that enable people to judge others and justify themselves to others'

(Weick 1985: 382). For his part, Keesing notes that 'culture consists of a person's theory of what his fellows know, believe, and mean, a theory of what code they are following. It is this theory to which the actor refers when interpreting the unfamiliar and creating sensible events' (Weick 1985: 382).

According to Tayeb (1988:42), 'Culture is a set of historically evolved learned values, attitudes and meanings shared by members of a given society.' While Hofstede (1997) refers to culture as the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of the people from another, Fays (2003) considers it 'a complex set of shared beliefs, values and concepts which enable a group to make sense of its life and provides it with directions on how to live.' He posits that in order to understand human behaviour, we must pay particular attention to the inner logic that orders the various elements constituting the social system as a whole.

Therefore, culture could mean shared views, perceptions, beliefs, values, and practices that characterize a given society. Taken a step further, culture provides the tools and environment for learning how to function in society (Geertz 1975; Vygotsky 1978), the how and the why, (Hofstede 1997). People reproduce their culture as they learn how to function, and transform their culture as they learn why they should function in particular ways.

Culture as an area of study is vast and extensive. However, what is significant about most of the above definitions is that they see culture as: a) holistic, referring to a whole as more than the sum of its parts, b) historically determined, reflecting the history of the organization, c) involving symbols and rituals, d) socially constructed, created and preserved by the group of people who together form the organization, and e) difficult to change (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005: 282; Christensen et al. 2007). Many studies of culture have been conducted in order to come up with clear variables or 'cultural value dimensions'. Some of the major studies here are (Hofstede 1997; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005; Schwartz 1994; Schwartz and Ros 1995; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007).

In this thesis culture is perceived as *values and norms that influence relationships within a society or an organization and how these values influence the way the individuals behave and act*. These values provide a frame of mind or starting point from which to act and make decisions in ways that are considered appropriate, legitimate and acceptable. The values shape collective perception and the frame of mind influences a person to act, behave, and relate to others in a particular way. For example, a person in a 'more hierarchic' culture will relate to subordinates in a particular way, e.g., expect them to address him with his full title, whereas in a culture where 'more egalitarian' norms prevail, subordinates are free to refer to their boss by name.

1.5.2 So what is administrative culture?

Many definitions of *administrative culture* have been elaborated before: Keith Henderson sees it as 'the general characteristics of public officials, i.e., shared values, attitudes and beliefs' (Henderson 2005:41). Zhuplev and Shein believe administrative culture manifests itself in behavioural norms, adopted and adhered to by participants of the governance process at the macro and micro level (Zhuplev and Shein 2005:109). James Wilson defines it as a persistent way of thinking about the central tasks of an organization and the human relationships within it (Wilson 1989:110). Anechiarico explains it as a transmissible pattern of beliefs, values and behaviour in a public service organization that concern the organization's role and relationship to the public (Luvuno 2005:210). It has also been described as the interpretative profile of the significant underlying structure, which includes practices, shared views, and value systems amongst functionaries; it is embedded in the way societies address and interpret their problems and includes the collective reflection and sharing of historical memories, myths and symbols, as well as past cleavages (Nef 2005:232).

Thus my working definition will be a modification of the one by Keith Henderson mentioned above, i.e., *administrative culture is the shared values, beliefs, norms, traditions and practices of public officials*. According to Dwivedi, in order to understand the administrative culture of any bureaucracy we must realize that a) the government administration is larger and more complex than any particular organization; it is composed of many organizations, departments and agencies, and b) policies are implemented through the state apparatus and the entire society is affected in many ways by the attending administrative culture. Moreover, administrative culture is more

influenced by political culture than the wider societal culture because its political values modulate the behaviour of state employees (Dwivedi 2005:22).

Dwivedi proposes three approaches to the study of administrative culture. First is the deontological approach, which focuses on the ethical and moral obligations of the administrator and the organization he or she represents. Second, there is the teleological approach, which asserts that processes and procedures in government administration ought to be determined by their ultimate purpose. Third is the spiritual approach; it assumes that there are correct ways of doing things and that there are standards and rules to which all must adhere (Dwivedi 2005:25 - 29).

Dwivedi emphasizes the importance of looking at administrative culture from all three approaches because no nation or society, 'irrespective of its political and religious orientation, can survive in a spiritual and moral vacuum' furthermore, '…there must be articles of faith that govern our lives and that these should be encouraged, reinforced, resurrected, and strengthened because good governance is essentially a moral enterprise' (Dwivedi 2005). It is better, he concludes, to have a holistic view by employing all the views, but it may be a hard task to venture into the spiritual realm. My study does not aim to present a holistic view or a desirable administrative culture, but to map the existing administrative culture and study its influence on NPM reforms such as the performance appraisal.

We are thus confronted with a question: Is the Uganda administrative culture different from that of other countries? Gerald Caiden (2007) provides us with the most effective answer to this question: He posits that the abundance of public organizations suggests a richness of diversity in operations, but that culture behaves in much the same way, irrespective of circumstances. There are identifiable cultural differences which cannot be discounted, Caiden admits, but as accountability, transparency and effectiveness become more significant, differences attributable to culture fade. In my thesis I argue differently from Gerald Caiden; I argue that the way accountability, transparency, and effectiveness are conceptualized, socialized, internalized and practiced, depends to a large extent on administrative culture.

So where does Uganda's administrative culture stand? Clearly, it is still evolving and reflects a combination of traditional societal values as well as modern values emanating from colonialism, reforms based on Western norms and now on globalization and NPM. Nevertheless, traditional values such as patrimonialism, expediency, corruption, ethnic bias and nepotism are still prominent (Mamdani 1983; Mubangizi 2008; Mugaju 1996a; Mwenda and Tangri 2005; Okuku 2002).

1.5.3 Culture and the functioning of society

Although there could be many ways to discern how culture influences behaviour, one traditional method has been the use of value systems to understand human behaviour and practices. Culture manifests itself through symbols, heroes, rituals, and values. Values, which are feelings with a negative and positive side, are at the core of cultures. These values affect our behaviour and decision making processes at all stages. Due to their 'plus or minus' side, they deal with evil versus good, dirty versus clean, dangerous versus safe, forbidden versus permitted, decent versus indecent, moral versus immoral, ugly versus beautiful, unnatural versus natural, abnormal versus normal, paradoxical versus logical, and irrational versus rational (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:1-8).

Values are enduring beliefs about a specific mode of conduct being personally or socially preferable. A *value system* is an enduring structure of beliefs about preferable modes of conduct. The beliefs run along a continuum of relative importance. We can think of values as standards that guide ongoing activities, and of value systems as general plans employed to resolve conflict. According to Rokeach, values give expression to human needs. He also proposes that a) values motivate behaviour, b) they function in relation to existential conditions, c) and change when conditions change, though, d) they change slowly (Rokeach 1973).

Values may apply at the macro and micro level, individual and community level, they could be instrumental or goals unto themselves, closed or open, democratic or undemocratic, receptive or resistant. Cultural values usually lend legitimacy to the actions of a collective. With respect to organizations, they undergird rules, decisions about who is allowed to participate and nature of decision making processes. This in turn affects how organizations function and are justified by both the leaders and the led (Schwartz 1994).

According to Caiden, administration is a cultural product, a social subsystem reflecting the values of the wider society. With respect to administrative reform, he therefore advises that 'successful reforms need to be preceded or accompanied by changes in the common culture and values that permit the accommodation and assimilation of reform' (Caiden 2007:11).

1.5.4 Norms in the civil service

Norms are generally accepted, sanctioned prescriptions for or against the behaviour, beliefs or feelings of others, i.e., what others *ought* to do, believe and feel – *or else* incur some negative consequence. Norms are prescriptions that have both subjects and objects, they are collectively held, always include sanctions, and are an integral part of an organization's culture (Morris 1956a). Usually, norms refer to the rules that a group or organization uses to determine values, beliefs and attitudes that are acceptable amongst members. They are reached through consensus and socialization, and function as social controls and avenues for accountability. For example, one norm in the Ugandan bureaucracy may be to *not only* respect one's superiors, but also show them loyalty as individuals, in a way that exceeds one's official capacity. Thus a chauffeur may find it difficult to stop doing private errands for his boss, even though official rules and regulations are on his side. If he does stop running errands, it may give his workmates the impression that he suffers from a dangerous blend of arrogance and ignorance – inappropriate behaviour indeed. Such an impression is probably not in the interest of this particular subordinate employee. Such a dilemma as this could indicate that the members of a bureaucracy find that breaking norms yields punishment and sanctions. In sum, bureaucrats' norms may include formal and informal social norms.

a) Formal rules

Many rules and procedures govern bureaucracy. They also determine the status of the members of bureaucracy by identifying their roles, responsibilities and seniority. These formal norms are mainly manifested in standards, operating procedures, rules and regulations. Such rules are usually universal in nature in that they apply to everyone in the bureaucracy. It is more probable that policies which seem to undermine the existing norms will be resisted, than those policies that seem to reinforce the status quo.

b) Informal norms

In order for a bureaucracy to function well, it must have informal social norms that influence its character. These informal social norms could be aptly referred to as normative expectations, for they relate to the different aspects of bureaucratic behaviour, e.g., exemplary behaviour in such areas as sexual relations between workmates and financial comportment. But how do informal norms specifically relate to our study object, performance appraisals? Usually a performance appraisal requires that the assessor evaluates an employee's core competencies. Here what matters are attitudes about the employee's integrity, initiative and how well he or she gets along with colleagues and can function as a team member. One might presuppose that practicing the informal norms considered acceptable to the organization's members will most likely increase an employee's chances of being rated positively during the performance appraisal exercise, but it is worth examining the readiness to criticize or sanction colleagues' infringement of such norms. These norms could be related to interpersonal relations or task performance.

Norms related to group membership require that members behave correctly. These norms are shared, and if all members in an organization share norms, organizational culture will be consistent (Jamil 1994:278). In most cases, one key expectation is that members of a bureaucracy exercise group solidarity. This is because a key intention behind the norms is that they should benefit civil servants as a group, and not harm them in any way. Bureaucrats are expected to exercise fair play, they should not take advantage of opportunities for positive self-presentation or seek publicity at the expense of colleagues (Mayntz 1992; Morris 1956b).

Informal social formations still dominate the African continent and have been institutionalized to the point where they tend to dominate the way formal institutions operate (Hyden 2006). One of the ways this manifests itself is in the recruitment of certain personnel. In Uganda there is a saying that 'technical know *who'* is better than 'technical know how', meaning that in order to obtain a job or a promotion, it matters who you know more than what you know. This has been illustrated by the common Luganda[3] phrase *mwana waani* – loosely translated 'whose child', implying that one

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[3] Luganda is one of the 56 indigenous languages in Uganda. It is widely spoken in central Uganda where the capital is located, and in many other parts of the country it is the business language. Luganda is a language of the Baganda ethnic group, which comprises about 18% of the Ugandan population.

must be from a known family to get attention and consideration from civil servants. Such a system may explain why reforms almost always tend to fall short of expectations. Administrative culture is dynamic due to many factors, and is nurtured by all members of the organization. It is changed and managed through human effort wherever and whenever it suits the desired dispensation (Jamil 1994: 278).

1.6 Major studies on culture and this study in relation to them

In this section I present some important studies on culture by Geert Hofstede, Shalom H. Schwartz, Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner, and Edgar Schein. My purpose for doing this is to position my own study in relation to these scholars and show how and in what respects my study resembles but also differs from theirs.

1.6.1 Geert Hofstede

One of the most popular and widely used studies is that of Gert Hofstede. He analyzed value scores of employees at International Business Machines (IBM) between 1967 and 1973. This study covers more than 70 countries. He published the first book in 1980 titled *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*, on the 40 largest countries. In 1991, he published the second book titled *Cultures and Organisations: Software of the Mind,* which extended the analysis to 50 countries and three regions.

Hofstede's methodology is quantitative. He culled primary data from a pre-existing bank of IBM employee value surveys, and chose some of the survey questions he considered relevant to understand the respondents' values. He statistically analyzed the answers to these survey questions. That analysis coupled with additional data and theoretical reasoning led to his bi-polar dimensions of national cultures. In this case, culture was used as an independent variable (McSweeney 2002b, 2002a; Hofstede 1980).

Hofstede has a five fold typology: power distance, individualism/collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity/femininity, and long term orientation. *Power distance* is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. Hofstede argues that in an organization where there is large power distance, power is centralized as much as

possible in a few hands: subordinates expect to be told what to do. 'There are a lot of supervisory personnel, structured into tall hierarchies of people reporting to each other. Salary systems show wide gaps between top and bottom in the organisation…' (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:55). Subordinates usually accept power relations that are more authoritarian and paternalistic. Alternatively, with a small power distance, inequalities among people are minimized and the less educated people hold more authoritarian values than more educated persons.

The second dimension is *individualism vs. collectivism*. Individualism pertains to a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism describes societies in which people, from birth onwards, are integrated into strong, cohesive groups. Throughout life, others in the group will protect you, but at the expense of unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005):399-401). The third dimension, *uncertainty avoidance*, concerns the extent to which members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations. This dimension may be weak or strong. For instance, bureaucracies in cultures where there is great uncertainty will tend to create formal rules and believe in their correctness in order to reduce uncertainty. The bureaucrats resist change, new policies and so forth, and worry about the future. Whereas civil servants who work in weak-uncertainty countries tend to easily accept and even welcome new policies, in countries where uncertainty-avoidance is strong, it is common to respond with apathy and resistance and to reject new policies.

Masculinity vs. femininity postulates that a masculine culture stands for a society in which emotional gender roles are distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. On the other hand, femininity stands for a society in which emotional gender roles overlap: Both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life.

Hofstede views *time* as oriented either towards the long or the short term. Long term orientation stands for the fostering of virtues with a view towards future rewards, in particular perseverance and thrift, persistence, ordering relationships and observing this order, and having a sense of shame. Short term orientation stands for the fostering of

virtues related to the past and present, in particular, respect for tradition, personal steadiness and stability, 'saving face', reciprocation of greetings and favours, and fulfilling social obligations (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:399-404).

1.6.2 Shalom H. Schwartz

The second author who has provided clear variables for studying culture is Schwarz. Like Hofstede, Schwartz' methodology is also quantitative in nature. He carried out a survey involving more than 60,000 individuals in 64 nations on all continents. The survey incorporated values of all world-religions and items from cultural-specific questionnaires (e.g., Asia, Africa) to minimize bias. The results were statistically analyzed as well. Schwarz argues that national cultures differ in the degree to which they emphasize embeddedness, intellectual autonomy, affective autonomy, hierarchy, egalitarianism, mastery and harmony. These seven orientations operate as a basis upon which his three dimensions are stated; embeddedness vs. autonomy[4], hierarchy vs. egalitarianism and mastery vs. harmony (Schwartz 1994; Schwartz and Ros 1995). Schwartz's framework is highly relevant for my study because he has done a rather detailed analysis of Uganda's culture and its effect on managers. He concludes that the Ugandan organizational culture could well be classified as having a tendency towards embeddedness, hierarchy and mastery (Munene et al. 2000).

Schwartz' *hierarchy vs. egalitarianism* value dimension bears considerable similarity to Hofstede's power distance dimension. If we look at the hierarchy vs. egalitarianism dimension, high hierarchy values support the hierarchical allocation of fixed roles and resources. They value the unequal distribution of power, roles and resources, humility, authority, and wealth. By contrast, egalitarian cultures value equality, social justice, freedom, and responsibility. They emphasize the premise that individuals are moral equals, and one should rise above personal interests. Schwartz argues that 'The pursuit of power values is likely to be more acceptable in cultures where Hierarchy and Mastery values are emphasized and the use of power and prestige to reward workers is likely to be a more effective motivator.' however, he adds, '…the pursuit of these values and their use as motivators is more likely to arouse individual or organized opposition where

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[4] Schwartz distinguishes between two forms of autonomy: intellectual autonomy will value curiosity, broadmindedness, and creativity, while affective autonomy values pleasure, an exciting life, and enjoying life.

Harmony and Egalitarianism values are important' (Schwartz 1999:43-44). This quote has profound implications for the present study, for a performance appraisal that does not reward the appraised individual with power and prestige may not succeed. It should be noted that in the Ugandan civil service, in terms of forms being filled out, the success rate of the annual confidential report used to be high. However, when this practice was replaced with the more transparent performance appraisal, the success rate declined. One possible reason is because the annual confidential report preserved the power of the person doing the appraising and hence 'fit' with a high power distance culture. The new performance appraisal not only fails because it cannot give the appraiser more power; it has no power and prestige attached to it and rewards neither the appraiser nor the person being appraised.

The *embeddedness vs. autonomy* dimension focuses on the relationship between the individual and the group. It seeks to explain the extent to which an individual behaves responsibly. Cultures that emphasize embeddedness stress the individual as meaningful in terms of being a member of closely knit groups. As such, it is prudent to avoid disrupting the status quo. This kind of culture is characterized by values such as respect for tradition, family security, propriety and self discipline. Meanwhile, cultures at the 'autonomy end' of this value dimension view individuals as unique characters who should, and do, express individuality (Munene et al. 2005). *Mastery vs. harmony* captures how cultures at the mastery end of this value dimension emphasize self-assertion. This is characterized by ambition, success, daring and competence. There is a strong desire to master and change the natural and social order so as to subject it to one's will. On the other hand, cultures that value a high level of harmony emphasize fitting harmoniously into one's environment, 'a world at peace', unity with nature and the world of beauty. Cultural values that prize a high level of harmony are closely associated with Hofstede's masculinity/femininity, and uncertainty-avoidance value dimensions.

1.6.3 Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden Turner

This research duo argues that every culture distinguishes itself through the specific solutions it chooses to overcome certain dilemmas. Dilemmas can be classified according to three categories: relations with people, relations with the passage of time, relations to nature. The authors expound upon these three categories by elucidating seven dimensions: a) universalism vs. particularism, b) individualism vs. communitarianism, c)

neutral vs. emotional, d) specific vs. diffuse, e) achieved status vs. ascribed status f) attitudes towards time, and g) attitudes towards the environment.

Universalism vs. Particularism indicates how a society applies moral and ethical rules. In a universal society, rules and contracts are developed which can apply in any situation. There is a belief that what is good or true can be discovered, defined, and applied to every situation. In a particularistic culture people look at relationships and circumstances in a specific situation to decide what is right. Particularism is based on the 'logic of the heart' and human friendship. Universalists are more commonly found in traditional Christian cultures due to religious beliefs about good and evil. Strong universalist cultures use a court system to mediate conflicts, and the more universal a country is, the greater the need to protect the truth. It is highly likely that multinational businesses operate in a more universalistic way. When universalistic business people write contracts, lawyers are always involved to assure that every detail is correctly mentioned and protected by a paragraph. If one party breaks a part of the contract, consequences are brought to bear and the counterpart can be sued. In particularistic cultures, legal contracts rely on *more* than written contracts. Actors keep their promises but it is more important to trust, rely and believe in the business relationship which was constructed in the time before the contract was settled.

Universalistic cultures normally focus more on rules than on relationships. For instance, there is a conception – true or false – that some American employees compete for better job positions and strive to climb up in the hierarchy and earn more money. They do this without caring for colleagues or being concerned about relationships. In comparison, particularistic cultures like China focus heavily on relationships. Thus, when working with people from a particularistic culture, universalists should build informal networks and create private understandings. They should also seek fairness in doing business by treating each case as a specific and unique entity.

In communitarian culture, the decision making process is usually longer because everyone concerned must agree and a consensus must be achieved. On the other hand, in *individualist societies* there is great respect for individual opinions, therefore people vote. It is also worth stressing that organizations with an individualist orientation are intended to serve owners and stakeholders; profits and ties are legal and abstract, regulated by contracts. By contrast, in communitarian cultures, an organization's growth is an end in

itself, and the whole society shares in it (everyone is a stakeholder). How does all this bear upon implementing NPM reforms? First of all, in an individualist culture, methods can be used to increase individual performance. These include pay for performance, management by objectives (MBO), individual assessment and praising those who perform well. In a communitarian culture one would need to emphasize teamwork and extol the whole group to avoid favouritism.

In affective cultures, thoughts are revealed and transparency is used to release people from tense situations. *In neutral cultures,* by contrast, people are cool and physical contact is almost taboo. This latter dimension suggests that people in neutral cultures need recognition and that there is a high propensity to stick to the matter at hand – whatever it may be. Affective cultures, by contrast, prefer people to be warm and they want to keep family members together. Individuals, not the organizations they represent, matter the most in this dispensation.

According to the *specific vs. diffuse* orientation, we can distinguish one culture from another by analyzing the extent to which relationships are specific to the job or matter at hand, or diffuse due to the multiplicity of people's lives. When we apply this dimension to a working environment, it is presumed that managers separate their professional relationships from other relationships. It is therefore expected that within the *specific* culture, relations between people are purposeful and direct, operations are transparent and individuals tend to have principles and moral standards that are most definitely learned, i.e., there is no semblance of an 'innate moral standard'. A person can act in a more ad hoc way rather than act according to a universalized standard. For this reason it is easier to deal with individuals from a *specific* cultural background by viewing them in terms of the entirety of their life-world, rather than viewing them as mere cogs in a policy implementation process. Moreover, an individual person's titles, age and background ought to be acknowledged (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007).

In the *achievement vs. ascription* orientation, status is critical. Status describes the position of individuals in their society. The fundamental issue is what someone does and is. There are big differences on how societies respect status. In achievement-oriented societies a person is considered successful by virtue of his or her job and accomplishments. Members of such a culture interact with people by relating to their

professions and roles in society. In order to have a high position in society, one must possess excellent skills, knowledge and talent.

In ascriptive cultures like what we find in China, people tend to measure the behaviour of others based on the groups into which they were born, their birth rite, gender, caste, age, interpersonal relationships and position in society. Status is usually accorded to those who are highly qualified, older, or more experienced. Senior employees are highly respected because of their length of service and titles. In achievement oriented cultures the individual must represent and make commitments to the company, whereas in the ascriptive culture this is disallowed unless you are the owner of that company or organization. In cases of dysfunctional decisions, only those high up in the authority pyramid can contest them, whereas in the achievement oriented culture, decisions can be challenged on technical and functional grounds by anyone – regardless of where an individual stands in the chain of command.

Attitudes towards time; the importance of time is dependent on a person's cultural background. Cultures handle time differently and an individual's cultural background will significantly impact his or her conception of time. Time can be perceived as linear, i.e., passing in a straight line, a sequence of disparate events, or it can be perceived as circular by combining the past, present and future (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007). Another concept is the notion of monochronic and polychronic time. Monochronic time follows the notion of 'one thing at a time' and 'time is money', while the polychronic concept focuses on multiple tasks being handled simultaneously. In this case, time is subordinate to interpersonal relations. Meanwhile, with respect to managing organizations, certain things are future-oriented, for example planning, mission statements and strategic objectives, and when motivating staff, the present is seen in light of future performance.

In their dimension *Attitudes towards environment,* Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2007) identify two views about nature; a) nature should be controlled and used, or b) go along with nature and live in harmony with the environment. Some cultures are motivated 'from within', in the sense that what affects their lives, the origins of vice and virtue and so forth, are seen as residing within each individual. Other cultures look at nature as something to be feared and emulated, since the forces of nature are more powerful than individuals. Looking at the internal control / external control distinction, one can see that

these differences are helpful in understanding policy reforms. In the case of internal control, members are compelled to act aggressively vis-à-vis the environment. Those who express their conflicts and show resistance are believed to have deep convictions. They want to be in control and feel uneasy when the environment appears uncontrollable. By contrast, those who see life as motivated externally are often flexible and willing to strike compromises. They tend to focus on *the other*, i.e., the customer or colleague (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007:155).

In sum, the above theories and paired ideas can help us understand how culture affects organizational and administrative life. The philosophy or strategy of a bureaucracy in managing human resources can be conceived in terms of where it stands in relation to the various dimensions and continuums described here.

1.6.4 Edgar Schein's dimensions of Culture

In his work, *Organisational Culture and Leadership*, Edgar Schein describes culture as a structural concept that consists of shared assumptions. He argues that these shared assumptions are in three spheres a) external adaptation, b) internal integration, c) deeper assumptions about the nature of truth, time, space, human nature and human relationships (Schein 2004:85).

Assumptions about external adaptation issues: Schein emphasizes the need to look at how assumptions arise and persist in a group or society. He argues that an organization has to develop shared assumptions about a) its mission and strategy, b) consensus on goals as derived form the mission, c) the means to attain goals, d) consensus on how to evaluate self, and e) developing consensus on the appropriate remedial or repair strategies to be used if the agreed upon goals are not achieved. In order for a group to work effectively, the group ought to achieve consensus on all the above. In essence therefore, culture reflects a group's efforts to cope and learn. Schein concludes that culture is a multidimensional, multifaceted phenomenon, not easily reduced to a few major dimensions (Schein 2004:87-110).

Assumptions about managing internal integration: Schein identifies six key integration issues for an organization. First, there is need to create a common language and conceptual categories in order for various groups to function and minimize conflict.

Second, boundaries and criteria for inclusion and exclusion in groups must be defined. This determines the change of positions in the organisation which he classifies as a) lateral movement: from one task to the next, b) vertical movement: from one rank to the next, and c) inclusion: from outsider to insider. As an organisation ages, however, it becomes more complex and individuals may belong to more than one group. Third, every group must work out how to gain and maintain power and authority. The fourth issue that concerns managing internal integration is to develop rules for how to manage norms of intimacy, friendship and love. Fifth, the groups must decide what actions should be rewarded or punished and how. Schein's sixth aspect about internal issues which must be settled is about how to explain the unexplainable; here ideology and religion may help where science and reason fail to provide an explanation. All in all, if these internal issues are not settled, the workers are insecure and cannot concentrate on their jobs, which in turn jeopardizes the organization's survival. Internal and external adaptation issues are therefore interdependent (Schein 2004:111-137).

Deeper assumptions about the nature of truth, time, space, human nature and human relationships: Under this category, I highlight six deeper dimensions around which shared basic underlying assumptions are formed. In the first one, Schein emphasizes the nature of reality and truth, whereby he says there ought to be shared assumptions on how truth is determined. Second is the nature of time; here the concern is shared assumptions on how time is defined, measured, understood and used. Third, are the assumptions on how to share space, and boundaries and definitions of intimacy/privacy. Fourth is the nature of human nature- shared assumptions on what it means to be human, and what human behaviour is. These questions also involve conceptions about human nature in terms of good and evil. Fifth is the nature of human activity, which deals with how one relates with the environment. It seeks to answer questions about what the appropriate level of activity or passivity is. The last set of shared assumptions concern to the nature of human relationships – the way love and power are distributed. Key questions here are the following: Is life cooperative or competitive; is it individualistic, group-collaborative or communal? Is authority based on traditional authority, moral consensus, law or charisma? What are the basic assumptions about how conflict should be resolved and how decisions should be made? (Schein 2004:138).

1.6.5 Revisiting the dimensions and beyond

These studies constitute sources for analysis used in my study. In order to use them to map and understand administrative culture in Uganda, the above studies are first contextualized by unravelling their manifestations in the country. Second, I develop additional dimensions of culture that are peculiar to Africa in general and Uganda in particular.

According to Mikael Søndergaard, the dimensions of Hofstede have been criticized on five main points: 1) surveys are inappropriate instruments to measure culture, 2) nations are an inappropriate unit of analysis for studying culture, 3) one company can not provide information about entire national cultures, 4) IBM data is old and obsolete, and 5) four dimensions can not tell the whole story[5]. In defence of Hofstede, however, he argues that Hofstede is right by comparing societies when studying culture. He goes on to state that context is important in the study of cultural implication of values, and that Hofstede's study took care of that by analyzing IBM data at a group level.

Søndergaard dismisses the critics buy positing that Hofstede's work has become validated by replications of studies in different disciplines and that the main thrust of the work is to demonstrate differences between national groups, not profiles of such groups. Hofstede's work, he claims, is meant to be a mental framework for understanding the central ideas of the various dimensions and relate these to one's own experiences.

My study is also based on some of the dimensions inspired by Hofstede because I still find them valid. Though they demonstrate differences between national groups, and not profiles of such groups, I argue that they are still relevant to reveal the nature of relationships between individuals within groups, especially in the case of power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Additionally, these dimensions have been contextualized to map administrative culture in Uganda – by looking at the manifestations of power distance and uncertainty avoidance in the Ugandan society, and particularly in the civil service. There could not have been a better institution to study administrative culture and practices than the Ugandan civil service, and Hofstede's dimensional framework can be very helpful in doing this, yet this framework on its own is insufficient for grasping anywhere near the whole story. For this reason, I have looked at other dimensions of

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[5] (http://geert-hofstede.international-business-center.com/Sondergaard.shtml

culture that are more relevant to the specific Uganda context, namely ethnicity and political neutrality vs. political bias[6].

The dimensions of national culture as elaborated by Hofstede, Schwarz, and Trompenaars focus mainly on how we can conceive culture from a national perspective and focus on societal and relational dimensions. These scholars argue that cultural values are shared by members of a society; they are passed on from older to younger generations and shape a collective perception of the world. In this study, I will adopt power distance (closely associated with hierarchy vs. autonomy by Schwarz), and uncertainty avoidance (closely associated with mastery vs. harmony by Schwarz and attitudes towards environment by Trompenaars). This is because empirical studies have shown that these national values are useful for predicting organizational processes and managerial practices (Mendonca and Kanungo 1996; Vallance 1999). It is also pertinent to understand bureaucrats' orientation towards politics and ethnic relations, for in so doing; we gain another theoretical platform from which to analyze the impact of culture on performance appraisal. In particular, we can come to understand how political bias and ethnicity affect performance appraisal.

Thus, my study varies from Hofstede, Schwarz, and Trompenaars' studies in two major respects: a) it is based on one particular country and therefore analyzes administrative culture in the context of Uganda. As such, it also focuses on those cultural variables that are peculiar to Uganda and the Ugandan civil service. These include the effects of ethnicity and political neutrality, b) it goes further than the other studies by relating administrative culture to administrative reforms in the civil service. The current study highlights the degree to which administrative culture affects performance appraisal in Uganda. Such an exercise is important because it enables us to understand why reforms fail in Uganda and what policy makers should pay attention to while reforming Uganda's public administration. There are as yet very few case studies on the introduction of NPM-inspired performance appraisal reforms in Uganda, yet it is central to the country's public administration. This case study helps to mitigate this problem by describing and analyzing the Ugandan experience and by providing practical lessons for policy makers as they implement NPM initiatives.

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[6] I wish to note from the start that this variable, political neutrality vs. political bias is on a continuum, whereby one extreme end is political neutrality and the other extreme end is political bias and the reality is somewhere in between.

1.7 Performance appraisal and culture

Performance appraisal propositions are oriented towards results and engender competition. This orientation may seem to contradict traditional views of public service, such as discretion, hierarchy, and permanence. The question that needs to be answered is this: To what extent has the host administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service impacted the implementation of NPM led reforms? My study is designed on the assumption that appraisal reforms may be affected by culture. The following questions must therefore be answered: Does culture affect appraisal reforms in Uganda? What cultural perspectives are brought to bear? How does culture facilitate the success or failure of NPM and why? The argument presented here is that bureaucrats may have a shared cultural value system, which in turn influences the way they think and make decisions. What is more, these values are a reflection of the society's dominant cultural values.

Studies on culture have been inspired by a number of issues from the study and practice of public management reforms. According to Gyorgy (2004), researchers have made observations about problems generated by the isomorphism of administrative structures and processes promoted by NPM reforms. This isomorphism has raised questions such as 'Why doesn't the NPM *concept A* work in country Y while it did work in country X?' We could ask a similar question about performance appraisal: Performance appraisal has worked in other countries so why doesn't it work in Uganda? In trying to answer this, administrative culture acquires key importance. Coming to an understanding of why performance appraisal reforms succeed or fail in Uganda, and understanding the interaction between the performance appraisal and the administrative culture in Uganda, may both provide empirical insight into the NPM experience.

Of key importance for my study is the underlying assumption that *civil service values* have eroded. These values include integrity, honesty, dependability, helpfulness, impartiality, courteousness and fairness. Worse still, civil servants have nurtured a culture of getting wealthy at all costs, to the extent that public servants who do not appear to have prospered from occupying public positions are treated with scant respect (Hyden 2006). It is therefore worthwhile investigating whether these tendencies exhibit themselves within the Ugandan civil service. If they are indeed part of the administrative

culture then this will impact performance appraisals. To illustrate, if the appraisal is based on honesty, merit and impartiality, these elements will clash with ethnic-based favouritism that may be rife in the civil service and which counters the performance appraisal's principles.

Although every country in the world has a need for performance appraisal and actually carries out these reforms, their success depends on the context. Public services may borrow ideas from institutions that have carried out similar reforms, but my thesis argues that whereas reforms that have taken place elsewhere can be imitated, they cannot be duplicated; they should be adjusted to suit the local context of the recipient country. Despite several efforts to reform public service organizations in the developing countries, tangible improvements are few and far between (Polidano 1999; Schick 1998). This does not imply that contextualization is lacking. Reforms quite often take into consideration local structures and financial positions; however, they pay minimal attention to administrative culture, which may well be responsible for the resistance to reform, as this study contends.

One cannot undermine the ability of cultural variables because 'Social arguments tied to organizational culture can potentially have an instrumental side, that is, informal norms and values can be useful. Employees can feel more loyal and function better because the institutional aspects of their activity are emphasized' (Christensen et al. 2007:39). They summarize the social arguments tied to culture as follows: a) culture helps institutionalized organizations survive through pattern maintenance, b) culture is the 'integrative glue' needed to develop true collective feeling in an organization, and c) culture is a goal in itself because, through socialization, members of an organization develop through the informal norms and values that they internalize.

At another level of analysis is the existence of a dichotomy between formal and informal rules in developing countries, and the predominance of the informal realm. The rules of behaviour that people follow can be different from those written in standard operating procedures and manuals. Nevertheless, despite the usefulness of the formality-informality dimension, it fails to account for problems that are unique to NPM reforms (Polidano 1999). Therefore, apart from explanations about informal institutions in the developing world, there is as yet far too little explanation of other cultural aspects. Taking into

consideration the proposition that *administrative culture matters* may help in explaining why civil service reforms often fall short of expectations.

The failure of the performance appraisal could be blamed on the Ugandan bureaucracy's resistance to it, as some scholars have done. Others have found *symbolic* reform politics corruption, lack of capacity, role of donors, underdevelopment, incomplete transfer, inappropriate transfer and uninformed transfer to be the source of the problem. Yet apart from a few studies in Asia and Latin America (Bryld 2003; Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Jamil 1993, 1997a, 2002; Kliksberg 2005; Kreitner 2006), neither the successes nor the failures have been studied with a keen or deliberate effort to understand the impact of culture in the reception or transfer of these reforms. But we can rightly ask: Do these appraisal reforms fit with the needs of the host administrative culture? If culture shapes the perception of reforms and constrains choices on how to manage them, is it not reasonable to wonder why research on appraisal reforms in Uganda often ignores the impact of administrative culture? I argue that in instances where reformers disregard administrative culture, the likelihood of failure is high because appraisal reforms are ideologically based on neo-libertarianism which embraces an objective, universal, and ethical perspective that may not necessarily obtain in a civil service culture riddled with nepotism, ethnic bias and political patronage. It would stand to reason that reform values may clash or come into conflict with the existing administrative cultural values.

My thesis proposes that it is critical to recognize administrative culture in the developing world, *before* appraisal reforms can be considered. It is important to perform a cultural transposition of the ideas in order to make them fit with the values of administration and to have them successfully apply to the Ugandan context. My research assumes that because culture is 'mental programming',[7] goals and values that influence policy reforms are a product of the 'cultural profile' of the decision makers themselves. This cultural profile includes shared basic assumptions, values and norms amongst members of the bureaucracy. Since decisions are products of thought processes and interpersonal relationships, and these thought processes depend on schema and scripts embedded in the

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[7] This phrase is borrowed from Hofstede who defines culture as 'the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes one group or category of people from another' (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005).

minds of decision makers, it is plausible to suggest that culture, and particularly administrative culture, has an important role and influence on appraisal reforms.

In their contribution to the study of organizations, March and Olsen claim that individual and collective action is characterized by two logics: the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequentiality. The former is culturally and contextually oriented while the latter is founded in instrumental behaviour and is preference-based (March and Olsen 2003). If this is correct, a successful institution or organization will be capable of making its own logic of appropriateness match the demands of reforms (Peters 1999:340). After all, organizational behaviour is often driven by rules of appropriateness rather than calculations of expected utility. Such behaviour is based on identities, inalienable rights and historic experiences, factors largely beyond the control of leaders and rational calculation (Brunsson and Olsen:17).

Performance appraisal strategies seem to embrace the logic of consequences and be preoccupied with the measurement and quantification of results. However, the prevailing administrative culture in Uganda is based on history and social norms, and therefore seems to be characterized by the logic of appropriateness, that is, the application of correct and appropriate rules. Given that the logic of appropriateness is based on norms and values, culture provides a framework of referencing thoughts for individual or institutional action and preferences. As argued by Brunsson and Olsen, reformers are more likely to succeed if they try to change organizations in ways that are consistent with trends in society, than if they try to go against the tide. This is because the response of organizations to reforms depends on the degree of consistency between the values underlying the proposed reform and those of the organisation being reformed (Brunsson and Olsen 1997: 22 - 23).

Appraisal reforms may constitute a different logic than the logic of the institution being reformed. Within the logic of appropriateness, 'rules are followed because they are seen as natural, rightful, expected, and legitimate. Actors seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions. Embedded in a social collectivity, they do what they see as appropriate for themselves in a specific type of situation' (March and Olsen 2004). The performance appraisal reform may contain different

notions of identity, preferences, and frames of reference than those of the target institution. Depending on the reform's level of contextualization, future conflict, acceptance, or rejection may occur. The institutions which are successful seem to have stabilized their norms, rules and meanings so that procedures and norms endure for a long time (March and Olsen 1996).

Gerald Caiden observes that reform implies imposition, forced change against natural inclinations. Opposition of some kind has to be expected and overcome, and opposition indicates that there may well be good reasons why reforms should be resisted. Such resistance needs to be studied to discover whether there are legitimate grounds for resistance or whether there are misunderstandings, misinterpretations, groundless suspicions, or unreasonable objections (Caiden 2006). Such resistance also needs to be studied to discover the underlying administrative culture, and whether the said culture has a role to play in this resistance. The present study is therefore designed on the premise that it will make a scholarly contribution to the understanding of why reforms are resisted.

Given the above arguments, one must not simply blame and criticize public servants, but seek their views and experiences on why reforms are accepted or rejected, why they fail or succeed. Civil servants may work against a reform without knowing that they are doing so. This is because they have been socialized into particular ways of doing things and may not realize or appreciate other ways of doing things. After all, 'when they [the civil servants] have relied on foreign experts, the outsiders have too often ignored domestic circumstances and confused matters by incorporating their foreign values' (Caiden 2006).

1.8 Outline of the thesis

Chapter one (the present chapter) has introduced the theme of public service reforms and the need for cultural explanations. It outlined the problem, rationale, objectives of the study, key research questions, research hypotheses and assumptions, methodology, and the need for a cultural explanation. What follows is an overview of the whole research project:

Chapter two provides an overview of performance appraisal as an NPM tool within the framework of results-oriented management. It provides the definition, importance and challenges performance appraisals encounter. The chapter's aim is to present the ideal performance appraisal process and practices against which the actual application of performance appraisal in Uganda will be measured.

Chapter three examines the different concepts of administrative culture. From these studies it derives at least four dimensions that guide my research work in general. The chapter also argues that administrative culture matters and has an influence on NPM inspired performance appraisal reforms, by drawing a theoretical link between the two conceptions i.e. administrative culture and performance appraisal. The purpose of the chapter is to show the extent to which some of the literature is relevant to my study. The instrumental and institutional perspectives of studying organizational reforms are discussed in relationship to the whole research design.

Chapter four presents the methodologies used to study the role of administrative culture in analyzing the implementation of performance appraisal. The chapter argues that the 'mixed methods' strategy is more appropriate for this kind of research than any single method. Interviews, a questionnaire survey, observations, and documentary sources were used. The chapter underlines precautions taken against likely sources of bias. It also shows the appropriateness of data collection and analysis techniques by providing adequate justification for the choices taken.

Chapter five analyzes the NPM inspired performance appraisal reforms in Uganda, especially those under the Public Sector Reform Programme that started in 1991. The challenges and main successes of these reforms are also highlighted. The chapter gives a brief overview of performance management and a detailed examination of the performance appraisal system in the Ugandan bureaucracy. The chapter's main thrust is to demonstrate how the appraisal system in Uganda has evolved and what its present status is.

Chapter six is on administrative culture in Uganda. It attempts to map the extent to which administrative culture reflects societal culture. Administrative culture is analyzed along certain background variables such as age, type of education, duration of service, studies abroad, birthplace and gender. The reason for this analysis is that if administrative culture

varies along these variables, then we may conclude that administrative culture is fragmented to the extent where societal culture may not be able to explain much about the root cause of administrative culture. Rather, administrative culture would be contingent on these background variables. If, on the other hand, it is found that these background variables have little influence on administrative culture, then we may conclude that administrative culture in Uganda's civil service is quite unified and integrated and is influenced by dominant societal values. If dominant societal values and norms influence administrative culture more than other factors, then this would explain why reforms such as performance appraisals are so difficult to implement in administrative systems dominated by traditional values. On the other hand, if background variables affect administrative culture, then it may be easier to implement reforms provided the appropriate bureaucrats are chosen to do the implementation, that is, they would be the type who favour change and new ways of doing things.

Chapter s*even* focuses on the influence of Uganda's administrative culture on performance appraisal. Here I seek to give a cultural explanation for how performance appraisal has functioned. The chapter addresses power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political neutrality and ethnicity. It tackles the role of civil servants as agents of cultural conformity. It is in this chapter that I test the hypotheses made in chapter three. I try to find out if administrative culture matters for the implementation of the performance appraisal. The results discussed in the chapter try to answer the main research question posed for this study: Is the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service receptive or resistant to the performance appraisal, and if so, how? I present the level and form of analysis appropriate for the data in the clearest way possible by quoting from the civil servants themselves. My aim is also to accurately identify and summarize patterns in the data in relation to the cultural variables.

Chapter eight presents the main conclusion, a summary of the thesis, main observations and arguments, implications for further research, and suggests how this work can contribute to knowledge of administrative reforms and administrative culture studies. The chapter insists that there is a need to reconceptualize administrative culture in order to account for issues such as ethnicity, political neutrality and the persistent abuse of power. It also proposes that although there are many factors which affect the successful introduction and implementation of performance appraisal, culture matters.

1.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight the main issues this study addresses and situate the study across disciplines, time and context. I argued that reforms are global phenomena that have not only been widely applied in the West, but also in the South. My study is limited to the result-oriented performance appraisal system and how it has failed in the Ugandan civil service due to influences from administrative culture.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL SYSTEM

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight what the performance appraisal is all about, its sources of inspiration, ingredients, shortcomings – and why these shortcomings occur. It demonstrates that there are particular principles, norms and values that underpin the successful implementation of an effective performance appraisal. The performance appraisal is said to be one of the most problematic components of human resource management and is at times viewed as a futile bureaucratic exercise (Coutts and Schneider 2004.), yet it plays an important role in providing the basis for making selection decisions, determining salary increases, and providing feedback between supervisors and employees (Mount 1984:1).

2.2 Performance measurement

Performance measurement is based on outputs and results. The principle of performance measurement is varied and includes efficient use of resources and ensuring that money is spent as agreed and in accordance with procedures. Performance management systems specify standards of performance or quantifiable targets which a government requires public officials to meet over a given period of time. At the end of this period, performance can then be measured against these standards or targets (Hope Sr 2002). Performance measurement is the basis for providing feedback, it identifies where things are going well in order to provide the foundation for further success; it indicates where things are not going well so that corrective action can be taken.

In Uganda, however, many government officers resent the idea of performance measurement because they have either not learnt how to do it properly or lack commitment and training. This resentment leads to adopting crude performance benchmarks that remain on paper and end up not being implemented (Olum 2004:17). Performance measurement can either be done at the organizational or individual level. In this thesis, the concern is measurement at the individual level through the performance

appraisal tool. 'Performance appraisal' refers to the process by which an individual's work performance is assessed. Other terms, including 'performance assessment', 'performance evaluation', 'performance review' and, 'performance management' have been used to describe this process. These terms, however, mean different things in different settings (Vallance 1999:79). In this thesis, I shall stick to 'performance appraisal' for two reasons; a) its meaning seems to be universally understood (Vallance 1999:79), and b) it is the term used in Uganda.

2.3 Performance appraisal

2.3.1 Performance appraisal defined

A performance appraisal is an instrument used by organizations to evaluate the performance of their employees in terms of quality, quantity, cost and time. There are numerous definitions of it, not all of which will be listed here. Presenting a few of them will suffice to show the variety: 'Performance appraisal is a process in which humans judge other humans', and 'performance appraisal is a basis of making personnel decisions and of the effectiveness of using pay to improve performance' (Milkovitch et al. 1991:2, 55). Said differently, it denotes evaluating individual job performance as a basis for establishing personnel decisions like improving performance, promotion, growth and development, confirmation, transfers, manpower planning, retention and discharge (Armstrong 1996; Kreitner 2006; Werther and Davis 1995).

In this thesis, performance appraisal is defined as *a regular formal interaction between a subordinate and supervisor in the civil service, where the work performance of the subordinate is evaluated. As a result of the evaluation exercise, weaknesses, strengths, opportunities for improvement and skills development are identified.*

The performance appraisal has two main purposes: evaluation, and development (Moussavi and Ashbaugh 1995:331; Milkovitch et al. 1991). In the case of evaluation, the purpose is, on one hand, to serve as a basis for personnel decisions (on salary increases, promotions, transfers, termination and disciplinary action), ensuring equitable distribution of opportunities, avoiding prejudicial treatment of protected minorities (Kreitner 2006), advising employees on job performance and status of their abilities, and to document criteria for allocating organizational rewards. On the other hand, the

developmental purpose serves to give feedback on performance to employees, identify employee training needs, provide opportunity for organizational diagnosis and development, facilitate communication between employee and administrator, establish an inventory of actual and potential performance within an organisation and improve communication about actual work and tasks between different levels of authority in the job hierarchy (Thomason 1991; Turya-Muhika 1982). Finally, it also validates human resource policies to meet national and international standards (Ammons and Rodriguez 1986; Moussavi and Ashbaugh 1995).

The performance appraisal under review in this study is rooted in Results Oriented Management (ROM), and as a management tool, it emphasizes SMART goals, i.e., Specific (defining the relevant work precisely), Measurable (assess achievement), Agree (both parties committed), Realistic (an acceptable but stretching challenge), and Time bound (specify the deadline and review date).

2.3.2 History of performance appraisal

The history of performance appraisal could be traced from the third century AD when the Chinese philosopher Sin Yu criticized a biased rater hired by the Wei dynasty for making assessments based on likes and dislikes rather than on merit. Other claims postulate that performance appraisals are rooted in Frederick Winslow Taylor's time and motion study, just as do many other human resource management tools dating from the beginning of the twentieth century (Price 2000:184). Appraisal on a merit scale was used in an industrial context perhaps first at the cotton mills in New Lanark, Scotland in the early 1800s. As a distinct and formal management procedure used to evaluate work performance, it is said to date from the time of the Second World War when Walter Dill Scott convinced the American army to adopt it in evaluating its officers and enlisted men. The practice was thereafter entrenched and used by companies in connection with lay offs. Eventually, by the 1950s, it became an established and accepted practice in many organizations (Murphy and Cleveland 1995:3). Performance appraisal is a universal issue because there is always a predisposition for people to judge the work performance of others.

At the beginning of the performance appraisal system, the main interest was to have a basis for justifying wage levels. It was the basic document on which salary related decisions were based. The process was firmly linked to material outcomes. If an

employee's performance was found to be less than ideal, a cut in pay would follow. On the other hand, if someone's performance was better than the supervisor expected, a pay raise was in order (Lovrich et al. 1980). The main logic at work here was derived from the *principal-agent theory*, which is concerned with the problem of motivating one party to act on behalf of the other (Lane 2000). According to this theory, an employee should be compensated for performing particular tasks that are beneficial to the employer or supervisor. The agent (employee) and the principal (employer/supervisor) have different interests and both parties will maximize their interests. If need be, the employee and the supervisor will enter into a binding agreement that protects each other's interests. As far as the performance appraisal is concerned, civil servants may be interested in either promotions, salary increments or other benefits that come with a positive appraisal, but the main focus is to align the interest of the agent to that of the principal, and ensure that the agent is accountable to the principal.

In the previously mentioned instances of appraisal systems, little consideration, if any, was given to how the tool might develop. It was felt that a cut in pay, or a raise, should provide the only required impetus for an employee to either improve or continue to perform well. Sometimes this basic system succeeded in getting the results that were intended; but more often than not, it failed.

2.3.3 Performance appraisal and NPM

The appraisal is one of the administrative reforms that evolved in the West and has been transplanted across cultural borders into a variety of administrative settings (Vallance 1999), including Uganda, to improve the civil service. Administrative reforms are deliberate, purposive and willed attempts to transform administrative practice for better government (Caiden 2007:43). They are part of a broader civil service reform package that seeks to rectify the mistakes and unfulfilled promises made by bureaucrats (Cheung 2005). Civil service reform implies developing the capacity of the civil service to fulfil its mandate; it is defined to include issues of recruitment and promotion, pay, performance appraisal and related matters. Such a reform is also seen as an art and not a science, where committed reformers know what they need and how to get it (UNDP 2006; Wescott 1999). It is a process that is driven by the basic desire to head off crises in the capacity to govern (Caiden and Sundaram 2004; Polidano 2001). Many countries have

used NPM guiding principles during the1980s and 1990s to reform their public service (Hughes 1998). Uganda has also followed this reform path.

NPM is inspired by economic theories and normative values and is characterized by increased market orientation, devolution, managerialism and the use of contracts (Christensen and Lægreid 2005). It seeks equilibrium between making government efficient and accountable (Minogue 1998:17) and implies the creation of market mechanisms for the delivery of services (Hernes 2005: 5; Hughes 1998). For Christopher Hood, NPM is a set of seven doctrines about how to organize public services. These are a) hands-on professional management; b) emphasis on explicit standards and measures of performance; c) stressing the importance of output controls by focusing on results rather than procedures; d) dis-aggregation of units in the public sector by breaking up large entities into corporate agencies in order to increase efficiency; e) greater competition in the public sector through contracts and tendering; f) using private sector management styles in the public sector; g) greater discipline and parsimony in resource use (Hood, 1991 cited by Hughes, 1998:61-62). It is from this broad perspective that the performance appraisal is derived, particularly points (a), (b) and (c).

NPM has therefore provided the results-oriented performance appraisal's ideological backing. This is because NPM stresses targets and performance measurement rather than adherence to rules and processes (Hughes 1998). Prior to NPM, performance measurement was focused on role fulfilment and rule following. The NPM ethos places a lot of emphasis on individual accountability because specifying targets in the appraisal process enhances accountability. Thus for NPM inspired performance appraisal, civil servants are expected to achieve specific goals and targets both at the individual and the organizational level. The thrust of the NPM approach is to move away from a rules-driven to a results-driven environment (Hope Sr 2002), which means that the performance appraisal under the NPM dispensation will focus largely on how much the civil servant has actually accomplished. The appraisal is obligatory and directly connected to promotion and awarding of incentives. It is supposed to be binding upon all officials and is conducted with target agreements on a yearly basis. The assessment of future potential is also compulsory because instead of having promotions based on experience and tenure, promotions under NPM are based on performance results. This study examines the introduction of an individual performance appraisal system in

Uganda, how it has been met with resistance and an unresponsive administrative culture, and the influence that culture has exerted on the appraisal system.

2.3.4 The inherent controversy of the performance appraisal

According to Sarah Vallance, the main controversy of the performance appraisal is this: 'On the one hand, appraisal seeks to pass judgment or opinion on the work performance and ability of an employee, while on the other, it seeks to counsel the employee about his or her performance and development needs. Much of the controversy performance appraisal attracts is due to these different goals' (Vallance 1999:79). In their book, *Pay for Performance: Evaluating Performance Appraisal and Merit Pay*, Milkovitch et al. (1991:3-6) note that performance appraisal systems have validity and reliability problems and therefore need instruments that can meet the strictest tests of measurement science. At the same time these scholars view the performance appraisal as one of the most crucial tools an organization can use. Between these two extremes lie various schools of thought. While all endorse the use of performance appraisal, there are many different opinions on how and when to apply it.

Some scholars, while arguing that performance appraisals have many important employee development functions, do not link the performance appraisal system to rewards. Connecting rewards to outcomes, they argue, reduces the developmental value of the exercise. Rather than an opportunity for constructive review and encouragement of employee performance, the reward-linked process is perceived as judgmental and sometimes punitive (Murphy and Cleveland 1995: 340 - 343).

The other issue is what has been termed the 'psychology of leniency'. Supervisors may feel uncomfortable carrying out duties that put them in a position which fuses together the responsibilities of evaluator and 'executioner'. In most cases the supervisor and the subordinate know each other, thus for the supervisor to give a negative appraisal is frowned upon (Murphy and Cleveland 1995:242) because it will result in strained relations and declining morale in the workplace.

On the other hand, we meet a contending argument which claims that performance appraisal must be linked to rewards and benefits. Those who support this approach maintain that organizations should reward good performance. Various studies (McCourt and Foon 2007; Mount 1984; Moussavi and Ashbaugh 1995) have found out that ratees

accept the appraisal process, and feel more satisfied with performance appraisal when the process is directly linked to rewards.

Other researchers have discovered that the evaluation of employees for reward, coupled with frank communication about their performance, is an integral part of the management of human resources. It is only those with unfair, inconsistent and arbitrary motivation theories who avoid discussing pay and rewards while appraising individual performance (Lovrich et al. 1980). The main problem with avoiding rewards is that it may lead to salary raises and bonuses being decided arbitrarily, and often secretly, by supervisors and managers (Milkovitch et al. 1991: 48 - 56).

2.3.5 Performance appraisal methods

The three most common appraisal methods in general use are rating scales, essays and result-based appraisals. With rating scales, an employee attribute is rated on a bipolar scale that usually has several points ranging from 'poor' to 'excellent'. The attributes assessed on these scales may include cooperation, the ability to communicate, initiative, punctuality and technical competence. With respect to the essay methods, raters write an essay evaluating their ratees. The essay describes strengths and weaknesses in job performance. It also suggests remedies for identified problems. With results-based appraisal, the rater and ratee establish objectives on which the evaluation will be based and jointly carry out the appraisal. The ratee will usually self-audit first and then the assessment of the rater follows (Greenberg 1986; Locher and Teel 1977; Murphy and Cleveland 1995). It is this latter kind of appraisal in the bureaucracy that the present thesis addresses.

In a results-based appraisal, goal-setting is an important element because goals can stimulate employee effort, focus attention, increase persistence, and encourage employees to find new and better ways to work. While carrying out the appraisal, it is important that the rater is well-informed and credible. Raters should feel comfortable with the techniques of appraisal, and should be knowledgeable about the employee's job and performance. Results-oriented performance measurements seek to measure employee performance by examining the extent to which predetermined work objectives have been met (Mitala 2006).

Once an objective is agreed upon the employee is usually expected to identify the skills needed to achieve the objective. Typically he or she does not rely on others to locate and specify strengths and weaknesses. The person is also expected to monitor personal development and progress. Since this research focuses specifically on a results-based performance appraisal system, it is imperative to discuss its advantages, disadvantages and benefits. To this we now turn.

2.4 Purpose and benefits of results-based performance appraisal

The purpose of performance appraisals can be classified in a number of ways. McGregor (1987) groups the objectives in three categories; first, they are used for administrative reasons to provide an orderly way of determining promotions, transfers and salary increases. Second, they are used for informative purposes, i.e., they supply data to management on the performance of employees and to individual employees on each person's particular performance. Third, these appraisal are used to motivate staff so that they can develop themselves and improve their performance through experiential learning (McGregor 1987).

The benefits of the performance appraisal may be summarized under three categories; a) motivation and satisfaction, b) recruitment and induction, and c) employee evaluation. This approach overcomes some of the problems that arise as a result of assuming that the employee traits needed for job success can be reliably identified and measured. Instead of assuming traits, the method concentrates on actual outcomes.

If employees meet or exceed the set objectives, then they have demonstrated an acceptable level of job performance. Employees are judged according to real outcomes, and not on their potential for success, or on someone's subjective opinion of their abilities. The guiding principle of the approach is that direct results can be observed, whereas the traits and attributes of employees may be guessed or inferred. Furthermore, it recognizes the fact that it is difficult to neatly dissect all the complex and varied elements that make up employee performance (Murphy and Cleveland 1995).

This method's advocates claim that the performance of employees cannot be broken up into so many constituent parts, but put all the parts together and the performance may be directly observed and measured. A well designed and executed performance appraisal

offers a valuable opportunity to focus on work activities and goals, it identifies and corrects existing problems and provides a basis upon which future performance is perfected. The appraisal indicates to an employee that the organization is interested in individual performance and development, which may boost one's sense of worth. Such appraisals offer an opportunity for a supervisor and subordinate to recognize and agree upon individual training and development needs. Consolidated appraisal data could provide a regular and efficient training needs audit. Appraisal data can also be used to monitor the success of the organization's recruitment and induction practices. By following annual recruitment data, it is possible to assess whether the workforce is improving or declining.

Though often understated, evaluation is a legitimate and major objective of performance appraisal. Nevertheless, some organizations do not engage in the practice due to counter arguments saying that judgment can be dehumanizing and demoralizing. There may, however, be an acceptable middle ground whereupon the need to evaluate employees objectively, and the need to encourage and develop them, can be balanced.

2.5 Disadvantages of results-based appraisal systems

A results based appraisal system can give employees a satisfying sense of autonomy and achievement. But on the downside, it can lead to unrealistic expectations about what can and cannot be reasonably accomplished (Moussavi and Ashbaugh 1995). Supervisors and subordinates must have very good 'reality checking' skills to use the appraisal method for setting objectives, self-auditing and self-monitoring. Unfortunately, research studies have shown repeatedly that human beings tend to lack the skills needed to do their own reality checking. Nor are these skills easily conveyed through training. Reality itself is an intensely personal experience, prone to all forms of perceptual bias (Murphy and Cleveland 1995). Conceivably, objectives may be more fluid and yielding, but the penalty for fluidity is loss of clarity. Variable objectives may cause employee confusion. It is also possible that fluid objectives may be distorted to disguise or justify failures in performance.

2.5.1 Challenges associated with performance appraisals

No mater what kind of appraisal system an organization chooses, it will be associated with a number of problems that impinge upon its effectiveness and functionality. For

instance, some results are beyond the employees' control and any results at all will require a change in mentality – a tall order. The appraisal system may interfere with team work or it may be difficult to give effective feedback. Problems such as these can be categorized in at least four ways: lack of clarity, appraisal errors, inappropriate substitutes and culture. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

a) *Lack of clarity*: Objectives of the performance appraisal have to be clarified before implementation to ensure acceptability and legitimacy. All concerned ought to be very clear about what the appraisal aims at achieving. Even so, regardless of the amount of clarity one strives for, since appraisals may serve two purposes – evaluation and development – and if an organization uses one appraisal scheme to carry out both purposes, employees may treat it with suspicion. In the Maldives, for instance, it was found that it is extremely difficult to implement a performance appraisal that satisfies both objectives (Asim 2001). This is because employees are likely to resist negative feedback and tend to be defensive when weaknesses are identified. As a consequence, the appraisal creates tension between the employer and the employee.

b) *Errors and bias*: Appraisals may be riddled with errors and bias in numerous ways, especially if the rater is influenced by personality traits, appearances or current events. One form of bias is the 'halo effect' which occurs when a manager rates an employee high or low on all items, because of one sole characteristic. A second bias could be called the 'recency effect', when a supervisor attaches more value to a recent event when appraising an employee's performance rather than looking at the employee's entire performance. Third is the 'contrast error', which occurs when an employee is rated relatively to other employees rather than to performance standards. A fourth problem is the 'central tendency'; this error arises when the rater is too lenient and lumps all employees in a middle or average range, or even towards the high end of the scale (Neale 1991). But then there is the 'obverse error', whereby the rater it too strict and gives all employees the lowest rate (Kinicki 1995; Murphy and Cleveland 1995). Finally there is the problem of the appraiser's bias, which occurs when a manager's own skewed values distort the rating. Reasons for bias may be royalty, religion, age, sex, appearance, ethnicity or administrative culture.

c) Inappropriate substitute measuring devices: For certain kinds of jobs it is difficult to define performance in absolutely clear terms. As such, it is even more difficult to establish performance indicators and direct measuring devices. In such cases, the appraisal is usually done by using substitutes for performance which closely approximate what one is actually trying to measure – performance. Yet these substitutes' measuring tools may not always be appropriate. Organizations may for example use a criterion such as 'promptness' for performance, which may be appropriate for some jobs, but inappropriate for others (Lovrich et al. 1980; Mount 1984).

d) Cultural factors: There is no doubt that people from different cultures differ from one another in the way they perceive things. What is 'good' for some may be 'bad' for others (Diagne and Ossebi 1996; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). Consequently managers may differ in how they appraise employees and the success or failure of the appraisal system is partly attributed to how it is compatible with the host culture (Asim 2001; Faizal 2005; Long 1986). Phil Long puts it succinctly:

> ... a system based on the employee participation and openness would be non-starter if the organizational culture is authoritarian and non-participative in its approach to other employee-related policies. 'Ready made' performance review systems imported from other organizations rarely function satisfactorily. Their failure is partly due to organizational culture differences (Long 1986).

From this quote we can learn that culture plays a vital role in the acceptance of the appraisal system in any bureaucracy. Second, we learn that appraisal systems invented in the West, in order to be effective elsewhere, must, among other adaptations, conform to the host administrative culture. Meanwhile, the prospective reformer should not focus only on the particular host administrative culture, but also note how it is a part of broader field of public service reforms, also in developing countries.

2.6 Performance appraisal in developing countries

The adoption of performance appraisals in developing countries has been on the increase, given the globalization and internationalization of NPM principles. According to Mohammed Faizal, performance appraisal in the Maldives combines tasks with individual job descriptions: each employee is assigned a maximum of five work targets

for the year. A mid year review is carried out to access whether the targets should be revised, and at the end of the year a final evaluation is carried out to determine the extent to which those targets have been achieved. Based on the assessment, marks are given in four major categories and three separate forms are used: one for employees at the level of Senior Administrative Officer and above, the second is for skilled employees at the Administrative Officer level and below, and the third is for employees who are unskilled or do not need any technical skills (Faizal 2005).

In Turkey they do it differently: employees are evaluated more in terms of their relation with the manager than in terms of performance as measured against some objective criteria. They do not focus on the individual and his or her achievement (Snape et al. 1998). As for Singapore, the appraisal is in two parts; the first part is a Work Review and provides the employee with the opportunity to comment on the supervisor's assessment, while part two, the Development Assessment, is not shown to the employee. In Thailand, by contrast, performance appraisal is very informal to the extent that the civil service promotes, deploys and effects salary increases without the use of a formal appraisal system. Here appraisals may follow one of four methods: committee rating, supervisor rating, appraisee rating (with judgment being made by the supervisor) or by a combination of these methods. Each ministry must select a common method for appraisal and assess staff at least twice a year (Vallance 1999).

A survey of the African experience offers a variety of scenarios. In Tanzania the government is placing emphasis on results-oriented performance appraisal. The government is also struggling to restore meritocracy which has eroded due to the country's socialist of 'equality ideal' and how it practically came to affect opportunities for employment and promotion. Tanzania's current appraisal system is 'open' in the sense that it can take different forms. It enables the public service managers to reward good performers while at the same time eliminate, sanction or takes remedial action against those who do not perform well (Debra 2007:76). Interestingly, studies on performance appraisal in Mauritania indicate that the practice is top-down, non-developmental in orientation and more of a cost than a benefit; it serves almost no purpose. In this country the results-oriented appraisal has failed for a number of reasons: the unions resist it because it is linked to pay, staff resist it because of the culture of mistrust that characterizes staff relationships in the multi-ethnic workforce. Finally,

perhaps because civil servants are so used to a seniority based system, they are apprehensive about performance based appraisals (Ramgutty-Wong 2007:76-77).

2.7 Operationalization of implementation[8] of the performance appraisal in Uganda

While evaluating performance appraisal systems, it is imperative to note that 'a good performance appraisal system is one that helps the key stakeholders achieve their goals. A poor appraisal system is one that interferes with goal attainment' (Murphy and Cleveland 1995). In this present study, successful implementation of the performance appraisal in Uganda means the following:

1) *Appraisal forms must be filled out:* This is the primary activity concerning the appraisal system which relies on the form. It has to be filled out to get the basic data used for evaluation. Refusal or reluctance by the civil servants to fill out the appraisal form indicates implementation failure.

2) *Appraisal forms should be available:* employees must be able to fill out standardized forms supplied by one source. There should not be a scarcity of forms when the time for evaluation comes around. If there are no forms on hand, regardless of the willingness to fill them out, this indicates implementation failure.

3) *Performance appraisal conducted as scheduled:* there is a clear time table for the appraisal exercises. For example, the performance plan should be made within one month of assumption of duty and completed. (In the Ugandan civil service, when people are hired, they are on probation for the first six months, and if the employer is satisfied with their work, they get a permanent contract.). Two weeks before the appraisal meeting the ratee should also fill out his/her part. Thus it is considered a failure when the time table is not followed.

4) *Employees must conduct a self-appraisal:* Despite cultural and other factors, each party must play its role. The essence of the appraisal is to inculcate personal responsibility and accountability for individual action. Additionally, self-appraisal is a

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[8] Implementation and introduction of the PA are used interchangeably in this thesis.

critical departure from the old appraisal where evaluation was the monopoly of the supervisor. Successful implementation therefore implies that the subordinate feels duty bound and willingly fills out the relevant section, and this is respected by the supervisor.

5) *Evaluating employee performance against voluntarily agreed upon performance standards between rater and ratee:* As long as the performance indicators are not a result of consensus and the various parties agree upon them, then the implementation is not considered a success. In fact, the agreement here suggests that the supervisor has not stipulated the employee's output, but that the employee has set his or her own target.

6) *Supervisors must be committed to the appraisal:* Those responsible for the evaluation exercise must give it the necessary attention, time and resources. It should not be done just to fulfil a duty, but to achieve the goals for which it was set.

7) *Appraisees should get feedback:* For instance it has been observed in the Ugandan appraisal system that there is limited feedback from the bureaucracy regarding appraisal results. This is because it is not closely related to pay, rewards and promotion. The less feedback there is to subordinates, the greater the failure of the appraisal system.

8) *There should be sufficient knowledge* about the appraisal and its importance for all employees. The underlying assumption here is that in order for the appraisal system to be successfully implemented, all concerned parties ought to have sufficient knowledge of all its aspects. Limited knowledge leads to limited expectations and eventually limited success.

9) *Transparency*: The system shall be as open and transparent as possible, giving room for explaining the reasons for the actions and inactions. The force of the better argument should prevail and be the basis for an action, not the force of authority or blackmail.

10) *Objectivity*: Decisions on performance should be based on facts and professional predictions rather than opinion. These facts ought to be consistent with the already agreed upon performance targets. The appraisal system should be guided by open and reasonable judgments or actions taken by the raters and ratees devoid of personal biases.

11) *Participation*: The process must be open and interactive to allow for the full involvement of the person being appraised. Thus the ratee should participate during several stages of the appraisal process without undue force and interference: the ratee should participate in setting targets, in monitoring progress, in keeping performance records, and in the review at year end, when the final report is signed by the ratee and counter-signing officer.

I choose the above points as indicators of successful implementation of the performance appraisal in this study for a number of reasons. First, they constitute the essence of the appraisal process whereby persons interact and create a 'theatre where cultural values and norms meet'. Second, the premise of the performance appraisal can be easily seen because these are the active 'pillars' of the appraisal. Some of the aspects are concerned with the appraisal as a form to be filled out and the other concern the appraisal as a process that must be carried out.

Table 2.1 Implementation of performance appraisal

	PA procedure/tenet	What needs to be done	By whom
Initiation phase	*Appraisal forms must be filled out*	Filling out appraisal form with targets, and assessment records	Rater Ratee Countersigning officer
	Appraisal forms should be available	Print out and circulate appraisal forms	HR office and rater
	Sufficient knowledge	All must be trained in the performance appraisal process, its purpose, need and importance	HR office, rater ratee
Implementation phase	*Conducting Performance appraisal on time*	Make performance plan within one month from the day of appointment for new staff. Make a performance plan for permanent staff in July. Hold reviews quarterly	rater
	Employees must conduct a self appraisal	Provide bio data, terms of employment, record of employment, academic and other qualifications, and do a self evaluation	ratee
	Agreement on target	Set performance targets and goals in sync with the mission and vision of the department/organization	Rater and ratee
	Commitment to appraisal process	Give it priority; while conducting appraisal, put aside other work	rater
	Transparency	Must explain why certain decisions were taken and avoid secrecy	rater
	Objectivity	Appraisal rating should be based on agreed outputs and not subjective judgments	Rater and ratee
	Participatory	Rater and ratee must participate in the appraisal process at all levels	rater
Consolidation and learning Phase	*Feedback*	Give feedback to the ratee	rater

Source: personal notes

The table above shows three broad phases of performance appraisal implementation. These are shown in the first column. The second column breaks down each phase into the key observable issues. It is assumed that there are points where we can observe the interaction between culture and the performance appraisal. The third column shows the activities that must take place in the appraisal process. The way these activities are carried out has the potential to reveal cultural attributes of the civil servants. The fourth

column mainly shows the responsible person for the activity. In our case, this will be the main subject of inquiry regarding behaviour in relation to cultural norms and values.

The initiation phase reflects three main issues; appraisal forms must be filled out, availability of the forms, and sufficient knowledge for all the stakeholders. The main assumption here is that in order for the performance appraisal system to begin, all these three conditions should be fulfilled.

The second phase is the implementation stage. This is where the actual appraisal process takes place. It is the main area of interest because it provides the arena where the rater and the ratee interact, thus providing a valuable opportunity to investigate relations. Relations are central to human activity and organizational culture, as Edgar Schein (2004) notes. In this phase, I focus on the key activities the rater and the ratee engage in, for they function as the point of contact with the cultural variables.

The third phase, the consolidation/learning phase, is the tail end of the whole appraisal. It is also of great importance in learning and understanding the relationship between performance appraisal and culture. This is because a performance appraisal is not just a ritual, but has intents and purposes. Therefore, it is at this stage that we investigate whether the appraisal results are communicated. Even more importantly, at this stage the concern is whether the appraisal exercise yields the desired dual effect, i.e., whether it is used for making personnel decisions or determining personnel developmental needs.

An appraisal should be conducted with diligence, i.e., a) there should be adequate notice (information) so that employees are involved in the formulation of objectives and standards and feedback be given on a regular basis, b) there should be a fair hearing, implying that employees have the means to indicate their view of their own performance, and c) judgment should be based on evidence. This means that steps should be taken to have the rater apply standards consistently, without external pressure, corruption or personal prejudice (Folger et al. 1992:149). From the above we can also deduce that the appraisal is expected to espouse the values of universality, timeliness, merit, reward based on performance, and commitment. Such a list as this prompts two fundamental questions: Are these values fully embedded in the Ugandan bureaucracy? Are they part of

the administrative culture that motivates and moves the civil servants? These two questions are adequately answered in chapters 5 – 7.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the general theoretical terrain of the performance appraisal system. This system is constructed upon certain premises which are embedded in the Western context. Now the extent to which the practices and processes of performance appraisal can be transferred from one country to another has been the subject of considerable debate. This debate is of special interest to the Ugandan civil service, given that it has introduced a results-oriented performance appraisal tool derived from a Western context and is attempting to make it take root in a different cultural context. Questions which have emerged during the implementation attempt have also aroused considerable interest but are thus far not well investigated. We would like to find out how the performance appraisal has been hampered or promoted using a cultural approach. It is therefore imperative to hold the other factors that affect performance appraisal reforms *ceteris peribus*, and investigate the influence of administrative culture as well. From the foregoing, the proceeding chapter explores administrative culture as an explanatory variable.

CHAPTER THREE

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present two perspectives of studying administrative reforms in organizations, the *instrumental* and the *institutional/cultural* perspectives as espoused by Christensen et al. (2007). The purpose is to put both the performance appraisal and administrative culture in a broader context. The performance appraisal is analyzed from the instrumental perspective while the administrative culture is discussed from the institutional/cultural perspective. According to Christensen et al. (2007), these perspectives are useful for analyzing change and reform in organizations. These perspectives are therefore discussed in order to understand the genesis of performance appraisal and analyze the extent of its acceptance in the civil service of Uganda. This would help to shed light on an important question: To what extent is the existing administrative culture compatible to the performance appraisal in order for it to take deep root in the civil service? To try to answer this question I will discuss how administrative culture relates to performance appraisal in the context of the Ugandan civil service.

Thereafter, I shall define administrative culture as used in this thesis, and then present the various dimensions I will use to measure administrative culture in Uganda. This is in order to hypothesize how they may influence performance appraisal. I argue that the way the performance appraisal is designed to streamline the Ugandan civil service resembles the instrumental perspective. Performance appraisal reforms may fail for various reasons, one of which is cultural incompatibility. Thus appraisal reforms ought to be consistent with the host administrative culture in order to succeed. Otherwise the host administrative culture, as expressed through the civil servants' behaviour, may hamper the appraisal reforms by re-enforcing subtle resistance due to incompatibility or cultural collusion, which will undermine the values and norms inherent within the performance appraisal. In other words, cultural compatibility refers to the extent to which performance appraisal is accepted, practiced and institutionalized in the Ugandan civil service.

From an instrumental perspective, the expectation is that the performance appraisal will be introduced easily since it is premised on the logic of consequentiality, on rational calculation and analyses. The civil service is expected, after all, to be rule following. From the cultural perspective, however, I argue that human behaviour is very complex and the civil service may not be as neutral, impartial, merit based and as transparent as it ought to be. This renders an instrumental perspective inadequate to explain the success of the appraisal, for civil servants are also creative actors who are more than mere rule-followers. They can also be conceived of as actors who muddle through a 'cultural web' to achieve their goals. Thus, I expect that the performance appraisal will be easier to implement in Uganda if the premises of the appraisal are consistent with those of the host administrative culture. To put it differently, if appraisal reforms are sabotaged by the host administrative culture, they will not take root.

3.1 The instrumental perspective

The instrumental perspective works within the *logic of consequences* where explanations start with the idea of organizations as instruments; they are concerned with 'clarifying goals and means-ends conceptions of the organization'. With regard to reforms, the instrumental perspective focuses on reforms that concern structural features (a cultural approach, by contrast, focuses on stability and change in cultural features). The logic of consequentiality is based on calculating the return expected from alternative choice (Christensen et al. 2007). The actor chooses among alternatives by evaluating their likely consequences for personal or collective objectives, conscious that other actors are doing likewise. Action and outcomes are products of rational calculating behaviour designed to maximize a given set of preferences. Thus the logic of consequentiality refers to actions oriented towards maximizing goals or preferences. It is based on means-ends calculus and takes other actors' strategies into consideration. It also exhibits instrumentalism in the sense that purpose oriented actions are carried out within predictable and stable environments. The standard for evaluation is the degree to which actors choose the best means to achieve some preconceived goals. It is based on calculation and the concern is to solve problems effectively.

The logic of consequentiality is associated with anticipatory choice. It presupposes the following sequence: 1. What are my alternatives? 2. What are my values? 3. Choose the

alternative that has the best consequences (March and Olsen 1989:23). This logic may therefore also apply to the bureaucrats who, while carrying out the performance appraisal reform, may be concerned with the consequences to themselves – 'What's in it for me?'. According to Christensen et al (2007), *performance management* can be seen as a structural-instrumental tool for political and administrative leadership. This is because it is a control technique and satisfies a three point criteria: a) it operates on clear and consistent goals which act as a basis for measuring performance; b) control techniques measure results on specified indicators that are reported to the senior, and performance measurement systems (like the performance appraisal) allow this through testing outcomes; c) results have consequences in terms of rewards and punishment to the individual employees (Christensen et al. 2007:130) .

Performance appraisal reforms are conceived within the instrumental perspective and thus, when applied to a different context, may fail to operate because of the civil servants' existing institutional values and norms, which may not be consistent with the assumptions of the appraisal. Reformers introduce performance appraisal reforms based on the assumption that they are dealing with a functional bureaucracy with a structure and a clear set of rules and regulations to control work. Such reforms also operate on the assumption that a civil service organization has well-defined division of labour, a merit based recruitment, linear careers, a hierarchy among offices, and norms that govern relationships.

Within this approach, the bureaucratic organizational form marked by hierarchy, division of labour and routines is very important. The hierarchy, characterized by superior – subordinate relations, is often tied to a career system where members are promoted on the basis of qualifications, merit and performance. Additionally, the division of labour ensures the existence of rules and procedures on who shall carry out tasks and how they should be accomplished (Christensen et al. 2007). In order to measure merit and performance, the performance appraisal becomes a very important tool. It may therefore be helpful to study the relationship between the superior and the subordinate and how they cope with rules. One would suppose that if rules are followed then the introduction of the performance appraisal system will be easy. However, regardless of what one does, there may always be constraints.

According to Zey (1998) there are four main constraints a rational actor faces. First, the actor is constrained by the scarcity of resources; given that each actor possesses different resources and in different proportions, this constrains the actions taken. Second, there is the constraint of opportunity costs; Friedman and Hechter (Zey 1998 :2) note that these are costs associated with forgoing the most attractive course of action. An individual actor may choose the second most valuable end or goal in instances where resources are scarce. Third, the actor may be constrained by institutional norms. These norms may be societal, organizational or family centred. The actor can be constrained by these norms when choosing the best course of action. Finally, there are constraints related to information. Within rational choice theory, it is assumed that an actor has sufficient information to make the desired choice among alternatives. The quality of information available is the major constraint, more so than the quantity: 'the ability to control the source, amount, content, and accuracy of information has never been a stronger constraint on rational decision making' (Zey 1998: 3).

3.2 The problem of the instrumental approach

The instrumental approach is rooted in rational choice theories that cannot explain the origins of culture and social norms. Rational choice in 'its standard basic version treats preferences as given, makes their origin irrelevant and focuses solely on how preferences yield forward looking choices'(Hollis 1994:187). There is a general tendency to assume that preferences are universal and perceived similarly in all contexts, i.e., choices are context-free and based on individual preference. Preferences, however, may be context dependant. This means they are a product of one's environment. They are a result of the way a person is socialised. Scott (2000) argues that individuals are socialised into all sorts of value judgements, and they will always have their preferences determined by the value judgements into which they have been socialised.

Human nature is designed in a way that is goal oriented; decisions or actions are taken when the situation is 'satsficing' (this hybrid term, coined by Herbert Simon, combines 'satisfy' and 'suffice' and implies adequacy rather than optimality) (Scott 2000). This restricts us to the argument that actions and decisions are taken in a situation where we use the available information, but this information may not be complete and, as such, there are some constraints. These constraints may be institutional rules of procedure,

funding or hierarchy. In effect, therefore, there are situations through which human action may be explained by the cultural approach. In addition, constraints may arise out of cultural considerations. Actors' beliefs, attitudes, values and perceptions may constrain their own actions. In fact, I argue that culture plays an important role in both facilitating and constraining behaviour. Culture can therefore be used to define an actor's choice or it can be used as a constraint on the actor's behaviour, or better still, it can characterize an actor's response to the constraints of others.

3.3 The institutional/cultural perspective

The cultural perspective coincides with the *logic of appropriateness*. This means that when acting in public situations, one will not primarily act rationally according to careful deliberation of pro and contra arguments, but according to norms and values built on equality and considerations of applicability (Christensen et al. 2007).

The logic of appropriateness is a central feature of the cultural perspective. What is appropriate for a civil servant to do is defined by the institution to which he or she belongs and that definition is transmitted through socialization. Rules are followed and roles fulfilled while an individual is taking action. Behaviour is driven by rules. Actions are seen as a result of matching a situation to the demands of a position. For instance, actions are based on what the actor is supposed to do, his or her awareness of the role that must be played in whatever situation is at hand (March and Olsen: 1989). Thus the logic of appropriateness is contextual; actors emphasize social obligation in a specific situation. Behaviour is intentional and action stems from necessity. The actor relies on intuition rather than calculation to take action. Intuition is informed through training, education, socialization and experience. Choice of action is also based on morality and obligation. Bureaucrats, for example, may maintain consistency between their behaviour and a conception of themselves in their professional roles. As creative actors, the bureaucrats will execute standards of procedure, fulfil role expectations, satisfy commitments, and define virtue and truth, in relation to the performance appraisal. Thus identities are formed, situations classified and rules are applied (March and Olsen, 1976:10-12).

The logic of appropriateness associated with obligatory action assumes that human beings take reasoned action by trying to answer three elementary questions: What kind of

a situation is this? Who am I? How appropriate are different actions for me in this situation? (March and Olsen 1989). Actors end up doing what they consider appropriate in a given situation. So what could be the culturally appropriate behaviour in relation to the introduction and implementation of performance appraisal? If civil servants leadership share common norms and values, such a common culture may determine whether the implementation of the appraisal reforms will succeed or fail. This is because the response towards the appraisal reforms will be almost similar regardless of whether one is a leader or a subordinate. These cultural norms and values are path dependent – meaning that institutions are self-reinforcing, that is, decisions the institution faces for any given circumstance are limited by the decisions it has made in the past, even though past circumstances may no longer exist. This concept is important because it is double edged; it makes it easier for civil servants to determine appropriate behaviour and to determine what cultural framework they should operate within. On the other hand, it may obstruct change if there is a gap between external pressure for change and internal pressure for stability (Christensen et al. 2007:46).

From a cultural perspective, public servants may prefer stability and therefore may resist reforms. This is because reforms are sometimes incompatible with the host culture and unsuitable for the recipient. Other times the reforms may clash with the values an organization cares about and is committed to (Christensen et al. 2007:72). This means that the appraisal may succeed if its underlying norms do not conflict with the existing cultural norms. These scholars further argue that from this perspective, reform happens slowly as it seeks to strike an appropriate balance between old and new norms. In the developing countries informal systems co-exist with formal rules, but when the informal rules take precedence, formal rules are ignored; time and resources are diverted to beat the system, distrust the government and to routinized corruption. As a result, civil servants will ignore performance outputs (Schick 1998). All these aspects have implications for the performance appraisal. For instance, when there is less attention given to performance outputs and outcomes, then the idea of a result-oriented appraisal looses meaning and eventually fails.

3.4 The problem of the cultural perspective

As we have seen, culture can be a useful tool in analysing phenomena. It is, however, not without its own shortcomings. First, cultural scholars such as Hofstede, Munene and Trompenaars give the impression that cultural explanations are deterministic in character. For instance, (Munene et al. 2000) argue that African decision makers depend more on formal rules and superiors in reaching decisions because their cultural profile predicates it. Collectivist societies create family like ties. It is in fact possible to cite examples in Latin America and Japan which Trompenaars refers to as 'the way in which a group of people solves problems' (Trompenaars 1993: 6). Hofstedes chooses to call it the 'collective programming of the mind' (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005: 400).

How can Hofstede call this collective programming? First of all, he draws a distinction between practices (rituals, artefacts, heroes) and values. He posits that practices change more easily than values. Therefore, he argues, since values are hard to change, they lead to mental programming, which is deterministic in character. Indeed, to a certain degree one can attempt to predict human behaviour based on cultural profiles, but it should be born in mind that human beings can be highly unpredictable and interpretive; even though context matters in the decisions people make, they do not do things merely because culture demands and dictates it.

In some cases cultural theories do not provide a sufficient explanation for how a particular individual's socialisation during their formative years impacts them, especially in comparison with other contexts. The only options left are determinism and contextualism. In such a situation we may find the individual develops a spilt personality, which is a product of the different contexts in which the individual lives and breaths (Grendstad 1995). Other scholars have rightly observed that determinists, by emphasizing structures and their influence on individual action, may fail to see the transformation of culture on the basis of individual learning (Jamil 1997b).

Given such a scenario how does one account for human actions that defy given predictions of behaviour? For example, Munene et al (2000) argue that African decision makers rely on formal rules and superiors in reaching decisions because their cultural profile dictates so. In the event that this assertion is defied, how does one handle it? I

hold that these categories which have been developed by cultural theorists are not in themselves exhaustive as far as accounting for human behaviour, even if, as I argue, cultural explanations are a better place to start than the rational choice framework. I align myself with Brian Fay, who notes that 'cultural norms consist of rules which detail acceptable ways to speak, think feel and behave. But no rule can anticipate all the conditions under which it's to be applied' (Fays 2003: 61). Cultural profiles, we argue, do not always constitute an accurate explanation of human behaviour.

3.5 Revisiting the cultural approach

Individuals are constantly carrying out actions. In doing so, they negotiate with other actors. In negotiating, if it is a unique situation, they process the information and chose the best alternative. If the situation is not unique, institutional rules and norms are the backgrounds on which individuals tend to act. If a particular action is successful, it is stored in the memory and applied in future. In the case of failure, these are seldom repeated. From this we can assume that in the context of the civil service, there is a shared way in which bureaucrats carry out administrative practices such as the performance appraisal. Lisa Wedeen argues that in some instances certain groups of people maintain a particular lifestyle or decision making pattern, even when they move to a different setting (Eriksen and Weirgard 1993; Eriksen and Weirgard 1997). Applied to bureaucrats, this would mean that they have been socialised into particular norms and values to the extent that these are part of their lifestyle, and that the norms and values are brought to bear in the workplace.

Ann Swilder (1986) expounds on this when she notes that in some cultures, traditions and common sense are dominant, and hence culture refines and reinforces skills, habits and modes of experience, whereas in other cultures, ideology is dominant, and culture teaches new modes of action. Following this line of thought, we may also suggest that though the perceptions and beliefs systems of bureaucrats may be path-dependant, they are at the same time dynamic. Hence there are strong values which are deeply rooted within the civil service and they keep reproducing themselves. Even so, there is still the potential for them to change if ideology is dominant. As such, the behaviour and conduct of government employees are embedded in the wider society culture. It is this wider society

and context we need to grasp in order to understand how the performance appraisal is done and to see how broad collective ideas contribute to the appraisal exercise.

Culture constrains or facilitates action. Sometimes cultural theorists propose a 'universal individual' whose ideas, beliefs and values can be extracted from the social and political conditions under which the person lives. However, other theorists contest this view and suggest that in order to understand why individuals behave in a particular way, we need to understand individual experience and its subjective interpretation of the world. The individualist bias tends to require that culture be conceptualized as a constraint on individual strategic action (Wedeen 2002 :717). I agree with the conclusion that social science 'should search for new analytic perspectives that will allow more effective concrete analyses of how culture influences actors, how cultural elements constrain or facilitate patterns of action, and what aspects of a cultural heritage undermine the vitality of some cultural patterns and give rise to others' (Wedeen 2002 :784).

Finally, I propose that in order to understand human action better, we may need to develop a synthesised version of accounting for how and why people do things the way they do. People have the relative autonomy and independence to choose how to act (March and Olsen 1984; Searle 2001), although institutionalized rules, norms and procedures do influence action. It is thus useful to study administrative culture both as collective action and as a reflection of society. This is so because those who freely belong to an institution act appropriately on the basis of societal norms and rules, although socialization in institutional norms does not necessary mean that civil servants are programmed to act in a certain way (Christensen et al. 2007:49). They have freedom to choose and, in effect, defy predictions based on cultural profiles.

In the context of bureaucracy, therefore, civil servants are creative actors who know a lot about rules, roles and expectations. They make rules but sometimes do not follow them because they are intensely concerned about the consequences of their actions to themselves. Civil servants do more than merely follow internalised cultural rules; they act and interact creatively.

3.6 Why the cultural approach in studying performance appraisal: A recap

3.6.1 A recap for the importance of the cultural approach

Murphy and Cleveland (1995) draw our attention to the importance of culture in performance appraisal research by proposing that the reactions of both raters and ratees to the performance appraisal are critical to the success of an appraisal process. They observe that while the relations between appraisal characteristics, appraisal satisfaction, and procedural fairness perceptions have been well established, the influence of culture has received less attention. Mendonca and Kanungo (1990) have warned that uncritically transplanting performance management processes developed in the West to developing countries will doom such processes to failure. Performance management processes may be most successful when they are congruent with countries cultural values.

According to Sarah Vallance (1999:78), performance appraisals provide an excellent opportunity to examine the possible effects of culture upon administrative practice. Two possible reasons for this could be envisaged. First, according to Vallance (1999), appraisals require individuals to assess the work performance of other individuals, and thus provide a unique opportunity to study a variety of interpersonal relationships and behaviours. These may be explored by observing the actual *conduct* of the appraisal process, the design of appraisal methods, their objectives, their history and their shortcomings. Second, I add that the appraisal process provides valuable insights into the ways in which culture may influence it, because the appraisal is one of the administrative reforms that takes time to become institutionalized. It needs to be carried out over a stretch of time and needs several years to become embedded in the system. This is unlike some other administrative reforms that may be implemented instantaneously, such as staff reduction, restructuring of administrative units, and 'agencification'.

3.6.2 The inadequacy of other explanations for performance appraisal failure

Despite its good intentions, the performance appraisal, like most NPM administrative reforms, does not always achieve its objectives. A number of reasons have been advanced for the failure of civil service reforms, including performance appraisals. Most of these reasons are well captured in Meter and Horn's (1975) policy implementation framework, or model, which includes the following points: a) standards and objectives, b) resources

made available by the policy, c) interorganizational communication and enforcement activities, d) economic, social and political conditions affecting the policy, and e) the disposition of implementers.

Standards and objectives

According to Meter and Horn (1975), in order for a policy to succeed it ought to have clear standards and objectives. Policy makers should elaborate on the overall goals of the policy decision, and these should be clear as a bell to everyone involved in the implementation process. Meanwhile, civil servants who want to get around the rules will always figure out ways of doing so, and well intentioned managers may find themselves bound hand and foot by centralized red tape to do anything about it (Dodoo 1997; Polidano 1999). This indicates that the clarity of goals and objectives is also influenced by culture. In a country like Uganda, for example, what matters is not what is written down in rules and regulations, but what is practiced. Rules, standards and objectives may be clear, but individuals still may circumvent them in order to achieve their own personal ends. As such, the informal rules, norms and traditions in the wider culture are stronger than the formal organizational rules. As noted by Allan Schick (1988), in developing countries informal systems co-exist with formal rules; but when the informal rules takes precedence, then the clear objectives and formal rules are ignored. Informality is a matter of culture because it defines social roles, relationships and legitimate and expected behaviour, and although these cultural practices may often actually help cut through red tape and unresponsive bureaucracies, the costs are high: evasion of rules, loss of time and resources, inattention to performance results and, in turn, performance appraisal.

Resources

Meter and Horn (1975) also argue that resources are critical for successfully implementing new policies and reforms. These scholars define 'resources' to include funds and all other incentives that are earmarked in the policy to promote effective implementation. Other scholars have said that Africans lack expertise and therefore are incapable of implementing performance appraisals, moreover, that low levels of human capital are responsible for organizational failure (Klitgaard 1997:493). Nevertheless, Ugandan civil servants are well trained (Kiggundu 1988) and *human resources* are plentiful. We may then rightly ask: Why are there not more civil servants involved in decision making processes, which could help ensure that reforms are successfully

implemented? It has been suggested that lack of competence may lead to policy failure. But in the Ugandan civil service, which is generalist in character, it is hierarchy, not competence, which is emphasized in decision making processes. Those in the higher positions will be the ones to make decisions and set up policies irrespective of how competent they are. This indicates the influence of culture. Similarly, use of other resources is a product of decisions based on the host culture. For instance (and as discussed below), the timely allocation of funds and other logistical issues depend on hierarchy.

Interorganizational communication and enforcement activities

In order to effectively implement a policy, there is a need for effective and well coordinated institutional 'machinery' and procedures which can facilitate communication. This will ensure that those in higher positions of authority achieve higher compliance by having subordinates conform to stated standards and objectives (Meter and Horn 1975). Coordinated communication is very important but it is not immune to cultural influence, and in order to avoid obstacles and be smooth, it needs to fit within the organizational culture. Given that the performance appraisal is premised on transparency and merit, host cultural norms may determine how the coordination of communication for this reform is done. To illustrate, it may be difficult to implement a results-oriented appraisal system when those higher up in the chain of command are able to appoint and promote individuals without looking at their evaluation results. They bypass the formal organizational communication channels in order to do this. As the President of Uganda notes, the few opportunities that become available in the public service are quickly taken up before they are even advertised because of some cultural influences: 'We know that some people have been employed because of their relationships with the insiders. In some cases these relationships are a result of tribalism'.[9] Even if the civil service communication system had been well coordinated, it could have been overwhelmed by such hiring practices.

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[9]A remark by president Museveni under the headline 'Temporary relief for graduates from poor families' on the Presidential Standards Task Force to fight corruption website, http://ugandapstf.org/id11.html accessed on July 10, 2009.

Economic, social and political conditions affecting the policy

In their policy implementation model, Meter and Horn (1975) further explain that several environmental factors may influence the implementation process. They include the economic, social and political conditions prevailing at the time, as well as the nature of public opinion existing in the implementation environment. Yet these factors also have a cultural aspect. For instance, the *influence of donors* often leads to failure. The World Bank for example has immense influence owing to its resource capacity and politics of residency,[10] which makes it a willing and able lender. Hence it can impose its preferences on reforms (Harrison 2001:668-670; Polidano 2001) and sometimes the imposed reforms may be inappropriate. It remains to be seen whether such external agencies have a sufficiently clear vision of successful reforms. But we can well ask, why do countries accept donor influence, e.g., agree to implement a reform which the donor recommends, yet at the same time suspect that the reform programme will fail? The answer to this has to do with resources: while these countries need resources, civil servants know they can individually profiteer from then. For example, donor money and jobs which are created in connection with reform implementation process can be handed out based on ethnicity and nepotism. Ethnic consideration for handing out jobs, a rampant practice, is a cultural issue. Thus the economic conditions for reforms are closely intertwined with the social and political conditions affecting reform policy.

Political will and support also affects the success of policy reforms. It has been noted that in Uganda most of the successful administrative innovations and reforms have been dependent on the goodwill of the President and other political leaders. This is also part of the culture in developing countries where, in the absence of well functioning institutions, the regime requires strong leadership to implement policies. The success of a reform is therefore highly dependant on the strength, position and preferences of the leader. For example, the Ministry of Public Service had clear political support from president Museveni while downsizing, that is, cutting the number of civil servants. The fact that the retrenchment process went fairly smoothly was at least partly due to the open and powerful support of the president for what would otherwise have been a difficult reform

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[10]A World Bank Resident Representative in each country is evaluated largely according to the amount of programme funding he or she can arrange. Therefore, it is of value for a resident representative to spend as much money during the residency as is permissible (Harrison 2001; Polidano 2001)

to implement. Thus the relationship between politicians and bureaucrats is one aspect of social conditions that is used to measure administrative culture.

Characteristics of the implementing agencies / disposition of implementers,

The characteristics of implementing agencies and the disposition of implementers are two more factors that may facilitate or hamper effective implementation of the performance appraisal (Meter and Horn 1975:465). Insofar as these thinkers argue that inadequate capacity and lack of motivation amongst the implementers may also lead to implementation failure, the institutional characteristics of implementing agencies have a profound effect on how subordinates perceive and act on the directives of their bosses. The disposition of individual implementers is closely linked to the characteristics of agencies in which they are embedded. But reform implementation is also affected by other factors, such as ethnicity, political bias, patrimonialism; hence the characteristics of the implementing agencies and disposition of implementers delineate key aspects of the nature of relationships and administrative culture in the civil service.

In sum, the Van Meter and Van Hon model is neutral and focuses on relevant variables. Beyond that, in the context of civil service in developing countries, these variables are influenced by *cultural variables* such as power distance, ethnicity, political bias, affection, hierarchy, kinship, tribal networks, and the importance of leisure and celebration (Klitgaard 1997). Some of these cultural norms and traditions militate against strongly hierarchical bureaucracies and it is the influence of cultural variables and their line of explanation that my research follows.

3.6.3 The way forward

I have argued above that, of all the possible explanations for the failure of the performance appraisal reforms in the Ugandan civil service, the incompatibility between the appraisal and the host administrative culture is the most convincing reason. If this is so, we should expect that performance appraisal reforms will not be accepted and eventually institutionalized as long as there is no cultural adjustment to enable them to take deep root. Indeed, it is important now to conceptualize administrative culture and determine how to operationalize it.

3.7 Administrative culture: how should it be conceptualized?

Administrative culture is a promising candidate as an explanatory factor of performance appraisal reform patterns – despite the concept 'administrative culture' being inherently difficult to conceptualize (György 2004:498). There is need to have a clear understanding in relation to the bureaucracy. Jamil (1994) argues that in order to explain and understand culture in a bureaucracy, two categories may be useful; these are '*Culture is what organization is*' and '*culture is what organization has*'. The former is about the organizational culture and the latter is about the adoption of societal culture into the organization. In this section, I relate Jamil's understanding of culture to the two perspectives of studying administrative reform, i.e., the instrumental and the institutional perspectives (cf. section 3.1 and 3.4 above), in the context of my study. Thereafter, I shall re-state the operational definition of administrative culture as used in this work. First, an elaboration on Jamils categories of administrative culture.

3.7.1 Administrative culture as 'what organization 'has'
All organizations have some kind of culture. According to Jamil (1994), administrative culture is a dependent variable shaped and influenced by leaders through reforms, changes, the formulation of new goals and standards for operating procedures. Jamil further notes that multiple factors such as education, age, type of job, and so forth influence the culture of an organization. Organizational culture presupposes the existence of a collective culture that can be created, measured, and manipulated in order to enhance organizational effectiveness (Jamil 1994: 277). When organisational members become socialized, they become infused with values and become institutions. Institutionalized values are difficult to change because of their persistence and stability.

3.7.2 Administrative culture as 'what organization 'is''
According to this perspective, organizational culture is isomorphic with national culture and cannot be easily changed by leadership. The underpinning argument within this understanding of organizational cultures is that organizations are a reflection of societal cultures. This kind of relationship has been explored by a number of scholars (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005; Jamil 1994; Tayeb 1988; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007). From these studies, a clear relationship between societal and organizational culture is

determined, and the main source of values and preferences is the wider society and its culture rather than that of the organization.

3.7.3 Re-conceptualizing administrative culture

Here is one more thing: If we conceptualize culture from an *instrumental perspective*, it may be perceived as 'what organization has'. Here, culture become a dependent variable because it is dependant on other factors such as age, type of education, duration of service, ministry, studying abroad, place of birth, and gender. If administrative culture varies according to such variables we may conclude that it is fragmented. On the other hand, when we perceive culture from the *institutional perspective* it may be viewed as 'what organization is'. Values and norms are institutionalized and organisational members share common norms. In such institutionalized environments, socio-economic variables such as age and education may have little influence on administrative culture. Then we may conclude that administrative culture is unified and integrated and influenced by dominant societal values. These values may be very resilient because they are already institutionalized.

Given these two perspectives, it is of interest to review my research problem and try to establish how and where the two perspectives confront one another in the context of the Ugandan civil service. The presupposition would be that if dominant societal values and norms influence administrative culture, then performance appraisal may be difficult to implement in administrative systems dominated by traditional values. On the other hand, if background variables affect administrative culture then it may be easier to implement performance appraisal reforms because the appropriate bureaucrats may possess the right kind of attributes. *But most importantly for this study, administrative culture is taken as the shared values, beliefs, norms, traditions and practices of civil servants.*

3.8 Measuring administrative culture: The dimensions

The conception of administrative culture used in this thesis refers to the shared values, beliefs, norms, traditions and practices of civil servants. It is concerned with the way the civil servants view the world. Here are some questions I have used for purposes of analysis: What is the most appropriate action for a civil servant? What rules do they follow? What motivates them to act? What do they do to gain acceptance? This model of analysis will be used as a point of departure and is based on known value constructs or

variables used to measure and describe culture – namely, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political neutrality/bias, and ethnicity.

Although some of these variables are commonly used for cross national studies, they are mirrored in the bureaucracy because organizational culture is isomorphic to societal culture (György 2004:37; Hofstede 2001; Jahoda 1984; Javidan et al. 2004.). I shall discuss the variables and theorize over their influence on the performance appraisal. Reasons for choosing these particular variables are elaborated in chapter one (section 1.4 and 1.6.4), but could be summarized thus:

a) Several studies have used these variables, and researchers have proposed that managerial practices can be predicted by various national values (Aycan 2005; György 2004; Hofstede 2001; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). Therefore I use these studies as a point of departure for my study.

b) These dimensions (variables) of culture are used at the national level, but because they are mirrored in the civil service (House et al. 2004; Peters 2001; Islam 2004, 2005) it is relevant to use them as a point of departure in analyzing the administrative culture of Uganda.

c) Some of the dimensions like ethnicity (Hameso 1997; Nnoli 1993; Tambiah 1989) and its consequences, e.g., abuse of power, patrimonialism and corruption (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Erdmann and Engel 2006; Olivier de Sardan 1999), have long been associated with African maladministration. More importantly, they are current prominent themes, not only in scholarly work but also in the media and everyday life in the country. It is therefore important to apply and analyze them with regard to the civil service in Uganda.

3.8.1 Power distance

Hofstede's survey of East Africa[11] considers the region to have a high power distance nature, with a score of 64[12]. By inference therefore, we could suppose that Uganda is in the same range. Power distance is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. Although power

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[11] Hofstede's survey did not include Uganda, but Uganda borders with two of the surveyed countries, i.e., Kenya and Tanzania. In addition, there are many similar and or related communities in the third country, Zambia. The fourth country is Ethiopia.

[12] The scale of the score varies from 0 – 100, where the higher the score, the higher the power distance.

distance may be part of the formal and informal organization, it is usually difficult to distinguish in which part of organization the power distance resides. In instances where a society has large power distance, then it follows that organizations may as well be considered to have large power distance tendencies. Power is centralized as much as possible in a few hands and subordinates expect to be told what to do. There are a lot of supervisory personnel, structured into tall hierarchies of people reporting to each other. Salary systems show wide gaps between top and bottom in the organization (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:55). Subordinates usually accept power relations that are authoritarian and paternalistic. Juniors often show respect to their superiors based on the positions their superiors formally hold in the organization. This has a number of implications to the performance appraisal, which relies heavily on a participative appraisal process – goal setting, interview, and review. Studies have shown that in countries where there is a participative appraisal system, the rate of employee satisfaction with the appraisal system is positively correlated (Cook and Crossman 2004)**.**

a) *Hierarchy and participatory appraisal*: With large power distance the bureaucracy is highly centralized, juniors are not expected to challenge authority openly or to participate in decision making but to take orders (Munene et al. 2000). Yet, given that the performance appraisal is expected to be participatory (interviews, goal setting, self-appraise and filling out the forms), then it may not succeed well in a hierarchical environment characterized by large power distance. This hierarchy that defines power relations is accentuated by wide salary ranges/disparities, and civil servants who cherish status symbols. It may also express itself in other ways such *gender and generational differences,* whereby men and the elderly are generally considered culturally superior (Hofstede 1997). Studies linking culture and performance appraisal indicate that the British performance appraisal is more successful than the one in Hong Kong because the British do not have much tolerance for status and power differences (Snape et al. 1998), and consequentially, employees have a higher tendency to participate in performance appraisal. It is within this spirit that the current appraisal was designed. Both the appraiser and the appraised meet together to formulate goals, and the subordinate is expected to self-appraise. I pose a question: The performance appraisal works on the premise that the rater and ratee can engage each other in conversation without fear, as peers, but how can this be achieved in a large power distance culture where both parties expect that only the superior gives instructions and commands? In fact, in large power

distance cultures, those in lower ranks are not expected to participate in the performance appraisal (Kirkbride and Westwood 1993) and thus the performance appraisal system does not fit with the culture because the subordinate may find it difficult to meet the rater and set his or her own goals in cooperation with the rater.

Chances that the performance appraisal would thrive in such a community are low because subordinates cannot work closely together with their bosses; consultations where decisions are made between a superior and a subordinate are almost non existent. In a small power distance context, by contrast, subordinates and their supervisors consider each other as equals regardless of organizational status, age or education. This view – that non-participative goal setting is less effective in cultures characterized by high power distance – is evidenced by several studies (Fletcher and Perry 2001). It has also been observed that this kind of appraisal, which is part of the MBO philosophy, reflects an American value position in that it presupposes that the subordinate is sufficiently independent to have a meaningful dialogue with the boss (not too high power distance) (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:273).

b) *Mentorship and sycophancy*: According to Mendonca and Kanungo (1994), all the critical activities in performance appraisal require the manager to function as a coach and mentor to his subordinates, but high power distance is 'certainly not compatible with this nature of a manager-subordinate relationship' (Mendonca and Kanungo 1996). The implication therefore is that high power distance may clash with essential values of the performance appraisal, which requires that in order to be successful, there is mentoring and coaching within the appraisal process, whereby the interaction between managers and subordinates is personalized and supportive. This is not usually the case; instead *sycophancy* arises in order to smooth out the relationship. Sycophancy is manifested in many ways such as flattery and by imitating the boss. It is intended to create an impression of a servile person and to win favour from the boss, also in the context of the performance appraisal.

c) *Appraisal feedback process:* Fletcher and Perry (2001) observe that employee appraisals and feedback on results in large power distance organizations will most often be conducted by a person with relatively more power than the ratee, while in low power distance cultures performance appraisals are less dependant on superiors. In large power

distance cultures subordinates expect to receive performance feedback in a more directive manner, therefore supervisors are expected to initiate feedback and employees are less likely to seek it from their superiors. In low power distance cultures, by contrast, feedback may even be sought by the ratee. But when large power distance deters juniors from demanding feedback, it undermines the core values of the performance appraisal system because that system is designed so that those involved will relate to each other without feeling unequal power distribution. This is because 'it may not be the case that employees from large power distance cultures expect or desire to participate in the feedback and evaluation processes' (Fletcher and Perry 2001:136).

d) One of the negative outcomes of large power distance is that it perpetuates *corruption*. Hofstede writes: 'power distance adds to the frequency of corruption, as larger power distances stand for fewer checks and balances against power abuse' (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:63). He further notes that countries with large power distance cultures are more likely to bribe compared to small power distance countries. Based on this assumption, we could also hypothesize that if an employee finds it rewarding to bribe the boss to get a positive evaluation, the individual will go ahead and do it. And as long as other factors are brought into play, insofar as assessment is concerned, then subjective judgments take precedence over objective judgment and thus will undermine the spirit of the performance appraisal.

e) *The colonial chief factor vs. transparency.* Under this concept, the boss has the self conception of a chief, a legacy left by colonialism. During colonial times, every moment of power – legislative, executive, judicial, and administrative – was combined in the chief. He signified total, absolute power, unchecked and unrestrained (Mamdani 1996). This legacy has lived to date; nothing should be done to appear to disrespect or humiliate the chief. Thus, for instance, when a man has a managerial position, he may perceive himself as the ultimate authority and the survival of the junior civil servant lies at his mercy (Refer to Chapter six, section 6.2.2 when such practices were at the peak in the civil service, i.e. 1967-1979). This indicates that power distance is perpetuated by the 'chief' concept and therefore a performance appraisal should be seen as a source of power and prestige for it to succeed. But transparency, which is a key component of the performance appraisal, is undermined when civil servants operate as chiefs. This is

because a 'chief' is not obliged to be open and accountable. He does only what he chooses.

As already intimated, a performance appraisal that does not reward in terms of power and prestige may not succeed. It should be noted that the success rate of the annual confidential report in Ugandas bureaucracy in terms of forms being filled out was high (Turya-Muhika 1982), but when this was replaced with the more transparent performance appraisal, the success rate declined. One of the possible reasons is because the old annual confidential report preserved the power of the rater and hence was 'fitting' for a high power distance culture. On the other hand, the new performance appraisal not only failed because it could not give the rater more power, even worse, it could give neither power nor prestige to the rater or the ratee.

f) Status symbolism: Hofstede notes that privileges and status symbols are normal and popular in large power distance cultures but frowned upon in small power distance societies. He adds that visible signs of status in large power distance cultures contribute to the authority of the bosses. In small power distance cultures privileges for higher ups are basically undesirable, for instance, everyone should use the same parking lot, toilets and cafeteria (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:56). The desire for status symbols may also have some effect on the performance appraisal system. In a large power distance culture, those in power would like to see the performance appraisal as another exercise that contributes to their authority. This is because the performance appraisal results are supposed to be used for personnel decisions such as promotion, demotion and salary increment. Therefore, given that the raters are in charge of determining the future of the ratee, it becomes an effective tool and cherished. On the other hand, in small power distance cultures, we would expect that the performance appraisal would only be looked at as tool of assessing and communicating performance, with minimal expectation that it will accentuate the power of the rater.

f) Informality and clientelism: though it has been argued that power distance cultures promote formalism, the logic does not always work in Africa because sometimes the same large power distance creates red tape through tall hierarchies. In order to overcome red tape, informality comes in and causes members of an organization to not pay attention to performance outputs and results (Schick 1998). Informal institutions –

socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels – result from three scenarios; a) the informal rules augment the formal rules because they are incomplete and cannot cover all the contingencies; b) the informal rules may be the second best strategy for actors who prefer but cannot achieve a formal solution, either because it the formal solution costs too much, or because actors know it will be ineffective; c) informal rules are used to pursue goals which are not considered publicly or internationally acceptable – such as performance appraisals not based on merit (Helmke and Levitsky 2004).

Informal institutions perpetuate power distance compromise merit, uniformity and competition. Performance appraisals usually require that the rater assesses the ratee's core competencies, integrity, initiative and relations in the work place. As such, the rater's attitudes about the employee are vital. One may well suppose that practicing the informal norms considered acceptable to the organization's members will most likely increase an employee's chances of being rated positively during the performance appraisal exercise. It is also of interest to examine the readiness to criticize or sanction infringement of such norms by colleagues. It has been observed that where informality reigns, civil servants are hired because they know the right person or have contributed to a cause and then become 'ghost workers' on the payroll. These informal social formations still dominate the African continent, and have been institutionalized to the point when they tend to dominate the way the formal institutions operate. In fact, one of the ways it manifests itself is in the recruitment of personnel (Schick 1998). All these aspects have implications for the performance appraisal. For instance, when the inattention to performance outputs and outcomes prevails, then the whole purpose of a result oriented appraisal – meant to measure these outputs – looses meaning and eventually fails.

Hypothesis 1: *The presence of high power distance in the Ugandan civil service may prevent participatory decision making, abate transparency and compromise merit. Hence it may be difficult to introduce performance appraisal*.

3.8.2 Uncertainty avoidance
Uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations. The concept denotes a deficit in knowledge about what the future may hold, it expresses the extent to which people either tolerate

ambiguous situations *or* need formal rules (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). Uncertainty may be weak or strong. Bureaucracies in strong uncertainty cultures are more likely to create and maintain rules than in weak uncertainty cultures, and people in the strong uncertainty culture will tend to avoid situations that may not be easy to tackle. Hence their leaders may create more rules and regulations to ensure control. Because of the fact that people do not know what may happen the next day, the future is expressed as uncertain and this uncertainty may cause anxiety and stress. Next I raise arguments that link uncertainty avoidance and the performance appraisal.

a) *Innovation and risk aversion:* Mendonca and Kanungo (1999) argue that the relatively high uncertainty avoidance in the developing countries implies that civil servants are unwilling to accept organizational change. Bureaucrats are reluctant to take personal initiatives outside of the prescribed roles and avoid taking risks. This eventually becomes a severe constraint on effective performance appraisal. And yet involving subordinates in the setting of challenging and difficult goals is a key tenet of performance appraisal. In cultures with strong uncertainty avoidance norms, emotions are displayed in the way that everything different is dangerous. People resist changes and worry about the future.

By contrast, cultures with a weak degree of uncertainty avoidance are open for new challenges and changes. People have less feelings of uncertainty about the future and like to avoid excessive rules and formalities. They are more likely to stimulate innovations and emphasize new ideas. When performance appraisal is introduced in the high uncertainty avoidance culture, civil servants may resist appraisal reforms because they have to learn something new. There exists a fear of the unknown and about their ability to adapt to it. As de Jager (2001) argues, 'Most people are reluctant to leave the familiar behind. We are all suspicious about the unfamiliar; we are naturally concerned about how we will get from the old to the new, especially if it involves learning something new and risking failure' (de Jager 2001:24). This is also a familiar phenomenon within the appraisal. There is fear that one will not be able to develop new skills and behaviours that are required in a new work setting. It is common for civil servants to fear change since it calls for performing their job differently. This fear can lead to resentment-based resistance behaviour such as not filling out the appraisal form in time, giving fraudulent appraisals, and not being as transparent as possible.

b*) Rewards:* Since one of the critical purposes of the appraisal is that it be used as a basis for rewards and sanctions of some sort, it is important to understand the impact uncertainty avoidance has upon the appraisal. According to Dean Mcfarlin and Paul Sweeney (Mcfarlin and Sweeney 2001:75), various studies have found out that there is a strong correlation between uncertainty avoidance and bonuses. These scholars note that countries with weak uncertainty avoidance favour the idea that bonuses should be linked to performance, whereas countries with strong uncertainty avoidance are less likely to use the variable of performance bonuses because they create more ambiguity than the executives are willing to accept. This is significant because the appraisal system favours rewards and bonuses based on merit or performance, as opposed to general rewards across the board, which are preferred by all in weak uncertainty avoidance cultures. Hence we may hypothesize that a performance appraisal proposing bonuses may not succeed in a country like Uganda.

c) *Rule-following:* civil servants who are subjected to rigid and complex rules seldom take initiative. They are also rarely accountable for their behavioural patterns and actions' (Jabbra and Jabbra 2005). Some of the implications of this kind of structure are: a) issues concerning appraisal reforms that are not covered by rules are ignored due to lack of flexibility and innovation; b) time is wasted when a document passes through many hands before it is signed by a supervisor; c) obsession with rules perpetuates itself by the establishment of more formal rules; d) whenever there is dispute over an issue, or if a manager makes instructions, there is greater reliance on rules than on expertise to determine the best way forward, and e) civil servants are constrained by the existing rules because they may either be punished for not following the rules and standing orders to the letter, that is, they may be held *ultra vires* for exceeding the bounds of their jurisdiction. How do these aspects of rule-following affect the performance appraisal reform? For one thing, as Hofstede points out, this kind of appraisal, which is part of the MBO philosophy, reflects American values in that it presupposes that both superior and subordinate are prepared to accept some ambiguity (low uncertainty avoidance) (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:273).

Etounga-Manguelle (2000:68) argues that Africa is plagued by what he terms the *tyranny of time*: the 'African is anchored in his ancestral culture…without a dynamic perception of the future, there is no planning, no foresight, no scenario building…no policy to affect

the course of events'. It seems a harsh statement on the state of affairs in Africa, but it is generally perceived that there is little concern for proactive or future planning while there is excessive concern for maintaining the status quo (Umeh 2005:122). Implications for the performance appraisal are immense. It is conceivable that an official operating within this mindset is likely to base decisions on precedence and the need to maintain continuity. The actual conducting of the appraisal may also always fall short of the time targets. For as Terence Jackson postulates, Western systems reflect a future, objective and performance orientation, whereas the 'African' management reflect status quo, and continuity with the past (Groeschl 2003 ; Jackson 2006:83).

e) *Control over environment vs. feedback management:* The level of control becomes important when reviewing past performance, as Stefan Groeschl (2003) argues. He notes that 'control of the environment' is a cultural characteristic linked to uncertainty avoidance for it concerns the extent to which people think they have/lack control over their environment. Munene et al (2000) argue that Ugandans view themselves as having complete control over their environment but as Groeschl reveals, empirical data confirms that the level of control could influence different approaches to the appraisal process. For instance, in India, uncertainty avoidance evidenced through *karma* (inevitable fate) has been used as a rationalization for accepting sub-standard performance of the appraisal. This characteristic of uncertainty avoidance and lack of control could have a negative impact on reviewing past performance (Groeschl 2003 :72) because it would mean supervisors are not giving necessary feedback to their employees, or that the feedback is rationalized in such a way that makes it inoperative. As long as feedback fails to have the effects the promoters of appraisal systems expect and desire, it suggests that the appraisal system is not functioning**.**

Etounga-Manguelle's analysis of African culture highlights the suppression of individual initiative and achievement due to its natural consequence – jealousy. He concludes that Africa must 'change or perish' (Etounga-Manguelle 2000:68-74).This conclusion may as well be considered applicable to the Ugandan context at the societal level. After all, as Michael Lipsky has observed if a bureaucracy mirrors the society from which it develops, it will be difficult to change bureaucratic forms in a fundamental way without larger changes also taking place: '…no matter what the articulated organizational policy, is

likely to continue to reflect the dominant bureaucratic relations of society, no matter what the domestic guidelines provide'(Lipsky 1980: 188).

Hypothesis 2: *The higher the degree of uncertainty avoidance, the more the risk aversion and rule following, the less the innovation and the more the concern for maintaining the status quo. Such a situation may impede the introduction of performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service.*

3.8.3 Political neutrality vs. political bias

This section focuses on the interface between politics and administration, in other words between political leaders and civil servants. The issue that is highlighted here is the extent to which bureaucrats retain political neutrality or become politically biased. Political neutrality denotes civil servants performing their jobs professionally and without biases towards politicians. On the other hand, political bias connotes a partisan bureaucracy that is more loyal to the interests and preferences of the ruling party. In an extreme case, political bureaucrats may resemble bureaucracies in socialist countries (such as in the former Soviet and East European countries) where bureaucrats were also active members of the socialist party.

According to Putnam (1975), attitudes of bureaucrats may be classified into classical and political bureaucrats. A *classical bureaucrat* is more procedure- and rule oriented while the *political bureaucrat* is more problem- or program oriented. A classical bureaucrat may dislike political influence and intervention by political leaders in the daily affairs of the bureaucracy. They are likely to be more distrustful to politicians. In contrast, a political bureaucrat is more sensitive to political signals and guided by preferences of the party in power; they are also more trustful of politicians. If a bureaucracy is more classical, their dispositions to reform measures by the government may vary from being positive to negative. To secure positive responses, their cooperation needs to be nurtured by making them active participants in the implementation phase. In contrast, politically biased bureaucrat's natural inclination is to support government policies. Their positive disposition is natural and taken for granted.

Bureaucratic attitude along classical and political dimension may also develop because of the way bureaucrats are selected. In those systems, where bureaucrats are recruited by a public personnel agency usually called the public service commission, bureaucrats are

likely to be more classical. They are recruited on the basis of merit through a competitive selection procedure and bureaucrats are expected to be loyal to professional norms and standards. Bureaucrats in these systems have tenure of service. These features of bureaucracy and the pattern of recruitment are almost common in those countries which once were British colonies. Jamil [13] has applied Putnam's typology to classify the bureaucracy in Bangladesh. He argues that the bureaucracy in Bangladesh is influenced more by the British colonial administrative norms and hence bureaucrats there do display more classical norms. Classical bureaucrats generally have a more negative attitude to politics than political bureaucrats (Jamil 1998:97). Similar to Bangladesh, we may also expect the Ugandan bureaucracy to be classical, since Uganda was also a British colony.

Jamils study further observes that the bureaucrats in Bangladesh perceive politics as mainly concerned with narrow interest gain. The politics in the country have been characterized by unrest and instability, which in turn influences administrative culture. He argues that due to weakness of politics – imbued with factionalism, opportunism and narrow interest gain-it is not surprising that the civil servants have a negative attitude towards politics (Jamil 1998:98). Therefore, the turbulent history of Uganda (as discussed in chapter six, section), may have also been critical in modifying the country's administrative culture.

On the other hand, in those systems such as in the USA, a sizable number of bureaucrats are political appointees and their major responsibility is to ensure that party programs are implemented. They are more political and represent party preferences. They are shifted out with the change of government.

In the case of Uganda, bureaucrats are more classical because of their selection criteria. They are selected by the Public Service Commission on the basis of merit through a competitive exam and remain in the service until retirement. Their promotion is supposed to be based on merit and performance. However, in recent years we observe politicization of the bureaucracy, especially of top level bureaucrats by the party in power. In order to implement government policies in line with the ruling party's preferences, top level

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[13] Putnam assembled a battery of questions to classify the bureaucrats as classical and political. Jamil partly adopted from the works of Putnam, and also added other questions to contextualize to the Bangladeshi situation.

positions are now decided by the President of the country. This indicates that the top leadership in Uganda wants the bureaucracy to be sensitive to political wishes and their signals. A very pertinent finding by Mwenda and Tangri (2005) is that administrative reforms in Uganda were accepted primarily for political survival. This scenario demonstrates that administrative reforms have abetted the reproduction of a patronage. If selection of key positions in bureaucracy is based on *political patronage*,[14] we may observe a change in attitudes of bureaucrats in Uganda from being classical to political bureaucrats. This in turn would make them more loyal and even more biased to government policies, hence to the performance appraisal system.

Hypothesis 3: *The higher the degree of political biasness in the Ugandan civil service, the more the loyalty, patronage and trust of politicians, and hence the more likely the introduction of the performance appraisal reforms*.

3.8.4 Ethnicity, tribalism, and regionalism

Ethnicity[15] and tribalism is a very contentious issue in discussions on culture and political theory. There is a huge debate on the definitions and what constitutes ethnicity and what it does not; the relationship and distinction between tribalism and ethnicity. I wish to state from the start that this thesis will not engage in the debate, but rather be concerned about the notion that people from the same ethnic entity may use it as a basis of influencing managerial decisions through favouritism. Ethnic considerations seem to be a visible dynamic in influencing how Ugandan civil servants respond to performance appraisal reforms. In Uganda people do not strive to make autonomous choices. They take into consideration the consequences, how their choices effect their relationships with other people (Hyden 2006:191), even ethnic groups (interpreted as interest groups), because

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[14] . According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, patronage 'is the power to make appointments to government jobs especially for political advantage'[14]. Golden (2003:200) clarifies that political patronage involves the distribution of benefits to individuals.

[15] Thernstrom notes the characteristics of ethnicity as ; a) common geographic origin: b) migratory status; c) race; d) language or dialect; e) religious faith; f) ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood, and community boundaries; h) literature, folklore, and music; i) food preferences; j)settlement and employment patterns; k) special interests in regard to politics; l) institutions that specifically secure and maintain the group; m) an internal sense of distinctiveness, and n) an external perception of distinctiveness (Thernstrom 1980). Hameso identifies three main features for distinguishing Africa's ethnic groups from each other: a) a community of people with physical space and emotional attachment to this space; b) a common language and myth of common descent; and c) common culture (Hameso 1997). Okuku contends that ethnicity has two main features: a) social constructed ethnic identities defined by the historical conditions within which they emerge with a specified territory, beliefs and values connoting its distinctiveness in relation to similar groups and recognized by others, and b) The objective of ethnicity is in most cases to obtain and use state power, in order to gain access to resources commanded by the state or defend ethnic identities from state intrusions (Okuku 2002:9).

such people and groups make legitimate claims on the resources of the modern state. Ethnicity could be seen as a characteristic of collectivist cultures whereby people, from birth onwards, are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups; throughout a person's lifetime, the group that person is in continues to give protection in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005):399-401). Ethnicity is thus an aspect of social relationships between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have minimum regular interaction (Eriksen 2002:13). Ethnicity is a social construction whose mobilization can be limited. It is also a factor in the dialectics of domination and emancipation. However, I tend to agree with Hameso, who maintains that explanations of Africa's problems in terms of ethnicity or tribalism are simplistic and need to be replaced by approaches which see ethnicity in a more positive perspective (Hameso 1997). The key question then is how and why it may be considered a key factor in influencing the introduction of performance appraisals.

There is a lot of discussion about ethnic sectarianism within the Ugandan polity. The debate on ethnicity in the appointments of public officials in Uganda presents two issues; one is on representation, the other on professionalism (Mwenda 2008).[16] In such a scenario it would be expecting way too much to anticipate that a merit-based promotion will happen – when, in effect, the performance appraisal is rendered irrelevant. Even leading academics accuse each other of practicing tribalism at work (Kagolo 2008). The most important point here is that certain tribes are accused of monopolizing high offices. It is easy to want to agree with those who argue that ethnicity is the cause of the countries problems. Whether Uganda is ethnically challenged or not is yet to be confirmed, but what is clear is that the concern is more prominent than ever before and cannot be wished away or ignored any longer. More importantly, this concern – as well as values and perceptions which are related to it in society – is partly responsible for shaping the administrative culture of the Ugandan civil servants.

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[16] Andrew Mwenda observes that people of western Uganda occupy 44% of all top public appointments in Uganda, in spite of the fact that the west comprises only 26% of Uganda's total population. Baganda occupy 30% although they constitute 17% of the population, which brings it to 74% for the two regions, compared to the North and Eastern Uganda that together share 26% of the public appointments even though they are 47% of the population.

'Manyi ani' and 'Mwana waani'

'Manyi ani' ('whom do I know') and *'Mwana waani'* ('whose child') are two ethnically based social formations dominating the Ugandan scene, and have been institutionalized to the point that they sometimes influence the way formal institutions operate. In fact, one of the ways they manifests themselves is in the recruitment of certain personnel. In Uganda there is a saying that 'technical know who is better than technical know how', meaning that in order to get a job or a promotion, *who* one knows matters more than *what* one knows. This has been illustrated by the common Luganda[17] phrases *manyi ani* and *mwana waani*, which imply that one must be from a known family to get the attention and consideration from the civil servants.

Impact of ethnicity on performance appraisal

In neighboring Kenya, ethnicity has influenced decision making in the workplace to the extent that it compromises neutrality and impartiality. It manifests itself through favouritism in recruitment, career advancement and the provision of training opportunities. According to Kamoche (2001), although some elites consider ethnicity a problem, others interpret it as an obligation to fulfil the desires and demands close relatives and friends. Consequently, people seeking jobs have little faith that the public and private sector will employ them based on merit alone. Sometimes human resource managers try to achieve 'ethnic balance' at the lower levels where it is easier to justify using quotas when challenged by family and friends (Kamoche 2001). There is also further evidence from studies on Ghana, that the largest proportion of earning differentiation is attributable to ethnic fractionalization, meaning that a particular ethnic group is favoured. This makes ethnic fractionalization a constraint rather than an opportunity (Jackson 2006:63). Though these studies were not based on performance appraisal, they are significant to the present research because promotions, pay raises and training opportunities ought to be direct results of a performance appraisal evaluation. Thus, if the tenets of the appraisal are disregarded in favour of ethnicity, this may suggest that some of the traditions in these countries are at variance with the expectations of the appraisal.

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[17] Luganda is one of the 56 indigenous languages in Uganda. It is widely spoken in central Uganda where the capital is located, and many other parts of the country it is the business language. Luganda is a language for the Baganda ethnic group, which comprises about 18% of the Ugandan population.

Research on performance appraisal has revealed that ethnic and race-related bias plays a role in the implementation of performance appraisals. In a society with many ethnic groupings bound together into one nation, ethnic affiliation provides a sense of security, a source of trust, certainty, reciprocal help and protection against the neglect of one's interests by strangers (Horowitrz 1994:49). In this case, 'ethnicity can become an idiom of personal and collective identity in situations of alienation, and insecurity' (Lentz 1995-324). In a study carried out by (Kraiger and Ford 1985), the conclusion was that the ethnicity of the ratee has a significant impact on performance ratings in the United States. They noted the tendency for a white rater to evaluate a fellow white was 64 percent higher than for a black ratee, and the black rater evaluated the average fellow black 67 percent higher than a white ratee. Thus the practice of taking ethnicity into consideration was determined to be equally strong for black and white raters. From this it has been argued that a negative consequence of ethnicity is that 'it leads to division, disagreement, violence' (Hameso 1997:92). People should instead become more involved in positive ethnicity[18] and its consequences. But no matter what, ethnic identity is crucial because it gives people a sense of belonging simultaneously as they conceive of themselves as individuals (Eriksen 2002:76). Ethnicity is responsible for promoting identity through a common language and culture, which usually translates into self determination. People identify with ethnic groupings because they fear marginalization, either in terms of nepotistic distribution of jobs or the possible subjugation of their ethnicity (Nnoli 1993:283) and this fear also extends to favourable performance appraisal ratings.

In another study in the United States, it was also observed that white bosses assigned more favourable ratings to ratees of their own race. White peers assigned more favourable ratings to one another in the repeated-measures analysis, but not in the between-subjects analysis. Results for ratee race indicated that both White and Black managers received higher ratings from Black raters than from White raters, and the effect was more pronounced for ratings given to Black managers (Mount et al. 2006). From these findings we could extrapolate that in a multi-ethnic bureaucracy like that of Uganda, ethnic bias in the performance appraisal is highly likely as well, whereby supervisors may tend to give favourable appraisals to those of their own ethnic background. Concern is

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[18] Seyoum Hameso argues that in Africa, ethnicity is a source of collective and self identity. According to him positive ethnicity enhances respect for other cultures, restrains the monopolistic post colonial state, facilitates equitable distribution of resources, leading to economic progress, justice and democracy.

raised when values related to one's ethnic identity are misused or manipulated to favour one particular ethnic group against others. The common reference to this in Uganda is *tribalism*. Tribalism is negative in this sense, and is practiced by 'tribalists', people who tend to give preferential treatment to fellow members of their tribe. They grant jobs and exempt them from humiliating or risky assignments; they support corrupt bureaucrats or politicians by virtues of their tribes. In such ways as these ethnicity becomes strategically effective due to 'the ethnic political machinery – patron/client networks, bossism and patronage structures through which affirmative action or pork-barrel distributions are dispensed'(Tambiah 1989:343).

Yet despite the cited studies which find race or ethnicity to be highly significant in the workplace, other studies have found such variance small. In a review of literature on ethnicity and the workplace, Avolio (1991) studied the effects of rater and ratee race (black or white) on performance evaluations of 21,547 individuals and found no significant effect attributable to ratee race after individual differences in ability and length of experience were controlled (Brooks and Clunis 2007). Others researchers have similar findings. They recommend qualitative research to see what might explain differences in groups' performance. Reforms in Africa have targeted the wrong institutional levels and entirely missed those levels where bureaucratic authoritarianism and ethnicity are entrenched (Berman 1998:341). I hasten to add that these two tendencies – bureaucratic authoritarianism and ethnicity – have not only been preserved and sustained through the course various reforms; they have pervaded the bureaucracy and reforms initiated to improve its efficiency.

Hypothesis 4: *The more the interpersonal relationships in the civil service are influenced by ethnicity, the more it may compromise neutrality, impartiality and merit, and hence the less likely the success of the performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service.*

3.9 Towards an analytical framework for administrative culture in Uganda:

From the above dimensions we may generally note that there are some paradigms, beliefs and norms that may be considered traditional to the African context and distinct from those from the Western world. These cultures supplement each other, one assimilates the other, they converge or at times clash.

By reflecting on the value dimensions we have discussed, one could, without appearing too simplistic, suggest a dichotomous relationship between value dimensions. Distinctions between the value dimensions in relation to the successes or failure, reception or rejection of NPM policy reforms hypothesized in this thesis may be summarized into two categories: a) those cultural traits that may have a higher propensity to resist and reject the performance appraisal reforms, and b) those cultural traits that may have a higher propensity to accept performance appraisal reforms. In order to come up with concrete variables, a number of value dimensions from various writers have been merged, given their striking similarities with regard to the indicators. This study notes that cultural values are numerous, flexible, hidden, changing, intersecting, dynamic and resilient. Therefore the ones used in this study are only indicative and not exhaustive. Moreover, they may also be helpful in explaining certain loose ends and peripheral aspects of administrative culture. This is why I have chosen to use four main cultural variables in the study: a) power distance, c) uncertainty avoidance, b) political neutrality vs. political bias, d) and ethnicity.

The performance appraisal presupposes that the civil service stands for and practices merit, neutrality, the rule of law, performance based promotion, uniformity, transparency and professionalism. However, the Ugandan civil service may be characterized by norms that do not provide the 'fertile soil' required to institutionalize performance appraisal. Power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political bias, and ethnicity, as discussed above, are essential ingredients of the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service and influence bureaucratic norms and practices.

The adoption of performance appraisal may be affected in different ways by these cultural profiles; they may either enhance greater receptability or greater hostility. Because of the intrinsic ambiguity of cultural profiles, therefore, the following questions must be answered: Does culture affect performance appraisal in Uganda? What cultural perspectives affect the performance appraisal? How does culture facilitate the success or failure of performance appraisal reforms and why? These relationships are represented in the figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 Analytical Framework

Independent Variable
Administrative Culture
(Resistant or adoptive)

1. Power distance
2. Uncertainty avoidance
3. Political neutrality/ bias
4. Ethnicity

Dependent variable
Successful implementation of the performance appraisal
- *Initiation phase*
1) Appraisal forms must be filled out
2) Appraisal forms should be available
3) Sufficient knowledge to raters and ratees
- *Implementation phase*
4) Conducting appraisal on time
5) Employees must conduct a self-appraisal
6) Evaluating employee performance against agreed performance standards between rater and ratee
7) Supervisors must be committed to the appraisal.
8) Transparency
9) Objectivity
10) Participation
- *Consolidation phase*
11) Appraisees should get feedback

In the figure above, I reflect that the chosen cultural dimensions have an influence on administrative reforms. This implies that in a bureaucracy, members find themselves developing a shared cultural value system, which in turn influences the way they think and make decisions. It is also pertinent to note that these values are a reflection of the dominant cultural values in society. I also contend that bureaucrats are not merely followers of rules which originate in the wider culture; they have the individual freedom to choose action that may not be rule bound. But whether or not actors choose to act in rule-bound or more autonomous ways, from the discussion we realized that the cultural variables mostly affect the second and the third phases of the appraisal process. This is because it is in these phases that the appraisal is actually conducted and where we can study a variety of interpersonal relationships and behaviours – rule-bound or not – which elucidate administrative culture.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter's aim has been to develop a conceptual and analytical framework for studying administrative culture and its role on performance appraisal reforms. It discusses how administrative culture may influence the introduction of performance appraisal reforms operating in different cultural settings. The chapter explored the possibility of extending a cultural approach to the study of administrative reform in Uganda. It analysed the possible categories for aggregate behavioural patterns, orientations, values and beliefs of bureaucrats, and the impact of these variables in modifying and influencing performance appraisal reform. As such, four variables were elucidated: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political bias and ethnicity.

The chapter also highlighted the view that in performance appraisal reform, difficulties often arise because of competing or conflicting values, such as the need to do what the boss expects rather than doing what one is legally supposed to do. It is the existence of these conflicts that determines whether appraisal reforms take root. Having specified the variables, the following chapter discusses the methodology used to gather and analyze the empirical data.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

4.0 Introduction

In order to analyze the effect of culture on how the performance appraisal has been introduced in the Ugandan civil service, this study combines both quantitative and qualitative methods, popularly called mixed methods, in order to collect two different types of data. The reason for choosing two types of data is twofold: In order to map the administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service I needed a large sample to generalize the spread of cultural norms. Therefore it was natural to use a structured questionnaire to get as many respondents as possible. This was quantitative in nature. Second, in order to understand the complex processes of the influence of administrative culture on the introduction of performance appraisal, qualitative data were collected. The reason was to analyze subtle relationships and intricate processes involved in conducting the individual appraisals. To understand such processes, in-depth interviews were necessary.

In the social sciences a number of studies that map out culture are based on quantitative methods (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005; Jamil 1995; Tayeb 1988; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007; Schwartz 1999; Schwartz and Ros 1995). These researchers have used this method because they had large data sets and were mainly concerned with cross country analysis. For instance, Gert Hofstede analyzed value scores of IBM employees between 1967 and 1973 in more than 70 countries. His study compared 116,000 questionnaires, from which over 60,000 people responded from over 50 countries. Schwarz carried out a survey involving more than 60,000 individuals in 64 nations on all continents. Trompenaars' raw data compares 50,000 cases from over 100 countries. However, his analysis was restricted to 30,000 comparative valid cases drawn from 55 countries. Quantitative data analysis is helpful because I use some of the dimensions of the scholars mentioned above, and because my analyses focus on mapping administrative culture and its spread in the Ugandan civil service. However, this method is not adequate for grasping the extent to which administrative culture affects the introduction of

performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service, so for this I have used qualitative data.

Research is, by nature, a multistage process one follows in order to undertake and complete a study (Saunders and Lewis 1997). The study is carried out with a view towards understanding social phenomena (Creswell 2003:2). In particular, it involves the choices a researcher makes about cases of study, and methods of data collection and analysis (Silverman 2004:4). In essence, the method is the 'How should I go about the research?' problem. Hence in order to carry out a study, there must be a research design which stipulates whether the study intends to test a theory or hypothesis, or build theory, or both. Creswell has categorized research design into three distinct groups: *quantitative* designs, which focus on testing theories and hypotheses, *qualitative* designs, which employ different knowledge claims, strategies of inquiry, methods of data collection and analysis. Then there are *mixed* designs which tend to combine the two designs (Creswell 2003).

The present study has followed the mixed design approach. It took eight months to collect data, from February to August 2007, and June to July 2008. During the first period I carried out a survey, conducted some qualitative interviews and collected some documents, whereas the second phase was used to carry out more qualitative interviews and obtain additional information from documents. A total of 147 questionnaires were administered for the survey and 29 qualitative interviews were conducted. 21 of the 29 qualitative interview respondents also participated in the quantitative survey.

4.1 Quantitative methods

I conducted a survey to map out the general administrative culture of the Uganda civil service. This was through a questionnaire with 82 questions (see Appendix 1). The first 10 were background questions, followed by another 16 questions that asked about particular administrative reforms, to affirm whether the employees were aware of them. The next 13 questions were meant to grasp administrative practices. The rest were grouped under different dimensions (variables) of administrative culture used in the study, i.e., power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political biasness, and ethnicity. The answer alternatives were based on a Likert scale, on a range from 1-5; 1 denotes 'disagree

completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both,' 4 'agree partly', and 5 'agree completely'. SPSS (predictive analytical software) was used to enter, organize and analyze the data.

With the quantitative research method, in order to develop knowledge, the researcher uses the logic of cause and effect. Concepts are reduced to specific variables, hypotheses and questions. The questionnaires I used had predetermined answers and the questions were derived from the perceived concepts of the independent variable, i.e., administrative culture. I borrowed some questions from Jamil, Hofstede and Inglehart. Other questions I developed myself, on the basis of the chosen variables. Thus the survey information yielded statistical data.

Table 4.1 Profile of respondents from the four ministries

Variable	Variable category	Bureaucrats interviewed within the ministry[19] in percentages (%)				
		MOPS	MFPED	MOJCA	MOLGA	Total
Level of Education	A-Level	4	0	0	8	
	Diploma	17	3	17	19	
	1st Degree	59	71	63	58	
	Masters	20	26	20	14	
Type of Education	Business Admin	7	26	10	19	
	Humanities/Arts	41	9	13	17	
	Law	4	3	70	8	
	Social Sciences	44	34	7	42	
	Natural Sciences	2	9	0	0	
	Other[20]	2	20	0	14	
Gender	Male	63	69	67	56	
	Female	37	31	33	44	
Age	25 - 34	30	17	37	28	
	35 - 44	30	46	33	44	
	45 - 54	37	31	30	28	
	55 - 64	2	6	0	0	
Tenure	0 - 10	50	46	57	47	
	11 - 20	30	37	27	31	
	21 – 30	20	11	17	22	
	31 – 40	0	6	0	0	
Studied abroad	Yes	28	6	30	22	
	No	72	94	70	78	
Area of growing up	Urban	41	26	37	31	
	Rural	59	74	63	69	
		N=46	N=35	N=30	N=36	147
		31%	24%	20%	25%	100%

Source: Field notes

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[19] The Government of Uganda ministries are MOPS-Ministry of Public Service, MOFPED-Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, MOJCA-Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and MOLG-Ministry of Local Government.
[20] 'Other' includes miscellaneous educational courses, computer skills, and secretarial study courses.

In connection with this research I carried out a pilot survey. While my research assistants and I analyzed the outcomes, we developed a better instrument and at the same time were able to identify the most appropriate level and calibre of staff to be interviewed for the in-depth, qualitative interviews. The following criteria were used to purposively select respondents in order to increase representativeness and enhance validity of the findings: age, job title, education and tenure of service. These criteria were supported by the knowledge of the research assistants who were members of the civil service in the respective ministries.

I gave the questionnaires to bureaucrats in four central government ministries and used several sampling[21] techniques to get the desired sample. The rationale was to have a wide sample that could be used as a basis for generalizing. To begin with, I purposively selected four government ministries because of their relevance to this study. Purposive sampling was preferred because it is very difficult to do a random sampling. From within these ministries, I asked my contacts, usually personnel officers, to identify participants. I then got the quantitative interviews, taking note of the level of education, type of education, gender, age, tenure, studies abroad, and where the interviewee grew up. In all, 147 questionnaires were filled out, which by Ugandan standards is a notable achievement. Civil servants usually have a low response rate, and most of the previous studies are based on descriptive and qualitative data. In terms of the population for this study, the number of traditional civil servants working at the ministry headquarters was 14,421 by December 2006, according to the ministry of public service documents and archival records. This number excludes the police, prisons, army, local government, universities and teachers. The respondents represent the civil servants who work at the ministry headquarters at the various levels, i.e. low cadre, middle and senior management.

The survey was conducted to map administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service, in order to highlight the most prominent values, beliefs and preferences. It was also instrumental in showing the knowledge and understanding of the respondents. Table 4.1 shows a profile of the respondents per ministry, level of education, type of education, gender, age, tenure of service and whether the interviewee studied abroad or not. From

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[21] 'Sampling' is the process of selecting a portion or segment that is representative of a whole or a target population (Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2007:281).

the table, the reader can deduce that most of them were male, they had never studied abroad and were born and grew up in rural areas. Such findings could help in ascertaining why particular bureaucrats behave the way they do.

4.2 Qualitative research methods

In this study I relied on the participants' views in order to understand performance appraisal systems in the civil service and how they are introduced. Why? Because the research proceeded from the conviction that issues involving bureaucracies are complex. Due to this complexity, the study needed to be specifically aimed to discover administrative culture and how it impacts the performance appraisal system. It was therefore important to seek out 'the presence of voice' in the participants' views. To quote E.W. Eisner, the task is to 'account for' what has been given an 'account of' (Eisner 1991). It is not until the respondents 'account for' or understand their experience, that they can communicate it to the researcher through 'thick descriptions' (Bryman 2001:272 - 273).

Relying on the participants' own views also enabled me to study the process of performance appraisal and its introduction in an in-depth manner. It allowed me to combine open-ended interviews, documentary and observation analysis, which were very useful for investigation, as well as allowing more extensive data triangulation.[22]

The qualitative methods employed in this study (i.e., interviewing individuals) were useful for understanding how respondents perceive the phenomenon in question, but were also useful for documenting sources and observations, for delving into the realm of administrative culture and its influence on the performance appraisal. Interviewing individuals who represent different interests and have different positions within the ministries helped me to gather authentic data. By authenticity, I mainly refer to the notion of validity and reliability as conceived by Guba and Lincoln (cited in (Seale 1999), who propose that 'authenticity' denotes being consistent with the *relativist view,* namely that research accounts represent a consensus of views about what is to be considered true. In this study, therefore, authenticity will be demonstrated inasmuch as it represents a range of different realities, and the extent to which civil servants understand administrative culture and the performance appraisal.

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[22] See Yin (2003: 97-101) on triangulation.

The *nature* of a research problem is also crucially important in choosing an approach to a study. This study has both an exploratory and an explanatory nature. It *explores* the existence of administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service and the extent to which this culture influences the implementation of performance appraisal reforms in the civil service. At the same time the research attempts to *explain* why, on the basis of certain cultural factors, the performance appraisal is greatly or minimally accepted by the same civil servants. To this end, qualitative research gave me a deep and holistic understanding of the implementation of administrative reforms. Analyzing the documents enlightened me on the history and logic for the reforms, factors influencing their implementation, success levels, documented failures and possible solutions. On the other hand, interviews enabled me to gain narratives of individual bureaucrats' experiences with the appraisal system, which I had no possibility of gathering through quantitative means. Research studies on policy that I have reviewed confirm the usefulness of the qualitative approach to this study.

Qualitative research takes place in a natural setting (Creswell 2003:181), and for this reason the respondents were interviewed mostly at their work places. This gave me an opportunity to observe how they work, behave and relate to one another. Although observation was not my main data source, it revealed other dynamics relevant to the study by validating information gathered from the main sources. For instance, while visiting one of the potential respondents, I noticed at least three performance appraisal forms lying by the side of his desk. It prompted me to initiate a conversation with him, and he admitted that he had just been reminded that for the last three years, he has not been filling out the appraisal form, and he needed them to be on file because he was being considered for a new post.

According to Geertz (cited in (Güney 2004), qualitative methods provide thick descriptions of events and allow the researcher to examine processes relating to the relevant concepts. This 'thick description' in my case means that I not only mapped out administrative culture, but through the use of qualitative means, highlighted the behaviour of bureaucrats, the context within which they operate and how this affects the appraisal system.

4.2.1 Primary data

Primary data was obtained from interviews. An interview is an *inter view*, i.e., an inter change of views between two unique persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest, through careful questioning and listening with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge (Kvale 1996). There are open-ended interviews where the researcher can ask the respondents to propose insights into certain questions, focused interviews that follow a research protocol, and surveys which have structured questions designed for qualitative data (Yin 1994). Interviews in my study were in-depth through open-ended and semi-structured questions.

The sample for the qualitative data was obtained through mixed purposeful sampling. Here I chose more than one sampling strategy and compared the results from both samples. For my criterion sampling, I selected settings, groups, and/or individuals because they represented one or more criteria (Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2007:286). I ensured that each ministry was represented as well as all levels of staff in each of them by (a) the positions in the ministries (top management, midlevel management and officer cadres), (b) gender, (c) department in the ministries and d) training (type and level). Another selection method was opportunistic, based on specific characteristics that would help me capitalize on events that transpired and developed during the data collection process. Using this method, respondents were sought out because they had specific information and knowledge about performance appraisal and administrative reforms in general. For example, those who were posted in the administrative reform unit, and those who had written papers on the subject. Lastly, I asked those who participated in the study to refer me to others who should be included in the study.

My qualitative data was collected on the basis of 29 interviews. 22 of these respondents were civil servants from the selected ministries and they held the following positions. a) Ministry of Public Service: the Commissioner for Administrative Reform, the Assistant Commissioner for Policy and Planning, a Senior Principal Assistant Personnel Officer, a Senior Personnel Officer, and the Senior Librarian. b) Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development: Two Personnel Officers, Senior Accountant, Accountant, and Senior Assistant Secretary. c) Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs: The Undersecretary for Finance and Administration, Principal Personnel Officer, Personnel

Officer, Assistant Secretary and Records Officer. d) Ministry of Local Government: Undersecretary for Finance and Administration, Commissioner for Local Councils Development, Assistant Commissioner for Planning, Senior Inspector, Personnel Officer, Senior Assistant Secretary and Records Officer.

The last seven respondents were either civil servants from other ministries or informed respondents from academia and civil society. They were considered relevant to the study given the strategic information on the performance appraisal that they possess and are exposed to by virtue of their interests and work experience. This group includes a Finance Officer from the Ministry of Defence, a Project Coordinator in the Ministry of Information and National Guidance, a Local Government Chairman, a researcher from the NRM party, a researcher from the Center for Socio-economic Research and Training and the Senior Programme Officer for Advocacy and Networking at the Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda. In table 4.2, I show the respondents for the in-depth interviews.

Table 4.2 Respondents for the in depth qualitative interviews

Public organisation	No. of respondents
Ministry of Public Service	5
Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	5
Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs	5
Ministry of Local Government	7
Ministry of Defence	1
Ministry of Information and National Guidance	1
Rukungiri Local Government	1
National Resistance Movement Party Secretariat	1
Centre for Social Research and Training	1
Anti Corruption Coalition of Uganda	1
Academic/Researcher	1
Total	**29**

Source: Field notes

I contacted potential respondents in advance and thereafter scheduled appointments, and worked with four research assistants who had easy access to these respective ministries, to gather documents and make appointments with officials who were difficult to make

appointments with. The assistants also helped me improve the research instruments and my knowledge about their respective ministries.

In the initial stages of the fieldwork I asked each interviewee to identify members in their organization who they felt would be worth interviewing. Thereafter, using purposive sampling, I conducted the main interviews with key respondents. These interviews, lasting about one hour each, were useful since the study focused on performance appraisal reforms that have been implemented, and the members were key actors in the process. Keeping in mind that information may be either distorted or forgotten, distortion was minimized through employing a variety of interviews. The respondents were chosen, firstly, on the basis of their perceived knowledge about appraisal reforms, and secondly, because most of them have supervisory roles in their respective ministries. Therefore, apart from their individual experiences with the appraisal as a performance evaluation tool, they were also interested in following up the success of the appraisal reform as a management tool which they themselves had introduced. It was also unlikely that these interviewees had forgotten about the appraisal reforms because they are still ongoing, nor could these interviewees have been able to ignore the success or failure of the performance appraisal system in question.

Most interviews took place in interviewees' offices, but others were conducted outside work hours. The interviews followed an interview guide and protocol of questions (see Appendix 2). The interview guide had 27 questions on administrative reforms, administrative culture and performance appraisal in Uganda's civil service. In instances where these areas were not addressed by the open-ended responses, I made follow up questions through probing the respondents. The purpose of the probes was to enable the interviewee to be as informative as possible in his or her responses. In most cases responses were tape recorded and later transcribed. In other instances, the respondents preferred to remain off the record. This request was honoured in order to obtain specific types of information. Usually, after the interview extra notes were taken.

4.2.2 Secondary data

I gathered secondary data from various sources, including documents, archival records, and physical artefacts. Lincoln and Guba (cited in (Güney 2004) argue that documents

and artefacts represent the local knowledge and are a rich source of contextually relevant information. The task of studying administrative culture and its impact on performance appraisal is broad and deep, calling for the review of various documents. Documents I examined include the parliamentary reports (e.g., Hansard), records, newspapers, newsletters, memoranda, the Public Service Reform Program Strategic Plan, annual reports, working documents, reviews, seminar reports, the Uganda Constitution, gazettes/bulletins, consultancy reports, websites and cabinet papers. From these documents I culled significant information on actors, how they interact and the role of culture in their behaviour towards performance appraisal reforms. Artefacts, including organizational charts, memorabilia, calendars, displays of mission statements and objectives, objects with inspirational messages, and budgets, were also analysed.

These documents provided information on the content of administrative reforms and also shed light on how these reforms fit or misfit with the administrative culture. From these documents relevant information was obtained on the following: a) The substance and underlying issues of administrative culture and administrative reforms in Uganda's bureaucracy; this included statements that alluded to the nature of organizational culture and behaviour in the civil service, where statements such as 'disenabling culture', corruption' were found. b) What types of reforms were introduced and when they were introduced, the context within which these reforms are being implemented in relation to culture (annual reports which detailed who funded which administrative reform and outlined the roots of administrative culture). c) Documented reactions to these reforms (consultancy and annual reports). d) The performance appraisal system and process in Uganda. (Documents highlighting the performance appraisal in Uganda, its development, guidelines and the actual appraisal form). Thus we can see that documents and artefacts are not just pieces of data; they are social products that represent participants' interpretive work.

4.3 The mixed methods approach

Mixed methods research has been variously defined, however, in this study, it is taken to mean 'the type of research in which a researcher or a team of researchers combine elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative view points, data collection, analysis, inference and techniques) for the broad

purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration' (Johnson et al. 2007:123).

Mixed methods overcome shortcomings of both qualitative and quantitative methods and benefit from the advantages of both. Quantitative methods were helpful in answering *what* the reality is (such as the state of administrative culture in the civil service), while qualitative methods offered the opportunity to explain *why* certain outcomes have happened. Quantitative methods helped me map administrative culture because the statistical generalizations increased the rigour and facilitated making comparisons across different variables. The qualitative methods helped me understand, *from the respondents' perspective*; how Uganda's administrative culture affects the performance appraisal system. Thus with mixed methods I was also able to draw meaning and increase my understanding of the relationship between the responses given in the questionnaire with the ones from the interviews.

Mixed methods are important when case studies are involved and triangulation may lead the researcher closer to the whole case, in a way that a single method may not be able to achieve. In the research discussed here, mixed methods gave me the opportunity to investigate my research problem in greater detail than would have been possible only with quantitative methods. Reliance on 'purely quantitative methods may neglect the social and cultural construction of the variables which quantitative research seeks to neglect' (Silverman 2004:40). Hence, in order to get a better understanding of administrative culture and how it possibly affects the performance appraisal system, I developed explanations following qualitative analysis. Additionally, I used simple counting techniques to survey the data which would have been lost in intensive, qualitative research.

In order to establish the quality of empirical research, validity may be ensured through the use of multiple sources of evidence and establishing a chain of evidence (Yin 1994:33). In this study the sources of evidence include a survey, in-depth interviews and documents. By using mixed methods, the possibility of answering the research questions was high. The method combination undergirded how the research objectives were formulated as well as the data collection and analysis. The main strategy lay in transformative procedures, i.e., I used both sequential and concurrent approaches to data management. While using sequential procedures, I elaborated the findings of one method

in light of another, and while using concurrent procedures, I joined quantitative and qualitative data so as to get a comprehensive analysis, and issues raised by the respondents during the survey informed the qualitative interviews in a variety of ways. For example, to begin with, during the pilot study I learned a number of key phrases (such as 'technical know who', *mwana wani*, etc., which pertain to forms of favouritism) and these were issues the respondents raised in the subsequent interviews. In addition, as using of a variety of methods helped ensure that marginalized voices in the civil service like low cadre staff could be given space, thereby offering a more equitable or ethical approach to research.

Lastly, mixed methods 'provide stronger evidence for a conclusion through convergence and collaboration of findings' (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:21). While analysing data, I consolidated, compared, contrasted and integrated quantitative and qualitative data. I used quantitative data to map various cultural dimensions, and after the qualitative data had been obtained through in-depth interviews and documents, I used it to substantiate and validate the various dimensions. This then provided the basis for analysing the relationship between administrative culture and performance appraisal. My study benefited from a situation Creswell et al. describe, where quantitative results can help researchers select qualitative cases so they can examine the results in greater detail (Creswell et al. 2004:8). Thus mixed methods in this study were used to improve the accuracy of data and produce a comprehensive understanding by combining two data sources.

4.4 Case study strategy and units of analysis

The *case study* strategy best suits researchers seeking to understand a particular context and process (Saunders and Lewis 1997:76). In answering the 'why', 'what' and how questions, it focuses on a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context (Yin 1994). The researcher develops in-depth knowledge by exploring more details (Umeh 2005). A case can be an individual, group, organization, event, activity or process (Creswell 2003; Creswell et al. 2004; Yin 2003). The units of analysis – the cases – in this research are the four central government ministries, as previously mentioned, the Ministry of Public Service, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic development, Ministry of Local Government, and Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs.

Choice of units of analysis

The units of analysis are provided below, with general characteristics of why I considered them the most relevant for the study. The Ugandan civil service has its roots from the British colonial administration and indigenous forms of administration. Originally, the civil service was wholly manned by recruits from Britain on overseas terms, while officers of Asian extraction provided the support staff and manned the lower cadres (Okuku 2002; Turya-Muhika 1982). Uganda's civil service is today controlled by the Ministry of Public Service and the Public Service Commission. There are 12 central government ministries, 80[23] local government districts and several public agencies.

All these ministries have a similar ongoing performance appraisal which was introduced simultaneously on July 1, 2002. Two years prior to the introduction of this appraisal, a pilot project was conducted in five ministries, including the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs[24]. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Public Service is the key ministry in terms of performance appraisal reforms, for it is responsible for generating the reforms and enforcing them in all government ministries. The Ministry of Finance, on the other hand, is responsible for financing administrative reforms. The Administrative reform secretariat, which is responsible for developing administrative reforms, monitoring their performance and institutionalizing them, is based in this ministry. Therefore, for any budgetary issues related to the performance appraisal reforms, the response from the Ministry of Finance is important for the success of the appraisal because it must cough up the necessary money to fund its introduction. As far as the Ministry of Local Government is concerned, it is the main link between the central government and the local government ministries throughout the country. It is therefore an interesting ministry to include because its officials have experiences of the performance appraisal from a nationwide perspective and especially at the local level. Finally, the Ministry of Justice is responsible for the legal framework and for ensuring that there is sufficient control and rule of law. This makes it very relevant for the study because the performance appraisal is supposed to be a compulsory exercise for all civil servants, and this ministry may be involved in designing sanctions and procedures for apprehending defaulters.

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[23] The numbers keep increasing annually. By August 2008, they were numbering 94
[24] The others were Agriculture, Works, Health and Education.

Using more than one unit of analysis is helpful for two further reasons, first, the generalizability of the research may be enhanced, and second, comparisons allow the special features of cases to be identified much more readily (Bryman 1989: 171). Studying the four ministries as units of analysis enriched the study and enhanced transferability. Other considerations for selecting these four 'case' ministries are outlined below.

a) *The Ministry of Public Service (MOPS)*
- Administrative reform programs are executed by this ministry.
- As executor of the reforms, MOPS became the main recipient of donor funding earmarked for reform implementation and therefore grew powerful.
- It chairs the inter-ministerial technical committee which oversees public reforms.
- Its reform programs get unprecedented support from the president.
- There is a less rigid relationship between donors and MOPS.

b) *The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MOFPED)*
- It serves as a conduit between the state and the donors/creditors.
- In 1992, two ministries, i.e., the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, were merged to create a super ministry concerned with financial management, planning and development.
- Receives funds for its own administrative reforms and gets technical assistance.
- All ministries make their budget requests to the ministry of finance, and each ministry accounting officers in charge of the budget is appointed and answerable to the ministry of finance.

c) *The Ministry of Local Government (MOLG)*
- Ensures that government policies are implemented at the local government level.
- The implementation of ROM was conceived by MOPS, MOLG, and MOFPED.

d) *The Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs (MOJCA)*
- Is responsible for promoting and facilitating effective and efficient infrastructure capable of providing a legal framework for good governance.

The case study strategy was helpful in understanding the influence administrative culture has on bureaucratic decision making with regard to performance appraisal reforms. It was my preferred strategy because it allowed me to use administrative culture and administrative reforms as variables that contain a variety of factors which could help explain the causal relationships between the administrative culture and the administrative reforms. In order to unravel the relationships and answer the main research questions, I looked at the various factors and how they interact and compare with one another. This was facilitated by the case study strategy.

4.5 Data analysis

In any scientific study it is appropriate to convert large quantities of data into condensed forms that will facilitate easy interpretation and understanding by other readers. Data analysis entails that the researcher reflects on collected data and takes steps to understand what it represents – its significance – and then interprets the larger meaning of the data (Creswell 2003:190). In this case, as stated above, the quantitative data were analyzed using the statistical package for social scientists (SPSS). Uni-variate and bi-variate analyses were used to explore administrative culture in the data set. By separating the attributes of administrative culture in terms of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political bias and ethnicity, I looked at the range of values as well as the averages, which enabled me to describe the pattern of response to each variable. Subsequently, I generated descriptive statistics and percentages to determine the prevalence and distribution of particular attitudes and belief systems amongst the civil servants. This was also a way to summarize the data. Using bi-variate analysis, I correlated background variables with administrative culture variables. This classification is important in understanding administrative culture and how it may be changed or managed in relation to reforms.

The data collected from interviews were transcribed into texts to ease the data analysis process. A report was prepared reflecting the discussion using the participants' own words. I also listed the key statements, ideas, and attitudes expressed for each topic of discussion. The next step was to arrange the data in relation to various analytical units, especially in relation to administrative culture. I also wrote comments alongside the transcribed work so as to formulate additional questions or probes in instances where certain issues were still unclear or controversial. These were then included in the next interview. Further categories of the statements for each topic were also made where

necessary. While carrying out the exercise, I tried to look for views and values as well as acts and facts, in order to clarify the respondent's views. This was done by keeping the analysis as closely focused as possible on the respondents' statements. In addition, respondents' statements were substantiated with documentary evidence whenever possible.

Thereafter, results from the qualitative and quantitative sources were matched to establish common patterns and divergent issues. Through triangulation, explanation, and comparison, connections were established among the data sources in relation to research questions. A relationship between data and variables was established by interpreting statements and document analysis. The results are presented through narrative text, simple computations and logical reasoning. This linked performance appraisal reforms and culture, with specific attention to how the culture within the Ugandan bureaucracy influences the performance appraisal.

4.6 Research clearance[25], access and ethical considerations
4.6.1 Informed consent

Respondents were given a clear explanation of what the research was about so they were well informed about what they were participating in. Kvale argues that, 'ethical issues…involve obtaining the subjects' informed consent to participate in the study, securing confidentiality and considering the possible consequences of the study for the subjects' (Kvale 1996:11). While interviewing bureaucrats, therefore, I took into consideration confidentiality and integrity. My aim was to reach a mutually benefiting agreement with regard to the use of data, its analysis and dissemination (see introductory note on questionnaire, Appendix 1). I also made it clear to the informants that they were free to not answer certain questions, may postpone part of the interview and could end the interview at their convenience.

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[25] The research permit to carry out the study in Uganda was obtained from the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNCST) (see Appendix 8). The UNCST in a letter dated February 12, 2007 granted the permission and an identity card (File Number SS1933) was issued (see Appendix 9). Entry to the ministries concerned was obtained through official channels, by applying to the permanent Secretaries in order to carry out the studies. The Ministry of Public Service granted permission on March 29, 2007, Ministry of Local Government, April 11, 2007, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, May 17, 2007, and finally the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional affairs by May 23, 2007 (refer to appendences 10 -13).

4.6.2 Confidentiality

Information obtained from respondents is kept confidential subject to the laws of Uganda. Incorporating confidentiality into research implies that private data identifying the subjects need not to be reported. As Kvale (1996:114) argues, protecting subjects' privacy by changing their names and identifying features is an important issue in the reporting of interviews. I did respect the privacy of the respondents. Most of the interviewees in this study are anonymous unless they consented to be named.

4.6.3 Personal integrity

Respondents are guarded against any abuse, since the study results could have an impact on their employment. The study and its dissemination are committed to the integrity of those under investigation. Therefore, in order to overcome ethical challenges, at the level of getting respondents, I obtained informed consent and was sensitive to cultural and political issues. At the same time I avoided imposing myself on the informants (wasting their time), I did not put answers in their mouths, and I tried to act in a warm, friendly way. Finally while reporting, I ensured confidentiality, fairness, and always made sure to gain official clearance for doing the interview.

4.7 Validity and reliability

Academic studies are concerned with reliability and validity. For reliability to be maintained it is incumbent on the scientific investigator to document his/her procedure, since the reliability of the data is 'the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out' (Kirk and Miller 1986). Therefore, to ensure that this study could be replicated by another scholar, I developed a clear case study protocol and database. The protocols contain the research questionnaire and interview guide. Steps taken in the pre-field work, during field work and report preparation have been documented in the form of a diary and timeline (Appendix 3), to ensure consistency and justification for the whole process.

I chose a topic in an area where I have not been actively involved before, for I have neither been a civil servant nor previously been involved with studies on culture. Nevertheless, I have a keen interest in reforms, culture and contemporary public administration, which may be a source of bias. Furthermore, I evaluated the research

tools prior to the field research: I analyzed the guiding questions thoroughly to ensure that they were consistent with my objectives, research questions and study propositions. And during the data collection process I continuously evaluated the interview responses to ensure that I stuck to the main objective of the study and did not get off the track. A pilot study I carried out before the actual survey revealed difficulties in the proposed questions and methods, so I made adjustments by a) reducing the number of individual questions in the instrument from 164 to 86, b) removing certain cultural categories that were deemed irrelevant, and c) using research assistants to reach certain civil servants who only felt comfortable with their own people while filling out a questionnaire. Consequently, 147 questionnaires were administered successfully. Thus, not only did the pilot study give me a basis upon which to choose potential respondents for questionnaires and in-depth interviews; it also enhanced the validity and reliability of the research.

Validity in social research is concerned with the extent to which findings are consistent with what the researcher intends to study. In essence, it refers to the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation or some other kind of account. Validity therefore concerns the extent to which one's study renders 'the right answer'(Kirk and Miller 1986). To ensure validity, I used multiple data sources, i.e., a comprehensive literature review of related studies and documents, as well as primary data collected through interviews, documents and a survey. Triangulation aided the identification of inconsistencies and incoherence in data, and hence gave me an opportunity to probe deeper to ascertain the truth. This method I supplemented by a chain of evidence.

The cultural variables in this study are widely used elsewhere to map administrative culture, and most of the questions in the questionnaire are exactly the same as those other scholars have used to map administrative culture. Therefore the research instruments are well recognized, well accepted and widely used to map administrative culture, and this further enhances the validity and reliability of this study.

In order to ensure validity, key informants' reviews of the study draft report enabled me to establish correct operational measures for the concepts being studied. While conducting data analysis, I have addressed rival explanations to similar issues by building

and developing logical interpretations that may explain these variations, yet without distorting the subjects' meanings and knowledge.

4.8 Generalizations and transferability

A common problem in research methodology is that case studies of this nature provide too limited a basis for scientific generalization (Yin 2003:10), given that the cases are too few to provide significant applicability to populations. In this study, the main purpose was to expand and generalize theories concerning administrative culture and its impact on performance appraisal through analytical generalizations. I mapped the administrative culture of Uganda's bureaucracy by examining the emerging and dominant values and then turned those patterns into theoretical propositions.

Quantitative approaches helped me enumerate frequencies useful in determining the significance of responses to particular questions. The quantitative data informed generalized claims to the extent that the Ugandan civil service as a sector was represented in the sample survey of 147 bureaucrats from four government ministries. Furthermore, I have attempted to ensure transferability through the detailed account and description of the ministries studied and my methods of data collection, analysis, and presentation.

4.9 Conclusions

This chapter described and justified the methodology used in my research. Given my research question, it was appropriate to gain reliable and valid data from both the quantitative and qualitative research methods. Having four government ministries as the units of analysis, and the individual bureaucrats within them as the respondents, was imperative to obtain a representative sample. This sample also provided the opportunity to generalize to the whole of the Ugandan civil service. Overall, mixed methods were the most suitable for data collection, data reporting, composition, data analysis and research design. The chapter argued that in order to understand a complex human activity like the performance appraisal, it is important to use multiple sources of evidence. In order to map administrative culture I administered 147 questionnaires, but in order to understand the intricate and subtle relationships that take place while the appraisal process is going on, then it was important to study documents and have 29 in-depth interviews with the civil servants who are involved in this exercise.

CHAPTER FIVE

PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL REFORM IN UGANDA'S CIVIL SERVICE

5.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights what *was* the status quo of the performance appraisal tool in Uganda during two periods. The first period covers 1976-1997 and pertains to the 'old, traditional' appraisal, but for sake of ease and clarity, we will refer to it as *PAI*. The second period – the main focus of this chapter – stretches from 1998 to August 2007, and concerns a 'new' performance appraisal system introduced to the Uganda civil service. For sake of ease and clarity, this shall be referred to as *PAII*.[26] The chapter spells out what, in reality, was the process and functioning of the performance appraisals and how they may depart from the normative expectations of an appraisal process as described in chapter two. I first scan the civil service reforms in Uganda and then situate the appraisal reforms, giving an account of the history of performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service and the experience of its implementation over the years. The chapter closes with an extensive discussion of the PAII system and the extent to which it was successfully implemented.

5.1 The search for a results-oriented management (ROM) culture

The government of Uganda is committed to changing the traditional bureaucratic culture of procedure, hierarchy, conformity and control. The prevailing philosophy places much emphasis on flexibility in the management of public services in order to improve morale and productivity, and that innovation should be encouraged and rewarded. The government prefers that performance by civil servants be measured by specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound individual goals.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Public Service, which is the lead agency in administrative reforms, is shifting emphasis from administration to the actual delivery of programs and services to the citizens. Therefore, through the civil service reforms, bureaucrats undergo

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[26] In August 2007 the *latest* performance appraisal was issued. When mentioned, it will be designated as PAIII.

a paradigm shift; from the traditionally 'bureaucratic-oriented management' to a modern 'results-oriented management' (see Table 5.1). The paradigm shift here is conceived as a change from one way of thinking to another. It is a transformation in the bureaucrats' thinking – from attitudinal and personal traits as a basis of measuring performance, to using measurable results as a basis of evaluating individual performance. To this end, the results-oriented individual performance appraisal system becomes an inevitable personnel management tool. Yet as we have mentioned in earlier chapters, it appears that this new tool has not been able to deliver the desired results.

Table 5.1 Paradigm shift in the Ugandan civil service: from bureaucratic to results-oriented management

Traditional bureaucratic management	NPM inspired results-oriented management
1. Hierarchical/command organization structures	1. Flexible/professionally oriented structures
2. Rule-driven decision making	2. Results-driven decision making
3. Focus on the tasks/functions	3. Focus on the client/target service beneficiaries
4. Individual performance appraisal system based on compliance with the rules (statutes, standing orders, financial orders, etc.) and their application.	4. Individual performance appraisal based on meeting previously agreed upon result targets.

Source; personal notes and extracts from relevant and various literature.

If the way forward is that 'the public service must be infused with a new results-oriented management ethos' (Clerk 1990:29), why then was it that after the introduction of the results-oriented performance appraisal form, it was still ineffective? Is it because of the failure to cultivate a broad constituency in support of reform, or because ROM had been emphasized without complementary incentives and management systems to back it up (MOPS 2006b:2)? Or was it because of other factors? Could an understanding of administrative culture shed light on this scenario of failure?

The reason why this study focuses on administrative culture is not because culture is the only responsible and explanatory factor for PAII's failure. Much as there are other factors that hindered performance appraisal, administrative culture in the Ugandan bureaucracy has not been given sufficient attention, if any at all. This is why MOPS wants to strengthen performance management by enhancing the links between Results Oriented

Management ROM and the budget process; it wants to roll out the open performance appraisal system across government and inculcate a performance management culture in the public service (MOPS 2006b:3). MOPS' aim is laudable and if its strategies are carried out, they may go a long way in helping performance management take root. For as Clay Wescott notes, 'Civil service reform is an art, not a science. Committed reformers within the concerned government know best what they need and how to get there' (Wescott 1999: 1). Indeed, civil servants know what they need, but more importantly, they may be aware of the factors responsible for the success or failure of administrative reforms. Nevertheless, without claiming powers of a seer, the chances are high that even the latest performance appraisal reform will fail to overcome a disenabling public service culture[27], one which is not compliant to modern reforms[28].

5.2 Performance based measurement

In Uganda, performance management has taken the form of ROM. ROM aims at achieving greater efficiency, effectiveness, accountability and access to improved customer-centred public service. In Ugandan civil service it started in 1997, as a pilot project in the five districts of Mpigi, Iganga, Rakai, Mukono, and Rukungiri, and in five ministries: Health, Education, the Judiciary, Agriculture, and Works (MOPS Undated). Within the ROM framework, each public service institution is expected to have a mission statement, strategic objectives, clear outputs, and performance targets.

Responsible centres for the implementation of ROM are the ministries of Public Service, Finance and Local government, Office of the President, Office of the Prime Minister, service commissions and public service organizations. According to the Ministry of Public Service, the introduction of ROM has: a) shifted focus from inputs and activities to outputs and outcomes, b) provided a framework for better resource allocation, c) enhanced transparency and accountability in resource utilization, d) created the foundation for output performance appraisal, and e) introduced an avenue for the public to access more information and to hold the public services accountable (MOPS Undated).

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[27] According to MOPS, among the major issues identified that hinder the effective implementation of performance management is a disenabling culture.
[28] 'Not compliant to modern reforms' is another reference to administrative culture commonly found in MOPS' jargon.

This is because modern management perspectives perceive the citizen as a *customer* of public services.

A strong need has thus emerged for performance measurement tools that can curb poor performance management and enable bureaucrats to improve their performance standards. In most developing countries the bureaucracy has been tainted by ethnicity, politicization or patronage (Polidano 1999, 2001). There is a need to depoliticize the civil service and get rid of the evils that are responsible for its maladministration. It has also been increasingly necessary to update staff recruitment, promotion and retention, for the current trend has been heavily biased towards ineffectual measurement devices – e.g., formal education, length of employment, how many certificates an employee has[29] – and renewing the measurement devices by basing them on performance may reverse this scenario.

5.3 Performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service

This section deals with a historical account of the performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service (PAI), and also presents an analysis of the PAII system. But first, I set forth a brief description of performance management in the country. At the national level, performance management in Uganda is conducted through the collection of base line data, annual performance plans, quarterly assessments, annual performance reports, ministry policy statements, and development plans. Also at the national level, parliament evaluates performance through the public accounts sessional committees, but at the district level, councils evaluate the performance of their respective local governments. On the individual level, individual performance management is evaluated through agreement between the supervisor and subordinate on the key outputs, continuous monitoring and appraisal by both the supervisor and supervisee. The various ministers monitor performance of the permanent secretaries who are responsible for the performance of the ministry or local government, and the permanent secretaries in turn appraise their directors. Directors evaluate departments, heads of department evaluate divisions/sections and units, as division/section/unit heads evaluate individual officers.

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[29] 'Certificate inflation' refers to a rise in the number of certificates (academic or otherwise), obtained by an individual: the quantity of the certificates, and not the quality or skill obtained, is often used as a measure of achievement and therefore a qualification for recruitment and promotion.

5.3.1 Why introduce the performance appraisal reform?

Following recommendations from the Public Service Review and Reorganisation Commission (PSRRC), Uganda introduced a new performance appraisal system in the 2001/2 financial year, PAII, as part of its administrative reform efforts to improve the public sector performance in achieving higher productivity and quality service delivery. The Uganda performance appraisal report was for many years based on PAI, the annual confidential report which was a closed system of assessing individual performance.

The PSRRC noted that civil servants needed to be assessed on their actual performance in relation to well defined targets and tasks agreed upon between themselves and their supervisor. Otherwise, the PSRRC argued, the closed appraisal system was based on subjective assessment which only considered behaviour and personality, but was untenable as an effective measure of individual performance. The PSRRC therefore suggested that in order to motivate civil servants to perform and increase general productivity, a performance measurement tool that could link results to specific civil servants should be introduced.

Another compelling reason to change the appraisal was because it was 'closed', that is, the appraised individual never received feedback on how he or she faired in the appraisal. The PSRRC report indicated that because the annual confidential report was strictly confidential, it was open to abuse. Since it was inaccessible to the objects of the appraisal, it was susceptible to favouritism, corruption and tribalism. This, the PSRRC argued, would undermine the very essence of the appraisal system.

There was also a third reason for reforming the appraisal, although the PSRRC did not focus on it: Given that the introduced appraisal was not unique, we could deduce that it was a result of learning about best practices from elsewhere. In fact, the results-based performance appraisal system was particularly sponsored by the World Bank policy briefs and discussed in recommendations for civil service reform across the continent. Civil service reforms were the final aspect of NPM, which focused on the basic issue of *internal organization* and it is into this category the PAII system falls (Minogue 1998:23).

5.3.2 The 'old' appraisal system (1976 – 1997) PAI[30]

There has always been some form of performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service. The description below therefore refers to PAI, the appraisal form and system in place up to 1997 (the year the NPM inspired results-oriented performance appraisal system entered the scene). PAI was based on a seven page, half yearly/annual confidential staff performance report form (referred to also as 'Form 5'). It was accompanied by guidelines in the public service standing orders, Chapter 1- Public service General Appendix A – E 1. Form 5 was filled out by different civil servants at different stages. The first part was filled out by the appraisee, the second and third parts by the rater (immediate supervisor), the fourth part by the head of department and the last by the permanent secretary, line ministries and chief administrative officer in the case of district authorities (Appendix 5).

The appraisal was filled out annually for permanent and confirmed staff, and biannually by provisional employees.[31] This appraisal system was used to a) evaluate provisional employees the supervisors wanted to promote to permanent terms of employment, b) highlight the achievements and weaknesses of employees, c) identify training needs and promotion, and d) improve and upgrade the employee's performance and motivation through counselling (Kyohairwe 1997).

PAI was however characterized by a number of issues that made it ineffective. In one of the confidential reports regarding the reform process, it was noted that the appraisal system could not provide a suitable foundation for merit-based pay increases because it focused on a manager's judgment of individual traits, and not on job performance (MOPS 1993b:8). Therefore, there was a need for a Management By Objectives and Results (MBOR) system which would allow for more objective performance judgements.

Although a results-oriented management-based appraisal system in the civil service was recommended as early as 1974 (as MBOR), and again in 1982, it was not until 1997 that it was put into effect (MOPS 1993a; Turya-Muhika 1982). Documents I have reviewed indicate that PAI was characterized by dereliction for two main reasons: first, very few of the annual confidential reports in the various ministries were ever completed; secondly,

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[30] There were many performance appraisal forms and methods for the period. PAI only refers to the appraisal form that immediately precedes PAII (in other words, the last appraisal form in the pre-NPM era).
[31] In the Ugandan civil service employees are at first hired provisionally and, after a probation period, have the opportunity to receive permanent positions.

there was benign neglect on the part of the appraisers. Some civil servants were denied promotions for 15 years due to the lack of promotion outlets in the hierarchy, and although they sometimes were simply unsuitable for further advancement, other times it was due to sheer neglect. The documents also reveal that in some ministries printed forms were simply lacking, but in other cases, due to the ignorance of supervising officers, there could be a stack of unfilled-out forms lying on the desks (Turya-Muhika 1982:35).

As for benign neglect, appraisers were reluctant to negatively evaluate their underlings and this resulted in misleading assessments. The practice was to use euphemisms such as 'generally satisfactory' to mean 'not good', but this would be difficult to interpret. The performance evaluation system lacked depth and scope since it permitted an appraiser to be flippant in observations and remarks on the appraised colleague (MOPS 1993a, 2006b).

In her study of this performance appraisal system in Bushenyi local government, Stella Kyohairwe notes that most of the employees rarely filled out the appraisal forms, and those who did so filled it out wrongly. Civil servants, her report states, usually a) skip some parts of the form, b) do it hurriedly to get through with the process, c) base their judgment on subjective premises like politics, loyalty and ambition to measure performance, d) use it as a fault finding mission, e) fill it out improperly, or f) fill it out partially (Kyohairwe 1997:3).

In sum, the PAI system was deeply flawed. Raters and ratees lacked commitment, it was closed and secretive, it was unrelated to rewards and sanctions, there was relative ignorance about the appraisal, performance measurement was subjective and characterized by evasion, falsehoods and delay. All these problems made the appraisal system untenable. Most of these pathologies were identified by the Ani Commission of 1963, the Bikangaga Commission of 1973-1974, the Turya-Muhika Public Service Salaries Review Commission of 1980-1982, and finally the Public Service Review and Reorganization Commission of 1989-1990. However, I wish to underline that none of the explanations raised above for the failure of PAI refers explicitly to culture, which increases the need to explore that often ignored explanation.

5.3.4 The 'new' appraisal system (1998 - 2007)[32] PAII

Following one of the PSRRC's recommendations, during the financial year 1997/8, a 'new' performance appraisal system was introduced to the Uganda civil service. A total of 129 top civil servants were trained in the basics of this results-oriented performance appraisal system. In addition, a four day ROM seminar for permanent secretaries was held in 1998. Thereafter MOPS collaborated with other ministries and drafted the new appraisal form. It was piloted in five ministries, three department and five local governments[33]. The PAII instrument was officially launched on 23rd March 2001[34], and issued in 2002. It is important to note that in August 2007, the latest performance appraisal, PAIII, was issued (under establishment notice No. 4 of 2007[35]). My study is however concerned with the system in place from 1998 to August 2007, namely PAII. I argue that this appraisal system was replaced because it failed, not because it was scheduled to be replaced.

In order to coordinate the appraisal exercise properly and smoothly, a central ROM support unit was established, and ROM units were formed in most ministries and districts. With the support of the World Bank and the International Development Association (IDA), consultants were hired to support civil servants in implementing PAII. A key advantage of this 'new' system was that it allowed individuals to do a self-appraisal of performance. When self appraisal is done, civil servants come to appreciate their own abilities, potential, strengths and weaknesses. Most of the officials responsible for personnel issues who were interviewed for this study observed that self directed discovery and examination enables employees to gain self confidence and receive feedback. What is more, the individuals are more apt to understand why certain decisions are taken 'for or against' them.

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[32] The latest staff performance appraisal system was launched in July 2007, following modification to the performance appraisal system under study.

[33] The five ministries were 1) Education and Sports, 2) Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 3) Works, Housing and Industry, 4) Health, and 5) Judiciary. The departments were Auditor Generals Office, Police and Prisons, whereas the districts included Iganga, Rukungiri, Rakai, Mukono and Mpigi.

[34] This is according to Johnny Byohangiirwe, a Senior Personnel Officer in Ministry of Public Service, in a paper entitled 'Performance Appraisal in the Public Service: A new Approach', which was presented at the Capacity Building Training Programme for Local Governments held at Lira Hotel, Lira 27th to 30th May 2002.

[35] Establishment Notice No.4, the Revised Staff Performance Appraisal System.

Officials from the administrative reform unit seemed to concur that by establishing their own goals, employees are encouraged to think about resources in relation to the results they are expected to produce. When the superior and subordinate collaborate on setting work targets, work relationships improve. The implication here then is that PAII's results were reliable and vivid because, under the ROM dispensation, it is the performance being appraised, and not habits. PAI had been unable to measure the degree to which individual officers achieved departmental targets, so even though appraisals were carried out, it was highly likely that public service targets were not met.

Traditional appraisals, not merely those in Uganda, were closed and feedback was limited, a situation that negatively affected motivation (Long 1986). More recent approaches focus on results rather than personal traits, and emphasize participation in the appraisal process. There are many examples of such systems in countries like Malta, Mauritius and Zambia. Open performance appraisal systems relate individual performance to organizational goals, test competence, and contribute to a climate of open discussion within the public service organization (Dodoo 1997). It is also of great importance to have an overseeing body like the Public Service Commission, which has appropriate appeal mechanisms (Turya-Muhika 1982; MOPS 2006b). However, due to the existing values in the public services that tend towards high power distance, this kind of appraisal, when it was first introduced in Uganda's civil service, could not work.

According to most of the top bureaucrats interviewed in this study, experience shows that performance pay is likely to be resisted and should, from the start, be a low priority. The main purpose of performance appraisal should not be to increase or decrease the pay, but to plan and develop the career. An official from the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development remarked in the interview that 'Performance appraisal has been used in some countries, to orient training activities and to assess training needs in a given administrative unit, in order to fulfil the human resource management tenet of having the right person at the right position at the right time.' Other officials were optimistic that a performance appraisal may lead to constructive and regular dialogue between ratees and raters on the objectives of the public service and the role of each civil servant in achieving the said objectives. This might give employees an increased sense of participation and stimulate their creative contributions to achieve goals. Managers might

also find it a useful tool for getting employees to commit themselves to the public service's objectives.

In any case, a common imperative mentioned in the interviews is that a performance appraisal ought to be legitimate; it must be a fair and balanced system for allocating individual tasks within the civil service, transparent in setting goals and in making them known to the stakeholders. There must be a provision which allows for review and an overview of the procedures and results of the appraisal. With respect to PAII, this was enforced through the provision of the countersigning officer on the appraisal form. Yet although raters noted that ratees being evaluated were reassured that the results of their appraisal would be used correctly, the ratees themselves never seemed to agree.

It has been observed that appraisal reforms need more support (infrastructure) than mere coordination/communication systems and structures. ROM reforms require ongoing performance monitoring, which requires clear performance indicators. These indicators in turn are dependent on the quality of the information provided. There is reason to be concerned about the reliability of available data since filling systems have not been well developed in Uganda. In addition, some managers are unfamiliar with how to use available information sources and this also hindered PAII's effective operation.

Arguably, PAII had large implications for bureaucrats at all levels. It triggered changes in responsibility for recruitment, remuneration and how work was organized. It was also envisaged that personnel management would change significantly. But most importantly, the new results-oriented appraisal system was considered more effective in evaluating the performance of civil servants than the old appraisal system. PAII aimed at achieving the individual targets set by the ratee and rater in partnership, and these targets would fit into the overall departmental or section goals. Targets were set before the start of the year. Provisional employees were to be evaluated at the end of six months, while permanent employees were to be evaluated annually. The intention was to measure, as accurately as possible, the degree to which targets were achieved by the end of the year. From the performance appraisal report, personnel decisions concerning training, promotion, salary increase, confirmation in service, needs, retention, discharge, counselling, job rotation and job review, were to be established.

5.3.5 A brief overview of the NPM-inspired results-oriented appraisal system

The PAII's preamble states that it serves two main goals. First, it is a management tool for establishing the extent to which set targets within an organization's overall goals are achieved. Second, it is through the appraisal process that performance gaps and development needs of an individual employee are identified.[36]

Significant features of this system include the emphasis on participation and the need for feedback. It operates on the premise that in order for civil servants to work to their full potential, they must be informed about their performance and the means for improving it. Second, it is also important that these civil servants carry out self examination to gain self confidence and receive feedback on accomplishments. Third, the concerned bureaucrats ought to understand why certain decisions were taken regarding them.

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[36] Reference is made to the staff performance appraisal guidelines and staff performance appraisal form of the Uganda public service from 1998 to 2007.

5.3.6 A comparison of the 'old' and the' new' performance appraisals

Table 5.2: The 'old' and the 'new' performance appraisal compared

Basis of Comparison	Old performance appraisal PAI 1976 - 1997	New performance appraisal PAII 1998 - 2007
1. Operating system	Operated in conjunction with expected normative values; rules driven; process oriented.	Operated in conjunction with ROM; results driven and focused on client.
2. Assessment of performance and reward system	Based on behaviour, human relations, personality and attitudes; based on latest events and memory; highly influenced by the attitude of the appraised, personal relationships and loyalty between rater and ratee; looks for personality traits and faults; strictly confidential and lacked transparency; no guidelines; rewards and sanctions subjectively determined.	Achievement of agreed upon targets; making regular notes and records on performance; concentrates on key performance areas; focused on improving individual performance; open dialogue between rater and ratee and transparent; guidelines given to users; reward and recognition of high performance objectively determined.
3. Level of participation	Closed, non-participatory and secretive; lacked dialogue between rater and ratee; no opportunity for self appraisal	Agreement between rater and ratee on key outputs; participatory and encourages self evaluation; joint action plan to improve performance and outputs for the following assessment period.
4. Nature of appraisal process	Junior staff not able to fill it out and interpret it; complex; a one-off event; no meetings between rater and ratee; tends to strain the relationship between rater and ratee.	Simple and easily comprehensible to all staff; continuous monitoring focused on planning, progress, reviewing results, tacking corrective action by both the rater and ratee; strengthens relationship between rater and ratee.
5. Length	Short and non-exhaustive; seven page document.	Long and laborious to fill out, but considered exhaustive; eleven page document.
6. Relationship to organization	Focused on personal abilities of the ratee in relation to fellow workers and not organisational goals.	Coaching, mentoring and training as the case may be; developing the potential of the staff, improving performance of staff, linking an individual to the strategic goals of civil service.
7. Mechanism for appeal	Created power distance, no recourse for appeal in case of disagreement.	Provision of an appeal mechanism though a countersigning officer.
8. Use of information	Information generated by the forms was never analyzed; no immediate feedback on performance.	Information on the forms used and encourages continuous monitoring and review of appraisal; provides immediate feedback through appraisal meeting.

Source: Field notes, interviews and a review of the appraisal forms and related documents

Table 5.2 compares the two appraisal systems. The first basis of comparison is the *operating system,* which denotes the principals upon which the appraisals were done. It is

responsible for the management and coordination of activities and the sharing of the limited resources allocated to the appraisal system. In my view, PAI was process-oriented whereas PAII focused on results. Thus for PAI, satisfying the statutes counted more than what one actually delivered.

The second basis of comparison is *the assessment of performance and reward system*. PAI rewards were based on subjective evaluation. For instance, under that dispensation, promotion was through approved academic qualifications, character, and seniority, whereas under PAII promotion was predicated on achieving agreed upon targets. However, in practice, it was found that the civil servants, while using the PAII's 'objective diction and nomenclature' to justify the grades given to ratees, still based their judgments on subjective considerations.

Third is the *level of participation*. PAI reduced the role of the junior to an object of observation, whereas PAII, while still treating the ratee as a study object, also increased the ratee's role. In practice however, because juniors still contended that there was much emphasis on power distance, this rendered PAII rather difficult for the underling to fully participate in.

Closely related is the *nature of the appraisal process*. Whereas PAI tended to emphasize differences in status, PAII attempted to fade out these differences and instead promote the concept of equality. The old appraisal took less time to fill out. On the other hand, PAII was long and laborious to fill out, and thus the *difference in length* is also noticeable. Another category for comparison is the *relationship to the organisation*; the old appraisal focused on the individual in relation to fellow workers, whereas the NPM appraisal investigated the civil servant, not only in relation to self and co-workers, but also in relation to organizational goals. An *appeal mechanism* in the event of an aggrieved party, especially the one appraised, was instigated under PAII, which was not the case under the old system. This did have implications such as empowerment of the less powerful, but may also have been perceived as undermining the power of the boss in a large power distance culture. The last comparison concerns the *use of information.* PAII's information was used for both individual and organisational development, which was never the case with PAI.

5.3.7 The performance appraisal process (PAII)

PAII had a cycle of about eight activities; the activities began with developing a performance plan that was made either within one month on assumption of duty, or during July for the permanent staff, or during January for teachers. Second, performance and record reviews were held regularly, preferably quarterly. The third activity consisted of the appraisee filling out the form at least two weeks before the appraisal meeting. This was followed by a performance appraisal meeting between the rater and ratee. All civil servants had this meeting in June except for teachers who had it during November. The fifth activity was that the rater filled out the form within two weeks after the appraisal interview. For the sixth activity the appraised employee signed the form within a month after the appraisal interview. Finally, the countersigning officer was expected to sign off the form by August 31. Performance monitoring as the eighth activity was not bound by a timeframe because it was an on going process throughout the year.

Figure 5.1 the performance appraisal process in the Uganda civil service
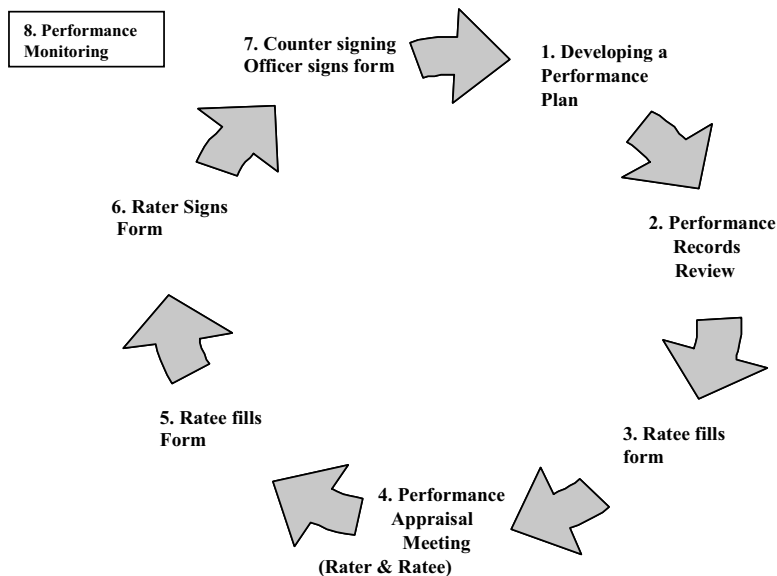
Source: Field notes, interviews and performance appraisal form

NB: The word 'form' in this figure refers to the performance appraisal form.

5.3.8 The performance appraisal form

The 'Public Service Staff Performance Appraisal Report Form' is an eleven page document, commonly referred to as the staff performance form/general (see Appendix 6). It was usually accompanied by a copy of the staff performance appraisal guidelines. This form, consisting of five sections, was filled out by different employees, bosses and supervisors at different stages, as highlighted in Figure 5.1 above.

The first section was to be filled out by the appraised employee prior to the appraisal meeting. It reflected basic information about the rater and ratee, position of the ratee and period of assessment. The ratee also had to fill out bio data, terms of employment, record of employment, academic and professional qualifications, short-term courses taken, research and publications, and fill out a self assessment questionnaire.

The second section, which consisted of an assessment of activities and outputs, was filled out by the rater and ratee jointly. The individual evaluated himself or herself, based on the set targets, and gave justification for the grades awarded. Then the rater gave his/her overall assessment, and indicated agreement or disagreement with the description, personal assessment and comments given by the appraised. Grading for the overall assessment had seven scores ranging from A+ to F: A+ (90%+) stood for Outstanding; A (80 – 89%) Excellent; B (70 – 79%) Very Good; C (60 – 69%) Good; D (50 – 59%) Average; E (40 – 49%) Poor; F (0-39%) fail.

The third section was filled out by the rater and required an analysis and assessment of critical competences. The rater was also expected to make an assessment in relation to previously agreed upon outputs and recommendations for what the ratee would seek to accomplish. The fourth section was also filled out by the rater following an agreement with the ratee on a joint action plan to improve performance. In addition, activities, targets and outputs for the subsequent reporting period were identified. Lastly, part E was filled out by the ratee, rater, a countersigning officer, plus a fourth person – the rater's supervisor – who was responsible for personnel issues. He or she could be a head of section, department, ministry or local government administration (see Appendix 6).

While filling out the last part, comments by the ratee, rater and the countersigning officer were very important. Usually, the countersigning officer was responsible for ensuring that the assessment was done correctly and genuinely. The counter signing officer was expected to carry out four duties: a) ensure that the appraisal interview took place, b) ensure that there was agreement between the ratee and rater, or if there was disagreement, it was appropriately resolved, c) confirm that the development needs of the appraised were discussed, and lastly, d) validate that an action plan to improve the performance of the appraised was agreed upon.

Ten major areas of job competency were evaluated using the appraisal forms on a scale of one to ten, where ten reflects the strength and one the weaknesses. Apart from the numeric scores, brief assessments might be provided against each competency, where applicable. These ten core job competencies were as follows:

- *Professional knowledge and skills*: It seeks to show how well equipped the ratee is with skills, professional and technical knowledge.
- *Job Knowledge*: The rater must indicate whether the ratee has clear understanding of the job, what it involves and relevant polices and practices.
- *Planning and organizing*: It assesses how the ratee conceptualizes broad and long term issues, and their implications. It is also interested in how the ratee reports on plans and organizes work.
- *Decision making*: Does the ratee: a) Make logical analysis of relevant information and factors? b) Develop appropriate solutions and take action? c) Generate ideas that provide new insight? d) Provide objective reasons for decisions and actions taken?
- *Leadership*: the evaluation here is concerned with the ability to a) organize and inspire staff to work towards clearly defined common objectives, b) willingly assign tasks and give appropriate authority, c) stimulate initiative, d) organize suitable staff development programmes, e) acknowledge progress, f) encourage team work and be sensitive to others, g) effectively deals with staff and the public.
- *Management of financial and other resources*: with this quality, it is important to determine if the ratee a) makes rational use of financial and other resources, b) equitably and fairly facilitates staff, c) provides periodic reports on resource use for accountability and transparency.

- *Communication*: Measures how the ratee a) expresses himself or herself verbally and in writing, and b) adheres to laid down communication procedure.

- *Loyalty*: Does the ratee follow regulations and keep official secrets?

- *Integrity*: Is the ratee honest and high in moral character? Does the ratee have self respect and respect for others? Is the ratee courteous and mindful of others? Does the ratee reflect a good image of the public service?

- *Ability to achieve desired outputs*: Does the ratee a) carry out the commitments and obligations of the position, b) accept instructions, advice and correction, c) demonstrate competency and ability to complete assignments and produce desired results in time, d) responds to clients promptly, e) is the appraised committed and dependable?

Table 5.3: Milestones and costs of implementing the performance appraisal

Year	Progress on performance appraisal implementation	Costs in[37] US $
1997	PAII was launched in the civil service.	Not accessible
1999	1) PAII reviewed to make it more open and interactive so that it could support ROM. 2) Draft appraisal was produced and all stakeholders were consulted and their views incorporated. 3) Draft of PAII submitted to the Public Service Commission in October.	Not accessible
2000	1) The draft PAII was piloted[38]. 2) PAII finalized in October.	36,300
2001/02	1) PAII launched on 23 March, 2001 and 6 workshops held for heads of personnel in ministries and districts. 2) A workshop for permanent secretaries on 18 October. 3) Training for 910[39] other public employees.	190,000
2002/03	1) PAII introduced on 1 July, 2002. 2) 103 workshops held for at least 10,808 civil servants.	249,000
2003/04	1) Monitoring failed due to lack of resources. 2) Demand-driven workshops were held for 323 Kampala City Council schools plus 7 other schools.	114,700
2008	The appraisal was found inadequate and replaced with PAIII	

Source: Public Service Reform Programme Annual reports for the period 1999 – 2004

In table 5.3, I summarize the key stages the PAII has gone through up to when it was disbanded.

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[37] Amount documented in Uganda shillings, conversion rate: $1 USD = approximately 1,700 Shillings at the time.

[38] There were five ROM pilot ministries: Agriculture, Works, Health, Education and Judiciary. The pilot districts of Mukono, Iganga, Mpigi, Rakai and Rukungiri. Other departments included the Auditor Generals office, Police and Prison.

[39] Drawn from the ministries of Public Service, Works, Agriculture, Water, Defence, and Gender. Others are Mulago Hospital, Nakasero Blood Bank, Gulu District and Kampala City Council

5.4 Challenges of the new performance appraisal system

One of the identified challenges of the PAII system concerned documentation. Respondents reveal that PAII preferred to have a number of documents shared, however this was limited due to confidentiality issues and poor records management. A key implementer of PAII had this to say:

> 'We have noted that serious mistakes are evident in the appraisal system, especially the poor record keeping on the part of the respective ministries and departments. However, major steps have been taken to alleviate that problem, but it still lingers on.'

Performance oriented management operates in an environment where decision making should follow different routines than the usual bureaucratic red-tape that is characterized by indecisiveness. Staff members were given a copy of the guidelines for the performance instrument so that the appraisal process would be understood by everyone. Government institutions budgeted for the printing of new guidelines every financial year so that there would be no need to photocopy forms, for it was thought important to maintain originality and uniformity. Yet due to financial constraints, photocopies were also used and thus risked being rejected by some civil servants as unauthentic.

Besides the public service reform programs, other priorities and issues came up that impeded the appraisal system. For instance information about Results Oriented Management (ROM), on which PAII was based, had not been given to all the staff. This lacuna affected how PAII was applied because some people were unable to set targets and agree on simple, measurable, accurate, realistic and tangible results. Yet other factors also thwarted success and these were summarized by a key official in the ministry of public service:

> 'There is clear evidence of impeding factors that may not be cultural in nature. For example, I notice that the current legal framework is not adequate enough to enable us to implement the appraisal system. Another point that is very important is the delays in releases of funds from the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development. This brings a lot of problems. As if that is not enough,

one needs to consider the fact that when an officer is transferred, then it would affect output. What about ad hoc assignments, the inadequacy of resources and its unpredictability? All these things must be looked into'.

The above quotation indicates that PAII had significant internal and external challenges which had to be overcome in order to function well. However, there are some contradictions in explanations like the one just quoted because I found out that record keeping improved tremendously. Meanwhile, if the delays of money from the MFPED truly were a big obstacle, we should be able to see similar failure rates for other reforms such as those aimed at decentralization. One may also wonder why other financially demanding reforms like contracting out are often given more financial priority, unlike the performance appraisal. A possible reason could be that some government officials stand to benefit from kickbacks on the outsourced contracts. Thus it appears that corruption permeates the process of budgeting, such that some reforms are allocated less funds.

Another problem was the bureaucrats' lack of motivation to implement PAII. Interviewees stated that whereas they tried their level best to meet their side of the bargain, the government should attempt to meet their expectations as well. As the reader may imagine, civil service wages are low, and more disturbingly, no distinction is made between high performers and low achievers with respect to granting annual salary increases. The government still works on the principle of an annual increment that cuts across the board regardless of differentiated performance and contribution. Senior bureaucrats explained that the sheer logistics of centrally managing annual increments based on the performance appraisal system proved unworkable due to the time, effort and resource constraints. They also argued that PAII was not well coordinated with the budget. However, this explanation falls flat in explaining why PAII was dysfunctional. Though the sheer logistics of managing payment based on the performance appraisal may be overwhelming, there is no evidence that this is the case. On the contrary, it ought to be noted that every civil servant gets a different type of salary and it is therefore equally possible to affect performance-rated pay since civil servants always get their salary on time.

I do not want to sound dismissive of all the arguments brought forward; I acknowledge that a great deal of work was done to introduce the performance appraisal system. The

PAII's form was indeed cumbersome to fill out. An eleven page form that must pass through at least three people's hands is no mean task in bureaucratic communication. In fact, a number of personnel officers interviewed for this study observed that some of the civil servants have a negative attitude towards an open and participatory staff appraisal process. They claimed that the first challenge is to manage the change from concentration on managing processes to focusing on outputs and outcomes. In an interview, one of the officials in the ministry of public service said this:

'In terms of responding to the new performance appraisal system, I have found at least three categories. The first group is composed of some of our members of staff who may quickly come on board. The second category has civil servants who are slow at adapting to new things and the last category is for those who may not respond at all. The challenge is to address the question of lack of responsiveness where it exists [sic] adhering to agreed time frames.'

The above example demonstrates that civil service managers were concerned about the time lost. Time management can be a serious issue, and is in fact a cultural one. Little wonder Trompenaars argues that employees with a synchronic time orientation feel rewarded by achieving improved relationships with supervisors and customers and not by achieving planned future goals (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 2007:140).

Another issue for consideration relates to what the interviewees referred to as 'the lack of confidence and courage in the use of the open appraisal instrument by the raters and ratees'. According to the various responses, this indicates that the raters' main challenge was to determine whether to reward an individual, the team or both. Second, raters were faced with a new situation which disregarded *command and control,* and promoted *commitment* as the latest philosophy in the civil services. Specifically, the command structures of some departments posed a challenge because subordinates' involvement and contribution to performance management is limited.

The framework for performance and accountability was lacking because ROM had not been promulgated beyond the strategic level to all the departments and individual public officers. The fundamental problem underlying the ROM failure is that 'while effective introduction of ROM would necessarily entail political and cultural/behavioural changes,

these elements were largely lacking. Furthermore, there is a weak linkage between ROM, the budget and performance appraisal processes' (MOPS 2006b:31). Much as there is this failure, however, it does not explain why other programmes like decentralization are considered a success even if they sometimes also face such problems.

Among the major issues that persistently led to the failure and/or slow implementation of PAII is 'a disenabling civil service culture' (MOPS 2006b). Asked what that meant, one of the key actors in the reform process noted that it is concerned with values, beliefs and ideas held by the civil servants that are detrimental to reform processes. This is a clear indication of administrative culture. One officer had this to say:

> 'Here in the civil service we have been confronted with a number of cultural issues which I think are responsible for slowing down the performance of the performance appraisal. There are some indications that tribalism and corruption are responsible for some of the good performance evaluations. However, the worst case is when the appraisals do not take place and are fictitious. It is that miserable.'

We can therefore deduce that culture in many ways constrained PAII's process and success.

Administrative culture is very resilient, so changing behaviour and attitudes of managers in the Ugandan civil service would pose a problem for *any* goal-oriented performance appraisal process. Measuring and managing performance are two of the most difficult issues civil servants face because raters usually tend to blame the ratees when they observe poor performance, while the ratees blames external factors for poor performance. An organization where interpersonal relationships are personalized rather than maintained according to professional norms creates a *blaming culture* that cannot enable civil servants to take reasonable risks. This blaming culture also feeds into another cultural habit, one respondent referred to as *the culture and attitude of bossism.* Bossism here implies a system of loyalty centred on the rater, who has a wider span of control and is surrounded by subordinates whose main interest is to curry favour and in turn provide loyalty. The boss expects unquestioned loyalty, help with domestic chores, e.g., shopping, taking children to school, office gossip, covering up his illegitimate deeds. This

is no less a situation of large power distance. This was why PAII had to be transparent, fair and honest – traits which called for a change in mentality, a change in values, a change in perception, and actually, a change in culture. But unfortunately, this is why PAII could not take root as well. It was a victim of its own intentions.

5.5 Reasons why PAII is categorised as a failure by this study

The head of Uganda's civil service, John Mitala, when speaking about PAII, noted the following: a) There is a need for adequate preparation, b) performance targets should not be imposed, c) managers must be left to manage and innovation should be encouraged[40], d) the commitment of all stakeholders is essential, e) there is a need to develop and maintain a positive working environment, f) manage the change in focus from processes to clear outputs and outcomes, g) we need to manage within the limited cash budget, h) civil servants need to adhere to agreed upon, realistic timeframes, i) we need to take into consideration factors over which we may not have control, such as inadequate legal framework, delays in the release of funds and cross-cutting issues, j) we must have confidence and courage in the use of the open appraisal instrument, and k) we must be aware of capacity gaps but maintain objectivity in assessing performance (Mitala 2006).

Thus, in light of Mitala's views, but also in light of what we have reviewed and discussed thus far, I assert that PAII was a failure for the following eight reasons:

a) According to the Implementation Evaluation Report of 2005/6, the PAII success rate was at 30%. This means that appraisal forms were sometimes not filled out; the forms were sometimes not available, and when provided were photocopies; appraisals were not conducted at appointed times; employees who were supposed to conduct self-appraisals were denied that opportunity; performance targets were either dictated by the superior or expected by the junior and not jointly agreed upon; no feed back; sometimes there was too limited knowledge about the appraisals.

b) The head of the civil service acknowledges that PAII was a failure since it lacked responsiveness from the civil servants (Mitala 2006).

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[40] However, one wonders how this is supposed to happen when the governments' standing orders that regulate employee behaviour have remain the same over the decades.

c) The idea of replacing PAII implies that it was unable to meet the desired expectations. Moreover, there was no indication that after implementing the appraisal for five years, it would be replaced.

d) Quite often, civil servants did not prepare annual performance plans for individual staff, but this was supposed to be the basis for conducting appraisals (Tidemand and Ssewankambo 2008).

e) Results of the performance appraisal exercise were not immediately analyzed and used to inform individual goals (Tidemand and Ssewankambo 2008).

f) According to interviews collected for this study, performance appraisals were mainly conducted when civil servants were expected to be confirmed for permanent employment or promoted.

g) The appraisal instrument was not used for sake of reward and recognition (Tidemand and Ssewankambo 2008).

h) According to the 2007 MOPS inspection manual, one of the main issues arising out of local government inspections was the 'limited implementation of the performance appraisal scheme' (MOPS 2007b).

In chapter two we theorized eleven performance appraisal procedures and tenets, and in this chapter I wish to make an evaluation on their implementation status, in Table 5.4 below, basing on an analysis of the in-depth interviews.

Table 5.4 Implementation of performance appraisal in Uganda

	PA procedure/tenet	What needs to be done	By whom	Status[41]
Initiation phase	*Appraisal forms must be filled out*	Filling out appraisal form with targets, and assessment records	Rater Ratee Countersigning officer	Low
	Appraisal forms should be available	Print out and circulate appraisal forms	HR office and rater	High
	Sufficient knowledge	All must be trained in the performance appraisal process, its purpose, need and importance	HR office, rater ratee	High
Implementation phase	*Conducting Performance appraisal on time*	Make performance plan within one month from the day of appointment for new staff. Make a performance plan for permanent staff in July Hold reviews quarterly	rater	Low
	Employees must conduct a self appraisal	Provide bio data, terms of employment, record of employment, academic and other qualifications, and do a self evaluation	ratee	High
	Agreement on target	Set performance targets and goals in sync with the mission and vision of the department/organization	Rater and ratee	Average
	Commitment to appraisal process	Give it priority; while conducting appraisal, put aside other work	rater	Low
	Transparency	Must explain why certain decisions were taken and avoid secrecy	rater	Low
	Objectivity	Appraisal rating should be based on agreed outputs and not subjective judgments	Rater and ratee	Average
	Participatory	Rater and ratee must also participate in the appraisal process at all levels	rater	Low
Consolidation and learning Phase	*Feedback*	Give feedback to the ratee after every quarterly reviews and also results of personnel action taken after the annual review	rater	Low

Source: personal notes

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[41] This evaluation is based on the qualitative data gathered from the interviews.

While analyzing interview data, I put responses to the above 11 procedures into three categories: high, average and low. 'High' means that 70-100% of respondents carried out the particular procedure or complied with the tenet; 'average' means 40-69% of respondents did; 'low' means 10-39% of respondents did. I then classified the status of the majority of the responses in the last column. The main responses, which also include explanations for failure or success, were as follows:

Initiation Phase

PAII's initiation phase had three procedures. On the first procedure, most respondents claimed that application forms ought to be filled out, but still many do not do so. They noted that the neglect becomes worse the higher you move up the power ladder. This is because it became more or less a ritual to fill out the appraisal form. The junior officers filled them out in order not to be reprimanded, but sometimes it took a long time to get a response from the superiors. On the second procedure, which concerns availability, most respondents opined that the performance appraisal forms were now readily available, even downloadable from the internet. That is why it scored high. The third aspect also scored high because almost all staff in the civil service have by now been sensitized and trained in the performance appraisal system. It was also emphasized during induction, they observed.

Implementation phase

This phase had seven procedures and was where the actual performance appraisal happened. The majority of respondents noted that the appraisal was not done and completed on time. This was because of it being awarded minimal priority. Members argued that most appraisals were filled out when needed for a decision like promotion or another posting. It scored low on our scale. For the second part concerned self-evaluation, most respondents said that they always filled out their part without duress and rarely was anyone denied the opportunity to do a self-appraisal. As such, it was considered a procedure with a high rating. The third part concerned agreement on performance targets. It ended up scoring average for the following reasons: In the first case, for most appraisals that were actually done, the rater and the ratee agreed on performance targets. However, from the interviews we noted that it was quite often taken as an intellectual exercise and in order to fulfil the rules. There was always an unwritten agreement between the raters and the ratees on what may yield a favourable appraisal and what may

not. This may have nothing to do with the agreed upon objectives. As far as transparency was concerned, the form appeared transparent, but quarterly reviews were quite often not as transparent as they seemed on paper. Secondly, it was reported that some raters would simply award a grade without proper justification as far as the qualitative aspects of the appraisal were concerned. In terms of objectivity, our findings indicate that it was not only compromised because of lack of transparency, but also because of other factors such as ethnicity, political bias and political interference. Participation was also considered low because, despite that fact that the ratee participated, his or her level and depth of participation was compromised by the relationship with with the boss. For example, the ratee expected, and was expected, to get the objectives from the boss.

Consolidation phase

The feedback process also scored low. According to the respondents, some factors made the feedback process poor and ineffective. For example, salary raises were across the board and not dependant on the appraisal process. Promotions took into account seniority and thus the appraisal could be filled out retrospectively to serve this purpose, since it was a necessary document in processing promotions. Given that Uganda is a high power distance culture, the juniors were also less likely to seek feedback, but waited for the superior to provide it. All these culminate into a low score on feedback.

5.6 Improving the performance appraisal system

For any public servant who wants their job to be a career, promotion is the legitimate reward for performance and hard work. Promotion is based on the appraisal of the performance of employees on a continuous and consistent basis. Therefore it is important to adhere to these tenets if the scheme is to be of any significant benefit.

There were complaints by civil servants who are said to be meritorious and hard working but not promoted, while those known to be below average were promoted. Promotion should be earned. The normal annual performance evaluation which formed the basis of PAII was abused and rendered ineffective in determining promotion (Tidemand and Ssewankambo 2008). This means that while PAII was in effect, *merit* as a cultural aspect was not well institutionalized within the civil service, and the lack of it allowed informal

norms like ethnicity, nepotism and unprofessionalism to determine promotions. Otherwise, as an official from the Ministry of local Government remarked:

'We do not understand the concept of merit here. You have to learn to do what works than what the statutes say. However, it becomes tricky when an inquiry is carried out. The law prevails. Therefore in order to avoid falling into trouble, you cover your tracks very well. For example, what works here is pleasing the boss, than actual performance. We perform because we have a conscience, but good performance without good relations with the boss does not always lead to promotions.'

The ministry of public service observes that while the effective introduction of ROM would necessarily entail political and cultural behavioural changes, these elements were largely lacking (MOPS 2006b).

'There is a general dislike of change amongst staff here in the civil service. When you introduce a new thing like the performance appraisal, you get all sorts of excuses to water it down. But because most of the resistance is subtle, it goes undetected until we find the whole reform collapsing. Thus we must change our world outlook if the appraisal is to work. We must be more professional and transparent than we actually are.'

Given this admission by a minister from the ministry responsible for the implementing PAII, it is imperative to uncover the requisite cultural behavioural changes. As noted earlier, PAII presupposed that the civil service espouse values such as merit, neutrality, rule of law, competitiveness, honesty, uniformity, transparency and professionalism. Yet as some of the interviews and documents indicate, this was not always the case. Civil servants quite often did not act professionally and instead made decisions because they were 'fitting' rather than right. This may have been due to influence from certain norms into which people have been socialized, such as abuse of power and the consideration of ethnicity while carrying out appraisals.

This study argues that much as it is important to have a cultural change, it is equally important not to disregard the host culture of the institution where reforms are being

implemented. The study actually proposes that it is imperative to understand the host culture because it has a significant role to play in the acceptance or rejection of the performance appraisal system. Therefore, before we consider cultural change, let us first understand that which we want to change.

5.7 Conclusion: Seeking the cultural explanation for appraisal failure

This chapter not only outlined the performance appraisal systems in Uganda, but also argued that the NPM-inspired appraisal system in place from 1998 to 2007 failed to achieve the intended objectives, and this is why it was replaced after only five years. Although a number of factors have been highlighted as being responsible for the challenges and failure of PAII, I argue that they do not constitute a sufficient explanation. These challenges include poor documentation, budgetary constraints, lack of synchronization with ROM and budgeting, lack of motivation, lack of confidence and courage to use the appraisal system, lack of clarity, errors and bias, and inappropriate substitutes to measure performance. But it appears that these explanations only shed light on one side of the coin. The other side remains concealed. Perhaps we could also think of it as a 'black box', the inner components and logic of which are unavailable for inspection. We need to unpack this box. By referring to this 'black box' in interviews, we get statements about 'resistance', 'negative attitude', 'disenabling organisational culture', and 'non-compliant culture'. It seems to me that we could just as well label the 'box' 'aspects of administrative culture'. The following chapter therefore attempts to map the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service.

CHAPTER SIX

MAPPING ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE IN UGANDA'S CIVIL SERVICE

6.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses administrative culture in Uganda's civil service. Here I mainly present three issues: First, I argue that societal culture is a root of administrative culture in the bureaucracy in Uganda. Traditional societal values, colonial administrative systems and administrative practices play a significant role in the country's socio-economic development and have influenced administrative culture. Second, this chapter maps out the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service by presenting empirical results from the survey carried out for this study. The analysis indicates that power distance, uncertainty avoidance, ethnicity, and political neutrality are high on the dichotomous scale. Third, the chapter attempts to find out whether Uganda's administrative culture varies according to some background variables, i.e., gender, age, place of birth, level of education, training abroad and tenure.

6.1 Uganda's societal culture

Many attempts have been made to show that there is an 'African culture', but probably no such thing exists in the strict sense of the word. In fact, there is no one culture on the continent. There are however some cultural characteristics that could be viewed as African. First and foremost, the basic unit of African society is the extended family. This includes the nuclear family plus all relatives, the clan and the tribe. The tribe is the ultimate community, and though its social structure is being disrupted by global changes, it is still strong. It embraces those in the village, those who have moved to urban areas, and even those overseas. The second characteristic is trust and confidence; this is evidenced by warm relationships. Further, it is common for people to refer to a popular proverb: 'the older one is the wiser'. Respect for elders and men is very common in African cultures. In Uganda for example, young people normally do not oppose the opinion of their elders, but respect it, regardless of its value. This may foster large power distance.

Meanwhile, historical, geographical, political and other factors may differentiate a hypothetical Ugandan national culture from a wider pan-African culture. For instance, the country gained independence from Britain in 1962. It is bordered by five countries: Sudan, The democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Tanzania and Kenya, the latter two also having gained independence from Britain. It covers 236,040 square kilometres and currently has a population of 30 million people. According to the third schedule of the Ugandan constitution, by the time Uganda was declared a republic on 1st February 1926, there were 56 indigenous communities; this translates into 19 major indigenous ethnic groups and some European, American and Asian communities. The majority of Uganda's people are therefore Africans living in the rural areas. The main linguistic groups are the Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo- Hamitic, and the Sudanese (GOU 1995; Otiso 2006).

Ethnic divisions as well as historical enmities and rivalries contributed to the country's disintegration in the 1970s. There was a wide gap between Nilotic speakers in the north and Bantu speakers in the south, and an economic division between pastoralists in the drier rangelands of the west and north, and agriculturists in the better-watered highland and lakeside regions. There was also a historical division between the centralized and sometimes despotic rule of the ancient African kingdoms and the kinship-based politics elsewhere. The kingdoms were often at odds over the control of land. All these divisions precluded the formation of a national culture, and after independence, local nationalisms came into conflict. Buganda's large population, extensive territory in the favoured south and its self-proclaimed superiority created a backlash amongst other Ugandan peoples. Today relations are relatively harmonious, yet suspicion remains given that the president is believed to favour certain groups from the west of the country over others.

Ethnic sectarianism is another fraught issue in Ugandan societal culture and is often discussed within the Ugandan polity. This debate has raged in the public domain to the extent that even academics accuse one another of practicing tribalism in the workplace (Kagolo 2008). Certain tribes are accused of monopolizing high offices due to ethnicity. Whether Uganda is highly ethnic or not may be yet to be confirmed, but what is clear is that the concern is more prominent than ever before and cannot be wished away or ignored any longer. More importantly, these perceptions of ethnic sectarianism are partly responsible for shaping the administrative culture of Ugandan civil servants.

Table 6.2: Community based participation (percentage citing at least one instance)

'I will read out a list of things that people sometimes do as citizens. Please tell me – how often have you personally done any of these things in the last five years?'			
Attend community meeting	81	Attend election rally	65
Attend civic education	66	Work for candidate	43

Source: (Bratton et al. 2000:5)

Ugandans are very active politically and engage in community-based politics more frequently than most citizens in other African countries. Bratton et al. illustrate this point when they state that '…in Zambia in 1996, for example, 66 percent said they had attended a community meeting (versus 81 percent in Uganda) and just 14 percent said they had actively promoted a candidate for office (versus a hard-to-believe 43 percent in Uganda)'. Table 6.1 reproduces a table based on a survey by Bratton and his colleagues, which reflect community based political participation as an indicator of political interest.

In the same study, 68% said they think they can influence the opinions of others and 80% think they can use their votes to choose leaders who will make the future better. Ugandans post high rates of voter turnout, and it was also noted that 62% of the surveyed citizens participate politically by interacting with selected leaders. More interesting is the finding of community based participation being very high; for instance 81% attend community gatherings, 66% attend civic education, 65% attend an election rally and 43% work for a candidate. Ugandans participate in politics because they feel they are expected or even required to do so, thus in terms of political culture, Uganda is considered to have a 'participant political culture'. In a 2000 survey carried out by Afrobarometer[42], it was found that 83% of survey respondents declared themselves 'interested' in politics and government, and 45% of this same group were 'very interested' (Bratton et al. 2000:5).

Goran Hyden notes that much of the community development in Africa has been carried out under the auspices of local groups that are mobilized through the application of given

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[42]The Afrobarometer is a joint enterprise of Michigan State University, the Institute of Democracy in South Africa and the Centre for Democracy and Development, Ghana. Its papers are co-published by these institutions. Afrobarometer collects, analyzes and disseminates cross-national time-series attitudinal data on new democracies in Africa.

'affection criteria' (Hyden 2006). These community development activities are normally organized through groups or networks that have a common place of origin. This consequently leads to tribalism and nepotism in most administrative practices, and of course, the most affected sector is that which relates to personnel management, recruitment and retention. The performance appraisal is at the heart of this process. Group members prefer to sustain harmony and loyalty by evading confrontation. It is highly likely that in a country like Uganda, people find it more appropriate to avoid saying 'no', and instead opt for phrases like 'we shall see', 'I will try', and so on. The relationship between superior and subordinate therefore relies on trust, loyalty and a deep understanding of mutually accepted values.

Additionally, corrupt practices in the Ugandan civil service have continued to flourish despite numerous efforts to curb them. A leading cleric, Rev Dr Anthony Joseph Zziwa, the Bishop of Kiyinda-Mityana Diocese, observed that Ugandans have turned the corruption syndrome into a national culture (Muzaale 2008). There is evidence of kickbacks, air supply[43], embezzlement and conflict of interest, all activities which have clouded the judgment of ministers and senior civil servants (Langesth 1996). Corruption has a high political profile however, and the president even associated himself publicly with anti-corruption efforts. Nevertheless, the more cynical commentators allege that the government's high-profile anti-corruption efforts are designed to assuage donor criticism for failure to address the root causes. If this is the case, the president and his government's anti-corruption efforts would not genuinely emanate from conviction and political will (Flanary and Watt 1999). The problem of political will is compounded by the shortage of material resources and properly qualified human resources in all the agencies engaged in anti-corruption work (Fjeldstad et al. 2003; Watt et al. 1999). Bureaucrats' views on corruption and their participation in it are critical factors in understanding Ugandan administrative culture.

The problems mentioned above may as well be considered applicable to the Ugandan context at the societal level. They are identifiable in daily transactions and shared belief systems. Michael Lipsky ponders this by observing that 'if bureaucracies mirror the

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[43] 'Air supply' is a phrase in the Ugandan lexicon referring to a form of fraud in which influential people connive with senior government officials and win tenders. After winning the tenders, they supply nothing but are paid for undelivered goods and services. Usually, the money is shared between the responsible government officials and these influential people, who may not necessarily be businessmen.

society they develop, it is difficult to change bureaucratic forms fundamentally without larger changes taking place…..no matter what, the articulated organizational policy is likely to continue to reflect the dominant bureaucratic relations of society, no matter what the domestic guidelines provide'(Lipsky 1980: 188).

6.2 History of Uganda's civil service as a root of administrative culture in the country

Uganda's administrative culture can also be seen in light of the country's history and the impact of that history on the civil service. My review will be limited to the recent past, beginning with the time a civil service worth its name was established in the country, i.e., during British rule.

6.2.1 Independence and the failure of the Westminster model

The failure of meritocracy and the influence of culture in recruiting civil servants may be attributed to the failure to institutionalize norms and values required for the merit based system. Uganda inherited the 'Westminster model' of public service, a system based on the principles of meritocracy where civil servants were recruited and promoted on merit and the results of the confidential annual performance report (Mugaju 1996b). This vibrant and well paid civil service – reputedly the best in sub Saharan Africa – eventually collapsed because it was devoid of the pertinent cultural attributes; said differently, shared values and historical traditions inherent in the Westminster model were seen as alien and not rooted in the Ugandan social fabric (Karugire 1996). When Uganda gained Independence from Britain, African senior servants were few and far between because the senior and middle ranks were monopolized by Whites and Asians (Okot-Okello 2000).

At the time of independence, most civil servants expected too much and focused on benefits such as vehicles and pension. The situation worsened due to the absence of a merit-based culture, a factor rendering most civil servants poor performers (Kanyeihamba 2002; Mugaju 1996a, 1996b). Other events worsened the situation: newly recruited graduates were promoted to posts such as Permanent Secretary; in 1963 the parliament rendered the Public Service Commission (PSC) an 'advisory body' hence undermining its authority. In 1965 a politician was appointed to head the PSC (Okot-Okello 2000). In 1964, just a few years after independence, the civil-service review report indicated that

poor organization, patronage, misallocation of resources, shortages of skilled manpower, the arrogance of senior civil servants, greed and political bias were the key causes of poor performance.

6.2.2 Terror and military rule: 1967 – 1979

The 1967 constitution vested the president with the power to hire and fire. Public service appointments now came to be based on party royalty to the extent that school dropouts, drivers, hawkers and other 'misfits' were recruited by the minister in charge of local authorities (Karugire 1996). Consequently, real or imaginary enemies of government were fired at will – a situation which led to massive defections of civil servants from government service to the private sector and international organizations. The civil service therefore came to be manned by kinsmen, relatives, girlfriends, etc., all in blatant violation of civil service regulations. For instance, the top public servant in a region would be considered by others and himself as the chief patron and protector of that region (Mugaju 1996b), and in addition, the *lumpen militariat* took charge of some sections of the civil service and demanded compliance. As such, force replaced discourse. Experienced civil servants were expelled, arbitrarily dismissed, or killed. Prominent amongst the killed civil servants were the Chief Justice and the Vice Chancellor of Makerere University – simply because they failed to comply with the demands of the military regime (Kanyeihamba 2002:159). Due to such events, merit and rule of law were undermined and little could restrain corruption. This is the period when Idi Amin Dada was president of Uganda. His regime destroyed existing institutions and led to increased corruption, nepotism and ethnicity.

6.2.3 Political instability and Anarchy: 1979 -1986

Post 1980 Uganda, under the leadership of President Milton Obote, continued to witness corruption, sectarianism, malingering and moonlighting (regulations do not allow government workers to hold down two jobs). A new system of governance under Uganda National Liberation Front, referred to as 'allocation committees', managed to outdo the previous regimes in misappropriating public resources, self enrichment and graft practices. On January 26, 1986, the National Resistance Army (NRA) came to power and announced the politics of fundamental change. This marked the beginning of reforms in the country (Mugaju 1996a).

6.2.4 Era of reform: 1986 – 2007

The National Resistance Movement (NRM) government inherited a broken down state apparatus that cried for radical change. Constitutional and civil service reforms, decentralization and liberalization of the economy are hallmarks of this era. Edwin Brett, who studied the NRM from 1986 to 1994, observes that 'Ugandans have learnt that, and are therefore less sanguine about claims of those in authority, and that they are more willing to recognize that those who make a useful contribution, economic or political, need to be rewarded adequately' (Brett 1994:80). These reforms which Brett studied are also part of my study, especially the administrative reforms and how this era has made a contribution to our understanding of the performance appraisal phenomenon and the civil service's administrative culture.

6.3 Common administrative practices

Table 6.2 presents a ranking of the most dominant perceptions about administrative practices within the Uganda civil service. These are perceptions about responsibility, time management and professionalism. The ranking is based on the response rates in the survey carried out for this study. Respondents were asked a battery of 13 questions and had to tick either 1 = Disagree completely, 2 = disagree partly, 3 = both, 4 = agree partly, or 5 = Agree completely. Responses were then conflated into three categories; agree, both and disagree. The ranking was developed from using the 'agree' responses and ordering them in descending manner. These perceptions about administrative practices may also be instructive in helping us understand the civil service's administrative culture.

Table 6.2: A ranking of administrative practices in the Ugandan civil service

Statement about an aspect of administrative practices in the Ugandan bureaucracy	Agree Partly & Agree completely (%)
1) One of the best aspects of the civil service is the high intellectual and moral standards of the civil service.	74
2) There is lack of a sense of urgency; thinking that somebody else will take care of it.	67
3) Time management is a problem.	65
4) There is no record and information on national and regional capacities.	65
5) Most civil servants have a strong desire to avoid responsibility.	64
6) Paradigm lock: Some colleagues do not want to see another's point of view.	63
7) Professionalism and expertise best define a Ugandan civil servant.	60
8) There is a high level of neutrality and objectivity in the way things are done here.	57
9) The civil service lacks trained personnel.	55
10) Rules in the ministry are rigid and complex	50
11) There is lack of a clear cut strategy	50
12) There is a great deal of entrepreneurial skills amongst civil servants.	31
13) Decision makers do not understand the complexities of the issues about which they are supposed to decide.	28
N = 147	

Question asked: All organizations have a culture which could best be explained by the extent to which the following administrative practices manifest themselves. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

Civil servants view themselves as highly intellectual and having high moral standards. It has been observed that while seeking recruitment into the public service, government also seeks the best candidates at the required level. For example, one cannot be shortlisted for enrolling in the public service at graduate level entry point without an honors degree. This coincides with the seventh most important attribute from the responses, i.e., that professionalism and expertise best define a Ugandan civil servant. A contradiction may arise in the fact that the civil service lacks trained personnel: This is however explained by the fact that the civil service does not lack skilled personnel at the central level, but there is a deficit at the local level.[44]

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[44] Interview with the Undersecretary, Finance and Administration, Ministry of Local Government on April 18, 2007.

Although there are many civil servants with high moral standards, some people have doubts about the level of ethics within the civil service. The Director of Uganda Management Institute has observed that 'virtually every public servant wants to operate a kiosk because the salary is inadequate. There is a lack of patience, especially among young people, and there is poor time management, poor communication, poor records management and a lack of transparency in the public sector' (Institute 2002).

The third most significant perception about administrative practice concerns the lack of a sense of urgency. Most civil servants think that somebody else will take care of their work. There is a great deal of procrastination because the civil servants are not used to work being done and measured against a particular individual. They would prefer to work in an atmosphere where discretion is high and their contribution is ambiguous. They also feel more comfortable working in teams because there is less focus on individual performance and a person's contribution is more difficult to measure.

The fourth perception about administrative practice concerns the lack of knowledge and information on national and regional capacities. This means, for example, that the Ministry of Public Service does not have an accurate figure of the number of civil servants, personnel gaps, recruitment needs and required logistics. It is hard to believe that civil servants are not particularly aware of their numeric strength. However, when people involved with personnel issues were asked about this, they expressed the view that the inventory exists but that access to it is limited. This has implications for the performance appraisal system. How can one measure the performance of staff whose numeric strength one does not even know? Given the above scenario, little wonder that the same civil servants acknowledge time management to be a problem: 65% of the respondents agree that it is so.

It is critical to also note that most civil servants have a strong desire to avoid responsibility. A whopping 64% of respondents agreed with the sentiment expressed in point five. This is interesting because it seems contradictory to their earlier assertion that the civil service is full of individuals with high morals. Meanwhile, the contradiction may indicate that the understanding of morality is not broad enough to encompass responsibility, and that while civil servants may avoid responsibility, such avoidance is neither punished nor rebuked nor recorded. The next most significant perception of administrative practice is that there is

little tolerance of contrary views. This can be characterized as 'paradigm lock', a phrase meaning that the civil servants see themselves as knowledgeable, highly trained, immensely gifted and talented. Such self-aggrandizement results in a tendency to consider some colleagues as incapable of raising important points. As such, seniority and the quantity of qualifications matter most, and staff members do not want to see things from other people's point of view. This also seems to contradict the view that there is a high level of neutrality and objectivity in the way things are done in the ministries (point eight). Not being willing to see things from other civil servants' perspectives could also lead to having superiors and subordinates fail to agree on performance indicators and hence undermine the performance appraisal system.

In addition, it is clear that rules in the ministry are rigid and complex; whenever an issue arises, the law is invoked to come up with a solution and therefore there is limited recourse to innovation and creativity. A clear cut strategy is lacking, or so 50% of respondents think. This may indicate that the mission statements, goals and values posted on the walls of the corridors and ministry offices, and assumed assimilated by the civil servants, could at best be symbols. Nevertheless, they are intended to guide the goals and objectives of the individual civil servants.

Only 31% agree that there is a great deal of entrepreneur skills amongst civil servants. Put differently, entrepreneurial skills and innovation amongst civil servants are lacking. Worst of all, decision makers do not understand the complexities of the issues about which they are supposed to decide, as only 28% of the respondents observe that they do.

The biggest question confronting us now is whether there is compatibility between some of the highlighted issues such as hierarchy, rule orientation, uncertainty, ethnically-based corruption and the performance appraisal expectations of neutrality, rule of law, and merit. Performance appraisal reforms were initiated to change administrative and cultural values, but the question is whether they have taken root or have been blocked by an administrative culture that has succumbed to dominant societal values.

6.4 Mapping administrative culture

In this section I attempt to map administrative culture in Uganda by following the four main cultural dimensions hypothesized in chapter three: *power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political neutrality vs. political bias,* and lastly, *ethnicity, regionalism and sectarianism*. A total of 147 respondents were asked to agree or disagree on a number of statements on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 denotes 'Disagree completely'; 2 means 'Disagree partly'; 3 means 'Both agree and disagree'; 4 means 'Disagree partly' and 5 means 'Agree completely'. Each dimension has a set of indicative questions (see Appendix 1), and the index reflects the degree to which the bureaucrats themselves perceive each of the administrative culture dimensions in the civil service.

6.5 Power distance

In this section, I present findings from the study. They reveal that the majority of civil servants consider status and power differences acceptable. An analysis of the responses also indicates that the less powerful civil servants – e.g., secretaries, drivers and lower cadre staff – expect and accept that power is distributed unequally and that such distinction always tends to disfavour them. 15 questions about power distance were asked, all related to concepts such as hierarchy, level of participation, status symbolism and the colonial chief factor. These concepts are used as indicators of power distance. I will therefore divide the findings according to each of the concepts and discuss them. Thereafter, I will calculate the index for power distance.

6.5.1 Hierarchy

Table 6.3: Percentage distribution of civil servants perception on hierarchy

Statement	'Agree partly' and 'agree completely'	Mean
a) In this ministry junior officers have high respect for seniors.	89	4.3
b) Hierarchy in this ministry reflects the differences in quality between those people higher up and those that are further down in the hierarchy.	83	4.2
c) Hierarchy is a convenient way of dividing up work in the ministry.	78	4.1
d) This ministry should decentralize as much as possible.	71	3.9
e) There are many supervisors in this ministry.	50	3.3

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

It is instructive that 89% of the interviewees hold the view that junior officers have high respect for senior officers. Respect is a result of age, qualifications and position of authority. The implication of these results is that there is a high acceptance of hierarchy, and the respect is a result of power differences and relations, and hence large power distance. Respondents in question (b) agree with the statement that hierarchy reflects the differences in quality between those higher up and those lower down in the hierarchy. It is a significant revelation that 83% of the respondents regard hierarchy as an expression of the quality of the employees. Why is this so? To be promoted, you should have the requisite academic qualifications and a minimum five years experience. The higher your office, the more resources you have access to and the more people will expect from you; the higher your position the more likelihood that you will be considered for an even higher position, thus also the higher your quality in relation to your peers. Senior civil servants loyal to the president, when they retire, are hired as consultants or advisors with high salaries and other benefits. In this study, as shown in Table 6.3, I found that 78 % agree completely to the proposition that hierarchy is a convenient way of dividing up people in the ministry (see question (c) above).

Incidentally, the same respondents seem to contradict the expectations of large power distance when they support decentralization. At least 71% agreed that decentralization is the best option (refer to statement (d) above). Hofstede observes that in large power distance cultures centralization is popular (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). One way to explain this apparent contradiction is that centralization in itself cannot be used as an indicator of large power distance in isolation. But a more plausible explanation could be that decentralization in Uganda creates jobs, and jobs in turn re-enforce hierarchy, and thereby feed into the growth of a large power distance culture. Furthermore, decentralization is another method for distributing power and wealth; it perpetuates the slippage of power distance views over a wider and broader spectrum. Thus, it accentuates and nurtures large power distance values.

Reformers hoped that with numerous reforms in the administrative structure of Uganda, a number of organizational sources of power would be created. Although there is a noticeable shift towards flatter organizations in quasi-private institutions, Uganda's civil service is still hierarchical. Decentralization has created power at the district level, yet this has not led to the erosion of hierarchy, but instead has merely created different levels of hierarchy.

In statement (e) above, I asked whether civil servants feel or notice that there are many supervisors in their ministry; – 50 % agreed. An examination of records at the ministry of public service shows that there are many layers of authority. For example, of the jobs that are available in the four ministries studied, the analysis showed the following: 78 layers for the mass communication cadre, 71 layers for the administrative cadre, 66 layers for the planners, 59 layers for the legal cadre, 38 layers for research cadre, 38 layers for the computer scientists, 34 for records and information management, 27 layers for the human resource cadre, 27 layers for the accounts cadre, 23 layers for the audit cadre, 19 layers for office management, 16 layers for the secretarial staff, 15 layers for the procurement and supplies cadre, 14 layers for the catering cadre, and 14 layers for management and policy analysis (MOPS 2007a). From this analysis, one could argue that the public service in general has many supervisors, and a tall hierarchy of people reporting to each other. A closer look at the Ministry of Local Government (MOLG) is even more telling; for example, a letter from a driver in the personnel department will have to go through 9 different hands before it reaches the Permanent Secretary for approval.

Salary ranges and disparities

Table 6.4 Perceptions on salary range

Statement	'Agree partly' and 'Agree completely '	Mean
a) There is a wide salary range between the top and the bottom of the organization	83	4.1

Question asked: *There is a wide salary range between the top and the bottom of the organization*. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

Large power distance and hierarchy may also be observed through the salary scales and pyramidal structure. In fact, when asked to comment on the claim that there is a wide salary range, 83% affirmed it. An examination of the civil servants' salary structure for the financial year 2006/2007 uncovered the reality that the monthly salary ranges from 91,042/= (USD 54)[45] or 424,645/= (USD 250)[46] for the low level cadre to 2,278,934/= (USD 1,340) for the head of civil service. In between, there are 11 basic salary scales, and 125 different salary segments. This is an classic example of a 'salary system that shows wide gaps between top and bottom in the organization' (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). One of the personnel officers notes the following:

> 'With government officers, you must realize that they earn very little salary compared to parastatals and private sector organizations. On top of that the highest paid civil servant earns 25 times more money than the least paid. More disturbing is the disparity in allowances; the higher the position, the bigger the per diem, when you travel out of station. But the reality is that the bigger the position, the bigger the responsibility. So they deserve it!'

Bureaucrats feel the disparity but consider it a normal trend since the personnel officer cited above is of the view that those who hold high offices deserve far more money than those with less powerful jobs. Although the basic salary of the top civil servant in Uganda is far lower than that of a chief executive of a parastatals or private enterprise, it is by many margins steep compared to the least paid civil servant. Take for instance the head

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[45] Entry point salary for support staff.
[46] Entry point salary for university graduates.

of civil service; he has a monthly salary of 2,278,934/= (USD 1,340), whereas the director general of Uganda Revenue Authority, a government agency, earns 28,000,000/= (USD 16,470) per month.

Relations between the superiors and subordinates: The 'colonial chief' and sycophancy

Table 6.5: Perception on superior – subordinate relations

Statement	'Agree partly' and 'Agree completely'	Mean
a) In this ministry, a boss is like a colonial chief.	**52**	**3.1**
b) A boss takes care of his subordinates as if they were his own children.	**50**	**3.1**

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

In this section two statements are analysed. The first relates to the boss as a colonial chief and the second one to the boss as a benevolent father. They are closely related and my findings indicate that in order for the two relations to coexist comfortably, civil servants have developed a coping mechanism: sycophancy.

6.5.2 Boss as a colonial chief

It is highly relevant to look at the 'chief factor' in terms of power distance. The African culture is sometimes unreceptive to Western values due to some colonial and post colonial institutions. Describing power distance in Uganda without putting across the effect of the colonial chiefs renders the concept inadequate in my view. Chiefs were the leading personalities in communities that made up colonial Uganda and their legacy of prestige and authority endures to the present day. Independent Uganda inherited fairly autonomous local administrations plagued by ethnic factionalism (Sathyamurthy 1982). The institution of the chief became highly politicized to the extent that chiefs could misappropriate public funds without fear of investigation and prosecution (Nsibambi 1971). In this study, 52% notice that the tendency to behave like a chief is still prevalent (see responses to statement (a), in Table 6.5, above).

As a commissioner in the MOLG notes, 'that culture of the colonial chief' is most interesting to him. Many interviewees noted that the chief was a very formidable figure the colonialists used to steer the community in the direction the colonial government wanted. Transposed to the present day, we observed that many government officials consider themselves as 'chiefs'. This is part of the colonial mentality that is now part of Uganda's administrative culture. Another civil servant in the MOLG states the following:

> 'That culture of being a chief all of a sudden is deeply rooted. When you get responsibility you change and begin to act as a colonial chief. Many of these people simply assume offices and all of a sudden they detach themselves from reality. The mentality of the chief still spills over in the way many of our administrators act'.

One interesting observation from this quote is that as civil servants ascend in power and position, they develop a feeling like that of a chief: paternalistic, powerful, benevolent, rich, one who does not consult but instructs, and so on.

6.5.3 The boss as a benevolent father

With respect to the view that *'a boss takes care of his subordinates as if they were his own children'* at least 50% agree. The civil servants see the boss as a father figure in two respects: first, he distributes privileges and favours. Second, he expects unquestioned loyalty and respect. This implies that the superior cannot be easily approached and his word is final. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that with such a frame of mind amongst the civil servants, large power distance can be counterproductive. This implies that the boss actually involves himself in the private affairs of subordinates. The bosses, I was told, tend to ask subordinates what is going on in their private lives. Moments of misery, such as the death of a loved one, having ones child ejected from school for lack of school fees, or taking a family member to hospital are the kinds of issues the boss hears about and takes seriously. Most bosses would, as a way of showing benevolence, create a situation where the staff member in question will get an assignment to earn extra money or some sort of benefit they would otherwise not officially receive. In so doing, the underling becomes indebted, dependent on the boss, his or her loyalty is given to the individual boss, not the organization.

Sycophancy

The interviews reveal that in order for the relationships described above to survive, sycophancy becomes an engrained behaviour and practice. It is normal to refer to the boss as 'Sir', to use flattering language, to give favours, and avoid telling the boss displeasing truths. For instance, a story was told that in order to get favours from the bosses, it pays to praise them and express how hardworking they are when they acquire material benefits like cars and houses. The other is to accept most of what they contribute and laugh even when they make an old joke in a meeting. It is also considered strategic to complement and defend the boss, regardless of one's views on the matter at hand, lest one falls out of favour.

Many junior officers also find themselves becoming sycophants in order to get the ear of the boss because those who disagree with the boss are referred to as 'rebels' and isolated. The most exceptional form of sycophancy is when junior civil servants imitate the appearance, mannerisms, and behaviour of their supervisors. When asked why this is so, a respondent said:

> 'The current practice in Uganda of showing royalty is to prove to the boss that you are so loyal and he has influenced your lifestyle to the core. You actually have mutated and are no longer yourself. Therefore you do this by imitating him. This is done at all levels in society. If the Vice President can do it to retain his job, why cant I?'[47]

Some of the juniors influence their superiors through the power of reasoning: the junior does research for the boss's presentations and hands the results over to the boss. The junior never claims authorship. This makes the boss convinced of the underling's loyalty and at times he even becomes dependant on the junior. Eventually, this kind of sycophancy and other methods for promoting friendliness end up as strategic manoeuvring for good performance evaluations.

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[47] Many leaders are said to imitate President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni of Uganda. It was Prof. Gilbert Bukenya, the Vice President, who first imitated his boss' manner of speech, gesture, walking and facial expression. Others have since followed (Monitor 2008).

Table 6.6 Responses concerning participation, decision making and communication

STATEMENT	'Agree partly' and 'Agree completely'	Mean
a) *Officers rely more on formal rules and superiors than experience and subordinates.*	82	3.5
b) *In this ministry, subordinates expect to be told what to do.*	61	3.5
c) *In the ministry, senior officers do not listen to anybody in the workplace before making a decision.*	57	2.7
d) *In this ministry subordinates expect to be consulted when decisions are made.*	52	3.2

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

Subordinates also commonly expect their superiors to make decisions about rules, procedures, policies and performance. As noted by over 82 % of our respondents in statement (a) in Table 6.6, bureaucrats invoke and depend more on formal rules and superiors than on experience and the suggestions of subordinates. In fact, the results indicate that civil servants would like their superiors to convey more information to them and make more decisions for them. It also appears that feedback concerning work performance is more informal.

The study provides further evidence on minimum participation, especially from the junior officers. This finding is corroborated by the revelation that 61% of the interviewees expect to be told what to do and that a boss takes care of his subordinates as if they were his own children. One civil servant said that supervisors are always 'protecting' staff under their authority, especially if they are to be posted to destinations and circumstances considered 'dry'[48].

Results show that in most cases, senior officers are *not* obliged to listen to everyone in the workplace before making a decision. They do not even practice it, as 57% of the respondents show (see statement c in Table 6.6). A senior staff member from MOLG was pleased to announce that 'Our relations are ok. There is a clear chain of command, we report to our bosses, and we work within our framework and there is no trouble and I

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[48] A deployment or posting is regarded as 'dry', if it has limited emoluments, privileges and opportunities to raise income in addition to the normal salary.

think that we are OK.' In order to have an efficient decision making process, communication is profoundly important. Communication standards are raised if those who are implementing the outcome of a decision have clear, performance-oriented goals, an appropriate task strategy, clear rules, tolerance for divergent views and explicit communication feedback to ensure that information is understood (Maznevski 1994: 532).

Communication channels between the supervisor and the supervised are supposed to be a two-way process, but in the Ugandan civil service it seems to be one-way most of the time. Communication usually flows downwards through the hierarchy – the boss just passes on information and decisions to juniors, or upwards, where the junior makes proposals for decisions through the same chain of command. However, most juniors will not offer unsolicited contributions because they consider it better to be instructed.

On whether subordinates expect to be consulted when decisions are made, 52% answered in the affirmative. Actually, this finding was much higher than expected. As pointed out by Mendonca and Kanungo, 'managers do not consider subordinates to be 'people just like me'; neither do the subordinates view their managers as people just like themselves' (Mendonca and Kanungo 1996). In the same way, findings for this study seem to corroborate this. A middle level official in the ministry of public service observed:

> 'As far as I am concerned, it is the boss [who should] give me the details of the decision that has been taken. He knows best which decision to make. After all, sometimes it even involves money and he is the one controlling the budget. Likewise, my juniors just need to be told what to do. Or if they are to make a decision, then they must seek my consent. Can they find solutions to problems? That is my duty… Can you be a boss of yourself…think about it?'

This statement implies that some civil servants view decision making and problem solving a duty of the superior. Otherwise, consulting the junior could be seen as a form of inadequacy. A middle-level civil servant observed that if he is out of office for more than

48 hours, he leaves 'away notes'[49]. Yet one would expect that in order to make a fair and balanced decision, it is of value to consult subordinates. But in this case, neither the subordinates nor the superiors consider the situation appropriate. Another aspect of this picture is that subordinates cannot establish decisions without the explicit knowledge and consent of their superiors. For instance, the request to carry out this study in the various ministries was made on the same date, but formal replies could not be made until the permanent secretary had seen and endorsed the request.

6.5.5 Status symbolism

Table 6.7 Perceptions on status symbols as an indicator of large power distance

STATEMENT	'Agree partly' and 'Agree completely'	Mean
a) Office work is of a superior nature than manual work.	85	4.3
b) One takes pride in being known to be ambitious, successful and very competent.	85	4.3
c) Privileges and status symbols such as big cars, big offices, and secretaries, are normal and popular. They are not frowned upon.	75	3.9

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

At least 85 % contended that office work is superior to manual work as shown in statement (a). One respondent made the following revealing remark:

> 'There is no way one who has gone to school and acquired degrees [can] be like the *seyas*[50]. After all, why did our parents sacrifice to educate us[?] We were struggling in school when these other guys were gathering fruits [sic] and chasing other things of immediate pleasure. Therefore, as the Bakiga say, *'ekaramu tejunda kandi terabeiha'* (meaning that he who has gone to school deserves better and needs not do blue collar jobs). We deserve all this. Otherwise why do you think everybody is going back to school?'

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[49] An 'away note' is a written communication with a detailed 'to do' list, especially for one's juniors, specifying the way the boss would like the juniors to take certain decisions in his/her absence for completion. Upon return, the boss is updated on the progress.

[50] *Seya* is a term coined by the Kampala Mayor, Nasser Ssebagala, which means that the uneducated like him also deserve a 'piece of the pie' in terms of public jobs.

Hence the dignity of labour is associated with white collar jobs; the higher the position, the more the prestige.

In response to the claim that one takes pride in being known to be ambitious, successful and very competent, 85 % of respondents agreed (statement (b) above). Differences in wealth, privilege and status correspond with distribution of power and wealth, and thus accentuate large power distance.

Respondents were very positive to the proposition that privileges and status symbols are normal and popular (75%). Status symbols are a very useful indicator of large power distance. In the Ugandan workplace, earning awards for excellent performance, a degree from a prestigious European or American University, a big off-road official vehicle, a big unshared office, free phone access, health insurance and secretaries are popular.

6.5.6 Does Uganda have large or small power distance?

On a scale of 1 – 5, power distance has a mean of 3.74; based on the premise that the higher the mean, the higher the possibility of large power distance in the bureaucracy, the findings suggest that there is large power distance in the Ugandan civil service. In order to arrive at this figure, I calculated the mean for each of the 15 statements under power distance, and they totalled up to 56.1. I then divided the total mean from all the statement by the number of statement, i.e., by 15 to get the average mean, which is 3.74. I therefore take this average mean as the index to determine power distance. On a scale of 1 – 5, a dichotomous category is envisaged; the mean scores below 3 are classified as low, whereas the mean scores above 3 are classified as high. Following this logic, we could say that Uganda has large power distance.

6.6 Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance is a variable that shows the way in which a particular community feels and reacts towards an unknown but perceived risk. Members of a high uncertainty avoidance culture tend to prefer clear, formal and structured systems and procedures (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). One aspect of measuring uncertainty avoidance is to examine the extent to which rules are followed and invoked (Islam 2004). In Uganda's

civil service, *The Code of Conduct and Ethics for the Uganda Public Service* is given prominence through written and verbal communication. This document contains the standards of behaviour for civil servants.[51] In addition, all civil servants are obliged to be conversant with the standing orders, circular standing instructions, and establishment notices, legal notices, acts, bills and the Constitution. Interviewees express that there are too many rules – one cannot possibly understand them all.

6.6.1 Rule following

Table 6.8 Perceptions relating to rule following.

STATEMENT	'Agree partly' and 'Agree completely'	Mean
a) It is better to follow known standards and procedures than experiment with new ideas.	85	4.2
b) Civil servants have a strong emotional need for rules.	81	4.3
c) Most decisions are based on rational thinking rather than common sense.	79	4.0
d) More money is better than more leisure time.	71	3.9
e) People live in order to work.	28	2.4

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

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The results shown in Table 6.8 indicate that in terms of performance, rules and procedures are preferred to results. As shown in statement (a) above, where 85% of the respondents opine that it is better to follow known standards and procedures than experiment with new ideas, we gather that civil servants want their work life to follow a fixed and certain pattern. Like in any typical uncertainty avoidance situation, civil servants have a strong emotional need for rules (81% on (b) in Table 6.8). Rules provide certainty and minimize ambiguity. This could be reflected in the results for statement (c), that most decisions are based on rational thinking rather than common sense (79%). Most respondents note that money is better than leisure time (71%, statement d), but disagree to the proposition that people live in order to work (statement (e), only 28% agreed). Most interviewees state that rules are important and must be followed. One civil servant even had this to say:

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[51]As noted from the *Code of Conduct and Ethics for the Uganda Public Service*, dated June 2000.

'We have to follow rules in order to manage the civil service. In all that I do, I am governed by the standing orders. You cannot deviate from the set rules and guidelines. It is just as a Christian and the Bible. Otherwise, here there is no gambling. Life must be relatively predictable, and following rules ensures that.'

Like most of her colleagues she could be 'hostage' to uncertainty and unpredictability. These bureaucrats have a strong need for extreme rigidity in terms of rules and regulations, which may well indicate a high degree of uncertainty avoidance.

6.6.2 Innovation and work ethic

Table 6.9 Perceptions relating to innovation and work ethics.

STATEMENT	Agree partly and agree completely	Mean
a) All employees need to be busy and work hard.	95	4.7
b) Most civil servants are not as good in invention as they are on implementation.	89	4.2
c) Perseverance is very common amongst civil servants.	87	4.3
d) Agreeing to disagree is OK.	75	3.9
e) Subordinates feel more comfortable to work under close supervision than independently.	68	3.7
f) In civil service, innovation is appreciated.	47	3.1
h) In my organization, promotion is usually based on performance rather than seniority.	45	3.0

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

All employees need to be busy and work hard (95%), and most civil servants are not as good at invention as they are on implementation (89 %). This could be interpreted to mean that there is an attitude that limits people's ability to change and innovate (see statements (a) and (b) in Table 6.9). A good illustration here is a quote from an official in the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development:

'Mine is a sensitive department dealing with plans and budgets, therefore I have to closely oversee what my staff do. Since I am the one accountable, I have to ensure that they deliver on their key result areas. They always do a good job but I have to guide them.'

In the Ugandan civil service, there is a low employee turnover and a great deal of resistance to change. This is shown by the 87% respondents who agreed that perseverance is very common amongst civil servants, though the percentage of people who said that agreeing to disagree is OK (75 %). Public servants who are subjected to rigid and complex rules seldom take initiative. They are also rarely accountable for their behaviour and actions (Jabbra and Jabbra 2005). Some of the implications of this kind of structure are: a) In situations that are not foreseen by the law and regulations, flexibility and innovation represent inopportunity. This operates as an indicator of uncertainty avoidance because the bureaucrats feel threatened by ambiguous and uncertain situations. b) Time wastage could also be evidenced when a document passes through many hands before it is signed by the Permanent Secretary. c) This law-obsessed situation perpetuates itself by the establishment of more formal rules. d) Whenever there is a dispute over an issue, or if a manager devises instructions, there is a higher reliance on rules than expertise to determine the best way forward.

It is therefore no surprise that subordinates feel more comfortable working under close supervision (69 %), and, innovation is not so much appreciated (47 %). The Ugandan civil servants are constrained by the existing rules because they may be punished for not following them. Moreover, rules and regulations not only underpin strong uncertainty avoidance, they also create fertile ground for power distance to flourish. Those in high positions of responsibility may also resort to rules as a means of displaying authority and power, and they expect respect.

Given that seniority and not competence matters most, many civil servants think that promotion is based on seniority rather than performance. That explains why in statement (h), only 45% agreed that promotion is based on performance. This ties in with 'moonlighting' mentioned earlier, meaning that civil servants take on extra jobs such as teaching in colleges, consultancy, and work in other private business. In addition, they squeeze whatever they can from government service ('sun lighting'). According to Dr. Sam Zaramba, the Director General of Health Services in the Ministry of Health, a number of officials receive additional pay from project funds which he considers a secret. He said that funders are encouraged to give some top-up allowance to some people who do extra tasks (Obore 2008). Such payment disparities cause problems since not everyone

gets this type of extra pay, so to increase earnings, civil servants end up spending very limited time on the work for which they were hired to do.

Consequently, the temptation to join the private sector is high given that pay is better, yet this would increase labour turnover and the brain drain. Solution? Moonlighting and sun lighting. But to grasp the full crux of the matter, since the annual salary increment system disregards merit, this nurtures bureaucrats' unwillingness to work harder and innovate. Hence, when examining all these factors and how they fit together, moonlighting and sun lighting seem to be closely connected to career stability, and hence are indicators of uncertainty avoidance.

6.6.3 Strong Uncertainty avoidance

While developing an index for uncertainty avoidance for this study, we assume the premise that *the higher the mean, the stronger the uncertainty avoidance in the bureaucracy*. In order to calculate the average mean, I took the mean for each of the 12 statements under uncertainty avoidance presented in Tables 6.8 and 6.9 and added them together. The sum was 45.6, which I then divided by 12 (the total number of statements) and ended up with 3.8 as the average mean. The average mean is the index to determine uncertainty avoidance. From this result, I conclude that there is strong uncertainty avoidance. This is because if the index is below 3, then there would be weak uncertainty avoidance, whereas a mean above 3 suggests strong uncertainty avoidance. Thus the study suggests that the Ugandan bureaucracy has strong uncertainty avoidance with a mean of 3.8 on a 1 – 5 scale, based on responses to 12 questions.

6.7 Political neutrality vs. political bias

In this section, I try to find out whether the Ugandan civil servants are either political neutral or political biased. This is dependant on how bureaucrats cope with politics and how politicians interfere with the bureaucrats' work. The analysis and conclusions will be based on the views of the bureaucrats with regard to; a) neutrality and independence of the civil service, b) civil servants' trust in politicians, and c) politicization of the bureaucracy.

6.7.1 Political neutrality versus political loyalty

Table 6.10 Perceptions on relations between politicians and civil servants (%)

STATEMENT	Agree partly and agree completely	Mean
a) Technical considerations must be given more weight than political factors.	93	4.5
b) Civil servants should always remain neutral in relation to political parties.	92	4.4
c) The interference of politicians in the business of civil servants is a disturbing feature of public life.	86	4.3
d) Extreme positions should be avoided in political controversies, but we should seek the middle line.	85	4.3
e) All citizens should have the same chance of influencing government policy.	82	4.3
f) Decision making is a preserve of those in power.	78	4.0
g) It's an advantage for the public sector if top civil servants share the political views of the ruling government.	77	3.9
h) Uganda needs a new generation of political leaders.	67	3.6
i) The change of government in Uganda is predictable.	56	3.3
j) Civil servants should seek political directives for starting initiatives.	41	2.8
k) I consider Ugandan political leaders to have specialized political roles.	32	2.5

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

Respondents were overwhelming in their agreement with the view that technocrats should take precedence over politicians. According to them, technical considerations must be given more weight than political factors, a statement (a) that elicited 93% agreement. This also shows that the civil servants were in agreement because a civil service not governed on a technical basis is weak, and a weakened civil service renders the policy process vulnerable to poorly skilled politicians and consultants (Mutahaba and Balogun 1992). At least 92% of respondents to statement (b) note that civil servants should always remain neutral in relation to political parties. It is typical for bureaucrats to remain neutral but at the same time show allegiance to whoever is in power. In this respect, Uganda is similar to other countries such as the United Kingdom, Bangladesh and India.

The view that civil service career positions *should not* be subject to the direct influence of politicians is upheld in the study, for when asked whether the interference of politicians

in the business of civil servants is a disturbing feature of public life, 86% 'agreed'. Meanwhile, since only 41% feel that civil servants *should seek* political directives for starting initiatives (refer to statement (c) and (j) in Table 6.10), this could suggest that the majority prefer independence from the politicians. Respondents give the impression that the civil service is subordinate to politicians. Whether liking it or not, all feel a strong fusion between the public service and politics. Politicization of the civil service, we learn, has been perpetuated by the Kyankwanzi programmes.[52] A particular senior official explains:

> 'Most of the civil servants want independence, but you see when His Excellency, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni came into power, he politicized the civil service to some extent by making it mandatory for all of us to attend Kyankwanzi Political School.'

Civil servants tend to avoid extreme positions in political controversies, and have a strong preference for the middle line. From the 85% agreement on the statement that 'extreme positions should be avoided in political controversies, but we should seek the middle line' (d), we may infer that political extremes affect every aspect of the civil service. Findings also revealed that 82% think all citizens should have the same chance of influencing government policy (statement e). Though they acknowledge that decision making is a preserve of those in power (78%) (statement f), they at the same time think that politicians and civil servants have a good relationship. So if the bureaucrats want a neutral and non-politicized bureaucracy but at the same time want to be loyal to the government, possibly this is because of the politicization of the civil service. After all, most civil servants (77%) consider it an advantage when they share political views with the ruling government (statement g). This agreement demonstrates the belief that in order to perform or have their initiatives accepted by the ruling regime, they must have a good working relationship with the politicians. It is rather interesting that the *same people* who desire to share political views with politicians also support de-politicization of the civil service.

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[52] Kyankwanzi is the short form for the *National Leadership Institute, Kyankwanzi*, which is an institution where leaders are trained in basic political analysis and military skills. It is run by the government of Uganda, but used to be an outfit for the ruling party.

They seem to think that change of government in Uganda is unpredictable. A total of 56% agreed to this statement (i). When asked the question: *Do you consider Ugandans political leaders to have specialized political roles?*, only 32% responded affirmatively. This may tie in with the view of politicians as being unsystematic and unskilled.[53]

6.7.2 Bureaucrats' trust in politicians and patronage

Table 6.11 Civil servants' trust and the political leadership

STATEMENT	Agree partly and agree completely	Disagreed
a) The general welfare of the country is disturbed by the clash of political interests.	92	4.5
b) Politicians think more about their welfare than that of the citizens.	89	4.4
c) The civil servants and not the politicians guarantee reasonable public policies.	87	4.3
d) Local self government is the best for adapting local services to local needs.	86	4.3
e) Although parties play an important role in a democracy, often they exacerbate political conflicts.	84	4.3
f) Uganda needs a new generation of political leaders.	67	3.6
g) Most political leaders can be trusted.	32	2.5

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

92% of respondents agree that (a) the general welfare of the country is disturbed by the clash of political interests. Civil servants consider the political sphere a theatre for narrow interest gains orchestrated through soliciting bribes or other favours from those that stand to gain from special economic privileges. For instance, it has also been shown that rent-seeking by government officials may cause loss in revenue and perpetuate corruption (Mwenda 2007; Mwenda and Tangri 2005). The interviewees also largely agree that politicians think more about their welfare than that of the citizens (statement (b), 89% agreement) and politicians are thought of as greedy. I propose two explanations for such greed and self-interest: first, politicians have short term careers and cabinet ministers can

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[53] A number of parliamentarians or parliamentary candidates have had their academic credentials questioned. A member of parliament should have an *A level* certificate or equivalent. Examples include Asanasio Kayizzi, Robert Buyondo, Ssalabaya Haruuna of Kassanda North, and Sembabule Woman MP Anifa Kawooya.

be hired and fired without notice. As such, they wish to maximize both their influence and privileges. Second, most cabinet ministers are members of parliament, and MPs determine their own emoluments. In most cases, they increase their emoluments as soon as they get in office. These and other situations may account for the civil servants' view of politicians as selfish. But not only that, we hear the Ugandan motto, '*For God and My Country*', being mockingly twisted to '*For God and My Stomach.*'

It is perhaps for the above reasons that the civil servants think they can guarantee reasonable public services better than the politicians. 87% agree to this in response to statement (c) above. Most civil servants think that a technocratic civil service and decentralized governance is best (statement d). This is because decentralization brings services closer to the people and hence local leaders are held more directly accountable, rather than in a centralized system where the politicians are far removed in terms of physical distance and power.

This may also explain why 84% agree to the statement that although parties play an important role in a democracy, they exacerbate political conflicts (statement e). Another explanation for this could be that Uganda is emerging from a turbulent past. The country has had party politics from 1962 to 1969, a one-party state in 1969, a military dictatorship from 1971 to 1979, and multi-party elections in 1980. In 1986, the NRM regime shot into power and suspended active party operations (Kanyeihamba 2002). This changed with the parliamentary and presidential elections of 2006. There are currently 33 registered political parties.[54] This background has made Ugandans suspicious of political parties because they attribute the 'lost' years to the time the country suffered under party politics. They are now coping with the new dynamics.

Most of the civil servants believe Uganda needs a new generation of political leaders (67% on statement f). This response may suggest that they are fed up with the current regime for a number of reasons. Most hold the opinion that politicians are liars (inferred from statement g) – they have made a lot of promises but have not delivered on them. But what is most disturbing to these bureaucrats is that politicians blame *them* for the failure to deliver! One respondent put it like this: 'These politicians are very interesting. They

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[54] http://www.ec.or.ug/leagal/reg_parties.pdf.

make promises even when they know that what they are saying cannot work. In fact, if you want to loose the little decency that you have, join politics'. With such an attitude, it is understandable that the bureaucrats take most political leaders to be untrustworthy. It was only a paltry 32% who said that politicians can be trusted (statement g).

The president may have also provoked this level of distrust by publicly bashing civil servants and deploying NRM cadres to various offices, through what may be seen as *patronage* (refer also to discussion in chapter seven, section 7.4.3). He has posted party royalists, especially people with military backgrounds, to civil service. The Inspector General of Police, formerly a career police posting, is now run by military generals. The most significant appointment so far is that of Noble Mayombo, as permanent secretary to the Ministry of Defence[55]. In justifying this policy, a presidential assistant, Moses Byaruhanga, observed that one can be incorruptible and efficient, but cadre-ship is supreme: 'The Mayombo infusion in the public service was part of the accomplishment of a total revolution by extending it to the administration….the challenge however is to ensure that the public service shares the same vision as the political leadership.'[56] The president himself made the following statement:

> 'Much of the civil service is of the old mentality. Those who are not corrupt are ideologically disoriented. This affects the tempo and depth of implementing the NRM programmes. I patiently nursed this problem until now when NRM cadres have matured to take over permanent secretarial responsibilities.'[57]

With the previous system, appointments to positions were made *after* people sat for interviews. For instance, even in 1977, President Idi Amin Dada selected Lt. Colonel Michael Ombia as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture after the latter sat through Public Service Commission interviews.[58] Hence, while both systems can be fraught with problems, it is nevertheless reasonable to conclude that the practice of direct postings rather than interviewing prospective applicants engenders distrust because it sidesteps the notion of neutrality and means bureaucrats can no longer expect meritocracy.

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[55] Board chairman, *The New Vision*, the only state Newspaper in the country.
[56] 'Young cadres must carry on Mayombo belief', *Daily Monitor*, Monday, May 7, 2007. Page 12.
[57] ' Mayombo was not corrupt at all, Museveni tells mourners,' *The New Vision*, Monday, May 7, 2007.
[58] 'Mayombos turbulent role in Uganda's history', Sunday Monitor, May 6, 2007, Page13.

One final perspective we take time to mention, on why bureaucrats may have such a low level of trust in politicians, is explicated by the political scientist Juma Okuku, who argues that through militarism, constitutional manipulation, ethnicity, regionalism and sheer arrogance of power, a one-party state was imposed on Uganda. This one-party state was disguised as a 'movement' based on 'no-party' democracy in a 'broad-based' government. Okuku's premise for saying this is that regional splits have deepened since the NRM came to power and most of the top NRM leadership comes from western Uganda (Okuku 2008).

6.7.3 Are Ugandan bureaucrats politically biased or neutral?

We can deduce that civil servants prefer to be neutral and independent from the politicians, but simultaneously have respect for them and obey them. They tend to distrust the politicians, consider them greedy, corrupt and selfish; they also tend to disrespect improper orders from the politicians. Despite all this, most of the time they operationalize the politicians' proposals. They abhor extreme political positions and hold the view that although political parties play an important role in democracy, they exacerbate political conflicts. The bureaucrats also have modest expectations for the politicians and claim that the country needs a new generation of leaders.

In order to arrive at the index for political neutrality versus political bias, I took the sum for the mean of 18 indicative questions (70.2) and divided it by 18 (the total number of statements). The average mean came to 3.9. An average mean below 3 indicates high partisanship and thus more political bias, whereas a mean above 3 suggests low partisanship and hence less political bias. This result suggests a high preference amongst bureaucrats for neutrality and less interference from the politicians, but it also suggests a relatively low level of mutual trust between the politicians and the bureaucrats. Therefore, we can refer to it as high on political neutrality and low on political bias.

6.8 Ethnicity, regionalism and sectarianism

A sense of ethnicity can partly be traced back to Colonialism, which brought together diverse groups and set up arbitrary borders. Taking the view that ethnicity and tribalism are social constructs, in order to understand them well, one needs to analyze them in light

of their social context. The pre-colonial antagonism exploited by British colonialists to ease their conquests kept ethnic consciousness alive. The north-south divide in Uganda today is an enduring legacy of that colonial act (Okuku 2002:11). Under the policy of divide and rule, political structures were built along tribal and ethnic identities; this in turn intensified ethnic consciousness. Such a consciousness was further reinforced by an ethnically inspired division of labour where 'Every institution touched by the hand of the colonial state was given a pronounced regional or nationality character. In Uganda for example, it became a truism that a soldier must be a northerner, a civil servant a southerner, and a merchant an Asian'(Mamdani 1983).

Because the Buganda kingdom was given special status, this also increased ethnic consciousness. At the time of colonial conquest, Buganda was already a developed Kingdom. The colonial establishment used its officers to implement indirect rule, thereby becoming the 'face' of the British enemy. In turn, Buganda developed an ethnic superiority over the other tribes, for the latter saw themselves as 'the oppressed' and the Baganda as 'the emancipated' (Oloka-Onyango 1997:174). Bugandas' special status was further reinforced insofar as Northern and Eastern Uganda were treated as labour reserves for plantations, the army, police and prisons (Mamdani 1983). Here is an example:, in the 1920s there were 368 schools in Buganda, 44 in Western Uganda, 42 in Eastern Uganda, and none in Northern Uganda (Kabwegyere 1974:179). From such states of affairs – this is but one egregious example – the legacy of identity based on tribe, region and ethnicity was perpetuated and strengthened.

This legacy was passed on to the post colonial era. The first Public Service Commission to be appointed after independence was political rather than technical, and its first chairman [59] was from the then president's home district. This was a clear case of ethnic consideration and since then, all regimes in Uganda have entrenched the practice, using ethnicity to advance political causes (Okuku 2002). John Bikangaga was one of the few who defied this system when he was chairman of public services. A newspaper columnist, Muniini Mulera, in his tribute, said of Bikangaga 'The only criticism I repeatedly heard directed towards him by his fellow Bakiga was that when he was the

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[59] By the names Abdara-Anyuru,

Chairman of the Public Service Commission, he refused to give preferential treatment to his ethnic kinsmen who applied for civil service jobs.'[60]

Was Bikangaga actually 'untainted' by ethnicity? Or was he merely operating according to meritocratic principles? Some have proposed that tribesman never find it necessary to define themselves as a distinct group in relation to other groups, simply because there is no need for ethnic consciousness (Bernstein 1984: 102). I, however, cannot accept such a view for at least two reasons, first, because in Uganda the contrary seems far more true. There is strong ethnic consciousness and members of ethnic groups dominate their respective districts. In most cases Uganda's districts are crafted on tribal grounds, and the level of tribal homogeneity in most constituencies is high. Secondly, ethnic consciousness is high because it is a means of mobilizing communities as bargaining tools for state resource allocation.

Although Bernstein discusses features for distinguishing ethnic groups in the USA, I find some overlap with the Ugandan context, particularly in light of the 57 ethnic groups mentioned in Uganda's constitution. Whereas some members of society may choose to emphasize the immediate family as their main basis for identity, others, Bernstein says, consciously chose to emphasize an extra-familial identity; here certain assumed or real cultural or somatic traits come into play (Bernstein 1984). In fact, it can come to the point where they feel a growing sense of appreciation for the potential of their own gut reactions…a growing self confidence…a sense of being discriminated against. Therefore they see certain bureaucrats as their representatives, people who will negotiate on their behalf with the rest of the country for public goods. This may go far in explaining why it is difficult to recruit people at the district level *other* than those considered 'sons and daughters of the soil'.

Tribal and regional tendencies determine what and how to discuss issues and what the policies will contain. The Ugandan political elite have been accused of being infested with 'blatant ethnicism, nepotism and personal patronage' by Prof. George Kanyeihamba, a supreme court judge in the country, and former cabinet minister (Musoke and Namutebi

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[60] http://www.monitor.co.ug/oped/oped12182.php accessed on December 18, 2006.

2006). Dr. Willy Mutunga has noted that tribalism and racism are the biggest factors hindering development within the east African community, because the region is 'being ruled by multi-racial and multi-ethnic elite who divide the countries along tribal lines'. He goes on to call for laws against it.[61] A spokesman from one of Uganda's opposition parties, Wafula Ogutu, argues that 'the NRM government embarked on a strategy to build the most sectarian and narrow government system Uganda has ever had.' He states further that when the president's attention was drawn to tribalism in the civil service, he defended it saying that people from western Uganda are more educated than the rest. However, as the ruling party's deputy spokesman, Ofwono Opondo points out, it is not so much the government, but the Ugandans themselves who are ethnocentric. He asserts that the NRM has enacted anti-sectarian laws and shunned sectarianism in the public domain, and he denies the dominance of westerners in high offices.[62]

6.8.1 The 'Manyi ani' phenomena

There is a growing value system within the Ugandan civil Service that promotes relations across generations based on shared ethnicity, old school ties, social clubs and traditions. These social relations have given rise to the culture of *Manyi ani,* a Luganda word meaning 'I know who'. This I will elaborate upon using findings from the survey:

Table 6.12 perceptions on the prevalence of ethnicity/sectarianism in civil service

STATEMENT	Agree partly and agree completely	Mean
a) Some civil servants owe their appointments and promotions to family members and friends.	76	4.1
b) Tribal and ethnic considerations influence administrative practices in the civil service.	75	4.0
c) Family and geographical ties are more important than professional relations.	71	3.8
d) 'Manyi ani' – I know who, is important in the civil service.	70	3.8
e) The family is the focal point for loyalty and security.	66	3.7
f) 'Mwana wani' – whose child, is important in the civil service.	28	2.3
g) Certain people are better placed to lead this country because of their traditions and family background.	28	2.2

Question asked: Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents 'Disagree completely', 2 'disagree partly', 3 'both', 4 'agree partly', and 5, 'Agree completely'.

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[61]'Tribalism and Racism blocking development', Daily Monitor, June 25, 2007
[62]'Crossfire, Is the NRM government perpetuating sectarianism', *Sunday Vision*, June 17, 2007.

It would come as no surprise if we were to find out that most civil servants interviewed considered that they owe their own appointments and promotions to family members and friends – at least in light of the 76% agreement on statement (a), or, that ethnic considerations indeed influence administrative practices in the civil service (75% agreement on statement b). Ethnicity has been a hot issue in the civil service. It is always perceived that the ruling regime comes with its tribe mates and stuffs them in the civil service until the regime is deposed. A leading critic of President Museveni, former UN special representative for children in armed conflict areas, Olara Otunnu, states as follows:

'The Museveni regime is the most ethnically sectarian government in Africa today. I cannot think of any government in recent times, which has exploited ethnicity to retain power…. Museveni has transformed ethnic identity, which should be an expression of wonderful pride in our heritage and diversity, into a toxic force for exclusion, bigotry and genocide in Uganda'.[63]

Ethnicity is also seen as a way of curbing uncertainty; members of the same family, clan, village and ethnic group constitute the core of relations. Most respondents in fact hold the view that family and geographical ties are more important than professional relations (71%) and that the family is the focal point for loyalty and security (66%), as indicated in statements (c) and (e) above. According to respondents, *Manyi ani* is important in the civil service (70%). They themselves have loosely translated it into English to mean, *'technical know who'*. This is one immensely effective way to get things done in the civil service: when people want certain services, they can get them by bypassing the system. People want to identify with those who are like themselves. Instances of *Manyi ani* were witnessed even while carrying out this study.[64]

Some services that civil servants can obtain from their superiors (e.g., getting research permission, authorization to take further studies, being posted to offices that are

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[63] Interview with Kiwanuka Lawrence from *The Weekly Observer,* entitled 'ICC should indict Museveni – Otunnu', March 29-April4, 2007.
[64] For example, in order to have timely acceptance to some of the ministries, I was informally accepted long before acquiring the formal letters of permission. It was done through a public functionary that was introduced to me by friends.

considered lucrative and attractive, and sometimes promotions) are done through the *Manyi ani* mode of social relations. It is also a survival tool because those who do not practice the *Manyi ani* are marginalized and eventually fall out; hence they are cut off from the powerful informal channels. This calls for a personalized relationship between the boss and the subordinate. But what is the wider context for this practice? In most Ugandan communities it is considered a blessing to give. The value is in the giving and not the actual value of the gift itself. For instance, there is a local proverb which states that '*akiibo kagaruka owanyamugarura*' (loose translation: it is taboo to return an empty basket to a person who has brought you a gift). In other words, you must reciprocate. Refocusing on the civil service and the main topic of this dissertation; such reciprocity encourages bribery of civil servants, in the form of gifts[65] provided by those wishing for favourable performance appraisal reports. Therefore, for the performance appraisal to work properly, any 'giving' and 'gifting' meant to induce favourable action should be frowned upon.

6.8.2 The 'Mwana wani – ani akumanyi' syndrome

Another phenomenon of ethnicity in Uganda that is clearly manifested in the civil service is '*Mwana wani*', meaning 'whose child' in the Luganda language. Although this notion was dismissed by of the respondents, it does not mean that it is not present in the public domain, and for that matter, also in the civil service (only 28% agreed to statement (f) in Table 6.12). For example it has been argued that the question '*ani akumanyi*?' – Literary translated as 'Who knows you?' – provides the perfect version of the *mwana wani* phenomenon in question form. Wherever you go or stay the critical question is Who knows you? The question also reflects the day-to-day running of Ugandan life. In order to get a good job, admission into university, scholarships, exemption from taxes, a beautiful wife or a rich husband, one must successfully answer the question *Ani akumanyi?* (Abimanyi 2007). It was therefore surprising that only 28% agreed to the proposition that certain people are better placed to lead this country because of their traditions and family background, as noted in statement (g).

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[65] These gifs include food, clothing, money in khaki envelopes, and any other favours.

6.8.3 An ethnically influenced bureaucracy?

Despite the lack of high agreement with statements (f) and (g) in Table 6.12, we may suppose that ethnicity manifests itself in various ways within the civil service. It may initially be looked at as a source of comfort for the in-group, but it may as well promote the 'twin devils' of patronage and favouritism. Ethnicity has a mean of 3.4 based on 7 questions which suggests the possibility of high ethnic considerations in administrative decisions and judgments. In order to arrive at the index of ethnicity, I took the sum for the mean of 7 indicative questions (23.9) and divided it by the total number of statements. The average mean came to 3.4. An average mean below 3 indicates low ethnicity and an average mean above 3 suggests high ethnicity. We could therefore, on the basis of these findings, consider the Ugandan bureaucracy to be highly influenced by ethnicity.

6.9 Administrative culture in Uganda's civil service

Table 6.13: A Perceptions Index of administrative culture in Uganda

Variable	Mean
Political neutrality	3.9
Strong uncertainty avoidance	3.8
Large power distance	3.7
High ethnicity	3.4

These findings suggest that there is a relatively high level of political neutrality, a significant degree of strong uncertainty avoidance, large power distance and a high level of ethnicity in decision making. Even though political neutrality scored the highest mean in the analysis, it is power distance which influenced the performance appraisal most. But why do the findings reflect a high mean for political neutrality? It is probable that due to the country's turbulent political history, the civil service is focused on regaining lost glory and independence from the politicians. Second, the tenure of civil servants is longer than that of the politicians. This gives the bureaucrats security because they know they will 'outlive' the politicians. Third, it is also probable that the rule of law and the

institutional framework that protects the civil servants from the politicians are getting stronger, and this may help them resist political interference. Fourth, the findings may also suggest that the relatively high level of political neutrality concerns assumptions about external relationships, whereas the other three variables refer to internal relationships. There is therefore a high level of agreement on how to handle the external environment and relationships because of the likely consequences, e.g., budget cuts, staff-reduction and interference. Civil Servants are confident that their loyalty to a specific political regime has little to do with their job security and long term benefits like pensions. This is because their contracts are not drawn up to serve a specific regime but whatever government is in power. Therefore, even if the government changes, they feel confident and secure in their jobs.

But why do the findings reflect a higher level of political neutrality than ethnicity in decision making? It could perhaps be because ethnicity is expressed more subtly than political impartiality (un-bias). This is because people think it is more acceptable to be known more politically neutral than as sectarian or ethnic.

6.10 Administrative culture in Uganda's civil service: do background variables matter?

This section serves to illuminate the third issue for this chapter – whether or not administrative culture varies according to background variables. In order to get a picture of how the civil servants may vary in their perception/response to administrative culture, six background characteristics are considered: a) gender, b) age, c) place of birth (urban vs. rural), d) level of education, e) training abroad, and f) years of service. Following an analysis of the six variables, only three (place of birth, education, and years of service) were found to have significant statistical relationships. There are a number of patterns and variations in other scores and relationships but they are not statistically significant. The relationship between the background variables and administrative culture (measured by the perceived dimensions scale) was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity. The *r* values presented in Table 6.14 represent only significant correlations.

Table 6.14: Pearson Product-moment Correlations between socio-economic background variables[66] and administrative culture in Uganda's civil service

BACKGROUND VARIABLES	ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE INDICES			
	PDI Low -high	**UAI** Low -high	**PNI** Low -high	**EI** Low -high
Gender: Male - Female				
Age: Low – high				
Place of birth/growing up: Urban - Rural	.206*	.177*		
Level of education: [67] low - high	-.273**	-.326**	-.198*	-.201*
Training abroad: No - Yes				
Years of service:[68] Less - High	.164*			

Notes

1. *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two tailed).

2. **.Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two tailed).

3. **PDI** = Power Distance Index, **UAI** = Uncertainty Avoidance Index, **PNI** = Political Neutrality Index, **EI** = Ethnicity Index,

4.With PDI, low means small power distance and high means large power distance, with UAI, low means weak uncertainty avoidance and high means strong uncertainty avoidance , with EI, low means low ethnicity and high means high ethnicity

According to table 6.14 above, there was no significant correlation between gender and the administrative culture variables. This indicates that it does not matter whether civil servants are male or female with regard to their views and perceptions on administrative culture. The same goes for age as a background variable. In this study, it indicates that bureaucrats may share the same world views and perceptions regardless of age.

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[66] Only significant correlations are presented.
[67] Undergraduate in the study means people who have the following qualifications (Advanced Level Certificate, Diploma and a Bachelors Degree. A 'graduate' refers to civil servants with a postgraduate training-Diploma or Degree.
[68] According to public service regulations in Uganda, civil servants who have served for 10 years and above, and are aged 45 years and more qualify to retire with full terminal benefits. This was therefore the basis for categorization.

There were two significant correlations between place of birth and administrative culture; place of birth and power distance (r = .206*) and place of birth and uncertainty avoidance (r =.177*). This indicates that the more rural a person's origin is, the more the power distance and the more the uncertainty avoidance they express.

With regard to education, there was a negative correlation between the level of education and administrative culture, which indicates that higher levels of education are associated with low power distance (r = -.273**), low uncertainty avoidance (r = -.326**), low political neutrality (r = -.198*) and low ethnicity (r = -.201**). In other words, the more educated the civil servants are, the less hierarchical they are, the less they are governed by rules, the less they are politically neutral, and the less they are influenced by ethnic relations. The most surprising reason is that the more the education, the less the political neutrality. In other words, one would have expected that the more the education, the more the less the political bias. Why then are the more educated, more politically biased? One can only possibly suggest that it is because they think it may pay off in terms of being considered for the top jobs in the civil service which are presidential, not the least political, appointments.

There was a positive correlation between years of service and power distance (r = .164*), with many years of service associated with large power distance. This indicates that the more the civil servants stayed in the civil service, the more they were associated with large power distance.

From Table 6.14, it seems that administrative culture is quite unified and integrated. Except for the education variable, the other variables have limited or no influence. The bureaucrats' education and training abroad help them to learn new norms and unlearn old ones. This could account for why we observe some conflicting norms and values.

6.11 Conflicting norms and values of Uganda's civil servants

In mapping out the dominant characteristics of the civil servants in Uganda, it was apparent that despite the highest frequencies on variables indicating that most civil servants prefer large power distance, strong uncertainty avoidance, and ethnicity in the work place, some civil servants *do* espouse values such as low political bias and some

elements of meritocracy, both of which may be consistent with NPM reforms. Thus the findings are not absolute. They indicate that some civil servants do frown upon the abuse of time, swindling of public money, patronage and influence peddling; this group deem such practices to be major pathologies of the bureaucracy. Interviewees expressed their strong desire for fairness and equality by emphasizing the importance of merit based promotions. This offers a window of hope: if reform managers tap into this category and can recognize the cultural aspects that are resistant to performance appraisal, they could come up with better strategies to increase the success rate of future performance appraisal initiatives. This is because the civil servants hold many norms and values, and sometimes one and the same person can hold conflicting norms and values simultaneously.

6.12 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to trace the origins and roots of administrative culture in Uganda's civil service and to explore the dominant cultural values. Various aspects that may contribute to shaping and modeling the country's administrative culture were explored. We saw that societal culture has a great influence on informing administrative cultural values and beliefs. Second, the administrative structure is characterized by hierarchy, manifested through significant disparities in salary range, and is heavily reliant on rules, laws and regulations. Third, the behaviour of civil servants reveals major elements of corruption, poor time management, sectarianism and resistance to change. Fourth, the status quo, despite the country's recent history – the failure of the Westminster model, political instability, military rule and anarchy – seems to have improved somewhat in the recent past. This may be related to the reforms since 1986. These aspects plus other common administrative practices amongst civil servants are instrumental in underpinning Uganda's administrative culture. They lead to an administrative culture characterized by large power distance, high uncertainty avoidance, a certain amount of political neutrality, and untoward ethnic considerations. All things considered, an administrative reform that seeks to upset the existing structure and status of vested cultural interests should be ready to face resistance, and must devise means to neutralize that resistance. Otherwise, it may not succeed.

PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL REFORMS IN UGANDA CIVIL SERVICE - THE BARRIER OF ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter an attempt is made to link administrative culture and the introduction of performance appraisal (PAII, 1998-2007) to Uganda's bureaucracy. The chapter draws upon in-depth interviews of 29 bureaucrats and various documents to analyze the possible effect of culture on performance appraisal. It discusses the relationship between large power distance, high uncertainty avoidance, high political neutrality, and high ethnicity, and how these variables may impact performance appraisal in the civil service. NPM-inspired civil service reforms pay a lot of attention to performance which relies on Western principles [69] that may sometimes be hard to transfer to Africa. In Africa, administrative culture promotes authoritative leadership styles, centralized and hierarchical structures, high tolerance for individual weakness and mistakes, and reluctance to judge performance (Jones et al. 1996: 465 - 466). These values are however not always in agreement with the performance appraisal, which may require a more merit-based, universal application of rules, and individual-performance oriented civil-service practices.

Power distance and uncertainty avoidance have been identified as major components of Africa's civil service. Various scholars assert that the most significant cultural attributes of African bureaucracies are large power distance (sometimes referred to as hierarchy) and strong uncertainty avoidance (Blunt and Jones 1992; Etounga-Manguelle 2000; Kiggundu 1988; Munene et al. 2000; Umeh 2005). This present study indicates that the cultural attributes which scholars believe generally obtain across the continent are largely true for Uganda, though in some instances the forms in which they manifest themselves differ, e.g., the influence of the 'colonial chief mentality' [70] with regard to power distance.

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[69] By Western principles, this study refers to ideas and concepts shared by countries in the Western world that are based on liberal democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and gender equality. It is characterized by high standards of living, political pluralism and individualism, open participation and self determination.

[70] Discussed in chapter six (6.4.2) and section 7.2.5 of this chapter

This study also reveals that in addition to these values, political neutrality and influence from ethnic and regional preferences also prevail amongst bureaucrats.

Terrence Jackson, who contests the view that power distance and uncertainty avoidance are legitimate cultural attributes of Africa, concedes that 'power distance may be an attribute that may apply to post-colonial systems, and some indigenous African political/management systems'. Moreover, managers in some African countries have low tolerance for unpredictability in their work (which may indicate uncertainty avoidance) (Jackson 2006:90 and 141).

This chapter argues that despite the good intentions of the performance appraisal system, it does not fit well with value systems in Uganda's bureaucracy. I analyze the appropriateness of the performance appraisal in light of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political neutrality and ethnicity. In this analysis, I attempt, where applicable, to link culture with the eleven aspects of the performance appraisal listed in chapter five. These aspects are a) appraisal forms must be filled out, b) appraisal forms should be made available, c) the appraisal should be conducted on time, d) employees must conduct a self appraisal, e) there must be an agreement on targets, f) commitment to appraisal process, f) feedback, g) transparency, h) sufficient knowledge, i) objectivity, and j) participation.

7.2 Large power distance and the performance appraisal

As we saw in chapter six, there are indicators in Uganda's civil service of large power distance. It is therefore imperative to analyze the mechanisms through which this influences the performance appraisal. Sometimes administrative reforms seek reduced power distance between a subordinate and a superior, but this has thus far not obtained in Uganda. Although performance appraisal based on results was recommended in 1982, it was delayed until 1998, the time when the first Results Oriented Management (ROM) workshop was held. ROM was introduced because the 'organisational structure leads to confused inter-relationships which are detrimental to effective coordination', and the biggest barrier was 'Top management which has to be convinced' (MOPS 1993a, 1993b). ROM is the precursor of performance appraisal. In this section, I detail how aspects of

power distance may impede the performance appraisal system in Uganda. I start by looking at the impact of hierarchy.

7.2.1 Hierarchy

Hierarchy is a major component of large power distance. But coinciding with this power distance, our study finds two closely related problems. First of all, those who value hierarchy tend to expect juniors to express deep loyalty, and this tendency has serious implications for the performance appraisal system. For instance, members of the low cadre civil service note in interviews that while they are carrying out their jobs, what matters is to fulfil the boss's *personal* preferences, as an individual, and not in his/her official capacity. As such, the ultimate grading in the performance appraisal system does not measure what the individual staff member has done for the organization, so the appraisal actually becomes redundant and useless. Secondly, there is the problem of bosses imposing goals upon their staff rather than the staff participating in devising what those goals should be. According to the head of the civil service, 'Performance targets should not be imposed. There must be a genuine agreement between the supervisor and supervised within the overall objectives of the organisation' (Mitala 2006). But performance appraisals, in Ugandan practice, have goals and targets imposed by the supervisor. Here is what one senior bureaucrat has to say:

> 'The common thing here is that most of the agreed upon targets are in relation to the goals of the department and the job descriptions. However, as a head of a department, it is my obligation to spell out clearly what must be achieved by the individual officers. Otherwise, I am the one to take responsibility if my department does not meet its target.'

This quote not only suggests that hierarchy leads to the imposition of goals; it also demonstrates that imposing goals undermines the concept of participation espoused by the performance appraisal. It is expected that the rater and the ratee sit down and agree on targets, but this seems not to be what is practiced. The boss wants to issue instructions, and the junior also expects to be instructed (as we shall soon see).

If the performance appraisal system is to be implemented as prescribed in the guidelines, then it ought to be fair, transparent, objective and participatory. However, adherence to

these principles would disturb and undermine the existing power structure, interpersonal relations and hierarchy. For example, the guidelines state that the appraisal system should be guided by impartial and reasonable judgments or actions taken by the raters and the ratees devoid of personal bias. The actual practice, by contrast, is that in order to have a favourable performance appraisal report, the ratee must do things that please the rater. It was noted, for example, that a driver must carry out personal errands for the boss in order to have a good performance report. The narrator, a personnel officer in one of the ministries, explains:

> 'We have this formal and informal hierarchy, but at times the difference is blurred. Junior officers will always try their level best to please the boss by carrying out activities which will win them favour and [this means] not necessarily doing what they ought to do. This is because they know that their fate is in the hands of the boss who is evaluating their performance. It is very common with drivers like the one I have told you about.'

This particular driver knows that although, on paper, he is supposed to be judged according to accident rates, keeping the car clean and serviced, driving his superior effectively and carefully, etc., both he and the boss know that he is measured according to the extent to which he provides *more* private services: transporting the boss's children to and from school, driving him to his country villa on weekends and holidays, purchasing food from the market and other errands. When such a situation prevails, it thwarts the performance appraisal's impact; instead the appraisal is either wrongly reported, or, if possible, avoided. As such, we find that the rater and ratee formally agree on a performance target, but that the results are fraudulent. The situation also suggests that employees who are conducting a self-appraisal have an opportunity to manipulate the report *as long as* they assist and are agreeable to the boss. This also calls into question the commitment the rater and ratee have to the appraisal process and reduces the level of transparency.

7.2.2 Feedback management and appraisal environment

Feedback management and appraisal environment are very important in the conduct of performance appraisal. In both functions, it is the rater who is responsible to ensure that

feedback is given to the ratee, and at the same time, to provide a conducive environment within which to conduct the actual performance appraisal meeting.

Feedback during performance appraisal reviews in Europe tends to allow the ratee to express dissent. Such behaviour is not considered appropriate to employees in Uganda, for face-saving is regarded as more important than learning from the appraisal review. People are not socialized to interject their ideas in an appraisal review and to explain and defend their point of view. In addition, they are mostly oriented towards showing the supervisor respect. One way of expressing respect is to avoid presenting potentially contradictory views.

Due to power relations, the ratee will expect to be dictated the goals and will agree to them without question. The present study establishes that the larger a bureaucracies' power distance, the less favourable are the attitudes of civil servants towards the performance appraisal. This indicates that the interactive discussion between a junior civil servant and a supervisor is minimal. A dependent civil servant is more likely to listen to instructions rather than work independently. If interaction took place, the rater could conceivably give feedback to the ratee, but if feedback were to be conveyed, it could *either* be perceived as a source of social facilitation, which would help to improve performance, *or* as social interference that could adversely affect the ratee's performance and render the appraisal redundant. It is therefore important that negative feedback be offered indirectly and possibly off the record, but this undermines the principle of transparency that guides the performance appraisal system.

Respondents indicate that there is a high propensity for the 'command and control' method of directing activities, yet the performance appraisal system promotes the view that people should discuss the variables upon which their success will be measured. This then becomes a constraint because the superior must listen to the subordinate, and they must agree. If they disagree, then the junior should not feel guilty or worry about it – agreeing to disagree would be acceptable. However, in light of Uganda's power relations this may not happen because the rater initiates the meeting and not the ratee. In a culture characterized by large power distance, this clearly demonstrates who pulls the shots and indicates that the ground is not level. Consequently the procedure of agreeing on targets without duress is sabotaged. To illustrate this point, we quote from one respondent:

> 'How can I determine the appraisal goals myself? That is almost impossible. It is the boss who knows what I should be doing and therefore he sets the agenda. He is the boss, remember. I cannot even ask him what happens after the appraisal. I just keep waiting. He tells me at his own time.'

As this comment clearly demonstrates, the employee does not even see the need for feedback. The underling who ordinarily should be told what action will be taken following the appraisal finds himself in a situation where he cannot even ask for feedback. Worse still, the underling seems not to be looking forward to the feedback. Yet, feedback in performance appraisal is supposed to help civil servants evaluate their performance and learn how they are progressing at work. If one of the main objectives of the performance appraisal, i.e., to provide feedback, is not even understood as something worth having, how can reformers even expect it to catch on?

But in addition to the problem of feedback, the lack of interactive discussion, the environment in which the performance appraisal exercise is conducted also emphasizes power distance and therefore undermines the intention of the appraisal meeting. The study found that most appraisal meetings take place in the raters' office. Here is a telling comment from a mid-career bureaucrat:

> 'The entire time when he is going to assess me, I have to walk into his office. He then tells me to bring out the form and we start the appraisal. Sometimes I feel that I should disagree, but you know the guy can even throw you out of the office. What to do? Just go through it. It just reminds me of the invigilator during the national high school exams.'

We can see from these last two quotes that the way the performance appraisal has been practiced re-enforces the superior–subordinate dichotomous relationship, which respondents say is not conducive to open discussion. It actually undermines the performance appraisal procedures to the extent that they must necessarily fail because the ratee cannot fully participate; he feels inhibited and cannot express himself adequately.

In addition to these problems, the appraisal meeting may be exacerbated by the rater allowing interruptions, taking phone calls and attending to other people. Here is one respondent's summation:

'When I had just joined the service, I used to think that the appraisal exercise was of great importance. I have now realized that it is a ritual. Worse still, it is a ritual that is not even respected. I do not like that kind of system.'

To sum up, poor feedback management and the environment in which the appraisal unfolds undermine the appraisal's objectives and prove only to underscore power distance. The minimal feedback and interaction on goals and objectives, and the reticence to express contrary views all lead to the exercise not being respected; it becomes a distasteful ritual, something only to be endured.

7.2.3 Power distance in terms of gender and generational differences

Large power distance partly arises from some people being awarded a culturally superior status, e.g., elders, men, bosses and anyone in authority. The inequality of persons, not least gender and generation differences, causes the appropriateness of the performance appraisal system to come into question because the latter is predicated upon supervisors and subordinates negotiating the subordinate's annual objectives. This is difficult because of the high degree of power distance between bosses and subordinates. The difficulty also extends to gender and generation differences.

In terms of gender, we observe that there is always tension when a supervisor is a woman and she must negotiate objectives with men, worse still, older men. In such cases it is common to find that the rater's decisions are not based on facts and professional predictions but on opinion. One female respondent remarks as follows:

'One of my junior staff that I have to appraise is as old as my father. I actually sympathize with him due to his age and experience. There are certain things he just cannot do. I therefore give him favourable appraisal assessment just out of respect. After all, he is about to retire.'

From this quote one could infer that female raters will generally give high ratings to those who are 'culturally superior', that there will be a tendency to sympathize with older people simply because of the consequences that may befall them following a negative appraisal. In this case, the rater's cultural profile and mentality may negate the

expectation of objectivity in the appraisal process, which in turn undermines the intention of the performance appraisal.

The study reveals that young senior bosses negotiate objectives with their older subordinates. Due to the cultural constraint that *elders must be respected,* the possibility of having the appraisal favour elders and other culturally superior persons is high. Consequently the spirit of the performance appraisal system is undermined and the NPM-sponsored concept is challenged.

From these two examples one may conclude that existing cultural norms influence the performance appraisal system. The resistance may not even be conscious, but a consequence of following what is considered appropriate behaviour and practice. In this regard, Ugandan culture reigns over the Western style performance appraisal.

7.2.4 The attitude of the chief

If a boss assumes himself to be 'the chief', he assumes that every element of power is in his hands. It is worth investigating how this attitude affects the performance appraisal. First of all, the rater and the ratee may avoid instances where self-esteem can be hurt. Secondly, since the appraisal exercise is not yet seen as a tool for wielding power, assessors do not feel a sense of pride and power when using it. One interviewee enunciates this well:

> 'As you may know, the current performance appraisal has not been fully incorporated with the new system of outcome oriented budgeting. This undermines the intention of the appraisal, which intends to reward output, because the boss will feel that his assessment has not led to a salary increment or a denial of the salary increment since salary increments are across the board.'

Here we see that the appraisal tool is deemed of little worth since it is not directly related to rewards, especially salary increments. But as stated earlier, subordinates generally accept managerial decisions and demands, given the authority premium within large power distance cultures. Indications from the study also suggest the unlikelihood that subordinates would question managerial intentions, especially if the supervisor considers himself a 'chief'.

Therefore, as long as those in authority think that the performance appraisal does not give them the ability to dole out rewards and sanctions, they will either not carry out the appraisal or simply fill it out in a perfunctory manner. Meanwhile, salary increments are actually based on the following: a) re-grading jobs, b) joining the senior levels of technical and professional jobs, c) pay awards to select groups of public officers due to the pressure exerted on the political leadership, d) legal provisions for some government agencies to determine their salaries, and e) working on donor-funded projects.

Due to the 'chief' factor, civil servants are more likely to accept the appraisal if it is imposed by superiors through top-down decision making. This is because they want to show how well behaved they are in order to be rewarded. They also know that the rater may easily manipulate conditions or use the appraisal report as a basis of re-grading ones job or select the favourite to work on donor funded projects, which in turn may lead to salary increments.

One senior bureaucrat in the ministry of local government observes that he accumulates his performance appraisal forms until some reports are about to be made, then he fills out almost all of them at once and forwards them to the permanent secretary for signature. 'The PS, who is my appraiser, has no time and motivation to keep signing them regularly since he knows it does not affect my salary – the reason for which I work,' he said. Because workers fear displeasing the chiefs, they try to please them as much a possible, and the higher they climb the bureaucratic ladder, the more they are reluctant to fill out the appraisal forms. The performance appraisal system therefore seems rather like new software on an old operating system. It is not only incompatible, but it may prove to be more damaging than beneficial, yet in an insidious manner.

7.2.5 Privileges and status symbols and their effect on performance appraisal

Privileges and status symbols promote prestige associated with elite civil service in society. There is always immense pressure from society to know how far one has climbed the leadership ladder, and the belief that one's rank in the hierarchy reflects differences in quality stimulates the need and desire to be promoted. Given that the performance appraisal system is not directly tied to the promotion system, it is seen as a waste of time. Juniors treat the filling out of appraisal forms as a routine and the seniors sign them as a duty. But this should not suggest that it is a totally misplaced document; it can

occasionally be used to justify decisions. What is clear though is that there is lack of enthusiasm concerning the performance appraisal form, and the whole system seems irrelevant.

According to this study's respondents, it appears that the performance appraisal system disrupts the existing power structure by requiring self-assessment by the appraised. Having to share evaluative power – this is a power all parties see as a privilege of the rater – may also invite resistance from the ratees. In the first instance, power has been shared, and the superior who views himself as a benevolent benefactor is now 'reduced' to a mere partaker in the decision making processes. Evidence from the interviews supports the conclusion that self assessment and agreement between the rater and ratee on a joint action plan is considered inconsistent with the 'natural flow of power', as one respondent put it. We observed that those who rate would prefer to have total control over the destiny of the juniors, and are therefore disturbed by the fact that they must actually agree with the junior. Most disturbing: the rater must hand over the appraisal form to a countersigning officer to confirm that the assessment is done correctly and is genuine. By making this demand, the appraisal is perceived as a tool that undermines the power, influence, status and privilege of the 'chief'. Consequently it is given less attention and priority, less commitment, it is not conducted in a timely manner, and feedback haphazard. In this way, the appraisal reforms are slowed down and the intentions of the reformers are not met.

In one of the policy documents, 'An update of the Public Service Pay Reform Strategy', the Ministry of Public Service proposes to review the new performance appraisal arrangement so that it is based on 'participatory setting of objectives and annual performance targets'. These objectives and targets the document goes on to say, will concern performance achieved on a yearly basis, which in turn will be the basis of the supervisor's decision as to whether the staff merit salary raises or promotions (page 36 of the document). Nevertheless, in the same document the ministry concedes that this has not taken off as expected, and the situation was still so in August of 2007.

Interviewee evidence suggests that raters do not consider subordinates to be at their status level and neither do the subordinates view their raters as equals. For instance, it is accepted that obedience is due simply by virtue of the authority of the person. In fact, if

the boss were to offer a rationale for his decisions, it is highly probable that the employees would misconstrue the explanation as a sign of weakness. With regard to the performance appraisal, goal setting and appraisal review require the rater to function as a coach and mentor for subordinates. Large power distance is certainly not compatible with the kind of relationship that assumes equal status between the rater and ratee, nor is it compatible with the joint problem solving so essential to successful performance management.

7.2.6 Power distance and performance gaps

Performance gaps arise due to individual performer's failure to achieve targets. Here also, the NPM-based appraisal system presupposes that circumstances impacting achievement are within the control of the personnel being appraised. Respondents report however that sometimes these performance gaps may arise from cultural differences, i.e., the method of assessment was developed in a Western culture and designed to assess Western civil servants against the norms established and espoused by the Western culture. Civil servants in Uganda, by contrast, usually will want to keep their power distance, follow formal rules, and rely on self-sufficiency in those areas where performance appraisals require joint action.

Therefore, the application of the performance appraisal in the assessment of Ugandan civil servants without consideration of cultural variables such as the prevailing large power distance may be one reason why certain performance gaps arise. For instance, while setting goals, the civil servants expect the boss to determine the goals. Secondly, participation in performance planning, monitoring and improvement is almost non existent. Participation is only visible at the stage of assessment because the ratee has a form to fill out. The other example given by one interviewee is about assessing employees who do manual jobs; one manager notes that he does not see any point in spending a lot of time with the driver and the office assistant on the performance appraisal review: 'I just give them an average mark', she says, meaning that she does it the easy way and arbitrarily. More significantly, due to having a large power distance mentality, she values professional work more than manual work. Bureaucrats expect greater cognizance of status and less consultation in their contact with subordinates. This creates a clash of cultures and, in effect, a failure of the performance appraisal system. It is within such a context that we find middle level managers who, in mid careers, are more

resistant to the full implementation of the appraisal system. Due to their initial power distance, they are unwilling to work with underlings in ways prescribed by the performance appraisal which might narrow performance gaps.

7.2.7 Possibility of success

To implement the methods of performance appraisal may not be feasible since the NPM-style appraisal does not seem to take into account a bureaucracy socialized into a non participatory framework. A case in point is the infrequent use of the provision for appeal in the performance appraisal system in cases where there is disagreement between a supervisor and a subordinate – all while complaints abound in the corridors and in our interview data regarding disagreements over appraisals. It is therefore important that the reformers have noticed this and are encouraging subordinates to participate in both the appraisal design and appraisal meetings as opposed to the closed appraisal system. One gleam of hope for the performance appraisal system in Uganda is that it does not require juniors to appraise their supervisors; that would be interpreted as a direct challenge to their authority. In fact, such a system would also be resisted by the implementers themselves. It may never even be suggested. The other factor in the performance appraisal which seems to be compatible with Ugandan culture is that the rater can make an assessment of critical competencies of the ratee in part C of the PA form, where subjective judgment may as well be employed.

All the factors we have discussed in this section – hierarchy, the 'chief mentality', authoritarian decision making styles, and the appreciation of status symbolism amongst the bureaucrats – are some of the significant manifestations of large power distance and they seem to be inconsistent with the expected norms of the performance appraisal system. Because the bureaucracy is characterized by many levels of hierarchy, the boss wants to issue instructions, and the junior also expects the same. This undermines the procedure of agreeing on targets and also does not synchronize with the concept of participation since the targets are being set by one person. The colonial chief mentality emphasizes that every element of power is vested in the rater. As such, while conducting the appraisal, the rater seeks opportunities that accentuate his/her power. Given that the appraisal system requires participation and transparency, it is perceived as undermining the status of those with authority. Hence, it will not be embraced because it seems to work contrary to what the boss expects himself to be – the all powerful chief who can

reward and sanction without being questioned. We have also seen that the appraisal system's feedback process is sabotaged by unequal power relations, because the ratee lacks the fortitude to demand feedback but must simply wait until it is given. In terms of gender and generational differences, it was found that the one who is culturally superior is more likely to get a positive appraisal regardless of performance, a situation which goes against the issues of objectivity, merit and transparency that are the cornerstones of the results-oriented appraisal.

Power distance plays a major role in influencing how the performance appraisal has been implemented and how it comes to expression. Having discussed power distance and how it affects the performance appraisal system, I now proceed to analyze how uncertainty avoidance in the Ugandan civil service has influenced the implementation of the performance appraisal.

7.3 Strong uncertainty avoidance and performance appraisal reforms

7.3.1 Imposition of targets and the paradox of rule following
In this subsection, I will look at the issues of imposing targets and the 'paradox of rule-following' and how they impact the appraisal. Strong uncertainty avoidance cultures are more likely to accept individual-level performance appraisals that provide immediate feedback and more objective performance data. To be effective, performance appraisals should be explained to employees in full detail. However, in the Ugandan civil service, we find that even when new employees are recruited, the managers tend to impose on them the performance targets. This ties in with uncertainty avoidance because by imposing targets, the managers consider it an appropriate way of managing certainty. Here is what one of our interviewees has to say about the imposition of targets:

> 'After my induction, I was told to meet my immediate supervisor. Instead of asking me about the goals and targets, he told me that in order for his unit to achieve targets, he has to follow the already set procedure as agreed with my predecessor.'

From this quote, we can deduce that the superiors wish to control uncertainty by imposing the performance targets. Yet, in order for the expectations of the appraisal to be

fulfilled and the system to take root there should be an agreement between the concerned parties about targets. Intolerance to alternative ideas, e.g., in the form of a subordinate's suggestions for performance targets, may also be responsible for watering down the achievements of the appraisal reform.

It may seem paradoxical that civil servants who feel comfortable being rule followers feel uncomfortable with the appraisal which is also a set of rules. One possible explanation for the paradox in rule following is that when rules tend to disfavour employees and cause them to feel uncertain, the employees try to circumvent them. In this case, the rater feels in charge of the future by determining the performance targets – a solution far easier than having to agree on targets with the ratee, yet it undermines the principal of having both parties agree on the performance targets.

Another reason for the paradox in rule following is that since respect and promotion are results of seniority, the performance appraisal system may be undermined because of the general attitude towards young people. An official in the personnel department of one of the ministries says this:

> 'The young ones will come with the urge to work with hope that the public service can be vibrant like the private sector, and then the old insist that these are the procedures we have to follow. The attitude is doing things the way people are used to… that is the dominant attitude, regardless of what the reforms say.'

This attitude and desire to maintain the status quo has been identified as a major issue. Matters are clarified by yet another respondent:

> 'There are those who are caught in the crossfire. Their competencies are on the verge. They are in their 'evening' in the service. You bring a reform and they say no we have been here for a long time and have seen these things. Someone is settled, he has precipitated administratively, so he thinks he is doing his best, and does not like that kind of thing. You therefore find that kind of resistance.'

Ugandan bureaucrats have a strong desire to hold onto their jobs until retirement, given that the nature of civil service provides job security and thus is a way to overcome

uncertainty. Because of this, even though they do not like the performance appraisal, they will fill out the form yet be delinquent in doing so. Thus they are not filling out the appraisal on time. Although there are so many rules and regulations guiding the usage of performance appraisal, they are not respected as they ought to be. In fact, civil servants try their level best to *circumvent* them to suit their interest, i.e., their own personal uncertainty avoidance. This is contrary to reformers' expectations, for if the civil servants are truly a rule following lot, then they should be experiencing a perfect appraisal system.

7.3.2 The effect of 'psychological contract' on performance appraisal

In societies with high uncertainty avoidance cultures, there is a unique type of 'psychological contract' whereby the boss and the subordinate tend to back up each other even if the performance of the junior is poor or the boss is unsatisfactory (Schein 1999). There is a need for interdependence that is mutually beneficial. One respondent has this to say:

'I know my permanent secretary is very busy. When the time for them comes like for promotion, I will fill them out and take them to him for signing. He is not bothered about those so-called indicators.'

The sentiments contained in this quote are echoed by most respondents; we descry a 'contract' between the rater and the ratee to do what works for them regardless of what the rules say. The intention of the 'contract' is to forestall uncertainty. Doing so is a clear indication that they are not committed to seeing the performance appraisal succeed. At the same time, the 'psychological contract' practice is more than just an affront to objectivity because the appraisal has not been filled out at the stipulated time. All this contributes to sabotaging the appraisal at the implementation phase.

7.3.3 Uncertainty and performance targets

Another well observed aspect of uncertainty avoidance relates to the nature of performance goals to be met. Within the context of high uncertainty avoidance, there is a strong need for precision. However, some of the work in the civil service is difficult to quantify. One cannot set specific goals that can be measured. For instance, it's difficult to do a joint appraisal on the basis of agreed indicators when the standing orders explicitly give heads of department control over a subordinates' schedule through a clause stating

that the junior will handle '…any other tasks that may be assigned by the superiors'. It is also possible that a subordinate could be required to do work outside his job description, and then it becomes practically impossible to appraise the person on such tasks. This renders the tool itself inconsistent with the administrative culture, and thus constrains its actual design and implementation.

Jamil, in his study of Bangladesh, contends that the bureaucrats are more concerned with rules than with results (Jamil 2002). This kind of situation is also noted in Uganda. The civil servants are more process oriented than result oriented, and this has made it difficult for the performance appraisal form to take root because it is a tool to measure output. It is worth noting that output oriented evaluation can only operate in a context of output oriented planning. However, most government departments in the traditional civil service do not always work on the basis of strategic plans as such. Tasks can be ad hoc and sometimes driven by the immediate circumstances. Therefore it is quite difficult to have the performance appraisal take root when performance goals and targets are shifting. In addition, the appraisal process calls for self-appraisal, this conflicts with the prevailing thoughts amongst the civil servants who want to be told what to do. One superior even asks me a rhetorical question:

> 'What do you expect my junior to know about his job? I have to give him the goals and objectives. It's me who is responsible for the department. I think that this appraisal form was created in the spirit of neo liberalism and this definitely does not work for me, and for that matter for the Ugandan civil service.'

Specific performance targets are supposed to be set at the beginning and the worker's evaluation is later measured on the basis of these set goals. But it becomes difficult to apply the appraisal instrument in an organization where work is sometimes ad hoc and where some of the output is qualitative in nature. Thus in the long run, unless this mismatch is managed the performance appraisal cannot take root.

7.3.4 Ambiguity and innovation in relation to performance appraisal

Ambiguity in the performance appraisal thwarts innovation, which is intended to be one of the main purposes of the appraisal exercise. Much as there are guidelines and

workshops, measuring *qualitative* work quantitatively requires a high level of specificity in a strong uncertainty context like Uganda. Take for example the qualitative variables specified under 'Part C' of the appraisal form: Professional knowledge, Planning, Organizing, Leadership, Decision making, Management of resources, and Loyalty; these are not clearly denoted with marks. This ambiguity makes it difficult to measure quantitatively. Then there is the ambiguity of being or not being held responsible: supervisors are not held responsible for falsifying civil servants' performance on the appraisal form. Coupled with not taking the exercise seriously, it leads to the performance appraisal being ineffective.

There are, however, other areas of ambiguity we can discuss. As intimated in earlier chapters, cultures high on uncertainty avoidance are characterized by higher levels of stress and anxiety because individuals in these societies are uncomfortable in unstructured situations. It therefore seems positive that the Ugandan performance appraisal system focuses on planning and trying to ensure stability as a way of dealing with uncertainty. Yet when this Western-style appraisal is shoved into Ugandan culture, conflicts of interest emerge and other areas of ambiguity arise.

One such potential conflict of interest leading to ambiguity which the interviewees mention concerns celebrations like marriages, baptisms and funerals. Many civil servants consider these very important. The appraisal form and process does not recognize and adequately accommodate for the importance of these celebrations, and the bureaucracy assumes that contemporary official behaviour should not be bound by such traditions. One respondent wonders why she cannot be excused for having failed to accomplish a task because she took leave for 'more days than enough' to attend a relative's funeral. She insists that in such a situation her performance would be negatively impacted since her perception is that civil service management practices do not take into consideration her cultural values. Some supervisors will go ahead and give her permission to attend the funeral and when the time for assessment comes; they will give a favourable appraisal because they 'understand' the reasons why she could not meet her target. But more remarkable than this example is the ambiguity-generating practice of double standards: those who deny or pretend to deny permission for such celebrations are themselves the most culpable, for when they themselves are involved in such celebrations they are known to spend more time and even government resources on them. Yet their

subordinates have no opportunity to critique them given the structure of the Ugandan performance appraisal system

Here is yet another area of ambiguity leading to uncertainty: One important aspect of this performance appraisal is that the rater is expected to do daily performance monitoring to ensure that activities are in line with agreed performance plans and to take remedial action if necessary. In doing this the rater may 'record critical events and outputs' of the monitored individuals. Thus, monitored civil servants may find themselves in the situation where they do not know for sure what the supervisor is recording on the quarterly review forms. Moreover, they have to wait for the quarterly review to explain how targets were met against competences and give detailed reasons for slippages. Given these two factors, a situation is created where the civil servants are disgruntled about the method of monitoring. Yet since it is compulsory, they try to manipulate their bosses, or both the rater and the ratee may stick with the status quo and tend towards habit and prejudice, if the appraisal requires higher standards of performance.

Along with the problem of ambiguity we find the problem of innovation. In large uncertainty-avoidance cultures, innovation is less encouraged. Data for this study reveals that innovators within the civil service feel constrained by the rules. Radical ideas are avoided in favour of maintaining the status quo, rendering the appraisal system less effective. This situation is most apparent when the performance appraisal form requires a supervisor to assess the junior's core job competencies, and yet there is no provision for evaluating the level of creativity and innovativeness of the civil servant. If the performance appraisal is designed to improve efficiency and effectiveness, how then can it achieve this goal when it does not allow the ratee to be assessed on innovation? The whole appraisal form is made in such a way that it focuses on technical solutions and behaviour. Juniors are discouraged from enacting innovative behaviours that are not formally part of their job descriptions. Therefore, lacking reinforcement, they do not fulfil the intention of being innovative. As such, the appraisal exercise may appear to be working, but the intention is largely unmet – hence a challenge to the performance-appraisal reform process.

Therefore, strong uncertainty avoidance within the civil service is manifested in the low tolerance for ambiguity. This affects the performance appraisal because some aspects of

the appraisal such as qualitative evaluations and daily performance monitoring are vague and lack precision, which makes the bureaucrats apprehensive and thus unsupportive. The ambiguity within the appraisal also undermines innovation because the ratees creativity and innovation is constrained. For as long as the staff feel that the appraisal stifles, rather than stimulates them, they tend to give it less attention and eventually it is either filled out fraudulently, filled out late or worse still, not filled out at all. Apart from ambiguity and innovation, there is the perceived desire amongst bureaucrats to avoid failure which leads to risk aversion.

7.3.5 Risk aversion and performance appraisal

The relatively high uncertainty avoidance implies unwillingness to take risks and accept the changes the performance appraisal system would entail if fully implemented. This is manifested in the reluctance by civil servants to take initiatives outside of prescribed roles. This is confirmed by an official in the MOPS who says:

> 'Within the civil service, we handle things very carefully. Therefore for the performance appraisal to succeed, we have to implement it in bits, but if you want to make people commit themselves to an ambitious programme, they coil. Civil servants are risk averse!' she said.

In the quote above, the lady declares that civil servants are risk averse, which is in agreement with what many other respondents said. I interpret this quote also to mean that civil servants in Uganda have not been nurtured to the point where they are willing to take risks. They approach appraisal reforms with caution and do not want to embrace it all at ago because they fear that they may fail to implement it well. Therefore they set minimal targets or easy milestones with regard to its implementation which slows down its institutionalization. I wish also to observe that one of the important conditions for effectively managing performance appraisals is to involve subordinates in the setting of challenging and difficult goals. But because uncertainty avoidance discourages risk taking, neither the rater nor the ratee will get involved in setting challenging tasks. This is the scenario where both parties avoid engaging each other in discussing challenging tasks, so it reduces the possibilities for a participation-based performance appraisal to function well.

7.3.6 Expert power and performance appraisal

The recognition of the value of expert power is characteristic of Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance dimension (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:189). This leads to the proposition that *had the performance appraisal form given more prominence and reference to expert power; it would have been more effective*. Of the 10 competence areas for evaluation, only one, i.e., 10%, refers to expertise. This also could be interpreted to mean that Ugandan civil servants, being more predisposed towards high uncertainty avoidance, tend to view the results-oriented performance appraisal as a tool that has little impact as far as their career development is concerned. These were reflections of one of the interviewees:

> 'When I am undergoing the performance appraisal meeting, I wonder if it will help me develop as a professional. It mainly focuses on matters of routine performance and the outputs are not very specific as far as my professional development is concerned. Though there is the aspect of what courses I can do after the interview, but my core professional competencies are not measured.'

Therefore the focus of the appraisal comes into mind. If it is perceived as an instrument which minimally addresses expertise, then ratees do not consider it useful and will naturally give it less attention in relation to other activities. The result is that it may not be filled on time, the feedback process is not considered valuable and subsequently, the implementation of the performance appraisal reform becomes compromised.

In addition, the desire for experts to be recognized also undermines the performance appraisal because Ugandans have a strong need to be surrounded by loyal people. This loyalty and respect comes about because the senior is considered an expert in the area and it accentuates his control over juniors. In interviews, respondents agreed that having loyal juniors not only motivates the senior, but is desirable. One interviewee notes the following:

> 'If I cannot have loyalty from my juniors, then I find myself duty bound to instil it in them. Otherwise, how would I manage? For us in the civil service, we earn less, therefore some of the key motivators are job stability, loyalty from juniors and respect from the public.'

However, the extent to which this state of affairs enhances a fair, transparent and objective performance appraisal is questionable, given the cases of unfair dismissals, promotions recruitments and frustration. In other words, Ugandan bureaucrats expect greater cognizance of status in their contact with subordinates, a fact which creates a clash of values embedded within the performance appraisal with the host administrative culture.

On the whole, one can possibly argue that civil servants who are oriented towards strong uncertainty avoidance may feel uncomfortable in new situations. They are likely to avoid ambiguity and uncertainty as much as possible. Clearly, these civil servants, influenced by perceived uncertainty, will not accept the values of the performance appraisal until after consistent revisions have honed it to fit with the host culture.

7.4 Political neutrality and performance appraisal reforms

The political aspects are very important for the success of appraisal reforms. A commonly invoked condition for the successful implementation of administrative reforms is political support from the executive branch of government (Flynn 2002). President Museveni personally introduced key reform issues to Uganda. He claimed that these reforms were hatched during the five years he was leading a guerrilla war. However, given the prevailing situation concerning political support[71], we find that the most successful exercise was downsizing of the civil service by about 54% in five years. Why then is their seemingly little support for the performance appraisal? It is the contention of this study that the performance appraisal has limited support because of high political neutrality amongst the civil servants and because they may also have less support for the incumbent.

7.4.1 Political will and symbolism
Some respondents indicate that the performance appraisals, together with other reforms, are intended to give the NRM government much needed legitimacy. The reforms appear to give an impression that the fundamental change of making the civil service more efficient and effective has been achieved.

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[71] The political support of the current regime is on the decline if we go by the presidential election results since 1996. According to the Uganda Electoral Commission, President Yoweri Museveni got 75.5% in 1996, 69.3% in 2001, and 59.3% in 2006 (http://www.ec.or.ug accessed July 2008).

The performance appraisal guidelines mention a benefit of introducing the ROM-based performance appraisal, namely that it is a way to 'obtain objective information on performance which can be used in assignment of duties, promotion, training, or rewarding good performers and remedial action to poor performance'. Other benefits of staff performance appraisal are also concerned with improving performance. Sometimes government actions are intended to gain public support. Therefore, a few questions confront us: is the performance appraisal meant to show the public that at last the government is interested in streamlining the civil service? Does the government want to win the support of the public servants, who the president has often referred to as his political enemies? Is it done because the donors will lavish these reforms with much needed money? Is the performance appraisal just another showcase to the multilateral agencies that the country is undergoing transformation?

The population is demanding more accountability from the government and one way to show this accountability is to provide a package of administrative reforms within the public service. This package definitely includes performance appraisal and the reforms have created a forum for the review of issues such as seniority-based promotion, life-time employment and pension. Findings of this research show however that civil servants are seldom fired due to poor performance. In this respect, the introduction of the appraisal system appears to be part of an attempt by the government to gain legitimacy by window dressing itself with the principles of transparency and meritocracy. But due to the political leaders' attitude towards the civil service – they believe it is full of opposition members – one could argue that the aim of portraying the government in good light through the introduction of the appraisal system is a mere symbolic act rather than a true attempt to make the public service better. To achieve legitimacy through the appraisal, the state must build strategic relationships with the professionals, its civil servants.

Yet another political issue is the source of the reforms: most respondents of this research share the view that with limited faith in government policies, it can be difficult to implement the appraisal system. With the government taking a cautionary approach, it is understandable that no reward has been linked to the appraisal. Meanwhile, the lack of any punishment for not implementing the system adequately has created a sense of low priority and less attention being given to implementing the appraisal system. Although

most interviewees disfavour coercive measures, they highlight the lack of attention the appraisal receives and the absence of political will to make government implement it. Does the government have the will to enforce compliance?

Most reforms considered successful were initiated at a time when the regime was relatively new and possibly better liked. Interviewees express disinterest in the view that the reforms were 'ushered in by the NRM party', as often claimed by the ruling elite of the NRM regime and party. Here is a noteworthy quote from one of the respondents:

> '…following structural adjustment programmes, these reforms came in, though we want to say they are the brainchild of the ruling National Resistance Movement. That they were hatched in the bush and so on…well, these are concepts of managing across the world. They are on a global scale.'

In fact, almost every policy document has a statement to the effect that 'when the NRM took the reigns of power in 1986 under the leadership of Mr. Museveni, it was imperative that something had to be done about the civil service'. It is this attitude which has led to the slow implementation of these reforms. Those who were tasked to implement the reforms never followed them through. According to yet another official:

> 'When you introduce something new, you have to continue following it up until people begin to understand and demand and then they move away from merely agitating for it into talking about it and getting to grips with it and finally it becomes part and parcel and a practice.'

This scenario may be an indicator to subtle disagreements with the political leadership. Civil servants may be afraid to speak their mind regarding the shortfalls of the specific administrative reforms because they may be labelled as *bipingamiizi.*[72] This, coupled with the system of patron-client relations that de-motivates civil servants who consider themselves to be working hard and on merit, creates the perception that the performance appraisal tool may be one which rewards wrong people for the wrong reasons. Therefore, it is better not to be critical to reforms than become critical and end up being labelled an

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[72] A Swahili word commonly used to refer to opponents of the ruling NRM regime.

enemy of the ruling government – an accusation that may have unfavourable implications for ones career.

Respondents indicate that they develop mistrust, which reduces the willingness of superiors and subordinates to cooperate in order to achieve the desired ends. Therefore, much as political support and commitment are important, the success of performance appraisal is dependant on the degree to which the civil servants see this NPM tool as being in their own interest. It is unreasonable to expect bureaucrats, who receive limited political support and who in turn do not trust the politicians, to support an administrative reform that they perceive as a threat. Cadres who support of the ruling government tend to ensure that the policy works for it appears in their speeches and documents, however, the reality is that the performance appraisal system seems to be undermined by negative attitudes the bureaucrats have towards the politicians.

It seems civil servants do not want politicians to interfere with the reform processes, though at the same time they consider it an advantage for top civil servants to share political views of the ruling regime. So in such an environment, why do performance appraisals fail? Possibly civil servants may sabotage the process in order to fail the top civil servants and therefore give themselves opportunity to rise in the hierarchy. Another possibility is that it is a passive-aggressive protest to government. After all, in our discussion of administrative culture in chapter six, 67% of the respondents stated that the country needs a new generation of political leaders. My findings therefore point to a very pertinent issue: They show that bureaucrats want to keep aloof from the politicians; they dislike political interference and therefore resist the performance appraisal because it is perceived as a tool of the NRM. This resistance manifests itself in various ways; The performance appraisal is not conducted. Even when the appraisal is conducted, it is not done on time. In relation to other activities, the performance appraisal is given minimal attention, which shows that there is no commitment to the appraisal system. Yet, in order for the appraisal to take root, it needs commitment and not sabotage. Eventually the resistance and sabotage make appraisal system stale in its progression and institutionalization.

7.4.2 Attitude of the politicians towards civil servants

Another factor that comes up in the interviews is the image and reputation of public servants. They claim they have suffered and the politicians, led by the President, have not made the situation any better. It has not only accentuated political neutrality, but it has in fact bred some form of opposition. Such sentiments are captured by one manager in particular:

> 'The politicians keep bashing the civil service – that we are corrupt and full of dead wood. This makes some civil servants apathetic towards work as a political tool. Politicians should know that by abusing us they are just worsening the situation. We are also analytical and understand the problems of this country, but why can't they appreciate our problems as well, like poorly thought out policies and systems imposed on us, like the performance appraisal.'

From statements like these we perceive a tension between the politicians and the bureaucrats: the bureaucrats will resist change in a passive manner, especially if the appraisal is not linked with direct benefits. As a way of 'getting even', they will reluctantly fill out the appraisal forms, or sometimes not even fill them out at all.

Is the performance management reform actually taking root as desired, or is it part of the rhetoric fed through conference speeches by the political leaders and top bureaucrats? As noted by Polidano (1999:12), the introduction of modern performance-oriented staff appraisal is a straightforward exercise, but the difficulty comes afterwards because governments are reluctant to link appraisals to career rewards and sanctions. Promotions continue to be based on seniority and at times patronage inter alia. Uganda has made bold steps in applying this model of appraisal, but it falls short because the reform turns out to be long on rhetoric and short on results. Progress on the performance appraisal has been limited and has not been fully internalized. Findings indicate that the momentum is slowing and ministries argue that this is because the performance appraisal was not closely linked to Output Based Budgeting.

Like any other reform and organization process, there is always the issue of *internal politics* in the ministries that also affects and challenges the full implementation of the performance appraisal. First, the reform agents, especially in MOPS, prefer to use a technical framework only (e.g. the focus on goals and the availability of enough appraisal

forms at hand) for implementing the performance appraisal, rather than a political one. Yet administrative reform is a political process. Decisions taken by certain bureaucrats result in the redistribution of rights, benefits, power and resources, and the existing power holders cannot be expected to surrender power or advantage voluntarily. The losers, in conjunction with those who are not directly affected – journalists, parliamentarians, academics and the intelligentsia – will resist it. This resistance could be expressed through emphasizing the weaknesses and not the advantages of the performance appraisal, and by denying the appraisal process the time and commitment it requires to prosper and taking root.

The second aspect of internal politics relates to involvement. Though the enthusiasm for the performance appraisal has slowed down, it was initially in high gear because the civil servants are much keener to implement ideas that are products of their own involvement. A leading facilitator of the performance appraisal has this to say:

> 'We have carried out wide consultations. Most of the stakeholders have been well sensitized about the appraisal and we have been able to capture their concerns. As a result, that is why we are launching yet another performance appraisal system that is better, and may get more support'.

From this quote we learn that reformers in the civil service think that it is important to get internal political support and build the will for reform where it does not exist. Supervisors most probably always use politics in the appraisal process just as in other aspects of management.

Data denotes that in order for the performance appraisal to succeed it must have the support and approval of politicians as well. Therefore, it is incumbent upon bureaucrats to design appraisal reforms that appeal to politicians; they should be perceived to lend legitimacy or at least appear to respond to public demands. Yet sometimes a gap looms between political priorities and bureaucratic priorities which does not support appraisal reforms. One way to reduce this gap is for the civil servants to develop systems and mechanisms of translating political agendas into implementable policies. But the politicians, who are the supervisors of the ministries, seem not to pay much attention to how successful the performance appraisal reform has been anyway. Perhaps this is

because the impact of the performance appraisal is more implicit than explicit and the politicians may be more interested in reforms that yield immediate results. This lack of attention from the politicians also pertains to funding: due to limited funds, some of the budgetary requirements are not met in time by the MOFPED. Unless the President intervenes in some aspects, a question arises whether appraisal reforms can be given financial priority. This sort of dependence on the goodwill of the president for the civil service to get sufficient funding has been problematic because the performance appraisal is not politically significant compared to other reforms.

7.4.3 Patronage

There have been several complaints that top public sector positions, especially in the important government ministries like defence, have been filled by politically loyal officials. Some of the civil servants view patronage as an unintended consequence of their extreme political neutrality which is perceived as opposition by the ruling government. Therefore because the civil servants are not politically biased and overwhelmingly loyal to the ruling regime, the ruling political elite has opted for patronage to neutralize them. This has undermined the importance of the performance appraisal system which should ideally lead to promotions. The president appoints the Permanent Secretary and therefore those who aspire for the top post would rather play politics. It is self-defeating because the appraisal system could have helped correct institutional distortions caused by the political breakdown during the 1970s and 1980s. Instead, patronage is on the rise. The performance appraisal becomes ineffective since employees see it not as an instrument to promote merit, but party loyalty.

This study found interesting views concerning the tolerance of patronage. At least 20 interviews (74%) indicate that political connections are responsible for some promotions and recruitment in the public service. A personnel official notes that patrimonial pressure abounds everywhere and is most pronounced at the district level. One of the explanations is based on the premise that the District Service Commission is established by the local politicians and hence is often under pressure to recruit favoured candidates. The political-administrative interface at the local level is full of tension, which inevitably affects the appraisals. According to Kiyaga Nsubuga, 'Numerous efforts have been made to resolve this, including review of the Local Governments Act, 1997, and regular issuance of

guidelines by various government bodies, but the problem still persists' (Kiyaga-Nsubuga 2004), even to date.

One may well ask: if the performance appraisal is not related to promotion, then does it matter if people are recruited on the basis of patronage? This is the dilemma. First, it brings up the problem of double standards: one group of civil servants is promoted on the basis of the performance appraisal and another group is promoted on the basis of political patronage. The issues that come into play therefore are fairness and standardization. The performance appraisal system can take root only if the same rules apply equally to those concerned. Second, there is the issue of presidential appointments which are political in nature; for instance, in the Ugandan civil service, all appointments from Assistant Commissioner to Permanent Secretary are presidential appointments. This means applicants for such positions are interviewed by the public service commission and forwarded to the president for appointment. However, if for any reason, the president is not comfortable with an appointee, he will not appoint the person. In addition, the president also has the discretion to himself appoint individuals and recommend them to the public service for formality purposes. Therefore, if these appointments are political, then promotions based on the appraisal will not be the norm and hence the appraisal system becomes less useful as one moves high up the ladder of hierarchy. For this reason a senior civil servant may find it more beneficial to play politics than pay much attention to a result-oriented appraisal. Here is what one official thinks about it:

> 'Here in Uganda corruption has been graded and sometimes some things are considered normal. For example I have no big problem appointing a civil servant who has the necessary qualifications even if it is not through a competitive basis. What I find abominable is outright corruption like the stealing of drugs for HIV/AIDS patients'.

This quote underlies the mindset of many others who may have a higher tolerance for patronage and patrimonialism than for other forms of non-compliance with the appraisal. In relation to our study, this is a very telling finding: how can a merit-based performance appraisal system thrive in an environment riddled with patronage practices? It would definitely face a lot of difficulty. Objectivity and transparency, which are hallmarks of the appraisal system, are compromised. Civil servants' commitment to it is also

undermined since they treat it as having little value. Hence the appraisal system cannot be fully introduced.

7.4.4 Patronage, corruption and performance appraisal

Most respondents managing the reform process observed that administrative reforms (of which the appraisal is a small component) are dominated by monetary enticements; it was reported that because top civil servants have to meet their donors fortnightly, they have to come up with *a shopping list that suits the donor's best interests.* In fact another official said that due to patronage and nepotism, they must schedule many workshops in the implementation:

> 'If the money is from the World Bank, I have to make a plan that involves several workshops because that is one way of gaining money and support for the civil servants with meagre salaries. It will therefore provide my staff with a fat allowance, a stay in a prestigious hotel, and very good meals. For the World Bank, the most important thing is accountability and not how much one has spent.'

From this quote, one infers that the performance appraisal is also deliberately financially suppressed as long as it fails to create a sphere of influence for the concerned officials. But all this is also dependant on the behaviour of the donor community, just because they have funded 90% of the Public Service Reform Program (MOPS 1997). Civil servants will allow certain appraisal processes to take place because they profit financially or otherwise from them. Huge donor funds, international pressure and various other avenues may be exploited by corrupt local and international officials. A civil servant asks (rhetorically): 'These civil service reforms come with money, vehicles, computers, etc. Why then reject them?' This is a tempting situation, given the culture prevalent in the bureaucracy. The merits of the performance appraisal are inconsequential as long as the bureaucrats can profiteer by accepting these reforms from the donor community. In a study including Uganda, it has been reported that civil service officials negotiate with donors over the design of projects, but the officials' main concern is their own personal financial benefit. This leads to distortion of donor interventions – pointless study tours, use of local consultants, vehicles, cellular phones and so forth (Wescott 1999:28). Other findings indicate that during the initial stages of the performance appraisal, the idea of participating in a big reform programme is welcomed. It created opportunities for certain

civil servants in the form of salaries, allowances, official cars, and domestic or foreign trips. This is because usually, the key personnel involved in conceiving and initiating a particular reform are the ones who end up implementing it (Mwenda 2007:30 - 31). With time, however, enthusiasm towards the appraisal fades because it is no longer capable of providing these prerequisites.

The interviews indicate that civil servants will prefer to give attention to issues where they can earn extra money from the donors, but the performance appraisal seems not to be in that category. I could as well conclude that the performance appraisal was formally given by the donors, formally adopted by the civil servants, but informally and in practice, the civil servants have evaded it because of administrative cultural influences and that this is why it has had limited success.

7.5 Effects of ethnicity on performance appraisal reforms

As we saw in earlier chapters, the *Manyi ani* ('I know who') factor seems to have some influence over the way public administration operates in Uganda. Such non-merit considerations greatly influence promotions, assignments, dismissals, and other personnel actions within the service (Riggs 1964). Management events in Africa reveal a complex of ethnic 'arithmetic' whereby tribal preferences take precedence over formal procedures for recruitment and promotion (Montgomery 1986). Similar trends were found in the Uganda civil service where respectable leaders indicated that while executing the performance appraisal form, it is the personal, kinship, and informal relations that guide most of the process, though it will not be admitted or documented. In fact one senior bureaucrat has this to say:

> 'Even when I have a brother or relative in another department, I try to seek friendship with his boss so that he favours him, and this is or will be replicated in my own department if chance arises'.

The impression created therefore is that it is who you know, not what you know that really matters while being evaluated. In doing so, at least five steps in the appraisal process are watered down: a) The *agreement on targets* is not taken seriously because the evaluation should be based on the agreed-upon targets and not influenced by these

relationships. b) The *commitment to the appraisal process* is undermined because the appraisal system requires that merit is rewarded and failure sanctioned. However, in this case it is ethnicity which is the centre of focus. c) The *feed back process* is influenced by ethically based appraisal conduct. The feedback will either be biased or based on the wrong premise. d) This also indicates the absence of *transparency*. If, for example, a rater gives a ratee a poor mark, he will not openly tell the ratee 'I gave you this kind of evaluation on the basis of ethnicity'. In fact, even when a positive evaluation is made, transparency will not be a priority. e) *Objectivity* is compromised at the expense of ethnicity.

Another widely voiced observation is *technical know who*, implying that civil servants who have a strong sense of networking make themselves liked and indispensable. To them, the performance appraisal system is not a big deal; in any case, they will be graded well even though they may not be effective. It is not unreasonable to think that recruitment to the police force will lead to the ineffectiveness of the performance appraisal. Press reports indicate that the president, and his wife, recommended some names for recruitment[73]. Other cases of sectarianism and tribalism in the appointment of public servants are cited in the Ugandan media. For instance, Dickson Okumu came out the best in interviews for the post of Managing Director of the Electricity Regulatory Authority but was not appointed, and Ben Okulo Luwum, who the leader of opposition in parliament argued was the best qualified for the opposition of Auditor General, was not given the job[74] because he does not come from the ethnic group of those in power. One wonders if faulty recruitment will not automatically lead to faulty performance appraisal.

In analyzing the linkage between performance appraisal and culture, goal setting as a central part of the appraisal process is crucial because it provides opportunities for individual accomplishment. But in a context of high ethnic and sectarian tendencies within the bureaucracy, group concerns are emphasized and individual accomplishments neglected. Respondents in this study report being both victims and beneficiaries of this dilemma between group and individual accomplishment:

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[73]'Imbalance: Police recruits 40% from west', *The Weekly Observer*, August 10, 2007
[74] 'MPs query immigration appointment, withdrawal', *The New Vision*, September 20, 2007

'The performance appraisal in the service focuses on the individual, but our social structure focuses on the group. Therefore, it is better to have a group appraisal than an individual one. But the problem is further complicated when people wish to organize themselves ethnically than in any other form. You find ethnic cocoons in each and every department.'

In order to orient subordinates towards personal task accomplishment, they should be assured that they do not need to have ethnically based support. For instance, the rater – ratee dialogue during feedback sessions should examine how the subordinate can be helped to improve performance but not to favour them as co-ethnic workers or disfavour them because they do not belong to their ethnic group. Relationships in the workplace can also undermine the impact of this particular appraisal system if they are based on ethnicity. The performance appraisal provides for discovering performance problems of fellow civil servants. But the senior officials may find themselves in a situation where they do not want to embarrass the ratee if they share a common ethnicity. As such, they become reluctant to criticize the ratee's performance and shy away from providing honest opinions on the performance appraisal form. Respondents intimate that owing to a common desire for good relationships, a mediocre civil servant has chances of getting a satisfactory grade.

It has been observed that ethnicity impacts most behaviour in multi-ethnic societies (Allen 1994), and when people join organizations, their ethnic commitments and values lie inherent in their identity and are reflected through their work behaviour. Arguably, people in Uganda are group-oriented and paternalistic in nature, and therefore are capable of searching for ethnic homogeneity as an adaptive response to alienation in the work place. For instance a judicial officer, one Henry Haduli, denied claims that his quick promotions within the judiciary were due to sectarian tendencies influenced by the Chief Justice and Principle judge, the two highest judicial officers[75] (Muyita and Wanyama 2008). Is Haduli a product of *manyi ani* – I know who and *mwana wa ani* – whose offspring? The most important issue is the allegation that Haduli's rapid promotions were a result of sectarianism. The truth of the matter may not be established here, but the fact

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[75] Mr. Henry Haduli, a senior grade-one magistrate on special assignment as assistant registrar in the commercial court, and former personal assistant to the Chief Justice of Uganda, like Chief Justice Benjamin Odoki, and Principal Judge, James Ogoola, is a Samia.

that this issue attracts public attention is consistent with some interviews where we learned that such practices do take place within the civil service. If this is the case, then how can the performance appraisal succeed amidst such practices that are supposed to provide a sense of belonging amongst people whose language and culture unite them in the face of a challenging and uncertain life (Blunt 1982)?

Over 75% of respondents in this study opine that tribal and ethnic considerations influence administrative practices in the civil service. Here we quote one civil servant who speaks of her experience:

> 'The problem with ethnicity is that it is subtle. Everybody practices it, but nobody wants to admit that it is dangerous. The propensity to favour somebody belonging to your ethnic group is a Ugandan thing. I will give you this example; my former teacher whom I respect so much came and 'handed over to me his son when he got a civil service job. He told me that the boy's life is in my hands. I therefore find it an obligation to influence his supervisors to give him a good grade in the appraisal, if not my relationship with the father will break…and I value it.'

Interviewees divulge that in some public departments people from western and southern Uganda dominate senior posts. Therefore, some individuals do not feel valued because of where they were born, and this affects the way they handle the performance appraisal process. This issue of exclusion has been blamed for causing dissatisfaction, reducing morale, increasing absenteeism and poor motivation in the way the appraisal reforms are perceived and implemented. Therefore, those who feel left out on the basis of ethnicity, handle the performance appraisal through resentment-based resistance, and subtle acts of non-cooperation that lead to sabotage. They believe this is a justifiable way to 'get even' for perceived mistreatment and a way to exercise their power to mitigate perceived injustice.

In some cases ethnic homogeneity has enhanced the effective and successful implementation of the performance appraisal because people sharing values are likely to support one another during crises, and the lower staff may accept appraisal results from their own 'kin'. This is commonly seen in the recruitment and deployment of support staff. Respondents reveal that it is common for an officer who is entitled to official

transport to prefer a driver who hails from the same district. The individual's closest colleagues will also usually share the same ethnic identity, that is, be from the same tribe and speak the same mother tongue. This is also the case for personal secretaries:

> 'It has become almost a rule that whenever a new boss is posted to head this department, they find a way of replacing the driver if they find that they do not come from the same area. Fortunately, the current boss here does not follow this trend, but that does not stop his colleagues from doing it. In fact they do it.'

The existence of a complex system of 'ethnic arithmetic', by which tribal preferences take precedence over formal procedures for recruitment and promotion, can be found in governments everywhere. In Africa few managers are prepared to deal head-on with such issues, even if it causes morale problems amongst their own staff (Montgomery 1986:22). Given that the performance appraisal plays a role, albeit a minor one (at least it is considered one criteria for promotion), it follows that individuals may indulge in ethnicity for the sake of having favourable results posted on their performance appraisal records. In fact, a senior manager in the MOFPED intimates that he himself is aware of some officials in his ministry who have been the beneficiaries of such tendencies. He is however quick to add that is the practice is neither widespread nor condoned. It is hardly revealed and is therefore an insidious factor in undermining the effective implementation of the performance appraisal. It is common knowledge in the civil service that in some ministries, people use their ethnic relations to get promotion or transfer to lucrative positions within or even across ministries.

7.6 Conclusion

I conclude that Ugandan civil servants have been reluctant to embrace the performance appraisal system because it does not 'fit' with the dominant cultural attitudes and administrative behaviour. These deep-seated cultural tendencies of strong uncertainty avoidance and large power distance may be barriers to the NPM led performance appraisal system. But apart from a cultural adjustment programme on the part of the civil servants, reformers must recognize the nature of Uganda's bureaucracy and design a performance appraisal system that does not appear to undermine or confront these cultural tendencies. Instead they must manipulate them and shape a performance

management tool for building a culture of performance. As far as uncertainty avoidance is concerned, the performance appraisal, with some moderations, can have a future. This is because practices and necessary information are available, well documented and explained to the civil servants. Thus, in high uncertainty avoidance cultures like Uganda's, it is commendable that the introduction of the results-oriented appraisal system is accompanied by the set of practices that reduce the ambiguity of this procedure. With regard to large power distance, the civil services' high hierarchy entails that the powerful groups dominate the less powerful groups who in turn are compliant. Both the superiors and their juniors find this power relationship natural and appropriate.

This chapter traces how the political views and culture of civil servants may affect the performance appraisal. It has been observed that though civil servants want to remain neutral, they are compelled by their line of work to pay allegiance to the ruling regime. While some seem to deeply distrust the politicians, others receive political patronage. Results indicate that the performance appraisal is sabotaged by the civil servants because they are politically neutral and less partisan. We have realized that Uganda's civil service is ethnically fractionalized. This has led to irregular[76] appointments and promotions, which definitely undermine the intention of the merit-based appraisal system. Although differentiation in recruiting and promoting amongst civil servants could be attributed to variation in characteristics, such as education and experience, a considerable amount of the differential treatment can be attributed to ethnic fractionalization.

This chapter demonstrates that the performance appraisal is highly influenced by indigenous cultural assumptions rooted in political neutrality and ethnicity. Many respondents report that personal liking or disliking is believed to steer performance appraisals. These observations corroborate the results of previous studies concerning political considerations within performance appraisals. It is however very difficult to have effective performance appraisals when supervisor-subordinate relationships are not supportive of appraisal processes. Thus we see that administrative reform is not value free. In the case of the results-oriented performance appraisal, this study suggests that

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[76] A Uganda supreme court judge and former minister, Prof. George Kanyeihamba decried what he termed as irregular appointment of public officials, including judges who were appointed by the president. He said if he were the appointing authority, he would choose qualified people who exude personal integrity and not because they support him or come from the same area. Please note that in Uganda people who come from the same district are usually ethnically homogenous (Kagolo, 2008).

because a borrowed Western performance measurement tool is incompatible with and ineffective in Uganda, it must be modified to either suit the unique sets of values, or civil servants must be socialized to unlearn their current values and adopt the new value system.

Performance appraisal reforms in Uganda may have high likelihood of succeeding if they are compatible with the prevailing values and consistent with the civil servants' beliefs. Thus, in instances where the values are obstructive, behavioural change amongst the civil servants is a prerequisite for the success of the performance appraisal. This is because the civil servants are the ones who are going to introduce and or implement these reforms; otherwise, the reforms may fail.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the study, re-stating the three main research questions and highlighting the methodology used to investigate them. The chapter also presents a summary of the major findings followed by a discussion of the significant issues and recommendations emerging from the study. Finally, limitations of the study, the research contribution, implications for practice and research are presented.

The New Public Management performance appraisal system that was introduced in the Ugandan civil service is rooted in a Western cultural context, one which presupposes a well established bureaucracy accompanied by a supportive administrative culture. Although this kind of appraisal has not succeeded in Uganda, it would be a good thing to have if it could be redesigned to fit better with the host culture. As this study indicates, reformers ought to be more cognizant of the underlying cultural attributes and modify the appraisal so that the host culture can accept it. Otherwise, as long as the appraisal system is perceived as incompatible with Uganda's administrative culture it will never yield the desired results.

8.1 Overview of the research problem and methods
8.1.1 The research issue and theories
Studies have shown that 'cultural misfit' is not only about the incompatibility of Western values with those of developing countries like Uganda, for the phenomenon also exists within Europe. For instance, as noted in Christensen et al. (2007:174), reluctance in implementing reforms in Norway can be attributed to the absence of an economic crisis, a cultural collision between reform ideas, a collectivist and egalitarian welfare-state culture, weak consensual minority governments and a cooperative policy style.

So is there a cultural collision in Uganda? Many factors are responsible for the unenthusiastic transfer of the NPM performance appraisal reform initiative. These factors could be categorized into two main frames of reference: first, the structural-instrumental approach, which works within the logic of consequentiality – where leaders are in control and rational calculation; second, the institutional approach (culture and myth perspective) that operates within the logic of appropriateness – where a person acts in conformity with 'what feels fair, reasonable and acceptable in the environment the person works within' (Christensen et al. 2007:3). But despite this categorization, when it comes to analyzing reform implementation it is more beneficial to use a *specific* frame of reference. This study thus focused on one such frame of reference, the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service, and in so doing, falls within the larger scope of the institutional approach.

The study addressed the influence of culture on the performance appraisal we have called *PAII*. It explored how this performance appraisal was received in the Ugandan bureaucracy and it sought to establish how and why such an appraisal fails or succeeds by analyzing how it is affected by the local culture. To this end we needed to examine how some of the basic features of administrative culture influenced the performance appraisal reforms. Specifically, I investigated the following interrelated concerns: a) performance appraisal reforms introduced in Ugandan public administration, b) the extent to which the performance appraisal was entrenched in the civil service, and c) administrative cultural responses to performance appraisal reform with respect to the extent and level of compatibility.

I now restate the research questions used in this study to analyze the impact of culture on performance appraisal reforms in the Ugandan bureaucracy.

1. *What is the nature of performance appraisal reforms introduced in the Ugandan civil service? To what extent is this performance appraisal entrenched in the Ugandan public service?*

2. *What are the basic features of administrative culture of Uganda's civil service?*

3. *Is the administrative culture of Uganda's civil service receptive or resistant to the performance appraisal, and how? Which cultural values in the bureaucracy are more resistant to appraisal reforms, and why?*

Although human beings have relative autonomy and independence to choose how to act (March and Olsen 1984; Searle 2001), institutionalized rules, norms and procedures influence action. It is useful to study administrative culture as the macro-aggregate consequence of individual action and as a reflection of society. This is so because those who freely belong to an institution act appropriately when they act in accordance with the institution's norms and rules (March and Olsen 2005). But socialization in institutional norms does not necessary mean that civil servants are programmed to act in a certain way (Christensen et al. 2007:49). This study has examined how some of Uganda's civil servants act, how they have been socialized into an administrative culture that seems to obstruct performance appraisal.

In chapters one and two I reviewed cultural perspectives by Hofstede, Schwarz, Etounga-Manguelle, Trompenaars, Dwivedi, Jamil, Nasfir, Okuku, Hameso, Munene, Almond, and Verba. The reviews informed a theoretical framework constituting four independent variables: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, political neutrality vs. political bias, and ethnicity. In order to understand how bureaucrats respond to performance appraisal reforms, it was imperative to explore whether they were enthusiastic or reluctant to implement them. The following hypotheses were derived and guided the study:

a) The presence of high power distance in the Ugandan civil service may prevent participatory decision making, abate transparency and compromise merit. Hence it may be difficult to introduce performance appraisal.

b) The higher the degree of uncertainty avoidance, the more the risk aversion and rule following, the less the innovation and the more the concern for maintaining the status quo. Such a situation may impede the introduction of performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service.

c) The higher the degree of political biasness in the Ugandan civil service, the more the loyalty, patronage and trust of politicians, and hence the more likely the introduction of the performance appraisal reforms.

d) The more the interpersonal relationships in the civil service are influenced by ethnicity, the more that ethnicity will compromise neutrality, impartiality and merit, and hence the less likely the success of the performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service.

8.1.2 Recap of methodology

As explained in chapter four, I relied on the mixed methods approach to collect data for this study. Data were gathered mainly from four government ministries, i.e., Public Service, Local Government, Justice, and Finance, over a period of eight months. For the quantitative data, I administered 147 questionnaires. The quantitative data were used to map out administrative culture. In addition, I conducted 29 qualitative interviews and collected some documents. This qualitative data were used to understand performance appraisal in Uganda and how administrative culture may influence its implementation.

8.2 Summary and discussions of the main findings

8.2.1 Performance appraisal in the Ugandan civil service

The performance appraisal researched in the present study was short-lived. It lasted just five years. It differed from the previous appraisals in many ways. First of all, it was result-driven and focused on 'the client'. Its assessment of performance was not based on behaviour and relations, but on mutually agreed upon targets. It was participatory, unlike the old one which was closed and had no opportunity for self appraisal. This appraisal system was simple and comprehensible to all staff even though it was long and laborious to fill out. In contrast to the old appraisal, which focused on personal abilities in relation to fellow workers, the PAII linked an individual civil servant to the strategic goals of the entire civil service. Finally, it included an appeal mechanism and the information gathered on the forms was analyzed for personnel decisions.

Despite these characteristics which posit PAII as a far superior system than the one it replaced, it could not meet the intentions of the reformers. This study establishes that the appraisal system was a failure because civil servants did not prepare annual performance plans, appraisal results were not immediately analyzed and used to inform individual goals, and in some cases appraisals were not filled out until they were needed to document a personnel decision. It was found that in the initial phase of the appraisal, there was sufficient knowledge about the process, and forms were available, but the number of filled out forms was still low. With regard to the implementation phase where the actual conduct of the appraisal was done, it was found that the appraisal was not conducted on time, there was minimal commitment to the appraisal process, low

transparency and low participation from the civil servants. In the same phase, data shows that objectivity and agreement on targets was average, whereas self appraisal was high. It may appear to be a contradiction that participation was low and self appraisal was high, yet self appraisal was only one part of participation; participation entailed that both the rater and ratee involved themselves in other stages like agreement on targets, being informed on regular appraisals, feedback, and conducting the appraisal on time. The consolidation phase, which also concerned feedback, was also found to be poor.

A critical question arose while analyzing the performance appraisal: does a negative appraisal have any consequences for the employee's career? According to this study, the answer is yes and no. Yes, because civil servants may be punished and denied rewards based on the results of a negative appraisal. No, because the appraisal is not directly related to pay rise and sometimes it is even disregarded in making promotions, especially for senior servants who are appointed by the president. The implication here is that the appraisal as an instrument is not fully institutionalized because of cultural dynamics, and so those who wield power have the possibility to manipulate the appraisal process to suit themselves. After establishing the status of the appraisal as 'wanting', I mapped out administrative culture in the civil service. This is summarized in the following section.

8.2.2 Administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service

This thesis argued that Ugandan societal values – characterized by ethnicity, large power distance, uncertainty avoidance and political neutrality – contribute to administrative culture in the civil service because the civil service replicates and mirrors societal norms and values. The country's history, marked by the colonial administrative system and political turmoil, has also shaped administrative culture, for it has led to political patronage, a civil service that is distrusting of politicians and a society with ethnic fragmentation. Additionally, some distinct administrative practices and pathologies have underpinned the civil service: it is educated and generally rule following, but it lacks a sense of urgency and is poor at keeping to a time schedule. These three aspects – societal norms and values, the history of the country, and the administrative practices – jointly or individually, have played a big role in shaping and influencing administrative culture.

From the survey it was noted that the chosen cultural variables were palpable within the civil service. On a scale ranging from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents the least prevalence of

the variable and 5 the highest, I developed an index which revealed the following results based on the mean: power distance 3.7, uncertainty avoidance 3.8, high political neutrality 3.9, and ethnicity and sectarianism 3.5. It is important to note that at least all the five variables scored above the median (i.e., 3) and thus one may conclude that if we use a dichotomous scale of high and low, the Ugandan bureaucracy is characterized by a high presence of each variable. Large power distance was evidenced by a steep hierarchy, a wide range of salaries, the colonial chief mentality, disparities in status and a focus on status symbols. Strong uncertainty avoidance was mainly suggested by rule following, risk aversion and lack of innovation. Political neutrality was high: Bureaucrats prefer to be neutral and independent of the politicians, but at the same time they have a relatively high distrust of politicians, and they despise the politicization of the civil service. With regard to ethnicity and tribalism, findings revealed that Uganda is a multi-ethnic country with 56 indigenous communities competing for jobs and resources. This has provided fertile ground for ethnic fragmentation, whereby favouritism is the highest manifestation of ethnicity through *mwana waani* and *manyi ani*. Thus the administrative culture could be described as one characterized by large power distance, strong uncertainty avoidance, high political neutrality and a high degree of tribalism and ethnic considerations.

Individual demographic and background variables are significant for organizational culture because bureaucrats can influence institutional values by infusing their values into the organization they work for. Thus the cultural variables were analyzed against the following social background variables: age, education, gender, studying abroad, place of birth, and tenure. The relationship between the background variables and administrative culture was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure that assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. Findings showed that gender, age and training abroad have no significant influence on administrative culture. Place of birth and years of service have limited influence. Education is the only background variable with a significant correlation, whereby the higher the education, the lower the power distance, the lower the uncertainty avoidance, the lower the political neutrality and the lower the ethnicity. This suggests that administrative culture is rather unified, integrated and seems to reflect more of the wider society's norms and values than those of its own organization.

It was argued in chapter six that the less educated civil servants have low tolerance for change and that those with more education, due to their training and exposure, may consider themselves more flexible and ready for new ideas. This indicates that those with higher education may have undergone some indoctrination, perhaps through exposure to modern education based on scientific reasoning and its application to the Ugandan context. Thus, in order to condition the Ugandan administrative culture so that it can readily accept the NPM performance appraisal, it may be beneficial to expose civil servants to more education where analytical skills and scientific reasoning are enhanced. This would increase the likelihood that bureaucrats and other civil servants are socialized into a new set of values that may make them receptive to the performance appraisal.

8.2.3 The influence of administrative culture on performance appraisal

A number of factors may influence the success of the performance appraisal system in Uganda and one of them is culture. In this study, it has been suggested that from a cultural perspective, large power distance, strong uncertainty avoidance, high political neutrality and high ethnicity are not fruitful soil for planting the NPM inspired performance appraisal and having it flourish. Evidence from the study shows that when actual power distance is large, but the performance appraisal is constructed on principles of low power distance, the norms that underwrite the administrative culture and those that inform the performance appraisal will clash. The expectation that a junior and senior civil servant can sit together as colleagues to establish performance goals simply cannot come to fruition in Uganda because a boss does not expect to carry out an appraisal effectively if it does not emphasize his power and privileges. Neither he nor the junior expect to sit down together and set goals. The junior expects instructions and pre-determined goals to be given. As such, the intention of the appraisal and the expectations based on the administrative culture appear to be in discord. Consequently, administrative culture seems to greatly influence the transfer and implementation of the NPM inspired appraisal reform. This finding, rooted on power dispensations, seems to agree with Terence Jackson's (2006) observation that management and change in Africa need to be understood from a cross-cultural perspective (see chapters one and three).

Also, when there is strong uncertainty avoidance, civil servants will tend to invoke rules and seek antidotes to uncertainty. For instance, the bureaucrats may create certainty by setting low targets which they can easily meet; the supervisor and junior may have a

'psychological contract' to support each other on the job and collude in manipulating the appraisal process; here merit, innovation and results are less encouraged. Innovators then feel constrained by the rules, and new ideas are avoided in favour of routine decisions, rendering the appraisal system less effective. Although studies by Hofstede on East and West Africa (referred to in chapters three and six), suggest that there is a moderate to low uncertainty avoidance in those regions, the findings of the present study indicate that Ugandan civil servants have a high propensity for uncertainty avoidance (chapter 6 discussed this in more detail). Strong uncertainty avoidance may thus contribute to civil servants avoiding innovative decision making regarding appraisals, hence limiting its success.

Concerning political relations, the tendency is that as long as the politicians do not support administrative reform, it will fail. Therefore, the chances of the performance appraisal succeeding would have been higher had the politicians given it the necessary support. Instead they intervened in ways that were counterproductive to the appraisal system. There are indications of political bias through patronage, which makes the effective implementation of the appraisal a problem since meritocracy is replaced by other criteria for appointment and promotion, e.g., loyalty to the ruling regime, especially for top civil service jobs. Though the civil servants prefer to pay allegiance to the ruling government, at the same time, they express the need for maintaining distance. This finding is consistent with a norm common in many countries, namely that appointed civil servants must at all times be loyal to the current political leadership and simultaneously maintain professionalism in their dealings. From this discussion concerning neutrality and loyalty, it seems logical to assume that Ugandan civil servants are impartial when it comes to relationships with politicians. The bureaucrats expressed limited trust in the politicians and displayed a desire to have the current crop of politicians replaced (refer to discussions in chapter six). This affected the appraisal because the bureaucrats seemed to be purposefully failing to implement the appraisal, purposefully failing to make it a success and using this to protest against the ruling regime. This relationship with politics seems unsuitable for the success of the performance appraisal because, as a protest, passive resistance is employed. This resistance is usually a result of breakdown in cooperation. For this reason my hypothesis was not fully supported because I expected that political bias would lead to patronage. However, my findings reveal that political neutrality led to patronage as well, since it (political neutrality) did not immunize the

civil service against patronage. Instead, patronage appears to be an 'antidote' for political neutrality, that is, it nullified the effects of neutrality and the appraisal was still resisted.

The study also revealed that tribalism and ethnicity in the Ugandan civil service cause serious problems in implementing the performance appraisal system. Although ethnic identity can be an asset for good management, in Uganda, perceived ethnic differences have been exploited for selfish interests since colonial times, to the extent that certain groups feel discriminated and marginalized. There is evidence to suggest that discrimination in favour of co-ethnic civil servants exists. Civil servants tended to promote favouritism through giving positive appraisals to those they know, on the basis of *mwana waani* and *ani akumanyi*. These types of evaluation undermined the performance appraisal which was founded on a merit-based system of evaluation.

Though the culture of the Ugandan bureaucrats reflects wider societal values, the successful implementation of the performance appraisal was dependant on an adoptive host administrative culture. I thus conclude that the Ugandan bureaucracy resisted the performance appraisal reform (PAII) because the reformers sought to make significant changes, or because the appraisal undermined the dominant values of the bureaucracy's status quo. Since the reform did not conform to administrative culture, it was likely to fail. Civil servants tended to resist it because it required them to change and learn something new. In this study there is no disagreement over the benefits of the new process, but rather that there was a misfit between the administrative culture and the values driving the performance appraisal reforms.

8.2.4 The relative influence of cultural variables on performance appraisal

In this section I would like to answer the following questions: a) Which one of the cultural variables influenced the performance appraisal most? b) Did the cultural variables in the study influence all or only some aspects of the performance appraisal? I will answer the two questions at the same time.

For the first question, my analysis indicates that it may not be easy to determine which of the cultural variables influenced the performance appraisal most because, even though differences may be identified analytically, in practice the cultural variables overlapped a lot. What I can say however is that *power distance* manifests itself in many ways which

are relevant for analyzing the relationship between culture and performance appraisal. Here's how: When we look at the three phases of the performance appraisal outlined in chapter five, i.e., initiation phase, implementation phase and consolidation phase, we realize that power distance *influenced all aspects of the appraisal process directly*, and thereby undermined its success. In the initiation phase, filling out of the forms became less frequent as one moved up the authority ladder. Although there was a high level of sensitization to the performance appraisal, those with much authority did not consider it a priority and therefore did not give it much attention. With regard to the implementation phase, we noted that due to power distance, appraisals were not conducted on time because they did not accentuate the power of the bosses. The self appraisal was undermined by the fact that juniors expected to be given instructions rather than evaluate themselves and set their own targets. Transparency, objectivity and participation were also undermined by hierarchy and the 'chief mentality', which encouraged sycophancy, acceptance of unequal power distribution, gender and generational differences. These aspects were not consistent with the values of merit and transparency promoted by the appraisal. Lastly, the feedback process was sabotaged by unequal power relations that were not favourable to the juniors because they were not in the position to even demand feedback. As for political neutrality (bias), its effect was *largely indirect*. The directly exercised bias was when the appraisal itself was rendered irrelevant by appointing people on the basis of patronage, and when the civil servants disregarded the appraisal as a way of 'getting even' with the politicians. For the variable of Ethnicity; it had *less direct influence* on the appraisal process compared to power distance. It mainly affected the implementation phase whereby a favourable appraisal could be given at the expense of merit and objectivity. Uncertainty avoidance also seemed to have *limited direct influence*; the main areas where values clashed concerned ambiguity and managing uncertainty.

Another reason why power distance was an interesting variable was simply because of its character. If we look at how the relations of power were distributed throughout the organization, political neutrality/bias involved power relations, but these were limited to the relationship between the politicians and the bureaucrats. With regard to power distance, we were able to analyze the relationship between the rater and the ratee in the context of how they relate to each other as individuals with unequal power. The variable also allowed us to observe how these two individuals use and abuse power, what their expectations were and how they interacted while one evaluated the other. This we could

observe because the appraisal assumed that supervisors and juniors should consider each other existential equals and that subordinates expect to be consulted, a trend more characteristic of low power distance cultures.

8.3 Limitations and delimitations of the study

A number of limitations need to be acknowledged and addressed regarding the present study. The first limitation concerns the timing of data collection. This study was conducted at a time when the Ugandan civil service was in a transition phase to another performance appraisal system. It is possible that responses could have been influenced by this transition. However, the nature and intention of the research was made clear to the respondents. They were informed that this study was concerned with the performance appraisal for the period from 1998 to August 2007, which is referred to as *PAII* in chapter five. In addition, in the preparation phase for the survey, I consulted personnel officers from the sampled ministries and carried out a pilot survey about the main research questions used in this thesis. It was from this pilot survey that questions were refined to capture the exact appraisal in question.

The second limitation concerns the extent to which the findings can be generalized beyond the four ministries studied. I did not conduct enough interviews and involve enough ministries to be able to justifiably make broad generalizations about the entire civil service. Uganda has numerous ministries, public agencies and over 90 local governments. Nevertheless, the four central government ministries I studied represent most of the civil service and the public agencies. In particular, the Ministry of Local Government supervises all the local government administrations and has a representative from each one, so it may reflect something in general about all of them. But more important for the analysis than distinguishing variations, we wanted to *identify similarities* between administrative culture in the ministries and between the civil servants. For this purpose the findings were considered sufficient for highlighting the characteristics of administrative culture in Uganda and that culture's impact on the performance appraisal. Further empirical studies, however, are needed in order to involve more ministries and replicate the findings.

This study focused on a culture that is extensive and complex. Clearly, this represented a challenging task for research regardless of the more specific interests the study may have.

Here culture has been studied by applying societal and national dimensions as points of departure for studying the context of a bureaucracy. The research design which I used did not account for individual behaviour, but rather attempted to aggregate how the majority of civil servants may respond to a policy reform like performance appraisal. The point is that the study provides conceptual and operational tools for investigating administrative culture.

Another limitation of this study is that it was difficult to gain access to certain data that would have been very helpful for the research. For instance, I hoped to review some of the various ministries' confidential files in order to find out about certain patterns or insights, but I was denied access. Other information to which I was denied access included a report analysing the performance appraisal system. Other sources were however useful in covering the gap; these included general reports on administrative reforms and consultancy reports on ROM. Some people spoke off the record and gave me insights and clues that were valuable while conducting interviews, searching and analysing documents. In addition, collecting data by using mixed methods that included a survey and interviews complemented the documentary information. Overall, the collected data were sufficient to enable me make informed inferences and conclusions.

8.4 Implications of the study for policy and additional research

8.4.1 Implications for performance appraisal reform

The study establishes that culture matters for a performance appraisal to be introduced and institutionalized in the civil service. It has the capacity to constrain the appraisal if the values embedded in the appraisal clash with those of the host administrative culture. Reformers need to thoroughly study the host culture before introducing performance appraisal so that it can have a better chance of being accepted. Administrative culture and behaviour are more deeply rooted than reformers imagine. Civil servants have been socialised into certain cultural systems which need to be fully understood. Reformers need to be careful while introducing a performance appraisal. They must first carry out a comprehensive cultural study so that the appraisal is designed with a clear understanding of cultural expectations.

Public sector reformers could design the performance appraisal to pass a cultural compatibility test; it should be consistent with the host administrative cultures and this can be done in two possible ways: a) by carrying out a 'cultural adjustment programme'[77] whereby the civil servants are taken through a process of unlearning certain norms and practices and being indoctrinated and educated with norms and values that may ease the process of the NPM inspired appraisal system; b) review the performance appraisal system so that it can accommodate and acknowledge the context and thus become sensitive to the host cultural values. A case in point would be to concede that Uganda is a high power distance culture. If the appraisal presupposes a top-down appraisal system with less participation then it would have greater possibilities of success than PAII had, for the latter assumed that the rater and the ratee could participate in the appraisal process as peers.

8.4.2 Implications for further studies on administrative culture and performance appraisal

The study suggests possible implications for future research that might be needed in order to understand better the role of administrative culture on performance appraisal. It may be helpful to carry out a longitudinal study and observe how the appraisal process is conducted in the public service over a long and continuous period. Such a study could also identify particular individuals and follow them up in their career paths. By doing this, a more thorough understanding of the impact of administrative culture could be achieved by analyzing the interpersonal relations, and what they can result in more explicitly.

Although administrative culture was the main field of study here, the adoption of other perspectives in order to understand the performance appraisal system represents a valuable area of study to pursue. A more detailed analysis of administrative culture in the civil service is desired. This thesis made a contribution to the understanding of administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service, and therefore further studies could be done to exhaustively map administrative culture in Uganda. Additionally, the application of more perspectives would not only enable us to capture a holistic picture, it would explain the extent to which culture contributes to the success of performance appraisal

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[77] Adopted from Etounga-Manguelle (2000)

relative to the other variables. In this study, I took the cultural perspective because such an analysis seems to have been ignored by previous scholars who have studied Uganda.

In addition to widening the scope of perspectives in future research, it could also be valuable to carry out a comparative study in two ways. First, it could make comparisons within the country at various levels, e.g., central government vs. local government, between ministries (this study was more interested in the similarities than the differences between ministries), central government ministries vs. other public agencies and commissions, the public and the private sector, a permanent institution (bureaucracy) and a temporary institution (peace keeping force). Second, it could compare the Ugandan case (a cultural perspective on the introduction of performance appraisal) with others in the region or in a developed polity. In my view, an investigation that seeks to compare the introduction of performance appraisals from a cultural perspective may reveal new knowledge on the subject.

8.4.3 Can administrative culture affect NPM policy reform and change in general?

The implications of this research open up a broad perspective on NPM policy reform and change. It has been concluded that subordinates from large power distance cultures will seldom support or feel comfortable with policy reforms that have inherent participative approaches.

The study has also established that administrative reforms cannot be fully introduced and institutionalized if they are not in conformity with the host administrative culture. Culture is therefore a crucial factor influencing the understanding of policy reforms, their initiation, implementation and evaluation. The evidence from this study provides a starting point where other policy reforms could be similarly explored from a cultural perspective. These may include other human resource applications, the whole ROM system, decentralization, e-governance and agencification.

The study also raises the question of the underlying motives of policy reforms. It may be suggested here that studies should be carried out to investigate further why certain reformers do not treat the cultural context as important. Is it because it is difficult to use cultural variables because they are not easy to operationalise and hence measure? Or is it because the reformers are unaware of the context, or that they are interested in other

things as well? For instance, it may be because they have other tangible variables that are easy to operationalize and measure, for instance resources, organizational structure, and political support. One must therefore hold in mind that particular aspects of national culture influence administrative culture. More importantly, policy reforms which are not consistent with the prevailing culture are less likely to succeed. Policy reforms should therefore be 'customized' to suit the host culture, cultural awareness should be heightened, and better still, civil servants should be educated and sensitized to overcome some elements of their culture which may not be supporting progress. I am convinced that as these policy reforms interface with the new cultural contexts, they can be modified into better management instruments.

8.4.4 What are the implications of this study for other African countries?

This study has at least two implications for other African countries: first, administrative culture matters and it should be studied, understood, managed and developed. The study has established that there are certain administrative cultural variables which are still highly significant in Africa. For example, ethnicity is not inherently bad, but when civil servants use it as a basis for making decisions, then it needs to be thoroughly investigated and judged against fair and good practice. There is therefore a need to study whether, for example, the explosion in the number of districts in some African countries could be explained by ethnic fragmentation in the guise of decentralization. According to Hofstede's research, many African countries have large power distance. My findings could therefore be generalized to some extent to these African countries. With regard to political bias, many African countries are working hard to achieve a politically neutral civil service. This makes these countries' civil-service organizations similar to the Ugandan case, which I found to be neutral but distrustful of the political elite.

Secondly, it is important to establish how administrative culture manifests itself in various ways across Africa and influences policy reform and change in each country. I contend that power distance, uncertainty avoidance, ethnicity and political neutrality (bias) are important cultural variables in understanding why certain reforms are accepted or rejected by a country's civil service. This is because most of the reforms, such as the performance appraisal, are structured according to Anglo-Western value systems which are instrumentally rational and hence may not be congruent with the African culture. I also have to state here that much as Uganda does not represent the whole of Africa, it

shares many cultural characteristics with sub Saharan Africa. For instance, some of Uganda's 52 ethnic groups exist in other African countries. This makes the study comparable across countries. What is more, most African countries are also multiethnic like Uganda, and have a similar or related history of having been colonized by the British and other Western powers.

8.5 Contribution of this work

The contribution of this thesis is that it extends the existing knowledge on administrative culture and the relationship between administrative culture and performance appraisal reforms, providing greater depth of knowledge and evidence of these relationships in the Ugandan civil service.

1. The study identifies and thoroughly analyses administrative culture as an important factor in examining the reasons why administrative reforms do not succeed as expected in Uganda's civil service. Most studies have focused on the institutional and structural questions, and just give a casual reference to administrative culture. For example, one instance where culture was analyzed more deliberately was when Munene and Schwarz studied cultural influences on the decisional behaviour of managers in sub-Saharan Africa, including Uganda. Their valuable work does not focus on the bureaucracy but is a general analysis of managers in both public and private organizations. The Schwarz model however did not investigate cultural issues concerning ethnicity and the associated familial relations such as *manyi ani* and *mwana wani,* or make specific reference to the pathologies of political bias and patronage. Sarah Vallance observes that 'Smooth interpersonal relationships in many non-Western countries are founded upon values such as respect for an individual's feelings and avoiding situations likely to give rise to conflict. The potential influence of these sorts of values upon the practice of performance appraisal may be significant' (Vallance 1999:81-82). In this present study, we noticed that these smooth interpersonal relationships are not only meant to avert conflict, but may also be fertile ground for the proliferation of ethnicity, corruption and patronage in the conduct of appraisals, all of which lead to appraisal failure.

Furthermore, studies on civil service reforms in Uganda have not previously been conducted on performance appraisal from a cultural perspective. This study therefore expands the knowledge concerning appraisals and culture and as such, adds to the pool of

knowledge created by earlier studies (Ammons and Rodriguez 1986; Asim 2001; Fletcher and Perry 2001; Groeschl 2003 ; Locher and Teel 1977; Long 1986; Mcfarlin and Sweeney 2001; Mendonca and Kanungo 1996). Because studies linking administrative culture and performance appraisal have largely been done in Europe, the United States and Asia, this study's exploration of the impact of administrative culture and relating it to performance appraisal from the African perspective enriches this area of study.

2. The study has shed more light on culture, a theme often referred to but rarely analyzed in public administration studies on Uganda. References to obstructive culture in the bureaucracy include statements such as 'resistance', 'negative attitude', 'disenabling organizational culture', and 'non-compliant culture' (Kiggundu 1998; MOPS 1997, 2007b). This study has thus attempted to open the 'black box' of Uganda's civil-service administrative culture. It may not have accessed all the deep corners of the box, but it has revealed that we need to investigate and understand this culture better. Additionally, the study has demonstrated that the existing culture needs adjustment. Reformers must therefore pay much more attention to culture than ever before. Mapping administrative culture in the civil service has also shown that as we study culture in a multi-ethnic context like Uganda, we should be aware of and sensitive to its implications. The mapping reveals that ethnic considerations are of primary importance in both relations and evaluations. Reformers must therefore deliberately develop an understanding of this cultural dimension and come out with specific programmes to achieve the desired effect.

3. The analysis of socio-economic variables in relation to administrative culture indicates that apart from education, which matters most, place of birth and years of service are of limited significance and the rest do not matter. It may therefore be useful to do a cultural profile and cultural audit of the civil servants before any serious cultural change, adjustment, learning process or policy is instituted. This means that for an administrative reform like the performance appraisal, the civil servants must be inculcated with ideas and cognitive strategies which are capable of changing their world outlook so that they gain a more favourable attitude towards the performance appraisal. The analysis of the background variables also enables me to conclude that since the administrative culture varies minimally against some social background variables, the administrative culture in the Ugandan civil service resembles culture as 'what organization is' more than culture as

'what organization has', because many elements are isomorphic to societal characteristics.

8.6 Conclusion

From the findings of this study, I conclude that administrative culture plays a significant role in fostering the performance appraisal in the Ugandan bureaucracy. The study revealed that performance measurement, particularly the NPM-based performance appraisal system, was less applicable to Uganda's civil service because it seemed to either undermine or conflict with the host administrative culture. The host administrative culture appeared incompatible with a system that sought to appraise individual performance without considering the unequal distribution of power, strong collective norms and fear of innovation or new ways of doing things.

The implementation process of PAII could not proceed in the context of strong uncertainty avoidance. This is because the bureaucrats were averse to risk and most antidotes to uncertainty were not favourable to the performance appraisal. Critical to note also is that high political neutrality, ethnic considerations and favouritism were opposed to meritocracy which the performance appraisal upheld. Additionally, 'African values' such as gifting, reciprocity, ethnic identity and respect for those who are older or have higher status were often abused due to selfish motives, thereby undermining the effectiveness of administrative reforms like the performance appraisal. I thus contend that in order to carry out a successful performance appraisal reform, it may be useful to a) raise the recognition of culture as a critical factor when introducing performance appraisal, b) weed out obstructive elements in the administrative culture of the Ugandan civil service, and c) promote and reward constructive elements in the administrative culture in order to increase the possibilities for the appraisal reform's success. In sum, as the Ugandan case demonstrates, *administrative culture matters* for the successful implementation of performance appraisal reforms.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Interview questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
Department of Administration and Organization Theory

EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE ON PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am conducting a research to analyze the relationship between administrative culture and administrative reforms in the Ugandan civil service. The study seeks to analyze the extent to which these reforms, particularly the performance appraisal, are introduced, accepted and or rejected by the civil service, using culture as an explanatory variable.

This study is for academic purposes, as a partial requirement for a Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration at the University of Bergen.

I am therefore kindly requesting you to answer this questionnaire. I shall treat the information with utmost confidentiality. The success of this research is fully dependant on your responses.

Thanking you for your co-operation,

…………………………..
Gerald Kagambirwe Karyeija
Investigator

Section A: Background Questions *(Tick and or fill in as appropriate)*

Qn.1 What is your highest level of education?
   a) Advanced level certificate
   b) Diploma
   c) 1st Degree
   d) Masters
   e) PhD

Qn.2 Type of education
   a) Business Administration   d) Social Sciences
   b) Arts and humanities   e) Natural Science
   c) Law   f) Others: Specify ……………

Qn.3 Gender: a) Male   b) Female

Qn.4 Ministry: ………………………………………..

Qn.5 Position: ……………………………………….

Qn.6 Age: ………………………………………..

Qn.7 Fathers occupation……………………….

Qn.8 Year of joining the service ……………………

Qn. 9 Have you been trained abroad? If so where and for how long? ……………..

Qn.10 Where have you grown up? a) Urban area   b) Rural area

Section B: Research Questions

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

1. Please tick the type of reforms that you are aware of.

Type of Reforms	Tick as appropriate
1. Management Reforms	
Implementation of results oriented management	
Time management and organizational discipline	
Training of public officers	
Job evaluation	
Re-tooling of the civil service with modern communication systems and processes	
Establishment of payroll management systems	
Pensions reforms	
Progressive enhancement of salaries	
Introduction of a performance appraisal system	
2. Organizational Reforms	
Transferring tasks and responsibilities to regional and local level	
Changes in the inter-organizational nature of subordinate institutions	
Rationalization and streamlining of government ministries, departments, and authorities	
Introduction of an integrated financial management system	
Revision of the public service code of conduct	
3. Market Reforms	
Contract system	
Transferring tasks to private firms	

ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE – ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES

2. All organizations have a culture which could be best explained by the extent to which the following administrative practices manifest themselves. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents "Disagree completely", 2 "disagree partly", 3 "both", 4 "agree partly", and 5, "Agree completely"

	Disagree completely	Disagree partly	both	Agree partly	Agree completely
1. Rules in the ministry are rigid and complex					
2. There is a high level of neutrality and objectivity in the way things are done here.					
3. Professionalism and expertise best define a Ugandan civil servant.					
4. Time management is a problem.					
5. There is a great deal of entrepreneurial skills amongst civil servants.					
6. Paradigm lock: Some colleagues do not want to see another's point of view.					
7. There is lack of a clear cut strategy					
8. Decision makers understand the complexities of the issues about which they are supposed to decide.					
9. The civil service lacks trained personnel.					
10. There is no inventory for national and regional capacities.					
11. Most civil servants have a strong desire to avoid responsibility.					
12. There is lack of a sense of urgency; thinking that somebody else will take care of it.					
13. One of the best aspects of the civil service is the high intellectual and moral standards of the civil service.					

ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE – POWER DISTANCE

3. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents "Disagree completely" and 5, "Agree completely".

	Disagree completely	Disagree partly	both	Agree partly	Agree completely
1. Hierarchy is a convenient way of dividing up work in the ministry					
2. Hierarchy in this ministry reflects the differences in quality between those people higher up and those that are further down in the hierarchy.					
3. This ministry should decentralize as much as possible.					
4. In this ministry subordinates expect to be consulted when decisions are made.					
5. In this ministry, subordinates expect to be told what to do.					
6. In this ministry, a boss takes care of his subordinates as if they were his own children. He is like a chief.					
7. In this ministry, a boss is like a colonial chief					
8. In the ministry, senior officers do not listen to anybody at the workplace before taking a decision					
9. There are many supervisors in this ministry.					
10. There is a wide salary range between the top and the bottom of the organization.					
11. Officers rely more on formal rules and superiors than experience and subordinates.					
12. Privileges and status symbols such as big cars, big offices, and secretaries, are normal and popular. They are not frowned upon.					
13. Office work is of a superior nature than manual work.					
14. One takes pride in being known to be ambitious, successful and very competent.					
15. In this ministry junior officers have high respect for seniors					

ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE – POLITICAL NEUTRALITY

4. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents "Disagree completely" and 5, "Agree completely".

	Disagree completely	Disagree partly	Both	Agree partly	Agree completely
1. The interference of politicians in the business of civil servants is a disturbing feature of public life.					
2. Civil servants should always seek political directives for starting initiatives.					
3. It's an advantage for the public sector if top civil servants share the political views of the ruling government.					
4. Civil servants should always remain neutral in relation to political parties.					
5. Local self government is the best for adapting local services to local needs.					
6. The civil servants and not the politicians guarantee reasonable public policies.					
7. Politicians think more about their welfare than that of the citizens.					
8. The general welfare of the country is disturbed by the clash of political interests.					
9. Although parties play an important role in a democracy, often they exacerbate political conflicts.					
10. All citizens should have the same chance of influencing government policy.					
11. Technical considerations must be given more weight than political factors.					
12. Extreme positions should be avoided in political controversies, but we should seek the middle line.					
13. I consider Ugandan political leaders to have specialized political roles					
14. The change of government in Uganda is predictable.					
15. Decision making is a preserve of those in power.					
16. Civil servants have high expectations in the ruling government because they think it can deliver.					
17. Most political leaders can be trusted					
18. Uganda needs a new generation of political leaders					

ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE – UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE

5. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents "Disagree completely" and 5, "Agree completely".

	Disagree completely	Disagree partly	both	Agree partly	Agree completely
1. People live in order to work.					
2. More money is better than more leisure time.					
3. Civil servants have a strong emotional need for rules.					
4. All employees need to be busy and work hard.					
5. Most civil servants are not as good in invention as they are on implementation.					
6. Most decisions are based on rational thinking rather than common sense.					
7. Agreeing to disagree is OK.					
8. Perseverance is very common amongst civil servants.					
9. It is better to follow known standards and procedures than experiment with new ideas.					
10. Subordinates feel more comfortable to work under close supervision than independently					
11. In civil service , innovation is appreciated					
12. In my organization, promotion is usually based on performance than seniority					

ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE – ETHNICITY AND REGIONALISM

6. Please kindly rate the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 represents "Disagree completely" and 5, "Agree completely".

	Disagree completely	Disagree partly	both	Agree partly	Agree completely
1. Certain people are better placed to lead this country because of their traditions and family background.					
2. The family ifs the focal point for loyalty and security.					
3. Family and geographical ties are more important than professional relations.					
4. Some civil servants owe their appointments and promotions to family members and friends.					
5. Tribal and ethnic considerations influence administrative practices in the civil service.					
6. "Manyi ani" – I know who, is important in the civil service.					
7. "Mwana wani" – whose child, is important in the civil service.					

Appendix 2 - Interview guide

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

1. Please state the administrative reforms that you are aware of that have taken place in this ministry.

2. Why do you think these policies were introduced?

3. Which one of these do you think have come from the international arena?

4. Which one of these do you think have been a result of home grown solutions?

5. Who are the key actors involved in the initiation these policies?

6. Who are the key actors involved in the implementation of these policies?

7. What are the main elements of the administrative reforms that you have witnessed?

8. What are the main constraints of these polices?

9. Why do you think these reforms were carried out?

10. In your view what are the main successes of these reforms?

11. In your view, what are the main challenges of these reforms?

12. Could you please identify some of the unintended consequences of these reforms?

13. Are these reforms entrenched in the Ugandan public administration? If so, to what extent?

ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE

14. To what extent has the Ugandan bureaucracy created its own culture?

15. What are the basic features of this culture in the Ugandan bureaucracy?

16. Is there a dominant culture that drives the Ugandan bureaucracy?

17. Does the behavior of bureaucrats reflect the Ugandan cultural biases?

18. How does culture contribute to bureaucracy innovation, success, or failure?

19. How can culture be managed and or changed, in implementing NPM reforms?

20. Is this culture receptive or resistant to NPM reforms? And how?

PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL SYSTEM

21. What do you think are the main reasons for implementing the new performance appraisal system? Do you think it has succeeded? Clarify.

22. What are the key behavior patterns, practices, values and cultural attributes responsible for the effective implementation of the performance appraisal?

23. Do you think the Ugandan administrative culture is compatible the new PA philosophy? Why?

24. What do you think about the commitment of civil servants to the performance appraisal system? Whom do you think is most receptive to the performance appraisal? Which categories of civil servants do you find resistant to the PA? Give reasons.

25. Do you think appraisers and appraisees feel threatened by the appraisal system? If so, then why?

26. How important is leadership for the effective implementation of the PA?

27. Any suggestions on how to make the appraisal system effective?

Appendix 3 : Research time line
STUDY PLAN SPRING 2006 – SPRING 2009

DATE	ACTIVITY
January 2006 – January 2007	Do obligatory courses, draft research design, prepare for data collection, handle tutorials, attend seminars and conferences
February 2007 – August 2007	Data collection in Uganda – part 1
September 2007 – December 2007	Data analysis, attend conferences and participate in masters dissertation seminars
January 2008 – May 2008	Thesis drafting, attending conferences and participating in masters research design and methodology seminars
June 2008 – August 2008	Data collection in Uganda – part 2
September 2008 – December 2008	Drafting thesis and updating with new data,
January 2009 – August 2009	Draft thesis revision, editing and submission

RESEARCH TIME TABLE
(February to August 2007)

DATE	ACTIVITY
February	Travel, meet local contact and research assistants
March	Pilot study, train research assistants, revise instrument, start access
April - July	Collect and enter data
August	Wind up, visit family and travel back to Bergen

RESEARCH TIME TABLE
(June 6, 2008 to August 2, 2008)

DATE	ACTIVITY
June 6 - 22	Resume research contacts, meet local academia, and start collecting specific data
June 23 – July 6	Continue data collection
July 7 – July 13	Review data and update my supervisor on progress
July 14 – July 20	Attend the international conference
July 21 – July 27	Welcome, host and engage with my supervisor from UIB
July 28 – August 2	Wind up, visit family and travel back to Bergen

Appendix 4 - Ministry of Local Government June 2006 organisational structure

(i) Directorate of Local Government Administration and Inspection   54 POSTS
(ii) Department of Finance and Administration   58 POSTS
(iii) Division of Policy and Planning   10 POSTS
Total   **122 POSTS**
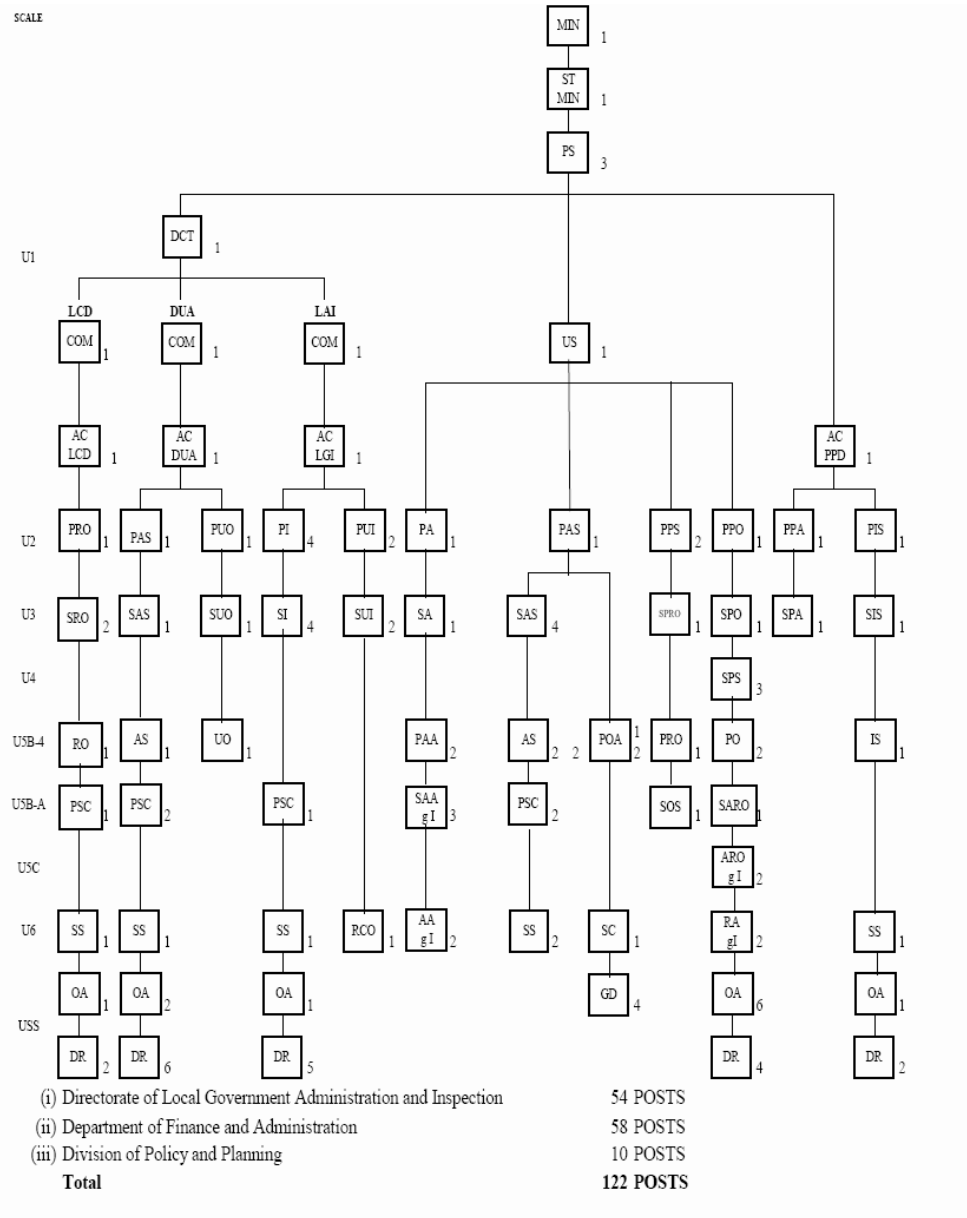
Appendix 5 – Old performance appraisal form (PAI)

FORM 5

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

STANDING ORDERS

Chapter 1– Public Service General Appendix A–e 1

HALF YEARLY */ANNUAL*/ STAFF PERFORMANCE REPORT FORM

MINISTRY ....

For the period from ....to ....

GUIDING INSTRUCTIONS

(Before completing this form, study S.O. Chapter 1 Section A –e and the following Guiding Instructions carefully).
A. This Form is divided into five parts to be filled in as follows :–

Part I by the Officer being reported on

Part II by the Officer's immediete Supervisor

Part III by the Officer's immediete Supervisor

Part IV by the Head of Department / Division

Part V by the Permanent Secretary

B. All Permanent Secretaries,Heads of Departments / Divisions and immediete Supervisors should complete this form without fail as follows :–

1. With regard to established staff serving either on Probation or trial, at the end of June and December of every year .

2. In the case of established staff who are either already confirmed in their appointments, or serving on contract, as at 31st December of every year.

C. A copy of the form completed on each officer must be sent to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet affairs, whilst a copy should be kept in the officer's parent Ministry and / or Department where a separate "Staff Performance Appraisal Report Folder" must be maintained on the officer concerned. In the case of senior staff at Under- Secretary Level or equivalent and above, a copy should also be sent to the Permanent Secretary , Office of the President / Head of the Civil Service.

D. In Part I, the officer is to give factual personal particulars about himself.

E. When completing Parts II and III, the immediate Supervisor (the Reporting Officer) must bear in mind that his / her assessment of the Officer is *most important* both to the Government and the Officer himself / herself. Every one has his/her weak as well as strong points and it is important that these are recognised and objectively rated. It is for this reason that the supervisor who has intimate knowledge of his / her subordinate's qualities and performance must bring out both the strengths and weaknesses of the individual member of the staff concerned and make suggestions on possible corrective or improvement measures as necessary.

Of cource an Officer who put up good performance should be praised and encouraged to do even better in future.

F. In the exercise, a Supervisor is required to rate a supervisee against performance and related factors .The factors range between OUTSTANDING (A) and UNSATISFACTORY (E). The intermediate rating (VERY GOOD , GOOD, FAIR) fall between these extremes. An Officer should ONLY be rated either "Outstanding" "Very Good", "Good", "Fair" or " Unsatisfactory" if the supervisor knows that this assessment is generally correct and that he / she can substantiate it. Where the factor does not apply to a particular officer, this should be indicated under the " NA" (Not Applicable) column. Completing the Form merely to get rid of it serves no useful purpose to any body. Regular objective staff performance appraisal or assessment is a personnel management function of everyone who supervises other people at work. It is not a FAULT-FINDING exercise. It is geared towards developing every available human resource for optimum efficiency and production.

G. Under Parts IV and V of this form, the Head of Department / Division and the Permanent Secretary, respectively , should state objectively their frank opinion regarding the assessment made in the earlier parts of the report on the Officer being reported upon. Of course , if either the Head of Department / Division of the Permanent Secretary agrees , in principle, with the Reporting Officer's assessment and has nothing he can usefully add it will suffice if he only endorses the report . However, in case the Head of Department / Division or the Permanent Secretary feels that there is an omission , wrong assessment or any other deficiency in the assessment, he should boldly say so giving supporting reason(s) for his dissenting views. If necessary, the statements under either Parts IV or Part V may be continued on a separate sheet .

When an adverse comment is made on an officer in any staff Perfomance Appraisal Report , the Permanent Secretary or Head of Department, as the case may be , must communicate the adverse comment to the Officer being reported on in writing and must state clearly in the Report that this has , in fact been done.

* Delete whichever is inapplicable.

FACTUAL INFORMATION AND PERSONAL ASSESSMENT

(To be completed by the officer being reported on)

1.1. SURNAME AND OTHER NAMES MR */ MRS*/ MISS*/ DR*	DATE OF BIRTH	•MARRIED / •SINGLE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
1.2 DEPARTMENT	DIVISION		SECTION

1.3 TERMS OF SERVICE: PROBATION •/ PERMANENT •/ CONTRACT •/ TRIAL•

1.4 POST HELD ON FIRST APPOINTMENT:		POST OF PRESENT APPOINTMENT:		
DATE	SALARY SCALE AND GRADE	DATE	SALARY AND GRADE	INCREMENTAL DATE

1.5 ACADEMIC / PROFESSIONAL / TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS AND YEAR(S) WHEN OBTAINED

1.6 IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR'S NAME AND RANK	PERIOD UNDER HIS / HER SUPERVISION

*Delete whichever is not applicable.

2. JOB DESCRIPTION

2.1. State in order of importance the main duties you performed during the period of the report; distinguish those of routine nature from particular assignments or projects and indicate (but only where this is possible) the approximate percentage of total time on each duty.

	Percentage of total time

2.2. State here whether you have any other preferred duties.

3. ASSESSMENT OF PERFORMANCE

Please assess your performance of the job above as best as you can , covering at least the following areas :–

PERSONAL:

   (i)   areas in which you feel you need assistance to improve your performance ;

   (ii) training and /or additional experience you feel you need ; and

   (iii) please also suggest any other jobs in the Department or in the Public Service generally for which you feel yourself to be
         equipped now, or for which you would like to be equipped.

ORGANISATIONAL: Do you feel that the Ministry / Department is performing its role satisfactorily? If not please make suggestions to effect improvement.

Date ....*Your Signature*..

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4. ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT OF PERFORMANCE
(To be completed by immediate Supervisor according to Guiding Instructions E and F)

FACTORS TO BE RATED	A	B	C	D	E	NA	FACTORS TO BE RATED
4.1 WORK HABITS With a lot of drive and determination; keeps regular official hours; lays down and maintains proper priorities; always on top of his work schedule.							Lacks energy; easily overcome by minor setbacks or opposition; never in time for work; rarely has work priorities.
4.2 PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES Seeks and accepts tasks; outstanding in out put; consistently produces high quality work.							Reluctant to accept tasks; results produced regulary insufficient; does uneven, inaccurate and untidy work.
4.3 MANAGEMENT OF STAFF Organises and inspires subordinates; willing to assign tasks to subordinates; gives authority to subordinates and does not interfere or inhibit their exercising of initiative; organises suitable staff development programmes including effective on the job-training; interested in staff progress.							Does not organise or inspire subordinates at all; reluctant to delegate responsibility in a proper manner if at all; not interested in and / or not capable of imparting needed skills in staff; deliberately hinders staff progress.
ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE **4.4 ORAL EXPRESSION** Puts points across convincingly and precisely.							Does not put points across with ease; ineffective.
4.5 WRITTEN EXPRESSION Always convincing, clear and well set out.							Clumsy and obscure.
CREATIVITY AND PROBLEM-SOLVING **4.6 FORESIGHT AND PENETRATION** Anticipates problems and develops solutions in advance; always goes straight to look and find the root cause of problems.							Handles problems only after they arise mostly sees the surface of a problem; does not bother to isolate the possible causes of problems.
4.7 ABILITY TO PRODUCE CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS Full of ideas which provide fresh insight and broader perspective.							Has few ideas; does not innovate.
4.8 DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS AND JUDGEMENT Obtains all essential information; looks at all alternatives; considers possible implications before making decision; proposals are quick and consistently sound.							Makes decisions before proper information is obtained; never makes decisions; poor perception of relative merits and demerits of most situations.
HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS **4.9 RELATIONS WITH OTHER STAFF** Sensitive to other people's feelings; tactful understanding of personal problems; wins great respect from peers and subordinates.							Ignores or belittles other people's feelings; unpredictable behaviour, speech and manerism; intolerant; does not win respect of peers and subordinates.
4.10 CONTACTS WITH THE PUBLIC Outstanding and effective in dealing with members of the public and other organisations; reflects good image of the Public Service.							Lacks proper tact in handling members of the public and other organisations; gives bad picture of the Public Service.
4.11 PROFFESSIONAL/ TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS Well equipped with the appropriately up-to-date professional / technical knowledge and skills.							Has serious gaps, weaknesses and limitations in the relevant professioal / technical knowledge and skills.
4.12 Highly proficient in the practical application of professional / technical knowledge and skills.							Does not apply the professional / technical knowledge and skills to good practical effect.

5. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF PERFORMANCE

5.1 Indicate overall performance by ticking the appropriate box from the following various ratings on the officer being reported on:−

A. OUTSTANDING: An exeptional officer, outstanding in most aspects analysed above

B. VERY GOOD : More than generaly efficient officer , but not positively outstanding

C. GOOD: Generaly an efficient officer

D. FAIR: Officer performs duties moderately and without serious mistakes

E. UNSATISFACTORY: Officer is definitely not up to the established standards

F. NA: No opportunity to assess

5.2 Do you agree with the Job Description in Section 2 and Assessment of Performance in Section 3 as stated by the officer being reported on ? If not, please indicate your amendments.

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Appendix 6 – New performance appraisal form (PAII)

Latest.

STAFF APPRAISAL FORM/SUPPORT STAFF

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

STAFF PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL FORM FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE

STANDING ORDERS
Chapter 1 Public Services General Appendix A-el[1]

PREAMBLE:

Staff Performance Appraisal is a management tool for establishing the extent to which set targets within overall goals of an organisation are achieved. Through staff appraisal, performance gaps and development needs of an individual employee are identified. The staff therefore, cannot perform to their full potential unless they are told how well they are doing and are helped to improve performance. The appraisal process offers an opportunity to the appraisee and appraiser to dialogue and obtain a feedback on performance. This therefore demands a participatory approach to the appraisal process and consistence in the use of guidelines[2] by all Public Officers in filling this form.

The form is comprised of five parts as follows:

PART A. Appraisee Section: This should be completed by the appraisee prior to the appraisal meeting.

PART B. The Assessment Section: This section is for the assessment of jointly agreed activities and outputs by appraisee and appraiser. B_1 and B_2 should be completed by the Appraisee as part of Self Assessment before submitting the form to the Appraiser.

PART C. Appraiser Section: This section should be completed by the appraiser after the appraisal meeting to assess critical competences needed to perform the job and make recommendations on how they could be enhanced.

PART D. Action Plan Section: The jointly agreed Action Plan, activities and outputs between the appraiser and appraisee for the following assessment period are recorded in this section.

PART E. Comments and Signatures: This section should be completed by the Appriasee, Appraiser and the Countersigning Officers.

NAME OF APPRAISEE ....

NAME OF APPRAISER ....

MINISTRY/DEPARTMENT/LOCAL GOVERNMENT ....

DIRECTORATE ....DEPARTMENT ....

DIVISION...PERIOD OF ASSESSMENT: FORM.......................TO..................

---

[1] This form replaces Appendix A-el
[2] Every Public Officer should be provided with a copy of the staff performance appraisal guidelines.

1

APPRAISEE SECTION
(Bio-data and self-assessment questionnaire)

This section is to be completed by the appraisee, He /She is required to state personal data and to complete the Self-assessment questionnaire with a very open attitude.

Name (begin with surname)	
Date of birth	
Sex (Male/Female)	
Marital status	
No. of Children and their age	

A2. TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT (*Please tick*)

PROBATION	PERMANENT	CONTRACT	OTHER *(Specify)*

A3. RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT

POST (Begin with the current and write in descending order)	SCALE	FROM	TO	MINISTRY /DEPT/LOCAL GOVERNMENT/ ORGANISATION

A4. ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

AWARD (DEGREE/DIPLOMA/CERTIFICATE)	INSTITUTIONS	FROM-TO

2

A5. SHORT TERM TRAINING COURSES

(Including formal or attendance certificates, attachments and other development activities in the last three years. Courses, which you attended more than three years ago but you think are critical to your career, may be indicated.)

TRAINING COURSE	INSTITUTIONS	FROM-TO

A6. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

a. What are you employed to do in your Ministry/Department/Local Government?

b. In what ways are your duties important to your Ministry/Department/Local Government?

c. What key skills and qualities enabled you to perform your job?

d. Which of the job activities and outputs in the review period are you most satisfied with?

e. What activities would you have liked to have done better over the review period?

f. Were there any difficulties or conditions that affected your performance? (Please indicate them and propose solutions).

3

h.   What is your overall comment on your performance during the period of review?

i.   What proposals do you make for the future concerning:

(i)   Your Job?
(ii)   Your Department?
(iii) Your Directorate?
(iv)   Your Ministry/Local Government?

A7

NAME OF THE APPRAISER..
TITLE ....PERIOD OF SUPERVISION...

A8

SIGNATURE OF APPRAISEE ....
DATE ....DATE PASSED TO APPRAISER...
SIGNATURE OF APPRAISER...DATE RECEIVED...................................

4

PART B

ASSESSMMENT OF ACTIVITIES AND OUTPUTS

This section is completed by both Appraiser and Appraisee. The Appraisee completes B (1) and B (2) of the section before the appraisal meeting as part of self-assessment and then the Appraiser, completes B (3) after the appraisal meeting. At the beginning of each assessment period, the Appraiser and Appraisee should agree on the key activities and outputs. The points/scores for each activity/output should also be agreed on depending on the priority/weight the Appraiser and Appraisee attach to the different activities. The maximum number of points should total to 100. The Appraisee when completing this section should indicate his/her personal assessment of each of the agreed activities and outputs and give a comments to support the assessment. When completing his/her part, the Appraiser is required to indicate whether he/she agrees or disagrees with the description, personal assessment and comments given by the Appraisee. If in the course of the assessment period other activities are assigned to the Appraisee, the points should be agreed and re-allocated immediately or at least before the end of the assessment period and latest at the Appraisal meeting. It is strongly recommended that the maximum number of key activities for each assessment period should not exceed 10

B(1) Agreed, Activities Outputs and Points/Scores			B(2) Appraisee section		B(3) Appraiser section	
Activities	Outputs	Points/ Scores per activity	Self assessment (points/scores)	Comments	Appraiser assessment ponits/scores	Comments

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APPRAISER SECTION

C1. ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT OF CRITICAL COMPETENCIES APPLIED TO PERFORM THE ACTIVITIES

The appraisee should be rated only in areas. Which are relevant to his/her job. The maximum points per competence and/or quality are 10 (ten). Under each competence/quality , the 10 points should be allocated in a manner that reflects the areas of strengths or weaknesses of the appraisee. The overall score is 100% . In assessing, 10,9,8,7,6, 5,4,3,2,1 should be used. 10 is the maximum per competency/quality and one (1) the lowest. Please tick the relevant box, thereafter, add up the points, which correspond to the ticks to get the total.

CORE JOB COMPETENCY	COMMENT	ASSESSMENT (Please tick)										
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	NA
ABILITY TO APPLY MINIMUM ACADEMIC/TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS Able to apply thev minimum academic/technical knowledge and skills to produce desired results												
JOB KNOWLEDGE Has clear understanding of the job what involves and relevant laws and regulations												
INTEREST IN THE WORK Performs duties as expected; willingly accepts additional tasks: takes initiatives												
PUNCTUALITY Keeps time and does a full days work. Produces desired outputs on schedule.												
RESPONSIBILITIES AND DEPENDABILITY, ORDERLINESS Responsible, reliable and committed; Cares for Maintains tools/equipment in good condition. Is able to organise his/her work place/uniform; is neat												
HONESTY Sincere, open and not selfish. Does not misuse information or property for personal benefit.												
OBENDIENCE AND LOYALTY Observes laid down regulations and procedures												
ABILITY TO TAKE INSTRUCTION Easily understands what is expected of him/her by all Supervisors and Senior Staff. Accepts tasks he/she is able to accomplish.												
COMMUNICATION Has the ability to express himself/herself clearly both orally and in writing. Observes laid down communication procedures.												
RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER STAFF AND GENERAL PUBLIC Has good working relationship with supervisors, other staff and clients. Respects and cares for all people.												
TOTAL PER COLUMN												
TOTAL SCORE												

6

C2. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overall ranking/assessment should only include outputs, competencies and qualities, which have been assessed,are relevant to the job and are consistent with the rating in B and C1; and should be as follows:

90+	A+	Outstanding
80 - 89	A	Excellent
70 - 79	B	Very Good
60 - 69	C	Good
50 - 59	D	Average
40 - 49	E	Poor
0 - 39	F	Very Poor

Note that the rating should also reflect the agreements/decisions of the appraisal interview and that it will be open to the appraisee. Please if in doubt, refer to B and C1 and to detailed guidelines on assessment.

OVERALL COMMENT	OVERALL RATING Please use words like Good' Fair, etc whichever is applicable
(a) ON AGREED ACTIVITIES/OUTPUTS	
(b) ON CORE COMPETENCIES/QUALITIES	

C3. RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE ACTION ON THE BASIS OF ASSESSMENT ABOVE

(Please complete only the relevant recommendation. For each recommendation, specific reason/ circumstance must be indicated)

ACTION	RECOMMENDATION	TIMEFRAME
PROBATIONARY PERIOD (Please indicate: Appraisee is still serving on probation; Probation should be extended; Should be terminated)		
CONFIRMATION		
PROMOTION		
CONSIDERATION FOR TRANSFER WITHIN SERVICE		
DISCIPLINARY ACTION		
TRAINING		
EARLY RETIREMENT (specify reason)		
OTHER (specify)		

Signature of Appraiser	....
Name	....
Title	....
Date	....

JOINT ACTION PLAN

The appraiser completes this part following agreement with the Appraisee on a joint action plan to improve performance and the activities and outputs for the following assessment period.

D1. JOINT ACTION PLAN TO IMPROVE PERFORMANCE
(This may include: Training, coaching, mentoring, attachments and/or provision of the facilities and resources)

AGREED ACTION(S)	DURATION	VENUE	ESTIMATED COST	FOLLOW UP BY

D2. JOINTLY AGREED ACTIVITIES AND OUTPUTS FOR THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT PERIOD

ACTIVITY	OUTPUT	TIME SCALE	POINTS PER TASK

8

COMMENTS AND SIGNATURES

This is to be completed by the Appraisee, Appraiser and the Countersigning Officers. It is a confirmation that the appraisal interview took place and that there was agreement, or if there was disagreement, it was resolved. It is also a confirmation that the development needs of the appraisee were discussed and an action plan to improve performance agreed. Countersigning Officers should not merely endorse the forms. They should take overall responsibility for ensuring that the forms are correctly and genuinely completed.

ANY OTHER COMMENTS BY APPRAISEE

Name of Appraisee...

Signature...Date ....

ANY OTHER COMMENTS BY APPRAISER

Name of Appraiser...

Signature...Date ....

COMMENTS OF COUNTERSIGNING OFFICER/SUPERVISOR OF APPRAISER

Name of Countersigning Officer..

Signature...Date ....

COMMENTS OF THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICER/SUPERVISOR OF APPRAISER

Name of Countersigning Officer..

Signature...Date ....

9

Appendix 7 – Latest performance appraisal form (PAIII)

PS FORM 5

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

STAFF PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL FORM FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Uganda Government Standing Orders Section A-e

Preamble

Staff Performance Appraisal is part of the Performance Management System for the Public Service of Uganda. It is used as a management tool for establishing the extent to which set targets within overall goals of the organization are achieved. Through staff performance appraisal, performance gaps and development needs of an individual employee are identified. The appraisal process offers an opportunity to the Appraisee and Appraiser to dialogue and obtain a feedback on performance. This therefore, calls for a participatory approach to the appraisal process and consistence in the use of guidelines by all Public Officers in filling the form.

The Appraiser and Appraisee are therefore, advised to read the detailed guidelines before filling this form.[1]

Period of Assessment: From [DD] [MM] [YY] To [DD] [MM] [YY]

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION (To be filled by the Appraisee)

Name of the Appraisee ………………………………………………………...……………………………………...……

Date of Birth [DD] [MM] [YY]

Job Title/Rank………………….……..………………… Salary scale ………......……………………………..….

Date of present appointment [DD] [MM] [YY]

Terms of employment (Probation, Permanent, Contract)………..………………………………………………….

Name of the Appraiser ……………….……………………………...………………………………………......……

Job Title/Rank………………….……..……………………….Salaryscale ………….……….…………….……….

Ministry/ Department/ Local Government/Institution ……………………...………….….……......……….……

Department…………………………………………………Division……......……….……….……..…………..…

1

SECTION B: ASSESSMENT OF THE LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT

This section should be filled by both the Appraiser and the Appraisee. At the beginning of each assessment period, the Appraiser and Appraisee will agree on the key outputs for the assessment period. The means by which performance shall be measured (Performance Indicators) and the minimum level of performance (performance targets) for each output shall be agreed upon. If in the course of the assessment period, other activities are assigned to the Appraisee, the outputs related to the new activities should be agreed upon and included immediately or at least before the end of the assessment period. It is recommended that the maximum number of outputs for each assessment period should not exceed 10.

At the end of the assessment period, an appraisal meeting should be conducted by the Appraiser. The Appraisee completes part B (1), before the appraisal meeting, by indicating the key outputs, performance indicators and targets agreed upon in the performance plan at the beginning of the assessment period. The Appraiser should complete part B (2), after the appraisal meeting. The assessment should reflect the jointly agreed position.

The assessment of the Individual outputs shall be reflected as a performance level under section B(2), this will be supported by relevant comments on performance under the same section. The performance levels shall be described as Excellent, Very Good, Good, Fair and Poor. In order to quantify the assessment the performance levels shall be awarded scores namely; 5 for excellent, 4 for Very Good, 3 for Good, 2 for fair and 1 for Poor. Right after the table below is a detailed description of the performance levels.

B(1) Agreed Key Outputs, Performance Indicators and Targets			B(2) Agreed Assessment of Performance between the Appraiser and the Appraisee	
Key Outputs	Performance Indicators (How will results be measured)	Performance targets (An agreed minimum level of performance)	Performance Level	Comments on Performance

Definition of the Performance Levels

Excellent (5): The Appraisee has exceeded the agreed targets and has consistently produced results of excellent quality and demonstrated a high level of productivity and timeliness. The Appraisee is a model of excellence in both the results achieved and the means by which they are achieved.

Very good (4): The Appraisee achieved all the agreed outputs in line with the agreed targets. The Appraisee consistently meets expectations for the outputs achieved and the means by which they are achieved.

Good (3): The Appraisee achieved most, but not all the agreed outputs in line with the agreed targets, and there is no supporting rationale for not meeting the other commitments.

Fair (2): The Appraisee has achieved minimal outputs in line with the agreed targets and without a supporting rationale for inability to meet the commitments.

Poor (1): The Appraisee has not achieved most of the agreed targets and without supporting rationale for not achieving them.

Overall Assessment of Performance

Overall assessment of performance should be derived by adding the scores at each performance level and the total divided by the total number of outputs. The average of the scores obtained shall be the overall assessment.

Overall Performance Level

Tick the relevant box

Excellent 5	Very Good 4	Good 3	Fair 2	Poor 1

SECTION C: ASSESSMENT OF CORE COMPETENCIES

This section should be filled by the Appraiser after joint discussions between the Appraiser and Appraisee. The assessment will help establish any areas where some training or development is necessary. The Appraisee should be rated only in areas, which are relevant to his/her job. The maximum points per competence are 5, where 5 is for Excellent, 4 - Very Good, 3 - Good, 2 - Fair, 1 – Poor, N/A - Not Applicable. The Appraiser should give work related examples under comments, to justify their rating.

COMPETENCE	ASSESSMENT Performance level attained (Please tick)						COMMENTS
	5	4	3	2	1	N/A	
Professional knowledge/skills Draws on own experience, knowledge and expertise to demonstrate good judgment; relates professional knowledge to work.							
Planning, organizing and coordinating Prioritizes own work, develops and implements plans; rationally allocates resources, builds group capacity for effective planning and executing of work. Has ability to meet deadlines.							

3

Leadership Keeps people informed; models and encourages personal accountability; uses power and authority fairly; demonstrates credible leadership, champions new initiatives; reinforces and communicates a compelling vision for change.						
Decision Making Makes logical analysis of relevant information and factors; develops appropriate solutions and takes action, generates ideas that provide new insight; provides reasons for decision or actions, is objective.						
Team work Works cooperatively and collaboratively; builds strong teams; shares information and develops processes to improve the efficiency of the Team.						
Initiative Shows persistence by addressing current problems; acts proactively, plans for the future and implements comprehensive plans. Is open to new ideas; curious about and actively explores new possibilities; identifies how to create more value for customers; takes action on innovative ideas and champions innovation.						
Communication Actively listens and speaks respectfully; seeks to send clear oral and written messages; understands the impact of messages on others.						
Result Orientation Takes up duty willingly and produces results.						
Integrity Communicates values to others, monitors own actions for consistency with values and beliefs, takes pride in being trust worthy; is open and honest and provides quality services without need for inducements.						
Human Resource Management Works effectively with people to achieve organizational goals. Motivates the supervisees, focuses on the knowledge, skills and attitudes and the general work environment that affects their efficiency and effectiveness. Trains, mentors, coaches, inspires, motivates the supervisees, delegates effectively and are able to build a strong working team.						
Financial Management Knows the basic financial policies and procedures; familiar with the overall financial management processes.						
Management of other resources (equipment & facilities) Effectively and efficiently uses resources to accomplish tasks.						
Time Management Always in time and accomplishes tasks in time required and maximizes the use of time to achieve set targets.						

4

Customer care Responds well and attends to clients. Reflects a good image for the Public service.						
Loyalty Complies with lawful instructions of Supervisor and is able to provide on going support to Supervisors.						
Any other relevant Competence						

SECTION D: ACTION PLAN TO IMPROVE PERFORMANCE

The Action Plan shall be jointly agreed during the performance appraisal meeting, taking into consideration the Appraisee's required job competences and the identified performance gaps.

The action plan to improve performance may include; Training, Coaching, mentoring, attachment, job rotation, counseling and or provision of other facilities and resources.

Where the plan (s) involves formal training of the Appraisee, the record should be forwarded to the Training Committee.

Performance Gap	Agreed Action	Time frame

SECTION E: COMMENTS, RECOMMENDATIONS (IF ANY) AND SIGNATURES

This section is to be completed by the Appraisee, Appraiser and the counter signing Officers. It is a confirmation that the appraisal meeting took place and that there was agreement or if there was disagreement, it was resolved. It is also confirmation that the action plan to improve performance was discussed and agreed upon. The Appraisee / Appraiser / countersigning officer should use this section to comment about the job, career and any other relevant information.

COMMENTS OF THE APPRAISEE

....

....

....

Signature ....

DD   MM   YY

5

COMMENTS OF THE APPRAISER

....

....

....

Signature ....

DD		MM		YY			

COMMENTS OF THE COUNTERSIGNING OFFICER/SUPERVISOR OF APPRAISER

....

....

....

....

Name of Countersigning Officer ....

Job Title ....

Signature ....

DD		MM		YY			

COMMENTS OF THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICER

....

....

....

Name ....

Job Title ....

Signature ....

DD		MM		YY			

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Appendix 8 – Research permit from Uganda National Council of Science and Technology

Uganda National Council For Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

UNCST

Your Ref: ....

Our Ref: ....SS 1933.....

Date: .....21-Feb-'07

Mr. Gerald Karyeija
C/o Mbarara University of Science and Technology
P.O Box 1410
Mbarara

Dear Mr. Karyeija,

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN UGANDA: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS"

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **January 29, 2007**. The approval will expire on **January 29, 2008**. If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

The Resident District Commissioner(s) of Kampala, Mukono, Wakiso district(s) in which the study will be conducted are informed by copy of this letter, and are kindly requested to give you the necessary assistance to accomplish the study.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Nabbuto
for: Executive Secretary
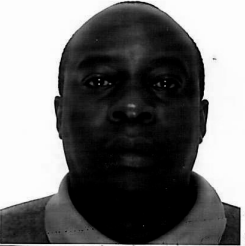**UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE
Plot 3/5/7 Nasser Road
P.O. Box 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION
TEL: (256) 41-250499, (256) 41- 705500
FAX: (256) 41-234579
E-MAIL: uncst@starcom.co.ug
WEBSITE:http://www.uncst.go.ug

Appendix 9 – Research identity card from Uganda National Council of Science and Technology

Appendix 10 – Access letter to Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development

Telephone	:	234700/9 (10 lines) Kampala
Fax	:	230163
Telex	:	61170
Telegrams	"	'FINSEC'
Email	:	finance@imul.com

In any correspondence on
this subject please quote No.HRM.140/170/02

Ministry of Finance, Planning &
Economic Development.
Sir Apollo Kaggwa Rd Plot 2-12
P.O. Box 8147,
Kampala.
Uganda

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

17th May 2007

Mr. Gerald Karyeija,
KAMPALA

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRYOUT SURVEY

This has reference to your visit and subsequent request to carryout a survey on Administrative Reform in the Civil Service in this Ministry.

This is to inform you that permission has been granted for you to carryout the survey in the Ministry.

Otim George
For: PERMANENT SECRETARY/SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY

Appendix 11 – Access letter to Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs
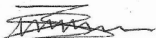
May 23, 2007

Gerald Kagambirwe Karyeija
P. O. Box 27921
KAMPALA

RE: PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH IN THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS.

Please refer to your letter seeking permission to carry out research in this ministry dated March 20, 2007.

I am glad to inform you that you have been allowed to conduct your study in this ministry entitled **"NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN UGANDA: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS",** as a fulfilment for your PhD studies.

Kindly consider submitting a copy of your final report to this ministry.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE &
CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS
Date: 23.5.07
Sign: ....

Jacqueline Sandra Ongom
For: SOLICITOR GENERAL
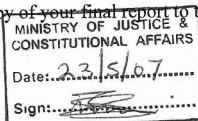
Appendix 12 – Access to Ministry of Local Government

LOOSE MINUTE

US/FA

C/LCD

C/LAI

C/DUA

AC/LCD

AC/PP

INTERVIEW ON NEW PUBLIC SECTOR MANAGEMENT: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS

I wish to introduce Mr. Gerald Kagambwire Karyeija – student of the University of Bergen – Norway. He is pursuing a Degree leading to the award of a PhD in PA.

Kindly interact and discuss issues with him on Public Sector Reforms in Uganda and MoLG in particular.

This is an opportunity for integrating issues on our development path in the international body of knowledge and information

J. J. Ssonko
PPO

11/04/2007.

Appendix 13 – Access letter to Ministry of Public Service

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

P. O. Box 7003

KAMPALA, UGANDA

29th March 2007

Mr. Gerald Kagambirwe Karyeija,
KAMPALA.

PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH

I refer to your application dated 20th March 2007, for permission to undertake research on New Public Management in Uganda: exploring the influence of culture on Public Service Reforms in the Ministry for academic purpose, as a partial requirement for a Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration at the University of Bergen, Norway.

This is to inform you that permission to undertake research has been granted on condition that you will give a copy of your findings to the Ministry.

A. Kintu
For: **PERMANENT SECRETARY**