

Reviewing Decades of Civil Service Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa- Drawing Lessons for Eritrea

Gbremichael Kibreab Habtom, PhD

Department of Management and Public Administration, College of Business and Social
Sciences, P.O. Box 12492, Adi Keih, Eritrea

E-mail: gmichaelkibreab@gmail.com Fax: 291-1-7146534 Tel: 291-1-7146534

Abstract

This study reviews decades of civil service reforms in Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries in general and in Eritrea in particular. It analyses success and failure stories of Civil Service Reforms (CSR) in SSA countries. The study used both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was collected through interview and observation. Secondary data was collected from various sources such as human resource policies, proclamations, and government and UN publications and reports inter alias with relevant books and journals, international and national reports, published and unpublished documents. The study seeks also to answer the following two research questions: Why civil service reforms in most SSA countries were not successful? What are the main factors that affect civil service reforms in SSA countries? To answer these questions, a deductive approach was adopted in the study methodology. Success and failure stories of civil service reforms in SSA countries were explored in general, and lessons were drawn for Eritrea, in particular, based on the analysis of the reform experience of SSA countries. The study found that successful CSR requires sustained political will as much as technical capacity. The experience in many SSA countries shows that CSRs cannot be succeeded unless the reform efforts are contextualized within a country's specific conditions such as its culture, politics, sociology, history, economy, ideology and values. CSR in developing countries requires well established political system; a stable, workable constitutional system; a viable economic system; and unified elite capable of guiding orderly change. CSR should also be pragmatic and incremental, undertaking its transformation in tandem with social, economic and political changes.

Key Words: Sub-Saharan Africa, Civil Service Reform, Eritrea, New Public Management, Governance, Public Sector, Downsizing, Decentralization.

Introduction

Eritrea is an East African country, which is bordered with Ethiopia in the south, with Sudan in the north and the west, with Djibouti in the southeast, and with the Red Sea in the east. Eritrea's population is estimated to be 5.2 million, with an average life expectancy of 60.4 years and a literacy rate of 67.5% (UNDP Report, 2009). Eritrea got independence from Ethiopia in 1993.

In most African countries, the transition to independence was smooth, and administrative institutions continued to be run on the bureaucratic principles and practices that had been introduced under colonial rule (Habtom, 2014). However, the transition to independence in Eritrea was not smooth as Eritrea gained its independence from Ethiopia after 30 years of armed struggle. The damage inflicted on Eritrea during these long wars has indeed been very heavy. This was especially the case in three critical areas: namely, losses in human resources; destruction of the economic and social

infrastructure; and the degradation of the environment in addition to the development opportunities lost for the last sixty years.

Eritrea inherited also from Ethiopia an inefficient civil service system. The inherited civil service system was characterized by a corrupt nature of administrative infrastructures. In the professional and managerial areas it was significantly understaffed and in the semi-skilled and unskilled areas it was overstaffed. As a solution to this the Eritrean government introduced comprehensive civil service reforms in 1995. The reforms have undergone very extensive restructuring both functionally and organizationally. The reforms were generally focused on the areas of remuneration, human resources development, employment rationalization, and operational efficiencies.

This study is, therefore, reviews decades of civil service reforms in Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries in general and in Eritrea in particular. It analyses success and failure stories of civil service reforms in SSA countries. The study seeks also to answer the following two research questions: Why civil service reforms in most SSA countries were not successful? What are the main factors that affect civil service reforms in SSA countries? It is believed that Eritrea can learn from the experience of SSA countries. Reforms are not always smooth, they can come up with new issues and sometimes their results can depart from the expected outcomes. In such a situation, developing countries, like Eritrea, can look back and learn from the experience of what worked and what did not work (Karyeija, 2012).

Conceptual Framework: Civil Service Reform Approaches

During independence most developing countries expanded their civil service and public sector in favor of employment; drove down the real wages of public sector employees, i.e. pay increases in the lower ranks, reducing pay differences between skilled and unskilled employees (Aye, 2008). In Bangladesh, for instance, the number of ministries raised from 21 to 35 between 1972 and 1994 and public sector employment from 454,450 to almost 1,000,000- an annual compounded rate of 3.6 per cent that outstripped even the population growth rate of 2.5 per cent over the same period (World Bank, 1995). During the 1980s, however, many developing countries recognized that their civil services were not providing public goods and services in the most cost-effective way (Lienert and Modi, 1997). Their civil service is plagued with corruption and other misallocation of resources, ineffective service delivery, sub-minimum-wage compensation, and the recruitment and promotion of unqualified staff (Rasheed and Olowu 1993; Balogun and Mutahaba 1989). Their civil servants were often unpaid, especially professionals in the highest grades, making it difficult for government to retain their most competent employees. To alleviate these problems in most developing countries, civil service reforms have been carried out for the past three decades were often related to Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs) introduced by international organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The major objectives of the civil service reforms were to: downsize the civil service to an affordable level; restructure remuneration, especially the reduction of differentials with nongovernment salaries; and improve management and accountability (Lienert and Modi, 1997). The instruments used to reduce employment include removal of “ghost” workers, freezes on hiring, eliminating vacant posts and layoffs of temporary workers, early retirement, and retrenchment. These reforms were related to the first-generation reforms, which have concentrated on cost cutting. The reforms were expected to redress the deteriorated economic circumstances and to create a government workforce of the size, skills, incentives, ethos and accountability needed to provide quality public services, and to carry out the functions assigned to the state. The first generation reforms, however, were not sufficient in all countries increased efforts were needed to improve the quality of civil service (second generation reforms), especially recruitment,

remuneration, and promotion policies, based on performance rather than connections, as well as improvements in civil service management. In most developing countries, salaries represent a major capacity challenge in that they are too low to attract, motivate and retain civil servants (UNESCO, 2009).

The focus of civil service reform has changed over time, and opinions differ about the goals and objectives of civil service reform due to this there is no single globally-recognized conceptual framework for civil service reform, so reforms often lack a robust and explicit theory of change (World Bank 2012; Scott 2011). Based on implicit theory of change McCourt (2013) identifies six major problems faced by the civil service, and six major approaches to reform. These challenges and types of reform can overlap and are not mutually exclusive.

Table 1: Civil service reform approaches

Problem	Approach	Main action period
1. How can we make government better <i>organized</i> and broadly <i>competent</i> ?	‘Weberian’ public administration and capacity-building	Post-independence period in south Asia and sub-Saharan Africa
2. How can we get government <i>closer</i> to the grassroots?	Decentralization	1970s to present
3. How can we make government more <i>affordable</i> ?	Pay and employment reform	1980s and 1990s
4. How can we make government <i>perform better</i> and deliver on key objectives?	New Public Management	1990s to present
5. How can we make government more <i>honest</i> ?	Integrity and anti-corruption Reforms	1990s to present
6. How can we make government more <i>responsive</i> to citizens?	‘Bottom-up’ reforms	Late 1990s to present

Source: McCourt, (2013, cited in Rao, 2013). *Models of public service reform: A problem-solving approach*. Policy Research Working Paper 6428. Washington D.C.

The ultimate goals of the above public service reforms were to create competent civil service, i.e. merit-based and politically neutral; well-structured, “right-sized”, and well-paid; accountable, professional, and generally free of corruption; relatively autonomous, responsive, and representative; and well-trained, performance-oriented, and relatively open.

The reforms of the post-independence period (1970s to present) focused more on Weberian public administration and capacity building. Capacity-building in public administration is characterized by several key considerations: developing strategic human resources policies; investing in people through professional and executive development; establishing flexible human resource systems and practices to match recruitment, training and professional development so as to meet changing needs in the public service, particularly in view of changing conceptions of the role of the state; establishing performance management systems that provide motivation and rewards for improved functioning; improving decision-making systems so as to provide full scope for the skills and capacities of civil servants.

The Weberian approach emphasizes on traditional model of organization and delivery of public services, based on the principles of bureaucratic hierarchy, planning, centralization, direct control of inputs, self-sufficiency and specifically efficient resource management (Larbi 1999; Walsh 1995;

Hood 1991). The main features of the Weberian approach are: separation between politics and elected politicians, and administration and appointed administrators; continuous and rule-governed administration; administrators are trained professionals and appointed on the basis of qualifications; a functional division of labor, and a hierarchy of tasks and people; resources belonging to the organization, not the individuals within it; and public servants serving public, not private, interests (Minogue 2001). The Weberian approach is distinguished by an emphasis on centralized administration, a focus on structure rather than outputs, and the replacement of patronage by a rational, orderly system (Rao, 2013). To a certain extent, these ideals underpin any reform that implements a hierarchical and rule-based system.

In the 1970s onwards decentralization also emerged as an approach of civil service reform. It emphasizes more on the transfer of power from central to lower levels of government, which include responsibility for planning and managing various government functions, as well as for resource-raising and resource allocation (Rao, 2013). Decentralization varies across countries with different political, institutional, fiscal and cultural characteristics (Smoke, 2003). Scott and Rao (2011) identify three main types of decentralization: administrative decentralization, which the transfer of authority, resources and responsibilities from central government to field offices and agencies through deconcentration or delegation; political decentralization, which is the transfer of power to lower levels government officials elected by local citizens and are accountable to citizens rather than to central government; and fiscal decentralization, which is transfer of funds, and sometimes revenue-raising powers, from central to lower levels of government; part of both administrative and political decentralization. Smoke (2003) noted that the decentralization of civil service functions has not been effective in many developing countries owing to lack of institutional capacity, scarcity and lack of control mechanisms.

Pay and employment reform in the civil service system pursued from 1980s to 1990s. Pay and employment reforms have sought to reduce the fiscal burdens that have arisen from public sector development (McCourt, 2013). Nunberg (1996) gives examples of some of the many civil service reform initiatives that affect pay and employment conditions: employment reduction mechanisms such as voluntary departure and early retirement; retraining, redeployment, credit and public works programs for redundant employees; cost-of-living salary supplements or top-ups for specific roles; and attempts to make wages more equitable, and the pay system more efficient.

In the 1990s civil service reforms emphasized more on the doctrines of the New Public Management (NPM). NPM essentially consists of changing from a public administration doctrine of regular, predictable behavior to behavior driven by performance. The relevance of the NPM to public sector management can be found in four main areas: (i) decentralizing management, disaggregating and downsizing of public services; (ii) performance contracting, which has become an instrument to reform state-owned enterprises; (iii) contracting out of the provision of public services is part of efforts to reconfigure state-market relations in order to give more prominence to markets and the private sector; and (iv) the introduction of user fees or charges, which is one of the major developments in the provision of public services under structural adjustments programs if privatization is not being pursued (Habtom, 2014; Ayee, 2005; Hood, 1991; McCourt, 2013). NPM shifts the emphasis from traditional public administration to public management, and pushes the state towards managerialism (Dunleavy and Hood, 1994).

Anti-corruption reforms, in the civil service, gained also a new momentum in the 1990s. The aims of these reforms were to reduce opportunities and incentives for corruption, rather than to increase

performance. The World Bank (2000, 2011) suggests that anti-corruption reforms require: a meritocratic civil service with monetized, adequate pay; enhanced transparency and accountability in budget management; enhanced transparency and accountability in tax and customs; policy reforms in sectoral service delivery; and decentralization with accountability.

The bottom-up reform was introduced in the civil service in the late 1990s. In this approach, citizens set civil service priorities: it involves more than isolated bottom-up interventions such as citizens' charters that are mandated by public managers (McCourt, 2013). Community-driven development, citizen report cards, citizen score cards and participatory budgeting are examples of how reform can be initiated from the bottom up (Rao, 2013).

Phases of Civil Service Reforms

Since the 1980s, developed and developing countries have been engaged on civil service reforms as part of the broader public-sector management reforms. In Africa public sector reforms are divided into three phases: reforms from the 1980s to early 1990s, which focused mainly on macroeconomic stability and were mainly 'quantitative'; reforms of the mid-1990s to 2000, which focused on performance and civil service management; and reforms from 2000, which focused on service delivery and good governance (Ayee, 2008:62). Within the broader contexts of public sector reforms the basic objectives of civil service reforms were to enable civil service institutions to recruit, train, and retain highly competent and ethical employees, change bureaucracies to be efficient and effective, and make civil servants more responsive to public policies and executive leadership. Effective civil service reform is part of sound governance, which includes accountability, transparency and the rule of law.

Reforms of the 1980s to early 1990s

Large scale, donor funded civil service or public sector reform programs really began in Africa in the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the 1980s (Ayee, 2005). During this period the need for civil service reforms were claimed to be accelerated by overstaffing of government offices, underpayment of civil servants, unskilled workers, inefficiency of the work force, unaccountability and an eroded ethical behavior. In most developing countries civil service reforms were focusing on making savings (economies) in public expenditure; improving service quality; making government operations more efficient; increasing the likelihood that the chosen policies will be effective.

Figure 1. Public sector reform waves and strategies



Source: Author's construct

As illustrated in figure 1 the reforms of the 1980s were purely of an economic nature and broader in economic and political context, aimed at getting the politics right (Hyden, 2006). The main public sector reforms during this period were aimed at maintaining macro-economic stability, lowering inflation, cutting deficit spending, and reducing the scope and cost of government. Some of the significant reforms during this period include privatization of public enterprises; downsizing – retrenchments, mergers and recruitment freezes, eliminating ghost workers; and decompressing wages and trying to use savings on recruitment to pay higher salaries to higher level managers (Aye, 2008).

The World Bank and other agencies have tried to link the policy of wage decompression to retrenchment in order to encourage governments to pay living wages to a smaller number of public employees who will remain in the service, as well as offer attractive salaries to senior officials. Bangura (2000) has reported how this policy has been pursued in a few African countries, including Ghana and Uganda. In these countries, government has made a strong commitment to get out of the low wage-corruption, low morale-low performance traps that has bedeviled their public services. Massive retrenchments have been carried out and compensation and redundancy benefits have been offered. According to Hope (2002), the two major contributions to bureaucratic corruption in Africa are the erosion and compression of salary scales of public servants. There are reports that many countries, including the Gambia and Guinea, have made considerable progress in simplifying their grading structures. This, in turn, has acted as a magnet to attract and motivate some top professionals including those with scarce skills such as physicians and accountants.

Reforms of the mid-1990s to 2000

During this period, public sector reforms were both administrative and political. The focus was on management systems, performance management and budget management, especially after it was realized that the anticipated savings from downsizing were unrealistic. It was during this period that NPM reforms were considered on the African continent. According to Hood (1991), NPM is a loose

shorthand term for a set of related ideas on how to organize public services which challenged established or traditional ideas, composed of seven doctrines. These doctrines are: (1) hands-on professional management in the public sector. Managers are allowed to manage, so that there is clear accountability (since 'accountability requires clear assignment of responsibility for action'); (2) emphasis on explicit standards and measures of performance. Goals have to be defined and performance targets set. It is on these that performance is assessed, based on them (such as the results-oriented management in Uganda); (3) stressing the importance of output controls by focusing on results rather than procedures; (4) disaggregation of units in the public sector by breaking up large entities into corporate agencies to gain efficiency and advantages of franchise arrangements; (5) greater competition in the public sector through contracts and public tendering; and (6) stress on private sector styles of management practice by applying private sector management tools to the public sector. Each of these initiatives has had some combination of elements including cost cutting, creating of separate agencies or "business enterprises" to eliminate traditional bureaucracies, separating the purchaser of goods from the provider of those goods, introducing market mechanisms, decentralizing management authority, introducing performance management systems, moving away from tenure like civil service systems to contractual and pay for performance personnel systems, and increasing use of customer focused quality improvement systems (Armstrong 1998).

The objectives of NPM are: to achieve better delivery of the basic public services that affect living standards of the poor (World Bank 2000); to create a climate conducive to private sector development (World Bank 1997); to make the state or government institutional apparatus market friendly, lean, managerial, decentralized and "customer" friendly, in the hope that it would better meet its societal objectives of good governance as well (Mhone 2003). The outputs of NPM are effective, efficient, accountable and responsive public service provision. According to the NPM effectiveness is achievement of organizational goals. It is judgment of performance by outcomes- what has achieved- rather than by inputs-what has swallowed up; and derivation of goals and objectives from definition of services, regulatory and developmental functions. It emphasizes on ends and goals rather than means and procedures. Efficiency addresses the question of whether services and programs have been achieved at a reasonable cost, and whether the benefits/costs have been allocated/ received in an equitable manner. Efficiency is value for money; favorable input- output ratio. Accountability refers to the extent to which decision makers or those who exercise state authority can be held responsible for their actions (Kassa, 2011). Civil servants' actions should be governed by the rule of law not by the rule of man, which is blamed for widespread abuse of power and corruption among public officials. Access and availability of information is a key for holding civil servants accountable for their decisions and actions. Hence, there is a need for legislations to correct managerial practices, to enforce judicial legal commitments, to enhance professional performance standards, to ensure financial regularity, to promote political public accountability, to improve information access and to protect citizens who blow the whistle. Citizens' charters, public complaints arrangements, service delivery surveys and user charges are examples of initiatives that specifically widen and strengthen the public's opportunities for 'voice', multiplying the accountability points of a public organization (Therkildsen, 2001). Responsiveness is the extent to which civil servants demonstrate receptivity to the views, complaints and suggestions of citizens and service users, by changing their own structure, culture and service delivery patterns. Responsiveness requires meaningful access to the right decision makers, and a legitimate opportunity to be heard. Access is a key step in the policy making process and without it responsiveness cannot be ensured. Civil servants have to respond to policy and program demands of citizens, politically, financially and administratively must be equipped to deliver services and satisfy public demands placed on them.

Reforms, 2000 to present

During this period the public sector reforms were driven by the idea of a call to arms for advancing a new agenda of development assistance, the perception being that financial or technical assistance would not be put to good use until such concepts as transparency and accountability, due process, probity and efficiency were institutionalized in the systems of government of recipient countries (UN 2005; Ayee, 2008). In this case effective civil service reform is part of sound governance, which also includes accountability, transparency and the rule of law. Sound governance is the most important factor distinguishing success in promoting sustainable human development from failure (Lal and Hyint, 1996; Olson, 1996).

There is general agreement that bureaucracies should be accountable to the people and that such accountability should be complemented by appropriate institutional mechanisms and procedures of checks and balances both within government and between government and societal interests. The major failing and challenge here is that often the accountability and good governance are promulgated in the absence of complementary and supportive mechanisms (Repucci, 2014).

The third generation reforms are broadly within the NPM paradigm but usually linked to poverty reduction strategy plans and good governance, which have become a new conditionality for loans to highly indebted poor countries. A necessary, but not sufficient, condition for good governance is a skilled, motivated and efficient civil service with a professional ethos. By contrast, an ineffective or inefficient civil service is sufficient to produce bad governance. Good governance entails the presence of five critical qualities: accountability of government officials, transparency in procedures and decision making, predictability of government actions and behavior, openness in the provision of reliable flows of information, the rule of law, and permitting economic agents to operate without risking arbitrary action of the state (Habtom, 2016). To this end donor countries are directing technical assistance programs, first and foremost, to the strengthening of national capabilities for policy analysis and the design and implementation of economic reforms and development programs; supporting the decentralization of development processes, the active participation of the people and their organizations in the formulation of development strategies and economic reform programs and open debate and consensus-building processes on development and reform issues (Ibid). Examples of public service reform programs during this period include monitoring of service delivery standards by both the citizens and public service managers in countries such as Uganda, Ghana and Tanzania (Ayee, 2001).

Methodology

The data for this study was collected in 2019 in a six month period from January to June. Senior public administration students of the College of Business and Social Sciences were involved in the data collection process. As part of their senior research project the students were advised to collect data on civil service reform efforts in Africa emphasizing on failure and success stories. The data was contextualized into the Eritrean situation. The study, therefore, used both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was collected through interview and observation. Interview was conducted with key informants (top level civil servants, local government officials and scholars). Totally fifty persons were interviewed. The interviews were carried out to get first-hand information on the human resource situation in Eritrea. Secondary data was collected from various sources such as human resource policies, proclamations, and government and UN publications and reports inter

alias with relevant books and journals, international and national reports, published and unpublished documents.

It is always advisable to accompany secondary data with some in-depth interviews, even if time permits only a limited sample. The rationale for using multiple sources of data is the triangulation of evidence. Triangulation is a combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomena. It increases the reliability of the data and the process of gathering. Through triangulation we can compare the results from either two or more different methods of data collection (for example, interviews and observation) or, more simply, two or more data sources (for example, interviews with members of different interest groups). Triangulation helps the researcher to develop patterns of convergence or to corroborate an overall interpretation (Habtom, 2014).

In this study, civil service refers to the core, permanent administrative arm of government. It includes officials working in government ministries, departments and agencies: personnel who advise on, develop, and implement government policies and programs and manage day-to-day activities (Rao, 2013; Adamolekun, 1999). The civil service reform activities include efforts to make government more organized, affordable, honest, and responsive; to bring government closer to the grassroots; and to make government perform and deliver better (Rao, 2013). The study adopted a deductive approach in its data analysis, that is, from general to particular. It reviewed civil service reform experiences of Sub-Saharan African countries in general and based on this it examined the success and failure stories of civil service reforms in Sub-Saharan African countries, and draws lessons for the improvement of civil service reform efforts in Eritrea in particular.

Review of Civil Service Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa

Developing countries have implemented wide ranging administration reforms-more earnestly since the early 1990s-but with mixed success. Some have made impressive advances (Mozambique, Peru, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Vietnam, for instance); others very little, reflecting conflict or governance issues (DRC, Haiti, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone). Sometimes progress has been followed by stagnation or decline (Guatemala, Honduras, Zambia), sometimes by a resurgence (Bolivia, Ghana, Uganda). There is no single formula for assuring major administrative improvement, but experience points to some key elements. Manning (2001) observed that in many developing countries the NPM label was applied to changes being undertaken, but nothing of any significance resulted. In other cases the prescriptions were indeed implemented but were inappropriate in the setting and had the effect of making things worse. For example in Ghana the civil service reform packages were imposed top-down with only limited participation from civil servants. Consultation and consensus-building did not take place and facilitated a sense of exclusion, as if other civil servants were not party to the reform. There were weaknesses in the civil service reform terms of reference, for example, relatively narrow in scope and lacked explicit linkage with a well understood policy framework; the focus of the reform activities were concentrated almost solely on one organization, that is, the office of the Head of the Civil Service. This weakened links to ministries, departments and agencies and there was no fulltime coordinator and the Oversight Committee was an ad hoc institution. Effective machinery that ensures the evaluation and follow-up actions on the new systems that had been introduced was not in place. For instance, even though a new appraisal and reporting system had been introduced into the human resources management system of the civil service five years earlier, it was found during the consolidation period (1994/95), that it had not become an effective part of the culture of the management in the civil service; even though the structure of the Pay and Grading System had been finalized for implementation several years earlier, it had still not been operationalized due, in part, to inadequate and incomplete manpower data; and donor funding,

conditionality and failure to meet set deadlines created imbalances which upset the government's own planned implementation schedule (Habtom, 2016).

In Africa pay and grading reforms were intended to increase overall real pay levels by linking performance to pay and job evaluation, and the decompression of pay scales to improve the competitiveness of civil service pay at higher levels. The reality in Africa, however, is that even in countries that have made tremendous efforts to restore living wages in their public services, there remains the problem of paying competitive wages that will retain or attract the best staff. Despite reforms, salaries are still much too low in many African public services to retain professional staff, which has contributed to the “brain drain” that Africa has been experiencing since independence. Africa is certainly experiencing a debilitating flight of professionals and skilled people escaping their countries’ economic crisis. The level and trend of brain drain has reached unsustainable heights (Beine, et. al. 2008)). In the last few years, the brain drain has escalated in magnitude to levels that have serious implications on economic growth of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Sub-Saharan African countries have lost a tremendous amount of their educated and skilled populations as a result of emigration to more developed countries, which has harmed the ability of such nations to get out of poverty. In Sub-Saharan African countries marketable skills are not financially rewarded (Ayee, 2008). Not only lack of impressive salaries but political pressure and lack of other forms of opportunities are also regarded to be among the main reasons for emigration. To add insult to an injury, there are also opportunities that are designed by the rich countries (for example, green card and work visa granted to skilled professional in the US and blue card policy in the EU) to attract highly skilled professionals from the developing world. These are partly means of filling the manpower gaps between the aged and the young workforce in these countries. In Europe, for example, there is a felt need for immigration of professionals in order to mitigate the effect of the aging population. How can poor countries counter such activities and contain the intentions of the rich countries assuming the differences between the means employed by the two groups of nations for attracting the skilled nationals of poor countries?

The flight of human capital is an important variable that policy makers should be sensitive to and ensure that appropriate incentives are set so that it is stemmed (Haque and Aziz, 1998). African countries are financing the education of their citizens, with little or no return on their investment, only to see them end up contributing to the growth of developed countries. As serious as the consequences of brain drain are for the overall development of the African continent, the health sector is particularly affected; indeed, the desperate shortage of health professionals is the most serious obstacle as Africa tries to fight AIDS and support other health programs (Africa’s Healthcare Brain Drain, *New York Times*, 13 August 2004). In several countries, including Kenya and Ghana, the brain drain of medical professionals is threatening the very existence of the countries’ health services (Brain Drain in Africa- Geocities.ws. http://www.geocities.ws/aaumf/BrainDrain_in_Africa.pdf). Deen (1999) asserts that Kenya loses on average 20 medical doctors each month. Ghana lost 60% of its medical doctors in the 1980s and 600 to 700 Ghanaian physicians are currently practicing in the USA alone, a figure that represents roughly 50% of the total population of doctors in Ghana (Ibid). Similarly more than 21,000 Nigerian doctors are practicing in the United States alone while Nigeria suffers from a shortage of doctors (UNDP, 1993). If we were to add the number of Nigerian doctors in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, Europe, Australia and those in other African countries, the figure would be close to 30,000 (Odumasi-Ashanti, 2003). Furthermore, Barka (2000) noted that one third of Ethiopian medical doctors have already left the country. According to Randall Tobias, the United States Government’s global AIDS coordinator, there are more Ethiopian

trained doctors practicing in the city of Chicago alone than in Ethiopia (Brain Drain in Africa - Geocities.ws. http://www.geocities.ws/aaumf/BrainDrain_in_Africa.pdf).

In Zambia, the public sector only retained 50 out of 600 doctors trained in the country's medical school from 1978-1999. The flight of health professionals is not limited to doctors and affects nurses, pharmacists and social services personnel as well. The loss of nurses, in particular, is a growing phenomenon, fueled principally by the shortages in developed countries. The second and third generation reforms, therefore, must take into account the reorganization of the public sector as well as the skill retention mechanisms at home, aspects which were ignored in the first generation reforms.

Civil Service Reform in Africa; what worked well?

Several civil service reforms have taken place in Africa over the last few decades with varying degrees of success; these range from very excellent performance, to limited success and then failure. The experience in several African countries showed that there are some key factors responsible for successful public sector reform. These are clear vision of reform objectives, a well-planned reform program, political support, civil service support, support from central agencies, strong leadership, clear roles, responsibility and accountability for all players of the game, resource arrangements for implementing reform, adequate provision for effective communication and transparency, contingency plan for dealing with resistance, flexibility to accommodate the new changes, and adherence to the cultural and social values of a country (Dunleavy and Hood, 1994). Quah (2010) noted that Singapore has succeeded in implementing administrative reforms because of the government's strong support for the reforms, the clear statement of the reform objectives, focus on institutional and attitudinal reforms, reliance on both comprehensive and incremental strategies in administrative reform, and the absence of obstacles to administrative reforms. Panchamia and Thomas (2014) further noted that success depends on awareness, understanding, insight and clarity of purpose. In each of the reforms they explored, leaders understood the context and environment in which they were operating, set the ambition accordingly and had the right leadership and reform design in place to drive desired changes. Clarity around the reform idea and purpose is an obvious prerequisite for successful civil service reform. It is essential not only for establishing the need for reform, but also for creating a shared analysis of the problems and challenges; and in garnering wider support and engagement in design and delivery.

Successful administrative reform requires also sustained political will as much as technical capacity. A sound reform strategy, technical understanding and adequate human resources are essential, of course, but so too is political commitment-from the highest levels. Many authors (Bale and Dale, 1998; Heredia and Schneider, 1998; Kiggundu, 1998; Minogue, 2000; Pollitt and Suma, 1997; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000; Polidano, 1999b, 2001; Taylor, 1996) have commented on the need for political support for the success of public management reforms. They argue that political ownership is critical for the success of reform. Public management reform is a political issue and therefore reform is likely to succeed if it has the support from political leaders. Polidano (1999b) argued that reform will not happen unless it is firmly driven by the political leadership of the country. The political environment in many of the developing countries seemed to be an obstacle for reforms. For example, Therikildsen (2000) argued that reforms underway now in Tanzania are mostly inspired by NPM paradigm but has suffered from a fragile domestic political support to the reform package as a whole. Haggard and Kaufman (1992) argued that it is mainly the political-administrative elites that seek to influence the reform processes, and without their support it is hard to move forward the reform programs. Political influence in the bureaucracy has been a great obstacle to strengthening the public service in Nepal. For example, Pradhan (1999) noted that "politics got greatly enmeshed with in-fighting, division, distrust, desertion, indiscipline, loss of integrity, self-interest and severely inclined to money and

power" and further argued that the "bureaucracy has been virtually rendered into a pendulum which swings at the will of its political masters. Politics has gradually invaded the domain of bureaucracy". Experience showed that civil service reforms that takes into account the local context when designing and implementing civil service reforms tends to be more successful. Botswana, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mauritania and Albania represents successful examples of countries that adapted reforms to their own specific needs (Reid, 2007; Evans, 2008). As stated in the World Bank's 2011-20 approach to public sector management (PSM): "what works" in PSM reform is highly context-contingent' (World Bank 2012; UNDP 2010). There are many ways in which local context can be taken into account in order to build successful civil service reforms. What is most important is that the individuals who are designing the reform strategy possess a profound and refined knowledge of the key players, trends, challenges, and opportunities in the country (Repucci, 2012). Some specific factors important to consider are the interplay among different power figures, especially those with unofficial authority (as they may be highly influential but less visible); potential cleavages of ethnicity, religion, and clan that are at work in the country; informal ties of patronage or family that affect decision making and the functioning of the bureaucracy; the organizational capacity of those elements involved in the reform; and the institutional legitimacy of those agencies that will be implementing them (Institute of Development Studies 2010: 3). To this end, development partners should look carefully at 'the structures, relationships, institutional spaces, interests and incentives that underpin the creation of formal institutions'.

Civil Service Reform in Africa: What Went Wrong?

According to the evaluation carried out by World Bank with regard to its programs in civil service reform in Africa, a report of 1999 shows that only one-third of the Bank's projects had produced a satisfactory result. The report goes further to say that the sustainability of this one-third was not guaranteed (World Bank 1999). From this, it is clear that civil service reform in Africa has achieved little or nothing, despite the colossal investment in terms of finance and valuable manpower as well as loss in terms of integrity, cultural heritage and value system on the part of African countries. Rao, (2013) noted the most common mistakes in designing civil service reform interventions in developing countries include giving insufficient attention to politics and patronage; attempting to transplant one country's structures and practices to another country without due consideration of contexts; over-emphasizing downsizing and cost-cutting; and failing to integrate reform activities into a wider policy and organizational framework.

Even when the World Bank (2000) reported that civil service reform had 'great potential to reduce poverty', the Bank was displaying a false sense of security, having failed to realize that a reform without roots in the culture and belief of the people would definitely fail. No wonder that civil service reforms in Africa has, in reality, increased poverty levels among people instead of reducing it, as envisaged by the World Bank. Jones (2009, pp. 93-95) noted that when structural adjustment was introduced in sub-Saharan Africa as part of socioeconomic reform, the economic growth that occurred was often at the cost of rising urban unemployment, increased rural poverty, as well as greater social and economic inequality .

Emphasis on taking the local context into account is an outgrowth of the perceived shortcomings of some civil service reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, which focused on reducing the cost of the state administration (Repucci, 2012). As noted by Antwil et al. (2008), civil service reforms will 'hardly succeed without contextualizing reform efforts within a country's specific realities including its history, culture, politics, economy, sociology, ideology and values'. For example, the World Bank's 2008 evaluation of its own support to public sector reform mentions Cambodia and Honduras as

countries in which the design of the civil service programme was not well adapted to the circumstances; both included unsuccessful downsizing programmes and human resource management reforms (World Bank 2008: 37). Similarly, the United Nations (2001) noted that supply driven reforms that did not take into account the specific characteristics of developing countries was one of the major reason for not producing the intended results from the earlier reforms. Any administrative reforms are bound to entail significant value changes, which are based on local culture and traditions. Nef (1998) further argued that an administrative restructuring, or any modernization effort must address first, directly or indirectly, the question of the indigenous style, values and culture of governance. Ogbegie (2008) in a study conducted in Nigeria noted that the administrative reforms in Nigeria, like in other countries of Africa and beyond, have been met with limited success, because most aspects of the civil service reforms are often imitative of western experiences, which are far detached from the indigenous social context, away from local power structure and political culture. These reforms over the years have tended to discount the reality of inherent social conflict, elitist rural power structure, and unequal administrative access. Similarly, Ayee (2008) contends that civil service reforms in Africa are designed in cozy offices of donor agencies far away in Europe and America. What they think to be the situation is quite different from the actual realities on the ground, and accounts for the monumental failure of civil service reforms in Africa (Omoyefa, 2008). The one size fits all approach recommending and adopting reforms should be tempered with by analyzing the needs of unique situations prevailing in particular countries (Mhone, 2003). Due to this there has been little implementation of NPM in developing countries (McCourt and Minogue 2001; McCourt 2013). Dunleavy and Hood (1994) argue that NPM is “dead”, as it has come to involve a policymaking process that is too complex and less able to respond effectively to social problems. McCourt (2002) argues that, while there is scope for more use of NPM in developing countries, there should be greater effort to develop approaches from existing structures so as to be better suited to the context.

Another important factor responsible for the failure of civil service in Africa is the non-provision for participation of locals at the leadership level of the reform. This problem is a by-product of the first one. The donor agencies and the international financial agencies completely shut out locals both in the leadership and ownership of the civil service reform agenda. They are of the view that the required technical expertise, leadership qualities and financial capacity to carry out the reform can only be provided by them. For them, the local bureaucratic and political leadership are too inefficient and corrupt to be actively involved in the reform. This notion is anchored on a false premise that ‘outsiders can build state capacity despite the lack of effective internal demand for more capable governments’ (Brautigam 1996). Hence, the nature of the reform program, the characteristics of which were that its elements were imposed top-down with only limited participation from civil servants. Consultation and consensus-building did not take place and facilitated a sense of exclusion, as if other civil servants were not party to the reform. Because of this in most Sub-Saharan African countries most reform interventions have a shelf life and need to be reinvented-something that is rarely done well. Most of the public servants also lack the ability to formulate, implement and monitor policies, programs and strategies focused on economic growth and sustainable development. In addition, they do not have adequate physical infrastructure, office equipment and other facilities to perform their duties in a professional manner. Many civil services lack motivation and are most of the time demoralized due to low salaries, poor working conditions, and appointment based on criteria other than merit.

It has been seen time and again how incoming leaders, anxious to build their own reputation, grab the opportunity to invent something new rather than building on and improving what came before.

This result an erratic, episodic and incoherent reform attempts, often unconnected to a broader vision about how the Civil Service should operate. The underachievement of swaths of reforms in developing countries is, therefore, seems to be the result of three systemic issues: (1) leadership is too personalized and fails to survive crucial transitions; (2) the role of ‘steward of the Civil Service’ is underdeveloped and somewhat contested; and (3) there is an absence of a corporate leadership team to engage today’s and tomorrow’s leaders in developing a shared narrative of what the future Civil Service needs to look like and what is required to get there. Taken together these issues any minister or official wishing to lead successful reform will need to overcome these weaknesses.

Review of Civil Service Reform in Eritrea

During independence Eritrea inherited from Ethiopia a debilitated civil service. The inherited civil service was characterized by: (1) substantial overstaffing, especially at junior levels, and acute understaffed in the professional and senior positions; (2) grossly inadequate low wages and narrow increment differentials, and high degree of real salaries/wage compression; (3) inadequate motivation and incentive structures; (4) inability of major institutions involved in civil service management to provide policy guidance, direction and supervision to sectoral/departmental units because of defective managerial competence; (5) over-centralization and over-concentration of powers and functions at the national level; (6) poor physical work environment and poor facilities- logistical problems; (7) excessive bureaucratization and red tape (e.g., of promotions and appointments to key posts; serious deficiencies in training institutions and programs; (8) obsolete and rigid rules and regulations; (9) uncontrolled recruitment, particularly in the non-critical occupational grades, into the civil service, leading to an undesirable expansion in its size; and (10) inadequate ethics, transparency and accountability, creating incentives for corruption and low staff morale and motivation.

The Government of the State of Eritrea (GoSE) realized that it had to transform the colonial bureaucracy it inherited in order to ensure that its socio-economic development programs were efficiently implemented. To this end the GoSE introduced civil service reforms (1995–1997) that led to the elimination of overstaffing, mostly in the lower grades, through a functional and redeployment review, while recruitment of skilled personnel into critical areas. Through the civil service reform the government streamlined about 34 per cent of the Eritrean civil servants; established the Eritrean Institute of Management; introduced a new salary scale; launched Eritrean HRD Project (1998–2003); conducted comprehensive analysis of training needs for all classes, with crash training programs in key areas to improve skills from the top down; and launched Management Reviews of key ministries and functions to improve cost effectiveness in service delivery and to ensure that the size and structure of the civil service reflect government priorities. The key elements of the process of reform of the civil service in Eritrea have been centered on pay and employment measures; productivity enhancement; capacity building; training; improving accountability and transparency; and making management more effective.

The central objective of the reforms was to create an Eritrean civil service that possesses attributes such as: a lean, efficient, well-paid, well-motivated, well managed, and well trained public service. The civil service has undergone very extensive restructuring both functionally and organizationally. Because of restructuring and streamlining Eritrean civil service staff positions reduced by 34%, down to 18,500 employees from over 30,000 employees. Obviously, superfluous and redundant staff were given the option of leaving the public service. However, where the best skills and talents were retained, all the better because, in the end, the public service has to ensure that service excellence becomes the order of the day and that the public gets the best quality goods and services at the most

reasonable price(s). That is, the principle of value-for-money was the overriding consideration in civil service reform.

The first generation civil service reform showed impressive progress in Eritrea in education, health and other social and economic services. Among the major indicators of progress, the following are significant: life expectancy jumped from 46 years in 1991 as was then estimated by the World Bank, to currently 62-63 (male/female) in 2010; adult literacy rate from 30% to 67%; student population from 200,000 to 600,000; household access to clean and adequate water is presently 65% and that with access to electricity is 38%; 1100 new villages provided with access to adequate and safe water; lots for residential buildings distributed amounted to 128,000 families creating many new urban centers; maternal mortality rate dropped from 998/100,000 to 250/100,000; and child mortality rate under five dropped from 135/100,000 to 63/100,000 (EPHS, 2010). Eritrea is one of the few African countries that have achieved the Millennium Development Goals of 4, 5, 6 and 7, which are reduction of child mortality; improvement of maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; and ensuring environmental sustainability, respectively (Habtom, 2017).

The reform process, however, is not yet complete, substantial work remains to be done to support government development objectives. A number of issues still need to be addressed:

1. Strengthening the institutional and operational structure of the Office of Civil Service Administration (CSA) in order to improve the efficient management of the civil service. Improving central personnel management systems and regulations to make the civil service system more transparent and efficient and widens accountability to the public. The CSA should maintain an impartial system for recruitment, promotion and retirement of people in the public service. There must be rules and procedures that ensure that the right person is assigned to the right job. It is time for the introduction of an open recruitment and proper appraisal systems, competitive compensation, and career advancement plans in the civil service system.
2. Strengthening of institutions and human resource capacity development. Today, Eritrea is experiencing a growing need for civil servants who are capable of efficiently, effectively and creatively mobilizing the available scarce resources to achieve national objectives. The establishment of economic, social, administrative and political institutions and the development and utilization of human resources to enable these institutions to operate effectively demands paramount task.
3. Introducing functional pay practices. The objective of civil service pay is to offer sufficient remuneration to attract, retain, and motivate staff of suitable caliber to provide quality service to the public. Such remuneration should be regarded as fair both by civil servants and by the public which they serve. Within these parameters, broad comparability with the private sector is an important factor. Uncompetitive salary/wage structures create very thin human resource skill base and produced bloated but, on average, underpaid bureaucracies. This is a typical characteristic of most civil service systems in SSA and Eritrea is not an exception. It is also a characteristic of some poor countries in other regions, where the civil service is commonly viewed as the legitimate employer of first resort and the provider of essential social welfare in the midst of widespread poverty.
4. Recruiting, motivating and retaining of professional civil service personnel. The environment within which the Eritrean civil servants are employed does not seem to attract, motivate and retain competent civil servants. Like most African countries Eritrea has acute shortages of qualified staff. It is a paradox of today's world that developing countries, like Eritrea, that have the greatest need of competent civil servants to economic and social development are losing many of their educated young men and women to the developed world. It is difficult to replace

the knowledge, skills and experience of competent civil servants. These skills are only acquired over a long period of time and are accompanied by extensive experience. The loss of highly skilled and professional personnel in the areas of health and higher education institutions is unbearable. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Africa has already lost one third of its human capital and is continuing to lose its skilled personnel at an increasing rate, with an estimated 20,000 doctors, university lecturers, engineers and other professionals leaving the continent annually since 1990. There are currently over 300,000 highly qualified Africans in the Diaspora, 30,000 of which have PhDs. Africa spends US\$4 billion per year (representing 35% of total official development aid to the continent) to employ some 100,000 Western experts performing functions generically described as technical assistance. For example, 90% of private firms in Gabon are managed by expatriates. The problem of brain drain has reached quite disturbing proportions in certain African countries, with Ethiopia ranked first in the continent in terms of rate of loss of human capital, followed by Nigeria and Ghana. Over the past 10-15 years, about 50% of Ethiopians who went abroad for training did not return after completing their studies. According to the IOM, Ethiopia lost about 74.6% of its human capital from various institutions between 1980 and 1991. Nigeria, between 1986 and 1990, lost over 10,000 academics from tertiary education institutions alone. Total estimates, including those who left public, industrial and private organizations, are over 30,000. 64% of Nigerians in the United States aged 25 and older have at least a bachelor's degree. Eritrea is also not an exception, according to an unpublished document of the Government of Eritrea (2004), about 530,000 Eritreans live abroad: 80,000 in North America, 90,000 in Europe, 70,000 in the Middle East, 120,000 in Sudan, and 170,000 in the rest of World and Ethiopia, and some of them are highly educated (Tessema & Ng'oma, 2009).

5. Restoring fiscal soundness and employment rationalization. Restoring fiscal soundness to government through wage bill and employment rationalization is fundamental to moving onto reforms that focus on getting better civil service performance and improving the delivery of basic services linked to economic development.
6. Addressing skills and human resources gaps. At the managerial and professional areas the public and private sectors in Eritrea are faced with insufficient human capital, which is seriously constraining the country's economic and social transformation. In this context, well-targeted public investments in technical, managerial and professional skills and human resources development are critical to improving the capacity of civil servants. Career planning programs in the civil service should be linked to institution-building and transformation where wide spread training opportunities are provided based on needs-based.
7. Proclamation of civil service laws to provide a sound legal framework for recruitment and promotion; and enforcement of pension schemes. Civil servants are aging and lack of enforcement of the established pension scheme created a disincentive for retirement. The new scheme lacks seed capital to pay those retiring in the short term. In public and private organizations, however, there are well planned health and life insurance schemes, and workers compensation and severance pay schemes.
8. Addressing wage erosion and salary compression. A system of meritocracy cannot be sustained if salaries fall below minimum living standards and if there are a wide gap between public and private sector pay. For the last fifteen years Eritrean civil servants were affected by salary erosion and compression. The former refers to the inability of wages and salaries to keep up with inflation, with the result that government employees, are paid wages/salaries that do not enable them to subsist. Salary/wage compression is the differential between the lowest paid and the highest paid in the civil service. There is a tendency in the civil service system for this ratio

to narrow as a result of political commitments to raising minimum wages without raising the salaries of those with the greatest responsibility for managing the civil service. The result would be movement of the brightest and best out of the civil service in to the private sector (referred to as internal brain drain) and to international jobs outside the country (external brain drain).

9. Professionalization of the civil service. It is also interesting to note that the civil service of many developing countries has been politicized. As noted by Das (1998), ‘politicization of the civil service has resulted in total erosion of traditional civil service values such as political neutrality, probity, rectitude, and objectivity’. A study conducted by Tessema and Soeters, (2006) revealed that politicization of the Eritrean civil service has affected many human resource practices, such as recruitment and selection, placement and promotion, and compensation. Politicization of the main line civil service impedes professionalism and neutrality. The civil service should be professional and neutral and serve the government of the day. There should be a clear delineation between political positions (where loyalty is critical) and professional positions (where technical competence should be emphasized). The traditional way this is resolved is to have a neutral civil service responsible for detailed management of the public’s business, while ministers and their assistants and advisors provide strategic leadership and overall accountability for the service.

The fact that the purpose of civil service, regardless of the political situation and changes of governments, is to ensure efficient, professional, transparent, and politically neutral in the implementation of the objectives of the state. The saying that “politicians change, but the administration (civil servants) remain” will be always relevant. A non-politicized and professional civil service, when political forces change, guarantees continuity of activity and commitment to society (Habtom, 2014). The state must ensure that the employees who come to work in the civil service must have high quality in performance. Only qualified civil servants should be accepted to the civil service through the selection process, competition, or appointment.

10. Promoting merit-based recruitment systems. The practice of automatic hiring for all graduates from the educational system, with the government becoming the employer of last resort impede meritocracy in the civil service system. Absences of merit-based recruitment and promotional systems and inadequate compensation have weakened the system of meritocracy and the importance of performance. In its pure form, the career system ensures that only those with the best skills or potential were recruited into the civil service. Building a motivated and capable civil service requires merit-based and non-discriminatory recruitment which rests on the absence of political patronage, transparent rules and procedures, open competition and selection by an independent civil service agency. Subsequently, important elements in meritocracy and the motivation of employees are the opportunities for promotion, recognition and reward for performance, inter-sector mobility, placement in right jobs and the scope for skill upgrading and self-improvement.
11. Introduction of a new Performance Appraisal System which sets agreed objectives for each office to motivate and assess staff effectively. Building a culture of performance, which involves setting and communicating performance standards, ensuring that civil servants have appropriate knowledge, skills, and abilities, evaluating performance and feeding back to employees the results of the evaluation, and linking performance to rewards. Performance information can also be used to identify performance gaps and institute relevant training.
12. Strengthen performance management. Performance management is a system which links organizational goals to work plans, appraisals, capacity developments, pay and incentives for individuals and teams. To this end government ministries should develop performance measures

- by clearly stating organizational objectives and the relationship between inputs and outputs; workload and productivity; outcomes of products and services; service quality and client satisfaction. The public should know what the government is doing and how its work is performed. The ministries should develop published standards by which the public can judge whether they are performing satisfactorily and even doing a good job.
13. Rigidity of rules. Rules are too often confused with policies, and as a consequence rule keepers become too powerful; employees spend too much time getting around rules, which is inefficient, undermines accountability, and creates confusion about the real goals. Government should be driven by its mission - what it is there to do- rather than by rules and regulations. Emphasis should be given to ends and goals, rather than to means and procedures. Hence the performance of the government should be judged by the outcomes- what it achieves - rather than by the inputs- what it swallows up. It should focus on citizens, ensuring that the needs of the citizens and not the bureaucracy are being met.
 14. Structures are rigid and un-adaptive. There are no direct incentives, financial or otherwise, that reward good work and punish bad work. High standards of performance are not rewarded and underperformers are not aware of their short-comings and encouraged to improve. A transparent and fair performance appraisal system is not in place to reward employees based on their performance. Financial and non-financial incentive systems should be introduced to reward higher performers and to encourage competition among civil servants for better service outcomes.
 15. Strengthening decentralized functional structures. The administrative zones and sub-zones lack competent staff to implement national policies and programs. The United Nations (2001:25) noted that many ministries in Eritrea are devoid of modern planning tools and many community leaders are, in general, due to educational gap and unfamiliarity, not in position to lead the needed transformation and to take charge of the subsequent changes in working procedures the new technology require and induce. In Eritrea financial and human resources requirements are not proportionate with decentralization responsibilities. For effective implementation of decentralization policy, the central level government must be prepared to allocate appropriate resources in terms of financial and human capital, and technical to the localities. In most cases, the localities cannot undertake decentralization responsibilities unless supported by the central administration. The World Bank (2000a) noted that decentralized political institutions should be well established and strongly supported by local and central government to promote decentralized administrative functions. Building local government capacity is a prerequisite for decentralizing public service provision. Technical and managerial capacities of local government institutions should be enhanced to take on responsibility for managing technology programs and this require investments in staff development, facilities, and management systems.
 16. Enforcing accountability measures. To enhance accountability and citizen awareness, extensive public participation programs are needed, which will draw all important stakeholders into the planning stages of service provision. Furthermore, to enforce accountability, regular reporting, auditing, and inspections are necessary to keep public functionaries answerable to the citizens. Accountability can take the form of individual responsibility, or accountability can be assumed collectively, for example, by the cabinet. Without accountability, public servants could pursue their own agendas and ignore the general welfare of the population.

As many of the attraction, retention and motivation challenges are related to pay and existing incentives regime, addressing these challenges necessitates that pay and retention policy is central to the improvement of civil and public service performance (Habtom, 2014). How to improve public

sector pay and the quantity of other inputs that are essential for efficient service delivery is a challenge that low-income countries like Eritrea need to confront in their reform programs. The experience in Singapore, however, showed that government prevented brain drain of talented civil servants by subsequent public sector salaries increases from those in 1973, 1979, 1982, 1989, and 1994. Salaries of senior civil servants and ministers were benchmarked to the top earners in six private sector professionals from 1995 (Quah, 2010). Unlike other developing countries, Singapore has been effective in implementing public policies because of the support of the political leaders, the effectiveness of the civil service and statutory boards, the reliance on meritocracy to recruit and promote civil servants, its low level of corruption, the strict disciplinary control in the civil service, the reliance on computerization and information technology since 1981, and the advantages of Singapore's small size (Quah, 1987, pp. 90-91).

The second generation reforms in Eritrea, therefore, should focus on merit-based recruitment, promotion, motivation, retention, institution and capacity building, and pay rationalization. Several factors have been affecting the civil service reform in Eritrea. These are the outbreak of border war with Ethiopia, unfair UN economic sanction, drought and economic stagnation, and the unstable political situation in the horn of Africa.

Discussion

Reforms have become an important agenda for the governments of developed and developing countries especially in the last two decades because of the changing demands of the citizens and the deteriorating financial situations in respective countries. The civil service system in most developing countries are characterized by low salary levels, lack of effective performance standards, inability to fire people, too few rewards for good performance, recruitment procedures that do not attract appropriately trained people, promotion patterns based too much on seniority or patronage and too little on performance, slow promotion and lack of reward for hard work and initiative, inadequate and demoralizing management by supervisors (ineffective leadership), underemployment and lack of stimulating assignments (Cohen and Wheeler, 1997; Hilderbrand and Grindle, 1997). Moreover, Bennell (1994) and Budhwar and Debrah (2001) disclosed that many developing countries are trapped by out-dated and ineffective civil service systems that put unintended roadblocks in the way.

Demmke (2005) further noted that in developing countries public service organisations are overstaffed, too hierarchical and decision making procedures are slow and time consuming. Because of its hierarchical character and standardised and formalised working procedures, civil servants at mid-career level receive too little incentive and may suffer from demotivation. The classical public organisation is a closed system standing above society. Individual needs and requirements for flexible services by citizens are seen as a bureaucratic burden. Individual strengths, talents and human behaviour are not supported, since the bureaucratic organisation is supposed to be rule-oriented, impersonal and anonymous. The public organisation is rigid and inflexible instead of supporting mobility and flexibility. Careerism "inhibits overall elasticity in terms of quick changes in total manpower resources or the provision of persons with different kinds of skills and perspectives. It discourages lateral entry or the ingestion of new blood above the bottom or entering level. A public organisation is rational but has no purpose. Principles such as openness, transparency and democracy are subordinated to the principle of hierarchy and efficiency.

Because of the preceding problems the civil service reforms that took place in developing countries were complex and dynamic, and worked on three interrelated levels (Kellough and Nigro, 2010): (i) technical level (ii) ideological level, and (iii) political level. At the technical level, civil service

reforms are intended to implement structural and procedural changes in civil service systems to increase efficiency and performance in the ministries and departments. Such kinds of reforms focus on changes to civil service management methods, procedures and policies. Examples of such reforms are: improving performance management systems, establishing more efficient recruitment and selection procedures, and improving training and development system' design. Civil service reforms driven by the ideological and political agendas are packaged to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of organizations (Aye, 2008). According to Metcalfe and Richards (1993: 217), good public managers must develop in the following areas: (1) they must keep abreast of information technology (IT); (2) they must know how to decentralize; (3) they must exercise proper, effective line management; (4) they must acknowledge the need to spend money in the short term to save in the long term; (5) they must see the need for good intergovernmental relations and get things done through other organizations/ institutions; (6) they should see the necessity for accountability, which must become part and parcel of the public management process; and (7) they should concede that human resources must be developed and trained to cope with modernization.

In line to the above New Public Management (NPM) emerged as a reform model, which was practiced and argued to be successful in changing the States in developed countries. NPM reform initiatives that are contributing to the development of the Civil Service include restructuring and right-sizing, pay and budgetary reforms, service delivery improvement, performance measurement, professional leadership development, and human resources management, all of which are being implemented along human resources policy guidelines. However, for many of the African countries (for example Angola, Rwanda, and Republic of Congo), consolidation of bureaucracy is still a great challenge for their development. Some authors, (Evans, 2008; Holmes, 1992; Polidano, 1999a) therefore, argued that many of the developing countries are at the early stages of their development, and therefore the administration in these countries is too weak to adopt the concepts of new public management because there are problems in the reformed civil service systems, which include problems in performance measurement and fair treatment of employees; new administrative burdens and scientific management due to the introduction of new targets, performance contracts and performance measurement; the emergence of poor leadership as a consequence of the decentralization of more responsibilities; more problems with unethical behavior and more conflicts of interests; more fragmentation of the national civil services and accountability problems; more stress and overwork of employees (also related to downsizing policies); declining levels of job satisfaction and commitment; frustration because of new budgetary constraints; new difficulties in respecting procedures and guaranteeing fairness because of focus on results; new rules (particularly due to new accountability requirements) despite trends to deregulate and attempts to introduce regulatory impact assessments; problems in motivation of staff because of a lack of career development and promotion opportunities.

The NPM-inspired reforms, therefore, caused unintended consequences as a result of the loss of centralized control and unified policy implementation due to the devolution of managerial responsibility (Bach & Bordogna, 2011). The NPM approaches have led to high transaction costs owing to the high costs involved in preparation of contracts and related processes (Alford & O'Flynn, 2008; Entwistle & Martin, 2005; Stewart & Walsh, 1992). There is a range of identified weaknesses associated with NPM-based reforms. One limitation of the NPM model reforms is the possibility of undermining the values of the public domain through emphasizing a commercial culture (Stewart & Walsh, 1992). Competitive models in government lead to the fragmentation of relationships which may challenge the public sector's collective culture and undermine the fundamental values of public service organizations by exposing them to competition (Haque, 2007). Many civil service reform

models were drawn on successful programs in developed countries, especially the concept of New Public Management, which was not necessarily applicable in other systems. It is difficult to replicate a successful reform effort from one country in another because of the huge amount of variability that exists. Repucci (2012) noted that a country's civil service structure, level of economic development, democratization, strength of civil society, formal and informal power structures, and institutional accountability all tug on a reform process in different ways. Nowadays, practitioners and academicians become increasingly aware that one size does not fit all.

Conclusion

During independence most Sub-Saharan African countries inherited traditional career civil service system, which is built on top-down arrangement. The traditional career civil service system relies on principles of hierarchy, command and control, independence and integrity guided by public sector ethos. It is characterized by centralized authority, set rules and guidelines, separation of policymaking from implementation. NPM has been a fundamental challenge to the tradition career civil service system and has dominated the reform movements in many Western countries. However, in many developing countries the emphasis on the rule of law, the tradition of bureaucracy, its centralized nature, the control through the hierarchy, the lack of accountability, the focus on processes and inputs-as well as bureaucratic resistance to change-have hampered the success of such reforms. The understanding that civil service reform cannot be imported wholesale from one country to another arose out of experience with New Public Management reforms.

Civil service programs are generally designed to improve the core function of the civil service and to create a workforce of the size and with the incentives, accountability, ethos, and skills needed to provide quality public services. The problem of low morale, corruption, limited training, inefficiency, and poor compensation constitute the key issues addressed in this study, within the context of Sub-Saharan African countries civil service reform experience.

It has been noted that high-level political commitment and support is an essential prerequisite for successful civil service reform but is not sufficient in itself. To derive support both from the political and administrative leadership and the rank and file of the civil service, reform programs should be adapted to the local context and taken into account the long-term nature of civil service reform, the sequencing and timing of reform activities, the research and analysis required in support of reform, participatory processes, donor co-ordination, and the debate between comprehensive and incremental reform and government ownership versus donor ownership of reform.

Lessons learned

Varieties of lessons were learnt from the civil service reforms implemented in Africa for the last two decades or so. These lessons were accentuated by an exploratory study of secondary literature, focusing on explaining sources of the success and failure of the reforms in Africa.

- Any prospect for serious civil service reform, especially in developing countries, requires some, if not all, of the following preconditions: the establishment of a nation-wide political system; the establishment of a stable, workable constitutional system; a viable economic system; an enlightened, unified elite capable of guiding orderly change; and an electorate sufficiently aware of the nature of administration and its rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis its civil servants.
- There is a need to acknowledge the importance of culture and context, because at times local values contradict the content of reform efforts in many cases. Civil service models and practices are context-specific and will not necessarily succeed if transplanted into different contexts. Developing countries are exposed to the heaviest transfer of experience and ideas from donor

countries. Such reforms have generally been unsuited to the context and thus unsuccessful. Practitioners and policy makers, therefore, ought to understand the reform context in which they are working and design reforms accordingly.

- There is a need for further rationalization of the pay structure in order to provide incentives for all civil servants. Pay grades should be adjusted periodically on the basis of changes in the cost of living and the overall changes in market rates. Other factors such as the state of the economy, budgetary considerations and the impact on civil service morale etc. should be taken into consideration in determining the size of the adjustment.
- Reform should be well integrated, in some countries downsizing was done without capacity building, capacity building without pay reform, and capacity building without service delivery focus. In many cases, the effectiveness of civil service reform is diminished because it does not follow sequencing principles. Donors need to assess whether the proposed content, sequencing and pace of any civil service reform programme for which aid is requested is realistic. In part, this depends on the specific situation and initial conditions of the recipient country. In practice, the precise sequencing adopted is often influenced by the availability of finance, management capacity, the ease of carrying out a programme component, and the degree of support for it among stakeholders.
- Functional reviews and restructuring of ministries are crucial to improving the effectiveness of service delivery. The scope of ministerial reviews should be wide ranging and include an assessment of systemic and structural constraints, organisation structures, establishment and staffing levels, and management systems. They should identify the changes needed to improve delivery of services to the public and to disadvantaged groups. The changes should be reflected in the role of central government, and any shift in the division of responsibility between central and local government and between the public and private sectors, including NGOs. Reforms will have a lasting impact if they are integrated into wider policy and organizational frameworks and if deeper organizational factors are addressed. Hence, donors should encourage African governments to use this process to help define sector objectives and to consider the appropriate division of responsibilities between alternative service providers.
- Civil service reform needs both political and civil support. Civil service reform is a political issue and it is more likely to succeed if it has the support from political leaders. Political commitment from the highest levels and civil support are critical factors for successful civil service reform besides to technical capacity, sound reform strategy and adequate human resource.
- Improving the competitiveness of civil service pay, particularly at the senior staff level, introducing performance incentives, and restructuring the grading system to eliminate anomalies, ensure equity in salaries and provide a better framework for career development and pay policy determination. Sub-Saharan African countries have lost a tremendous amount of their educated and skilled populations as a result of dysfunctional pay and incentive systems. Marketable skills are not financially rewarded. Internal and external brain drain has harmed the ability of such nations to get out of poverty.
- Ownership of reform programs by African governments and other stakeholders is necessary. The donor agencies and the international financial agencies completely shut out locals both in the leadership and ownership of the civil service reform agenda. They are of the view that the required technical expertise, leadership qualities and financial capacity to carry out the reform can only be provided by them. For them, the local bureaucratic and political leadership are too inefficient and corrupt to be actively involved in the reform.
- Corruption still hinders reform in Africa. In most African countries bureaucratic corruption and rent seeking are the major obstacles for effective civil service reform. There are five primary

factors that contribute to it. First is the general absence of a civil service work ethic. Many civil servants in Africa lack a sense of purpose and commitment to their responsibilities. They do not believe that they are serving anyone else but themselves and exploit their positions for personal gain. They generally arrive at work late and leave early. They take extra-long lunch recesses. They steal public property. They accept bribes for the performance of duties that are contractually part of their responsibilities. These problems are observed in Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Egypt, and in other African countries too. According to Hope (2002), the two major contributions to bureaucratic corruption in Africa are the erosion and the compression of salary scales of public servants.

- Developing countries should adopt anticorruption program that include the following elements: rationalizing salaries in accordance with the need to provide both a living wage and performance motivators; strengthening disciplinary measures to prosecute corrupt officials; rotating officials without affecting routine services in such services as customs and taxes; incorporating ethical considerations into training programs and school civics curricula; developing a code of ethics and enforcing it strictly; simplifying bureaucratic procedures, coupled with creating greater public awareness of citizens' rights to government services; providing effective channels for public submission of complaints, such as watchdog agencies and period declarations of assets by civil servants.
- Credible civil service institutions must be created before the reform. Civil service reform is often needed in countries with weak institutional systems, yet a weak institutional system is a major challenge to civil service reform. This is because such a system likely lacks the necessary reform drivers to push the process forward, such as technical capacity and champions with sufficient power. In the face of weak institutions, basic structures and policies should be addressed before larger reforms.
- Civil service reform should be pragmatic and incremental, undertaking its transformation in tandem with social, economic and political changes. Poor economic performance and malfunctioning political systems are hindrance for effective civil service system.

References

- Adamolekun, L. ed. (1999). *Public Administration in Africa: Main Issues and Selected Country Studies*, Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Africa's Health-care Brain Drain. *New York Times*, 13 August 2004
- Alford, J., & O'Flynn, J. (2008). Public value: A stock take of a concept. Paper presented at the Twelfth Annual Conference of the International Research Society for Public Management, Brisbane.
- Antwi1, K.B., F.Y. Analoui and D. Nana-Agyekum, (2008). Public sector reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: What can be learnt from the civil service performance improvement program in Ghana? *Public Administration and Development*, No. 28, pp. 253–264.
- Armstrong, A. (1998). A comparative analysis: New public management-The way ahead? *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 57(2), 12-24.
- Ayee, J.R.A. (2001): Civil Service Reform in Ghana: A Case Study of Contemporary Reform Problems in Africa. *African Association of Political Science*, 1027-0353.
- Ayee, J.R.A., (2005). Public sector management in Africa. Economic Research Working Paper No. 82, African Development Bank.
- Ayee, J. (2008). *Reforming the African Public Sector. Retrospect and Prospect*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

- Bach, S., & Bordogna, L. (2011). Varieties of new public management or alternative models? The reform of public service employment relations in industrialized democracies. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22(11), 2281-2294.
- Bale, M. and Dale, T. (1998). Public Sector Reform in New Zealand and Us Relevance to Developing Countries. *The World Bank Research Observer*, vol.13, no.1, pp. 103-121.
- Balogun, J. and Mutahaba, G. eds, (1989). *Economic Restructuring and African Public Administration: Issues, Actions and Future Choices*, West Hartford: Kumarin.
- Bangura Y (2000). *Public Sector Restructuring: The Institutional and Social Effects of Fiscal, Managerial and Capacity Building Reforms*. Occasional Paper No. 3, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), Geneva.
- Barka, B. L. (2000). Keynote Address. Regional Conference on Brain Drain and Capacity Building in Africa. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 22-24 February 2000.
- Beine, M., F. Docquier, and H. Rapoport (2008). Brain drain and human capital formation in developing countries: winners and losers. *Economic Journal* 118:528: 631-652.
- Bennell, P. (1994). *Improving the Performance of the Public Sector in LDCs: New Approaches to Human Resource Planning and Management*. Occasional Paper No.25. Geneva: ILO
- Brain Drain in Africa- Geocities.ws. http://www.geocities.ws/aaumf/BrainDrain_in_Africa.pdf.
- Brautigam, D., (1996). *State Capacity and Effective Governance*. In Ndulu, B. and Van der Walle, N., eds, *Agenda for Africa's Economic Renewal*, Washington DC: Translations Publishers for the Overseas Development Council.
- Budhwar, P. and Debrah, Y. (2001). Introduction. In Budhwar, P. and Debrah, Y. (Eds). *Human Resource Management in Developing Countries*. London: Routledge, pp, 1-15.
- Cohen, J. and Wheeler, J. (1997). Training and Retention in African Public Sectors: Capacity-Building Lessons from Kenya. In Grindle, M. (ed.) *Getting Good Government: Capacity Building in the public sector of Developing Countries*. Boston, MA: Harvard Institute for International Development, pp. 125–53.
- Das, S.K. (1998). *Civil Service Reform and Structural Adjustment*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Demmke, C. (2005). Are civil servants different because they are civil servants? *European Institute of Public administration*. Luxemburg.
- Deen, T. (1999). Development – Africa: Best and Brightest Head West.” *IPS*, 10 February, 1999 <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/098.html>
- Dunleavy, P. & Hood, C. (1994) ‘From Old Public Administration to New Public Management’ in *Public Money and Management*, Vol. 14: 3, pp.9-16.
- Entwistle, T., & Martin, S. (2005). From competition to collaboration in public service delivery: A new agenda for research. *Public Administration*, 83(1), 233-242.
- EPHS (Eritrea Population and Health Survey), (2010) National statistics Office and Fafu Institute for Applied international Studies.
- Evans, A. (2008). *Civil Service and Administrative Reform: Thematic Paper’*. Background paper to Public Sector Reform: What Works and Why? Washington, DC: World Bank.
- (GoSE)- Government of the State of Eritrea, (2004). Unpublished Document, Asmara, Eritrea.
- Habtom, G.K., (2014). Public Administration Reform in Eritrea: Past Trends and Emerging Challenges. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research* 6(3):44-58.
- Habtom, G.K., (2016). Foreign Aid Effectiveness and Development Strategies in Eritrea: A Lesson for Sub-Saharan African Countries. *J. Afr. Stud. Dev.* 8(5):49-66.
- Habtom, G.K., (2017). Designing innovative pro-poor healthcare financing system in sub-Saharan Africa: The case of Eritrea. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*. 9(4): 51-67,

- Haggard, S. and Kaufman, R.R. (1992). *The politics of economic adjustments*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Haque, M. S. (2007). Revisiting the new public management. *Public Administration Review*, 67(1), 179-182.
- Haque, N. and Aziz, J., (1998). The quality of governance: “Second-Generation” civil service reform in Africa. IMF, WP/98/164.
- Heredia, B. and Schneider, B.R. (1998). The political economy of administrative reform: Building state capacity in developing countries. Department of Political Science, North Western University, pp. 1-23.
- Hilderbrand, M. and Grindle, M. (1997) ‘Building Sustainable Capacity in the Public Sector: What Can Be Done?’ In Grindle, M. (ed.) *Getting Good Government: Capacity Building in the Public Sector of Developing Countries*. Boston, MA: Harvard Institute for International Development, pp. 31–61.
- Holmes, M. (1992). Public sector management reform: convergence or divergence? *Governance*, vol.5, no.4, pp.472-483.
- Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration*, Vol.69 No. 1, pp.3-19.
- Hope Sr, K.R., (2002). ‘The new public management: A perspective from Africa’, in K. McLaughlin, S. P. Osborne and E. Ferlie, Eds, *New Public Management: Current Trends and Future Prospects*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 210–226.
- Hyden, G., (2006), *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Institute of Development Studies (2010). *An Upside down View of Governance*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Jones, J. F. (2009). *Liberty to live: Human security and development*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Kassa, CB (2011). The challenges and prospects of civil service reform and good governance in Ethiopia. *African Journal of Public Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 3.
- Karyeija, G.K. (2012). Public Sector Reforms in Africa: What Lessons have we Learnt? *Forum for Development Studies*, 39:1, 105-124
- Kellough, J. E., & Nigro, L. G. (2010). Civil Service reform in the United States. In S. E. Condrey (Ed.). *Handbook of Human Resource Management in Government* (3 ed., pp. 73-94). San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kiggundu, M. N. (1998). Civil service reforms: limping into the twenty-first century. In M. Minogue, C. Polidano and D. Hulme (Eds), *Beyond the New Public Management: Changing Ideas and Practices in Governance*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, pp. 155-171.
- Lal, D. and Hyint, H. (1996). *The Political Economy of Poverty, Equity and Growth. A Comparative Study*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Larbi, G.A., (1999). *The New Public Management Approach and Crisis States*, Geneva: UN Research Institute for Social Development, UNRISD Discussion Paper No. 112.
- Lienert, I. and Modi, J. (1997). *A decade of civil service reform in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C.: International Monetary Fund, Fiscal Affairs Department.
- Metcalf, L. and Richards, S. (1992). *Improving Public Management*. Bristol: Sage Publications.
- Manning, N., (2001), ‘The Legacy of the New Public Management in Developing Countries’, *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, vol. 67, pp. 297-312.
- McCourt, W. and M. Minogue, (2001). Moving the public management debate forward: a contingency approach. In W. McCourt and M. Minogue, Eds. *The Internationalization of*

- Public Management: Reinventing the Third World State, New York: Edward Elgar, pp. 220–253.
- McCourt, W. (2002). New public management in developing countries. In K. McLaughlin, S. Osborne, & E. Ferlie (Eds.). *New public management: Current trends and future prospects* (pp. 227-242). London: Routledge.
- McCourt, W. (2013). Models of public service reform: A problem-solving approach. Policy Research Working Paper 6428. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Mhone, G., (2003). The challenges of governance, public sector reform and public administration in Africa. Paper presented at the workshop on ‘Building an African governance and public administration support and research agenda, Johannesburg, 17 February.
- Minogue, M. (2000). Should Flawed Models of Public Management be Exported? Issues and practices, IDPM, University of Manchester, Manchester, pp. 1-31.
- Nef, J. (1998). Administrative Culture in Latin America: Historical and Structural Outline. *Africanus*, Vol.28, No.2, pp. 19-32.
- Nunberg, B., (1996). Rethinking Civil Service Reform: An Agenda for Smart Government. Washington DC: The World Bank, PSPD.
- Odumasi-Ashanti, D. (2003). Africa Brain Drain: 70,000 Scholars Leave Yearly.” *Ghanaian Chronicle*, 13 March 2003. <http://www.ghanaian-chronicle.com/230313/page2d.htm>
- Ogbegie, C. (2008). The Need for Civil Service Reform in Nigeria. Master’s Thesis in Public Administration. University of Vaasa. Faculty of Public Administration.
- Olson, M. Jr (1996). Big bills left on the sidewalk: why some nations are rich and others poor, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Spring.
- Omoyefa, P.S., (2008). Public sector reforms in Africa: A philosophical re-thinking. *Africa Development*, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 15–30.
- Panchamia, N and Thomas, P. (2014). Civil Service Reform in the Real World: Patterns of Success in U.K. Civil Service Reform. Institute for Government.
- Polidano, C. (1999a). The New Public Management in Developing Countries. Paper presented at the 3rd International Research Symposium on Public Management, Aston Business School, Birmingham, 25-26 March 1999.
- Polidano, C. (1999b). Looking Back at the Past with an Eye to the Future: Six Lessons of the 1988 Reforms, Paper presented at the PSRC Tenth Anniversary Conference, Malta May 1999, pp.1-16.
- Polidano, C. (2001). Why civil service reform fails, Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester, Manchester, pp. 1-12.
- Pollitt, C. and Bouckaert, G. (2000). *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press (online summary <http://www.oLip.co.uk/pdf/0-19-829596-O.pdf> assessed 2/11/02).
- Pollitt, C. and Summa, H. (1997). Trajectories of Reform: Public Management Change in Four Countries, *Public Money and Management*, January-March, pp.7-17.
- Pradhan, G. B. N. (1999). Politics and Bureaucracy in Nepal, *Administration and Management Review, A Journal of the Nepal Administrative Staff College*, vol. 2, no. 11, 1999, pp.14-15.
- Quah, J. S.T. (2010). *Public Administration Singapore Style*. Research in Public Policy Analysis and Management. Volume 19. Emerald Books.
- Quah, J. S. T. (1987). Public bureaucracy and policy implementation in Singapore. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 15(2), 77–95.
- Rao, S. (2013). *Civil service reform: Topic guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

- Rasheed, S, and Olowu, D. eds, (1993), *Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services*, Nairobi: UNECA.
- Reid, G.J. (2007). 'A Proposal for Improving World Bank Support for Institutional Reform and Capacity Building (IRCB) in Client Countries'. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Repucci, S. (2014). Designing effective civil service reform lessons from past experience. *Public Administration and Development*, 34, 207-218.
- Repucci, S. (2012). *Civil Service Reform: A Review*. Working Paper No. 2012/90. United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research.
- Scott, Z. (2011). *Evaluation of public sector governance reforms 2001-2011: Literature review*. Oxford: Oxford Policy Management.
- Smoke, P. (2003). Decentralization in Africa: Goals, dimensions, myths and challenges. *Public Administration and Development*, 23(1), 7-16.
- Stewart, J., & Walsh, K. (1992). Change in the management of public services. *Public Administration*, 70(4), 499-518.
- Taylor, H. (1996). *The Applicability of HRM Concepts to LDCs Contexts*, Institute of Development and Policy Management, University of Manchester, Working Paper no 5.
- Tessema, M.T. and Soeters, J.L. (2006), Challenges and prospects of HRM in developing countries: testing the HRM–performance link in the Eritrean civil service. *Int. J. of Human Resource Management* 17(1), 86–105
- Tessema, M. and Ng'oma, A. (2009). Challenges of retaining skilled Employees: The Case of Eritrean Public Sector. *International Public Management Review*. Vol. 10, Issue 2.
- Therkildsen, O. (2000). Public Sector Reform in a poor, aid-dependent country, Tanzania. *Public Administration and Development*, vol.20, no.1, pp.61-71.
- Therkildsen, O. (2001). Efficiency, accountability and implementation: public sector reform in east and southern Africa. Program paper- Democracy, Governance and Human Right. No.3- Geneva: UNRISD.
- United Nations (2001). *World Public Sector Report: Globalization and the State*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, pp.1-15.
- United Nations (2001). *Eritrea Common Country Assessment*. Volume 1.
- United Nations (2005). *Unlocking the Human Potential for Public Sector Performance*. World Public Sector Report 2005 (Vol. 3). Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York: United Nations Publications.
- UNDP, (1993). *Human Development Report*. United Nations, New York.
- UNDP, (2009), UNDP Report. www.hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/ERI.html
- UNDP (2010). *Building Bridges between the State & the People: An Overview of Trends and Developments in Public Administration and Local Governance*. New York: UNDP.
- UNESCO, (2009). Incentive structures as a capacity development strategy in public service delivery. International institute for education and planning.
- Walsh, K., (1995). *Public Services and Market Mechanisms: Competition, Contracting and the New Public Management*, London: Macmillan.
- World Bank (1995). *The Reform of Public Sector Management: Lessons from Experience*. Washington, D.C.
- World Bank (1997). *World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World*, Oxford University Press
- World Bank (1999), *Rethinking Civil Service Reform*, PREM Note No. 31, October
- World Bank. (2000a). *Anticorruption in transition: A contribution to the policy debate*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

- World Bank (2000b). Decentralizing Agricultural Extension: Lesson and Good practice.
[<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/8258261111063678817/20431788/Decentralization.pdf>] site visited on 12/8/2019.
- World Bank (2008). Public Sector Reform: What Works and Why? Washington, DC: World Bank.
- World Bank. (2011). Public sector management. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
<http://tinyurl.com/pu4cp6u>
- World Bank (2012). Better Results from Public Sector Institutions: The World Bank's Approach to Public Sector Management 2011-2020. Washington, DC: World Bank.