



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND
DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

POLITICIZATION OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND POLICY
IMPLEMENTATION
THE CASE OF ADDIS ABEBA CITY ADMINISTRATION

THIS RESEARCH PAPER IS PREPARED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ART IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

BY: ZELALEM WORKAGEGNEHU

JUNE, 2019

ADDIS ABEBA ETHIOPIA

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ADDIS ABABA ETHIOPIA

Statement of Declaration

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis titled "Politicization of Public Service and Policy Implementation, the case of Addis Abeba City Administration" is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University, and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Statement of certification

This is to certify that Zelalem Workagegnehu Gashaw carried out his research work on the topic entitled "Politicization of Public Service and Policy Implementation, the case of Addis Abeba City Administration". The work is original in nature and is suitable for submission for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Public Administration and Policy at Addis Ababa University.

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Zelalem Workagegnehu entitled “Politicization of Public Service and Policy Implementation, the case of Addis Abeba City Administration” which is submitted impartial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Art in Public Administration and Policy, complies with the regulation of the university and to the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

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Acronyms

AACA – Addis Abeba City Administration

ANC – African National Congress

CSA - Central Statistics Agency

EPRDF – Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE – Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

HRM – Human Resource Management

Hods – Heads of Department

NPM – New Public Management

OCED – The Organization and for Economic Co- operation and Development

PSC – Public Service Commission

PSR – Public Service Reform

US – United States

Abstract

The purpose of the study is to find out the possible impact of politicization on implementing public policies in Addis Abeba City Administration. Both primary and secondary data were used. Descriptive ways of analysis were applied. To measure the overall situation of the implementation process citizens and public service employee's view was included. The poor implementation of public policies costs the country a lot. The finding of the research shows that the public is dissatisfied by poor implementation of policies and awkward service delivery of the public servants. On the other hand the public servants are not happy for working there. The Ande le Amest groups in the city administration, contents of training and procedures followed for giving promotion and other benefit shows high politicization. The different legislation including the constitution of the Republic of Ethiopia doesn't specify where the demarcation line should be for political appointment and other. Eventually the research recommended the need for clear legislation for the demarcation of politics and public service, the importance of awareness the public about the public office, the ruling party separate its political apparatus from public office, the need to build a career civil servant, the importance of following the merit procedures in giving promotion and the importance of need based training for public servants.

Words: politicization, apolitical, Public servant, Addis Abeba, policy

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

The issue of politics and public administration is an area of academic debate since W. Wilson wrote the controversial article "The Politics - Administration dichotomy" in 1887. Different scholars had their say on it, both in support of him and against Max Weber (1980) in his model of bureaucracy presents the division of labor between politician and bureaucrats would work best when there is clear distinction between the two set of actors.

According to Peter (2004) the introduction of NPM has created high politicization of public service even in well-developed democratic nations like the US and OCED countries. The reason for these was the increase in the demand of the public for better service therefore the politicians want to control the public service so as to deliver the demand.

Within the theoretical framework of political-administrative relationships, I am going to examine the increased politicization of the public service in Ethiopia. In terms of administrative criteria a politicized administrative system is assumed to be less efficient than the neutral competence associated with the merit system. This research views politicization primarily as partisan control of the bureaucracy: that is, when a civil servants activity depends more on political than professional norms defined by administrations and ruled by law.

As Peters and Pierre (2004) indicate, some points need to be clarified here. First, in all public services, even those of industrialized democracies, there is some level of political involvement in personnel matters. For example, the United States has over 4000 political appointments at federal level (Peters, 2004: 126). Even Britain, long considered to have a strong tradition of neutral civil servants, and has shown evidence of greater politicization.

Second, the politicization of staff may occur for different reasons. For example, it can be prompted by support for the government's radical program of reform rather than party membership by itself. Pierre (2004: 45) draws a distinction between politicization in the partisan sense and politicization meaning tight control over the civil service by elected officials. The latter form of politicization entails an institutional arrangement whereby

politicians exercise control over bureaucrats. It is aimed at achieving greater bureaucratic responsiveness to politicians.

Third, the manner in which political criteria are utilized may have implications for the performance of the administrative system. For example, using merit criteria to select and promote public servants while using political criteria to remove and replace senior officials is less destructive of the principles underpinning the merit system than is the overt political selection and promotion of public servants throughout their career (Peters and Pierre, 2004).

The Ethiopian government, led by EPRDF since 1991, had enacted a range of public policies and built a huge public service both regionally and at federal level, Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and center of politics and economy of the country, do the same. The city administration having 10 sub cities and 104 Woredas try to deliver different public services and implement different policies.

The research describes how the public service politicization has influenced the implementations of polices. By monitoring the different services delivered by the Addis Abeba City administration and analyzing the implementation of different policies, I will try to display how political patronage had an impact on employees moral in working as a civil servant and how that indirectly affect policy implementation in developing countries, particularly in Ethiopia.

Addis Ababa comprises 10 sub cities and 108 Woredas. The city is divided into 328 dwelling associations (Kebeles) of which 305 are urban and 23 rural. The city council is made up of 18 bureaus, offices and authorities. Amharic is the working language of the city administration.

Addis Ababa is the diplomatic capital of Africa. More than 92 embassies and consular representatives cluster in the city where the Organization of African Unity and the UN Economic Commission for Africa have their headquarters.

Addis Abeba With a population of 6-7 million, projecting from the 2007 census a population of 2,739,552 million with annual growth rate of 3.8 %. The city administration structured with 10 Sub-cities and 108 Woredas had more than 71,186 civil servant. (CSA, 2007) The administration had implemented as series of reform to improve the public service, though

they were not successful. The new leadership, with changing political atmosphere in the nation, claims it will leave no stone unturned to solve the city's public service problem.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Politics- Administration are an area of discussion and they are inseparable, some call them complementary. The ingredient that attaches these two is policy (public policy). Public policies are mainly formulated by politicians and the responsibility shifts towards public administrator for implementation. However, not only in developing nation but also in a well developed countries policy implementation is a headache.

The dividing line between the political and the apolitical has been shifting in the direction of the political, and more positions that once would have been off limits for political tampering are now clearly subject to political pressures and appointments. We may well debate the desirability and efficacy of this change, but it does appear to have become a reality of modern government. (Peters and Pierre, 2004)

The Ethiopia government since 1991 has introduced different public service reform. The first phase of the reform gives emphasis on restructuring the civil service. The second phase which started in 1996 gave emphasis on capacity building (Negusu, 2013). The third phase started in 2003 till now give priority to quality of service delivery. The agenda for quality of service delivery in Ethiopia was designed intentionally to strength the public institution by establishing a de-politicized civil service, improve managerial effectiveness and empower private and civic society organization and higher education (Tilaye, 2007).

Even if the government has introduced attractive policies, failed to implement them. Many of the high officials of the ruling party try to defend by saying "our problem is implementation, not the policy". The public disappointment on government service and failure to deliver what is promised is immense.

What makes the policy implementation mysteries is that, even if Ethiopia claiming democracy and conducted 5 elections for the past 28 years, the ruling party EPRDF had won the posts in all level of government Wereda, regions and federal. So the government did not

face what some democratic nation face, due to multi-level of government sits won by different political parties. There is no such a case in Ethiopia. Rather EPRDF has won all layers of government sits and build a highly politicized civil servant for the last 28 years. In all this circumstance the party claims it has a problem of policy implementation.

1.3 Research questions

What do the FDRE constitution, EPRDF policy paper and other government legislation say regarding party (politics) and public servants?

What (where) exactly is the source of politicization of for Ethiopian public service? Does source and reasons for politicization matter?

Why the public servant unable to implement the program and policies their own party or the party they affiliated to?

What is the impact of politicized public servant in policy implementation in the city administration?

1.4 Objective of the study

1.4.1 General objective

The general objective of the study is to show the level of public service politicization and assess its impact on public policy implementation.

1.4.2 Specific objective

Assessing source of political polarization in the public services.

Finding out how the politicization of public servant affects the implementation of policies in Addis Abeba city Administration.

Describe the legislations and proclamation about the issue in Ethiopia.

Suggest what administrative and policy measure need to be taken to resolve the problem.

1.5 The scope of the study

The scope of the study is limited to A.A city Administration geographically and even though there are range of policies and programs the scope tries to assess only policy implementation from citizens' satisfaction and public office employees' perspective.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

The expected limitation of the study are the following, the first limitation could be considering only selected policy implementation and taking A.A city Administration as the target population. The second limitation could also be "almost none study was conducted" in the area. This has given me hard time to consider the issues from previous regime perspectives. Rather to look other African countries as a base for comparison. The last limitation is the recent political changes in the country had a domino effect on respondent view of answering the questions.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study will have a great importance for academicians, opposition (challenging) political parties, the ruling party EPRDF and also practitioner (public administrators).

The academicians can use this initial study to examine difference areas of public service and politics and conduct further studies and also can cite it or quote it in their publications.

The public offices will learn, how only considering political locality as their base for employments, promotion and reward affect implementation capacity. And understand the importance of professionalism in the field.

It will give the ruling party (EPRDF) the chance to examine it failure to implement policy from different angle and follow different techniques recruiting members (speciously civil servants) rather than promotion and benefits.

Opposition (challenging) political parties in the country can use the information from the study to challenge the ruling party in their political debit in the upcoming election. Not only that but also they need policy paper regarding public administration and politic that they will follow in case they win the election.

In line with the above facts the results of the study will be good resource for those who aspire to improve public service in Ethiopia.

1.8. Organization of the study

This research paper consists of five chapters. Chapter one introduced the problem statement and described the specific problem addressed in the study as well as design components. Chapter two presents a review of literature and relevant research associated with the problem addressed in this study. Chapter three discussed about the methodology and procedures used for data collection and analysis. Chapter four contains an analysis of the data and presentation of the results. Finally chapter five offers conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: REIVEW OF RELATED LITRATURE

2.1Theortical framework

2.1.1 Politics vs. Public Administration

The issue of politics and public administration dichotomy has been an area of debate. The subject divided scholars in to three different groups. There are scholars who advocate for complete separation of politics from public administration. In the second group in the opposite of the first group which advocate or view public administration as a political job and the last group of scholars advocate for politics public administration complementarily.

Scholars who advocate for complete separation:

Woodrow Wilson, the 28th present of the United State is considered as author of separation of politics and public administration. W. Wilson in one of his famous writing "the Study of Administration" stated that "The field of administration has to be removed from the hurry and strife of politics (and that) it at most point stand apart from debatable ground of constitutional study. According to him (Wilson, 1887) politics is thus the special province of the states man, administration of the technical official. Policy does nothing without the aid of administration, but administration in not therefore politics.

The European version of the dichotomy was accepted by Frank Goodnow. In his book "Politics and Administration" (1900), Goodnow attacked to the executive, legislative, and judicial functions as three basic functions of government. Instead, he argued, there were two basic functions of government: the expression of the popular will and the execution of that will. The three traditional powers were derived from the two functions, and each of the three branches of government combined in different measure both the expression and the execution of the popular will. Goodnow argued that the function of politics was to express the

State's will and the function of administration was to execute the state's will. He contended that it was analytically possible to separate administration from politics, but practically impossible toad the two functions to one branch of government (Goodnow, 1900: 9-13). Goodnow argued that certain aspects of administration were harmed by politics and should

have been shielded from it. He argued political control over administrative functions is liable...to produce inefficient administration in that it makes administrative officers feel that what is demanded of them is not so much work that will improve their own department, as compliance with the behests of the political party (Goodnow, 1900)

The other scholars who argue for complete separation is Max Weber, Max Weber (1980) in his model of bureaucracy argued the division of labor between politicians and bureaucrats would work best when there is a clear distinction between the two set of actors.

In early twentieth century, Weber also arrived to a dichotomy between politics and administration, but from the opposite direction of Wilson and Goodnow. Weber argued that politics are too weak to curb administrative power, and that is the danger of Beamtenherrschaft (government by functionaries) that treat government. Therefore, he insisted that it was essential that administration stay out of politics (Weber, 1919/1968: 28).

In "Politikals Beruf" Weber draws a sharp line between administrators and politicians: According to his proper vocation, the genuine civil servant...should not engage in politics, but administer, above all impartially.... Hence, he shall precisely not do what the politician, the leader as well as his following, must always and necessarily do, namely, fight. For partisanship, fight, passions are stadium are the politician's element. (Weber, 1919/1968: 27-8)

The public sector as a political creation:

On the other hand Weber's theoretical model, other considered as ideal types of bureaucracy, was however rarely found in practice. (Peter, et al 2004) argue that the public service is inherently a political creation and thus can never be made fully apolitical.

Politics affects origins, formulation and implementation of public policy especially when significant changes are involved (Reich 1995). As Reich (1995) emphasizes, broad reforms are possible when there is sufficient political will and when changes to a sector are designed and implemented by capable planners and managers.

Political actors, capable of strategic action, employ a dual strategy: they try to control the image of the policy problem through the use of rhetoric, symbols and policy analysis. They also seek to change the participants who are involved in the issue by seeking out the most favorable venue for consideration of their issues. Both the institutional structures and the individual strategies of policy entrepreneurs play important roles (Baumgartner and Jones, 1991).

The public service is inherently a political creation, and also inherently involved in politics, simply because it is the structure that deliver public services to the citizens - it plays a role in determining who gets what from the public sector. That said, however, the pattern of political development has been to shield the civil service from overt political control in order to enhance its efficiency and to ensure its fairness in dealing with citizens (Torstendahl, 1991).

However, many authors claim that politicization has increased over the years, and similarly report suggests a growing development of political actors in roles which are traditionally played by public servants. (Dunn 1997).

Complementarities of politics and public administration:

There has been an implicit defining model for political– administrative relationships from the beginning, and this model is important for understanding the current and future role of public administration. The complementarity of politics and administration is based on the premise that elected officials and administrators join together in the common pursuit of sound governance. Complementarity entails separate parts, but parts that come together in a mutually supportive way. One fills out the other to create a whole. Complementarity stresses interdependence along with distinct roles; compliance along with independence; respect for political control along with a commitment to shape and implement policy in ways that promote the public interest; deference to elected incumbents along with adherence to the law and support for fair electoral competition; and appreciation of politics along with support for professional standards. (Svara, 2001)

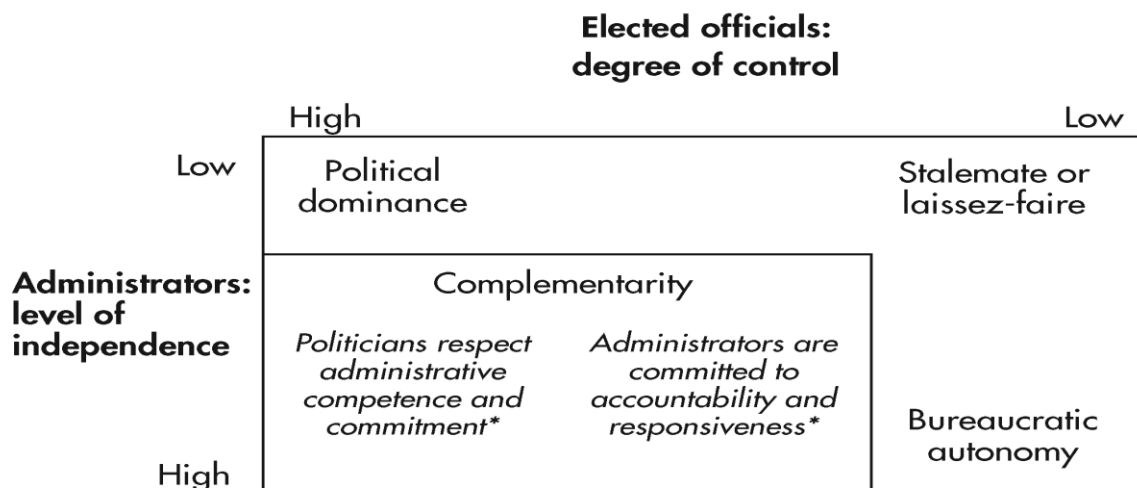
It is important that a civil service be both mindful of its constitutional role of loyally serving the government of the day that is, being responsive to its demands and priorities, and jealous

of preserving its integrity and its professionalism. Because of the strategic role of civil servants in maintaining state institutions over time, statutory or some other form of institutional protection may be necessary. On a day-to-day basis, a strong voice in defense of continuity and professional integrity is desirable through the institution of a central HRM agency playing a guardianship role. (UN report, 2005)

Complementarities recognize the interdependence and reciprocal influence between elected officials and administrators. Elected officials and administrators maintain distinct roles based on their unique perspectives and values and the differences in their formal positions, but the functions they perform necessarily overlap.

How can politicians maintain control and, at the same time, allow administrators to maintain their independence to adhere to professional values and standards and to be responsible to the public? The reconciliation comes from recognizing the reciprocating values that underlie complementarity. Elected officials could, in theory, dominate administrative practice, but they are constrained by a respect for administrative competence and commitment. Administrators could use their considerable resources to become self-directed, but they are restrained by a commitment to accountability in the complementary relationship. Overhead democracy by citizens and politicians can work, but only if it is accompanied by undergirding responsibility from administrators.

The relationship between elected officials and administrators could be seen as simply the interaction between political control and professional independence. Control involves the capacity to set direction and maintain oversight, while independence involves asserting professional perspectives in policy formation and adhering to professional standards in implementation.



**Reciprocating values that reinforce the position of other set of officials.*

Fig 1. Understanding the interaction between politicians and administrators

(Figure is directly taken from James H. Svara’s (2001) *The Myth of the Dichotomy*)

Any of these combinations are possible if the defining conditions are present. The political dominance that results from high political control and low administrative independence is the condition that has been attacked by reformers from the Progressive Era to the present because of their concern for loss of administrative competence and the potential for political corruption.

Bureaucratic autonomy is feared by critics of the administrative state, who argue that administrators are self-controlling and advance agency interests rather than the public interest. In both situations, either the level of control or independence is extreme, or the key reciprocating value is not present: Politicians do not respect administrators, or administrators are not committed to accountability.

One conceptual possibility is the combination of low control and low independence, producing a “live and let live” attitude among officials... The distance between the two sets of officials does not contribute to real control or real independence, but to coexistence. In some circumstances, the limited ability to influence other officials could result in stalemate.

The largest space in the figure is the zone of complementarities. Complementarity entails ongoing interaction, reciprocal influence, and mutual deference between elected officials and administrators. Administrators help to shape policy, and they give it specific content and meaning in the process of implementation. Elected officials oversee implementation, probe specific complaints about poor performance, and attempt to correct problems with performance through fine-tuning.

This complementarity of politics and administration is based on the premise that politicians are elected officials and administration collaborate in common pursuit sound governance (Svara, 2001, 2008)

2.1.2 Politicization

Politicization of the bureaucracy is the degree to which politicians have control of the bureaucracy. The principal means through which politicians gain control over the bureaucracy is to appoint personal allies and party affiliates to positions in agencies (Geddes 1994; Wood and Waterman 1991)

Peter (2004) defines politicization of civil service as the substitution of political criteria for merit based criteria in the **selection, retention, promotion, reward** and **disciplining** of members of the civil service. Those political criteria can be ideological, with the goal of ensuring compliance with the administration's policy, or based on patronage, whether electoral (rewarding loyal supporters and generous donors) or organizational (patronage used to strengthen political parties' organizations [Kopecký and Mari, 2012]).

According to Peter (2004) there are a lot of factors to consider when we define politicization.

The definition of politicization advanced above is broad, and requires some ramifications. The first point is that almost all civil service systems have some level of political involvement in personnel matters that is considered appropriate. There are a large number of appointed officials in the American bureaucracy that are manifestly political and those appointments have been available to presidents and cabinet secretaries for decades. Likewise the "political civil servants" in Germany have a known party affiliation but the administrative system provides means of permitting that political involvement, while at the same time

maintaining the merit basis of their initial appointment (Derlien, 1996). The more recent concern about politicization, therefore, implies a sense that those bounds of acceptability are being breached.

A second point to consider is that the nature of the political criteria being employed when the public service is being politicized may vary. We usually think of these as being partisan political loyalties, but attempts at politicization may also reflect policy and even stylistic issues, as they are manifested in the activities of public servants. For example, during the Thatcher years in the United Kingdom it was often argued that politicization was occurring less on the basis of allegiance to the Conservative Party and more on the basis of being "one of us," i.e. being committed to a program of radical reform of the public sector (Clifford and Wright, 1998). The support for reform may have been correlated with Conservative Party membership, but commitment was more important by far than partisanship. The longer a party remains in power, the more this form of politicization appears to manifest itself, as it did with the Social Democratic Party in Sweden (Rothstein, 1986). In the extreme case civil servants may be selected and deselected on the basis of their personal, almost client elastic, loyalties to ministers and other political leaders as well as partisan allegiance.

A third point is that the manner in which the political criteria are employed may matter for the performance of the administrative system. For example, permitting merit criteria to dominate the selection and promotion of public servants for most of their careers, with the political criteria being used primarily to remove very senior officials and to replace them (particularly after a change of government), is less destructive of the principles underlying merit systems than is more overt selection of civil servants throughout their careers. Likewise, the focus on policy goals as opposed to partisan allegiance mentioned above may be less destructive to democratic values than would be strict partisanship in selection.

Fourth, politicization may also mean that public servants begin to take on tasks that formerly (and formally) might have been considered to be political. There is some evidence that ministers find it increasingly difficult to separate their political roles from their governmental roles, and require civil servants to perform tasks that might be better performed by political aides, or by political party personnel (Savoie, 1999). There is some truth in the argument that the political and the governmental are difficult to separate in the life of a minister. That

having been said, he or she conventionally has been considered to have an obligation to err on the side of not using public employees for political purposes, and to maintain the probity of public office. As we will point out below, however, parliaments and other public institutions may be forcing these political roles onto public servants, and civil servants themselves find it difficult to refuse functions assigned to them.

Fifth, increased politicization in the partisan sense may imply de-politicization in other senses. One target of would be politicizes in many countries has been the close connection of social and economic interest groups with ministries, and with individual civil servants. For that functional, corporatist relationship, concerned politicians would substitute a partisan or political loyalty. The commitment of bureaucrats to the values and interests of the policy area is generally seen as just another reason for the difficulties that ministers encounter when attempting to manage their programs and their departments. This is especially true for parties that come to office after some period in opposition and find that there are working relationships in place that they do not favor. Still, substituting the influence of political parties and politicians means that other political actors, the interest groups, will be less influential.

A final consideration arising from this definition of politicization is that in some ways political criteria may be more important for ensuring democratic values in governing than are conventional merit values. One standard critique (see Rose, 1976) of conventional bureaucracies is that the permanent, career public service is not sufficiently responsive to changes in the priorities of their political leadership. They are argued (somewhat stereotypically) to persist in their own conceptions of appropriate policies, regardless of what their ministers want. Replacing those permanent employees with more responsive, if politicized, public employees may actually improve the correspondence between electoral results and policies (see Peters, 2000). Despite that possibility, the term politicization has a generally negative connotation in democratic societies.

2.1.3 Why politicize?

Politicians are, the literature (both popular and academic) argues, investing more time and energy in politicizing the civil service now than in the recent past. For example, the articles

contained in a special issue of *Revue Française d'Administration Publique* (1998) all indicated that there had been an increase in political meddling in administration, even in the northern European countries with reputations for more effective systems of merit appointment, Dudek and Peters, 1999, (cited by Peters and Pierre, 2004). If we assume that these observations are correct, then we must wonder why these politicians are willing to do this when for many citizens the practice has very negative connotations.

The most obvious reason, as already mentioned above, is that politicians want to be able to control what their government organizations do; the usual complaint about the bureaucracy is that the decisions taken by ministers simply trickle into the sand. If there are loyal party members administering public programs, so it has been argued, there will be less deflection of policy directions than in a system dominated by the career public service. That concern about the career public service is a~ old story, so why is there so much expansion of interest in using political appointments to administrative posts? (Peters, 2004).

2.1.4 Policy Implementation

Implementation inevitably takes different shapes and forms in different cultures and institutional settings. This point is particularly important in an era in which processes of 'government' have been seen as transformed into those of 'governance' (Hill and Hupe,2002).

It can be said that the evolving management of public affairs "from government to governance" is changing accountability relationships in the public service in a major way. Some of the likely implications may include the following: Accountability conflicts in the public service will increase; Public officials will be required to exercise increasing judgment over which form of accountability to prioritize in a given circumstance; Professional/personal accountability will become more important for public administrators—senior administrators will have new leadership roles to play; Political accountability will become less dominant; and Political representatives will become increasingly required to assume "meta-accountability" roles—i.e., monitoring the "accountability system" for its overall results and integrity.(UN report, 2005)

Implementation literally means carrying out, accomplishing, fulfilling, producing or completing a given task. The founding fathers of implementation, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) define it in terms of a relationship to policy as laid down in official documents. According to them, policy implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieve them (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984)

Policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals or groups that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in policy decisions.

This includes both one-time efforts to transform decisions into operational terms and continuing efforts to achieve the large and small changes mandated by policy decisions (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975).

According to Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983), policy implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute, but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions. The starting point is the authoritative decision. It implies centrally located actors, such as politicians, top-level bureaucrats and others, who are seen as most relevant to producing the desired effects. In their definition, the authors categorize three types of variables affecting the achievement of legal objectives throughout this entire process. These variables can be broadly categorized as: tractability of the problem(s) being addressed; the ability of the statute to favorably structure the implementation process; and the net effect of a variety of political variables on the balance of support for statutory objectives.

O'Toole (2003) defines policy implementation as what develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something or stop doing something and the ultimate impact of world of actions. More concisely, he remarks that policy implementation refers to the connection between the expression of governmental intention and actual result (O'Toole et al., 1995).

2.1.4.1 Factors for effective policy implementation

Elmore identified four main ingredients for effective implementation: (1) clearly specified tasks and objectives that accurately reflect the intent of policy; (2) a management plan that

allocates tasks and performance standards to subunits; (3) an objective means of measuring subunit performance; and (4) a system of management controls and social sanctions sufficient to hold subordinates accountable for their performance. Failures of implementation are, by definition, lapses of planning, specification and control (Elmore, 1978).

In this line, Giacchino and Kakabadse (2003) assess the successful implementation of public policies on decisive factors. According to them, these are the decisions taken to locate political responsibility for initiative; presence of strong project management or team dynamics and level of commitment shown to policy initiatives. Besides this, the success of a policy depends critically on two broad factors: local capacity and will. Questions of motivation and commitment (or will) A Critical account of policy implementation theories reflect the implementer's assessment of the value of a policy or the appropriateness of a strategy.

Motivation or will is influenced by factors largely beyond the reach of policy environmental stability; competing centers of authority, contending priorities or pressures and other aspects of socio-political milieu can also profoundly influence an implementer's willingness. This emphasis on individual motivation and internal institutional conditions implies that external policy features have limited influence on outcomes, particularly at lower level in the institution (Matland, 1995).

2.1.4.2 Theories policy implementation

Scholars divide policy implementation research generations in to three distinctive eras. The first generation of research ranged from the early 1970s to the '80s; the second generation from the 1980s to the 90s; and the third generation research from 1990 and onwards (Matland, 1995).

The first generation was a more systematic effort in the 1980s to understand the factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of public policies (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1981)

The second generation implementation studies focused on describing and analyzing the relationships between policy and practice. These researches generated a number of important

lessons for policy, practice and analysis. For example, policy cannot always mandate what matters to outcomes at local level; individual incentives and beliefs are central to local responses; effective implementation requires a strategic balance of pressure and support; policy directed change ultimately is a problem of the smallest unit (McLaughlin, 1987).

The third generation research is its research design--an explicit theoretical model; operational definitions of concepts; an exhaustive search for reliable indicators of implementation and predictor variables; and the specification of theoretically derived hypotheses, with analysis of data using appropriate qualitative and statistical procedures as well as case studies for testing them (Goggin, et al., 1990,).

2.1.4.3 Approaches of Policy Implementation

A widely used concept in the policy implementation (and change) literature distinguishes between top-down and bottom-up approaches. The two approaches vary in a number of areas, such as the role of actors and their relationships and the type of policies they can be applied to.

Top-down approach

Top-down theorists see policy designers as the central actors and concentrate their attention on factors that can be manipulated at the central level (Matland 1995). The most detailed top-down approach was presented by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), who identified a number of legal and political variables and then synthesized them into six conditions needed for effective implementation ranging from clear objectives, causal theory, legal structure of the implementation process, committed officials, supportive interests groups to no undermining of changing socio-economic conditions (for more detail on these conditions, see Sabatier 2005). In terms of policy areas, 'top-downers' usually priorities clear policies (Matland 1995).

Strengths and weaknesses

One of the strength of the top-down approach is that it seeks to develop generalizable policy advice and come up with consistent recognisable patterns in behavior across different policy

areas (Matland 1995). But top-down approaches are criticised for only taking statutory language as a starting point and hence do not consider the significance of previous actions. The approach may be said to consider implementation as an administrative process and ignores or eliminates political aspects. The emphasis on statute framers as key actors is another source of criticism (i.e. local actors are not taken into consideration).

Bottom-up approach

Bottom-up theorists emphasis target groups and service deliverers, arguing that policy is made at the local level (Matland 1995). These scholars (e.g. Hjern and Hull 1982, Hanf 1982, Barrett and Fudge 1981, Elmore 1979) thus criticise top-down theorists for only taking into consideration the central decision-makers and neglecting other actors.

The bottom-up approach, developed by Hanf, Hjern and Porter (1978), identifies the networks of actors who are involved in service delivery in one or more local areas and asks them about their goals, strategies, activities and contacts. It then uses the contacts in order to develop a networking technique to identify the local, regional and national actors involved in the planning, financing and execution of relevant governmental and non-governmental programs. This provides a mechanism for moving from local actors and decision-makers such as teachers or doctors up to the top policy-makers in both the public and private sectors (Sabatier 2005). In terms of policy areas, bottom-uppers examine policies with greater uncertainty in the policy (Matland 1995).

Among the benefits of the bottom-up approach is its focus on centrally located actors who devise and implement government programme, thus contextual factors within the implementing environment are important. Actors and their goals, strategies and activities need to be understood in order to comprehend implementation. Bottom-up approaches do not present prescriptive advice, but rather describe what factors have caused difficulty in reaching stated goals (Matland 1995). It is significant that strategies are flexible so that they can adapt to local difficulties and contextual factors. Nonetheless, bottom-up approaches have been criticized on two counts. First, policy control should be exercised by actors whose power derives from their accountability to sovereign voters through their elected

representatives, but the authority of local service deliverers does not derive from this. Second, this approach tends to over emphasize the level of local autonomy (Matland 1995).

Combined approach

Increasingly, the literature has focused on combining (micro-level variables of) bottom-up and (macro-level variables of) top-down approaches in implementation research in order to benefit from the strengths of both approaches and enable different levels to interact regularly (Elmore 1985).

The two-by-two typology captures how top-down and bottom-up approaches can vary according to policy areas. For instance, strategies that use bottom-up approaches (e.g. networks and devolution) are more common in areas of low conflict but high uncertainty and lack of consensus about the means to achieve a goal – such as educational disadvantage (Suggett 2011). In contrast, strategies that use such top-down approaches as strong political direction and sound governance are more likely in areas of high conflict about the goal but relatively high certainty on how it might be implemented (e.g. taxation for a specific industry sector) (Suggett 2011).

2.1.5 Politicization and policy implementation

Reich (1995) argues that for reform to succeed (successful policy implementation), policy-makers need effective methods to analyze relevant political conditions and shape key political factors in favor of policy reform. According to him, different models for policy reform exist, and they represent three clusters of political conditions under which policy reform can occur. It should be mentioned that the three models are not mutually exclusive.

Political will model: decisions by political leaders are necessary and sufficient for a major policy change. This model emphasizes a technocratic approach with a rational actor model of decision-making, but it tends to ignore political constraints to policy reform. This model is more likely under political circumstances such as ‘a strong mandate, strong state, narrow coalition and strong leadership’ (Reich 1995).

Political faction's model: politicians seek to serve the desires of different groups (interest groups, political parties). Rational analysis is the main means to promote and serve organizational interests. Reform occurs when it corresponds to a preferred distribution of benefits to specific constituent groups of government leaders.

Political survival model: government officials seek to protect individual interests (as power-holders) in order to maintain or expand their existing control over resources. It assumes that politicians operate in logic of opportunistic politics, in which decision-makers manipulate policies to achieve desired means. Reform occurs when it serves the personal political survival or the personal interests of political leaders (Reich 1995).

2.2 Empirical Frameworks

2.2.1 Public Administrators under Democratic Governance in Ghana

(By Joseph Ayee)

Joseph Ayee (2013) public administration under the democratic republic of Ghana, this article based on a desk study makes a contribution to this debate by examining the constitutional, legal, and political framework and environment within which public administrators operate in Ghana since the return to constitutional rule in 1993. It discusses the participation of public administrators in partisan politics and the challenges faced as well as benchmarking the Ghanaian experience against some countries. The article found that there has been growing politicization of the public service and an increase in the number of public administrators in partisan politics.

This article has set out to show the relationship between politicians and public administrators with the return to constitutional rule in Ghana in 1993. It found that there has been a growing politicization of the public service and that this is not new because the trend has been there since independence in 1957. The politicization of the public service has become more or less a norm because of the country's constitutional and legal framework, the culture of patronage, and global influence such as the experiences of the United States and the OECD countries. This has made public administrators vulnerable because there is a sense of insecurity that has affected their capacity for long-term policy design and implementation.

The article also found that notwithstanding constitutional and legal provisions barring public administrators from partisan politics, there has been a steady increase in their number in partisan politics. Furthermore, some of the challenges faced by public administrators are largely due to politicization and the introduction of reforms under the NPM.

From this summary, it is possible for one to conclude that the Ghanaian experience has once again reinforced the highly intense political environment within which public administrators operate and the myth of the politics administration dichotomy. Accordingly, it has clearly shown that “the dividing line between the political and apolitical has shifted in the direction of the political, and more positions that once would have been off limits for political tampering are now clearly subject to political pressures and appointments” (Peters & Pierre, 2004). The simultaneous emphasis on separation and insulation of administrators from political interference, on one hand, and interaction and incorporation of administrative contributions in the design and implementation of public policy, on the other hand, can no longer be sustained. Accordingly, Ghanaian public administrators must accept that a non-politicized public service

is no longer tenable since it is part of the move towards securing their greater responsiveness and accountability and effective service delivery. They should therefore reorient their thinking vis-a-vis growing politicization because after all “the major function of a bureaucracy in a democracy is to implement the policy favored by the elected government and it is in terms of this criterion that the comparative merits of a professional public service should primarily be judged” (Mulgan, 1998).

2.2.2 Redefining Political–Administrative Relationships in South Africa

(By Robert Cameron)

This article is an overview of shifting political–administrative relationships in South Africa, with particular reference to growing politicization, partisan control of the bureaucracy. Studies of politicization of public services are important because political involvement in management has often led to negative effects on service delivery.

The article sets out a theoretical framework for political–administrative relationships.

Examining the growing politicization of public services, the impact of New Public Management (NPM) and political–administrative relationships in developing countries.

It then looks at political–administrative relationships in South Africa, including the apartheid history, the development of a new framework in the democratic South Africa and politicization in the staffing of the public service. It examines three functional areas the decentralization of powers, contract appointments and performance management and discusses the implications of this changing framework for service delivery.

This article is an overview of shifting political–administrative relationships in South Africa. There was an analysis of mostly macro-level data of government departments. Many of the conclusions reached here are accordingly tentative. Future research should entail more detailed studies of appointment practices and promotions in specific departments in order to reach more conclusive assessment of politicization in government departments. Notwithstanding this limitation, what conclusions can we draw from this study?

Peters and Pierre (2004: 288) point out that ‘the dividing line between the political and apolitical has shifted in the direction of the political, and more positions that once would have been off limits for political tampering are now clearly subject to political pressures and appointments’.

This is clearly the case in South Africa. While there was some political control over the appointment of senior public service staff under the NP, it has intensified under the ANC. The overall picture is one of high political involvement in appointments, and significant control over promotion, transfer and performance. It is only in dismissal that there is a high degree of administrative autonomy. The government initially appointed a number of senior managers who were not necessarily card-carrying members but who supported the ANC’s radical programme of transformation. The quality of this wave of appointees was mixed. The ANC then shifted towards a policy of deploying its card-carrying cadres to senior positions in the bureaucracy. This second wave of appointees tended to be more overt political appointees many of whom lacked management experience. There is a reasonable degree of political

involvement in performance assessment, but it is not consistently applied. Levels of compliance with the signing of performance agreements, which were low, have increased recently. There is also concern about low levels of performance evaluation. Furthermore,

Although officials are subordinate to their Ministers in terms of performance agreements, they do manipulate the process through putting easily attainable targets into their contracts and ignoring messy indicators that are difficult to attain.

Peters and Pierre (2004: 284) point out that reforms meant to lessen the role of political leaders have resulted in greater political intervention in the day-to-day management of government, and a weakening of depoliticized, professional managers within the public service.

In South Africa this is only partly true, with NPM reforms often incompletely implemented. Attempts to empower managers are frequently half-hearted. In some ways public managers have the worst of both worlds. For example, there has not been extensive empowerment of managers through delegation, and yet there has been greater political control over officials through, for example, performance management and contract appointments. There appears to be a paradox. On the one hand politicians want improved service delivery by the public service yet on the other hand they do not trust senior bureaucrats, many of whom are political appointees, to perform this implementation role.

There are some encouraging signs, however. For example, in terms of the revised PSR, Ministers are required to delegate more powers to officials (whether they will comply is a moot point). A PSC report indicated that some HoDs felt that they should be empowered to manage both human resources powers and financial responsibilities (cited in DPSA, 2007: 49).

There is a high turnover of senior managers. A major reason for this, rather than competence, is the political-administrative relationship between EAs and HoDs. Political appointments at senior management level have been an important factor contributing to poor service delivery although it is not the only reason.

In order to improve service delivery, the South African government needs to place greater emphasis on merit as the basis for appointments and promotions. A United Nations study, 2005, notes that promoting appointment on merit has proved, in practice, one of the most powerful ways in which governments can improve their effectiveness. It is also an essential part of maintaining and improving the prestige of public sector employment. This is not necessarily inconsistent with some form of carefully implemented affirmative action policies. Finally, Rauch and Evans (2000), using a data set of bureaucracies for 35 less developed countries, found that meritocratic appointment (as opposed to patronage) was a statistically significant determinant for improving bureaucratic performance.

Appointment on merit can contribute greatly to eradicating patronage in the public service. Olowu, 2000, argues that those countries that put a meritocracy in place are better equipped to advance on management reforms. And states that a merit-based public service helps enhance the efficiency and productivity of an administrative system.

This does not imply the introduction of a classical notion of political neutrality. Cameron (2003) argues that governments should have the right to appoint senior managers who share their ideological beliefs, providing that they have managerial competence. Some of first wave of ANC appointees met these criteria but many of the second wave appointees seemed to lack managerial competence.

There are a number of challenges to improving service delivery, with politicization being one of the most important factors. Until such time as the public service moves away from the ANC's Cadre Policy and Deployment Strategy to a merit based human resources system, the government will struggle to improve service delivery in a systematic fashion.

2.2.3 Civil Service in Ethiopia: the Marriage between Profession and Politics

Tesfaye Debela (PhD)

This paper assesses the organisational development in Ethiopia. Since the fall of the Military administration, the Ethiopian civil service has undergone major structural changes. However, there are controversial issue among scholars about the extent of marriage between the civil service professional and the governors (politicians in power). Bureaucratic organisational

structure was effective in the older days when the role of the state was limited to performing few governmental activities. Currently, citizens expect variety of services from the government that require seamless and flexible organisation that is effective and efficient in delivering services. The analysis in this paper has used primary data, secondary data, informal discussion made with different individuals. In addition, this research has evaluated the impact of the reward system and restructuring organizations on motivation of professionals, professions and professionalism in the civil service.

According to Tesfaye: The following are the factors that undermine professionalism (source informal discussion) Backward Beliefs and attitudes in the civil service; the "we and they" attitude: We have seen that the development of the Ethiopian politics goes from Feudalism, to Military Dictatorship and the current government. The political tradition of the country was surrounded with hostile political environment; in adequate facilities and work environment; when the politician dictates the solution that requires professional involvement (the professional becomes neutral on the situation. When the politician interferes in the work of the professional; when the professional resists political decision; Salary which does not satisfy the basic personal need.

There may be different outlooks and interpretations concerning the relationship between the governor and the professional.

The civil service in the eye of the politician: Resists change; The civil servants are there to fulfill the strategic objective of the government; Wants to interfere in my political work

The politician in the eye of the civil service: He is a politician he doesn't know how to run a bureaucracy; Interferes in my work; Recruits politically affiliated personnel; changes are implemented as a result of political decision rather than as a result of research; Sentimental and short sighted: Wants to see results quick, thinks always about his political goal; Wants to make us busy, increase work load, in the name of change.

In his conclusion:

The current trend in public management is the shift from bureaucratic organization that requires the compliances of the manager on the rules, regulation and procedures towards

seamless organization that deliver effective and efficient services to citizens. Thus organizations need professional civil servants that work independently and that are at the front line to solve the problems of citizens.

Declining social values, honesty, integrity, dependability, impartiality, courtesnous, and fairness are gradually disappearing from the public service (Agere and Mendoza, 1999).” In Ethiopian case any reform measure creates fear of job losses, increases paperwork and workload.

The main problem of inefficiency in the public sector is not redundancy in the number of employees but the lack of motivation, helplessness, and low salary that throw people to become careless, negligent, indifferent and corrupt.

The dominancy of political ideology in controlling: The designs of most controlling systems in public sectors are highly influenced by the ideologies of politicians in power. An imposition of ideology implies controlling norms, values, expectations, attitudes, and beliefs of individuals, and it is tantamount to enforcing social control without getting the willingness of the group.

The vague relationship among the agent and the principal in government organizations: Control is affected by the relationship of the principal and the agent towards a property or work. According to agency theorists, principal and agent are interchangeable. The politicians in power represent the people and act as principals. These politicians do not have any alternative except using state bureaucracy to deliver the services they promised to the public. Hence they hire professional to manage and run the bureaucracy. A professional, becoming the agent of the government, is responsible to run the bureaucracy to deliver the service promised by the politician.

Recommended:

Strategy to reform the Ministry of Civil Service (MoCS): The approval of government organisational structure and salary scale based on outdated procedures has made, the former FCSA a hurdle on the performance of government organisations.

Developing Dynamic Managers and Professionals: The civil service requires highly qualified professionals that can plan, organize, lead and control strategies of the government and provide citizens with fair and equitable services.

Designing schemes to motivate professional employees: The government is striving to implement result based performance management system in its public agencies, though it has to be cautious on which of the organizations it should apply first.

CHAPTER THREE: DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The study will draw an empirical relationship between politicization of public servants and implementation of public policy. The research for the report will be based on both primary and secondary data.

Generally literature review on politics and public administration, a review on rules and regulation or proclamation of the Federal democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the ruling party (EPRDF) policies regarding civil servants are presented (desk study).

The primary data was collected using semi structured questioner and unstructured interview. The semi structured questioner was used to collect different information from line workers and from citizens. Survey questioners were applied on line workers; this allowed us to investigate the level of politicization and sources of politicization in the public sector.

The unstructured interview had been applied for gathering information from middle and high level managers of the city administration.

The factors to be considered are the public servant politicization and the implementation of public policy. Since there are other factors that can affect implementation of policy other than politicization, I used multiple comparisons and triangulation to reduce the impact of extraneous factors.

3.2 Study Area and Target Population

3.2.1 Study Area

The study area is Addis Abeba, the capital and the biggest city of Ethiopia. With the population of 6-7 million, projecting from the 2007 census, a population of 2,739,552 million with annual growth rate of 3.8%. The city administration structured with 10 Sub-cities and 108 Woredas had more than 71,186 civil servant. (CSA, 2007)

There are 4 randomly selected sub cities, Gullelee Sub City, Arada Sub City, Bole Sub City and Yeka Sub City, as study target area.

3.2.2 Target population

The target population includes the city administration higher officials, middle level executives, line workers and clients or citizens.

City Administration higher officials: includes the city mayors office and both head and deputy head of different sector office.

Middle level managers: include heads and deputy heads of the different sector office in sub-city level

Line workers: includes these are public servants which have directly or indirectly have relationships with service delivery to the public

Clients or citizens: citizens who are at that particular office looking for service. For this particular study it means dwellers of Addis Abeba who were seeking service from the selected Sub-cities at the time of the study.

3.3 Sampling

The total population is all the public service employees in Addis Abeba city Administration. Four sub cities will be selected randomly. Samples will be selected from 4 sub cities of the Addis Abeba City Administration using simple random sampling techniques. These reduced biases and allow the researcher to have a representative sample. From the selected sub cities 200 line workers, 8 middle level and 2 high level managers will be selected. While we select our samples, for line workers, only employ who worked more than 3 year of service were considered. This is will allow us to avoid employees who are new for the practice.

We will also take sample groups from citizens who use different service of the government. A sample of 200 customers will be selected from the 4 sub cities; that means 50 from each sub city.

First letter of consent had been distributed to the selected samples. After collecting the letter of consent only willing participant were contacted and was the part of the study. Since collecting responds would had been time consuming, especially the questioners, the researcher proposed and let 25 participants fill in the questioners at a time in a mini hole.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

The raw data collected from different sources are analyzed in terms of the study objective already stated or designed previously. The analysis of the data is employed both through quantitative and qualitative methods. To analyses the quantitative data different statistical techniques were applied. For data presentation tables, pi-charts and barographs were used. And for data analysis statistical tool were applied. The qualitative data, the different publications and proclamations and the data which is collected through interview is analyzed using narration method.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

While we conduct the research we did ask the consent of both the offices included in the research and respondents who participated in the study through letter of consent. Not only ask their consent but also guarantee them to keep their identity anonymous. This was insured by not including their name in the questioner. The researcher also promised to keep confidential information accordingly and specify the result of the study to concerned bodies.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to present and evaluate the findings Of the primary and secondary data. By doing so it will try to describe how the different legislations and tries to show the factors that have direct and indirect relationship with politicization and policy implementation.

4.1 Characteristics of Respondents

The respondents of the questioner encompass public office employees of Addis Abeba City administration and the city dwellers (citizens who were seeking different service from the Sub City offices). On the other hand interview questions were forwarded for middle and high level officials of the City Administration.

4.1.1 Public Office Employees

The public office employees are employees of Addis Abeba City Administration who are working in four Sub Cities namely Gullelee, Arada, Yeka and Bole sub city. In the selected sub cities employees of Land Management and a Public Service office were targeted. The element that are considered for defining the public office employees are of three type , which are sex , work experience in civil service and educational background.

Sex: Considering gender 38% of the respondents from the public office employee are female and the rest 62% are male.

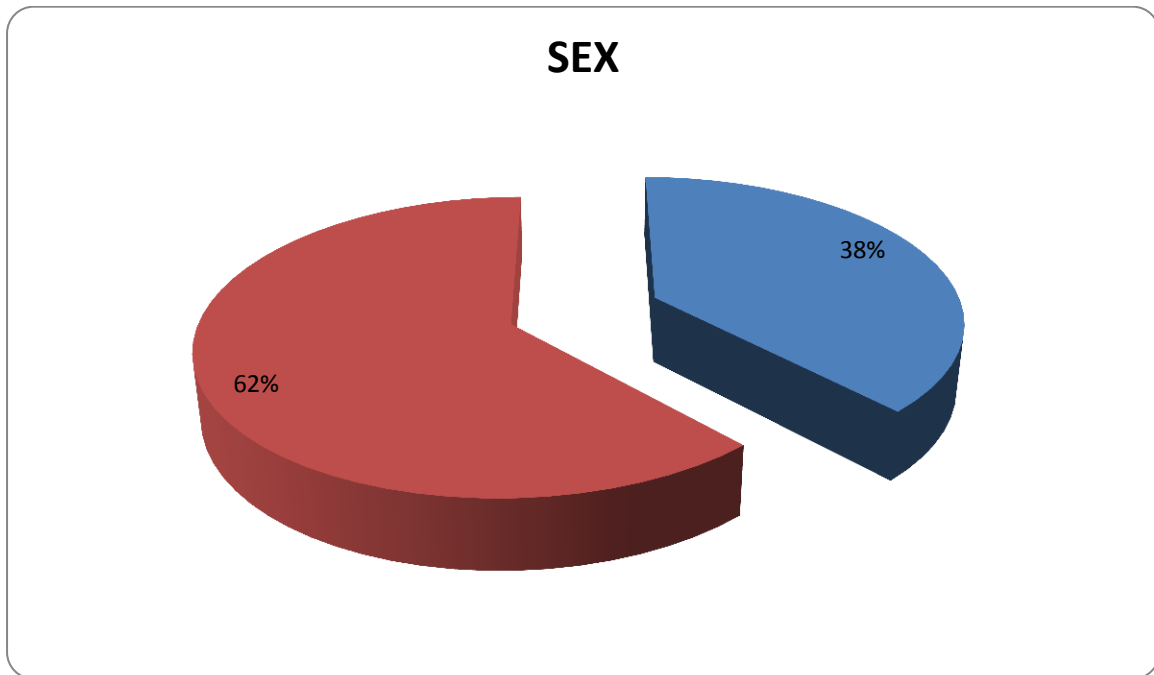


Fig 2 Civil servant respondents gender Composition

Educational Background: There are respondents from a range of academic background. There are randomly 5% MA degree holder, 64% BA degree holders, 17% diploma, 6% certificate and 8% under certificate respondents were participated.

Table one below shows the number and percentile of respondents educational background.

Educational Level	Respondents	Respondents
	in number	in Percent
PHD	0	0
MA	128	4.76%
BA	108	64.28%
Diploma	28	16.68%
Certificate	11	6.54%
Under Certificate	13	7.74%
	168	100%

Table 1: Respondents Educational background

Work Experience

Majority of the respondents have first degree and there is none 3rd degree holder from the respondents.

Years' Experience	0-1 Years	1-3 years	3-5 years	5-7 years	7-10 years	Above 10 years
No of Respondents	0	29	66	24	37	12
Percentage respondents	0	17.26	39.28	14.28	22.02	7.14

Table 2: Civil servant Respondents by work experience

4.1.2 Citizens (Public Service customers)

These are residents of the selected sub cities who came to the Sub City office looking for different service. The element that is considered for defining them are gender and educational background.

Gender

56% the respondents from customer of public office are male the 44% are female respondents.

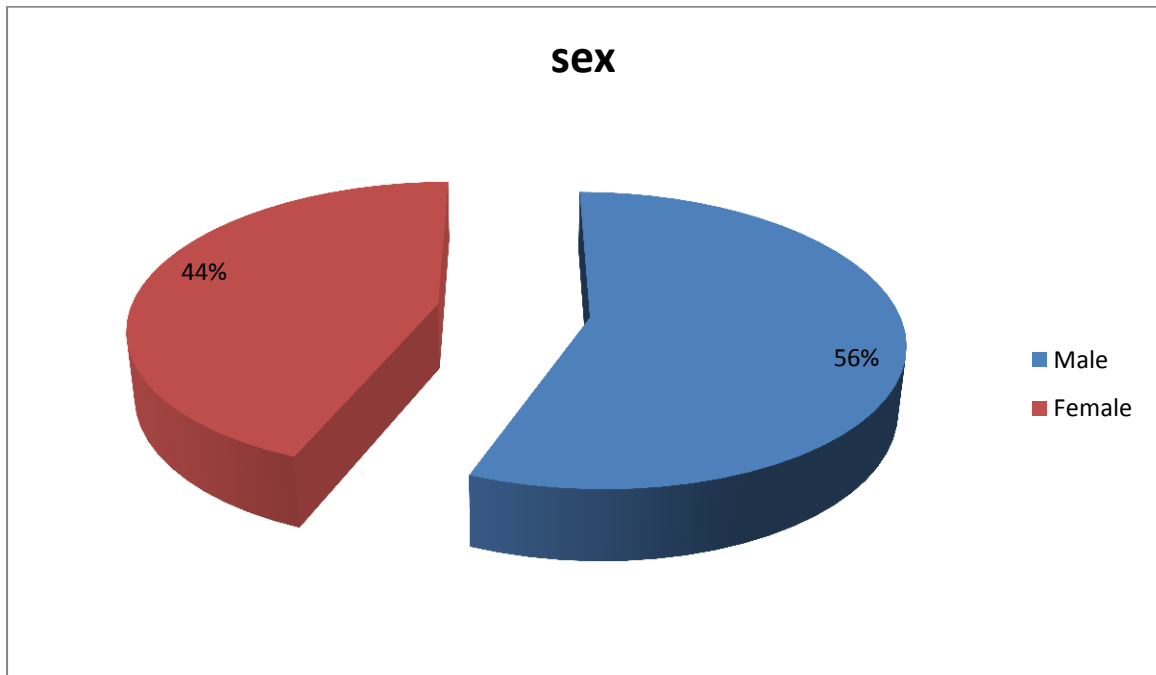


Fig 3: Respondents Gender description for customers of public office

Educational Background

There are respondents from all range, those who cannot read and write to 3rd degree holders. Majority of them had completed high school.

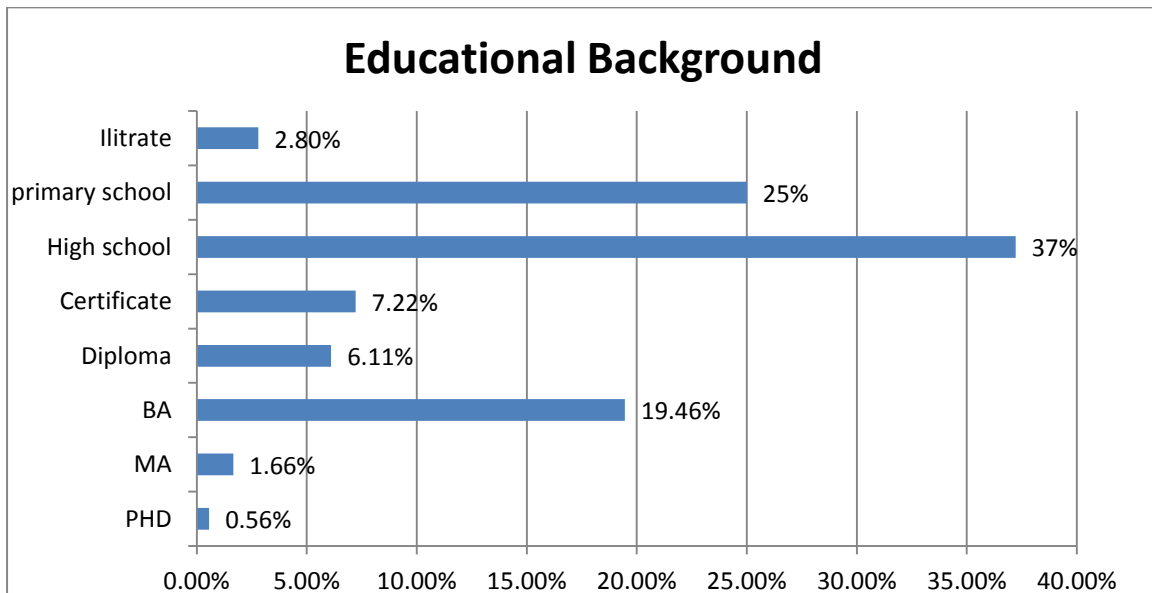


Fig 4: Educational Background for public service customers

4.1.3 Interviewed High and Middle level officials

A total of 10 officials were interviewed. Two of them from Addis Abeba City Administration Head Office and the rest eight of them from the four selected Sub Cities, two from each. Three of the interviewees are female and the rest are male. The interviewed officials from head office were appointed recently so have little knowledge about how things were doing in the office. But good opportunity to assess what the office is trying to do right now and its future plan. Many of the middle level managers have a good deal of years of experience in the civil service. Which will help us to understand the challenges before, what is going on right now and what challenge the new leadership could face.

4.2 Public Service Users about the Institutions

Public service customers who were participated in the study were asked about what they feel regarding the institutions, do you really feel the same as seeking service from other institutions like EEPCO? Or Etio-tell?

As graph below shows 46% of the respondents consider sub cities as purely political institution, 18% as majorly political, 14% of the respondents consider it partially professional and 22% as purely professional institutions. From these we can say that the citizens perception towards the institutions as a political one rather than service deliverer. So they don't consider them as other service giving organizations.

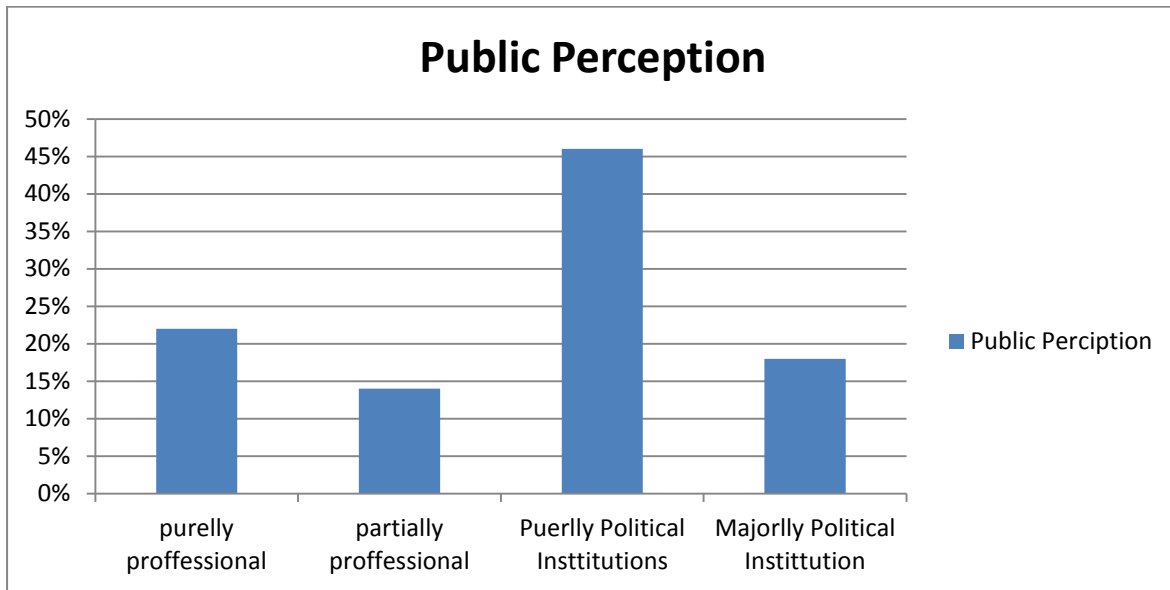


Fig 5: Public Service Users perception towards Sub Cities

Not only service users do perceive the institution as political but also not satisfied by the service they get and 68% of the respondents believe that there is unfair service delivery in the institutions.

For the question forwarded at the rate for which the different policies the ruling party enacted were implemented 26% of the respondents say there is **very low** implementation rate, 56% **low** implementation rate and only 18% responded believe there is a **medium, high** and **very high** implementation of policies.

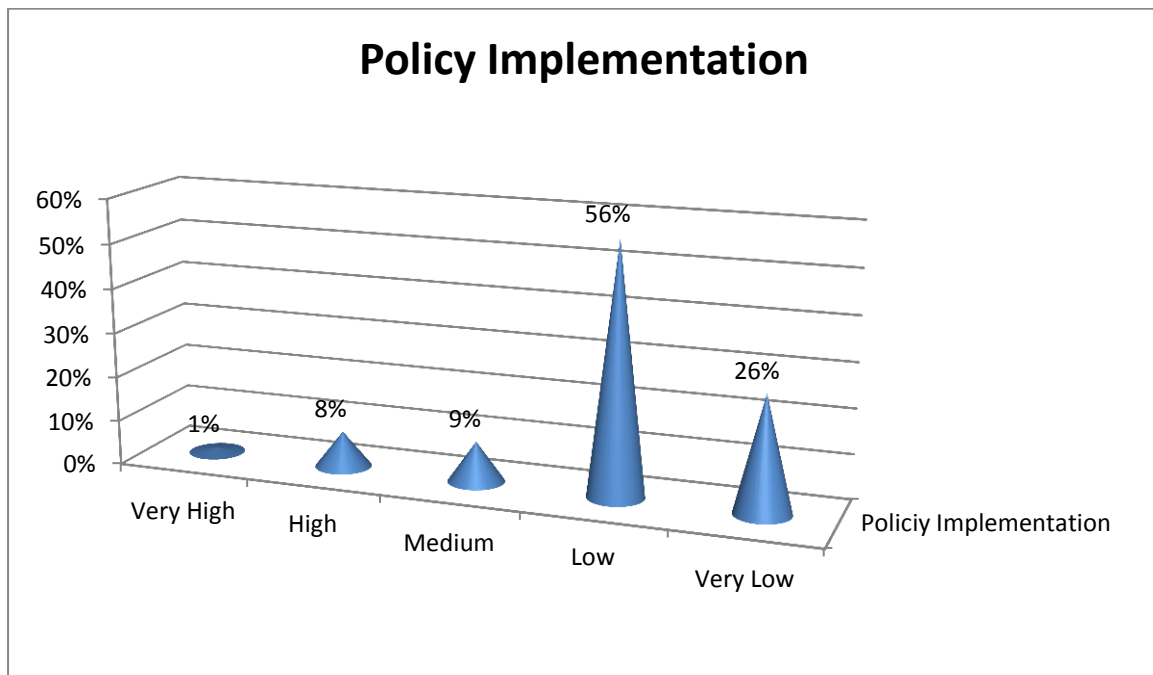


Fig 6: Customers Response to Government Policies implementation

4.3 Public Service Employment, promotion and work place

One of the question forwarded for the public service employees is, Are you happy for working as a civil servant? On their response majority of the civil servants are not happy for working there. From the total respondents 56% say they are disappointed for working as civil servant, 24% are not happy, 10% moderately happy and 14% are happy for working there.

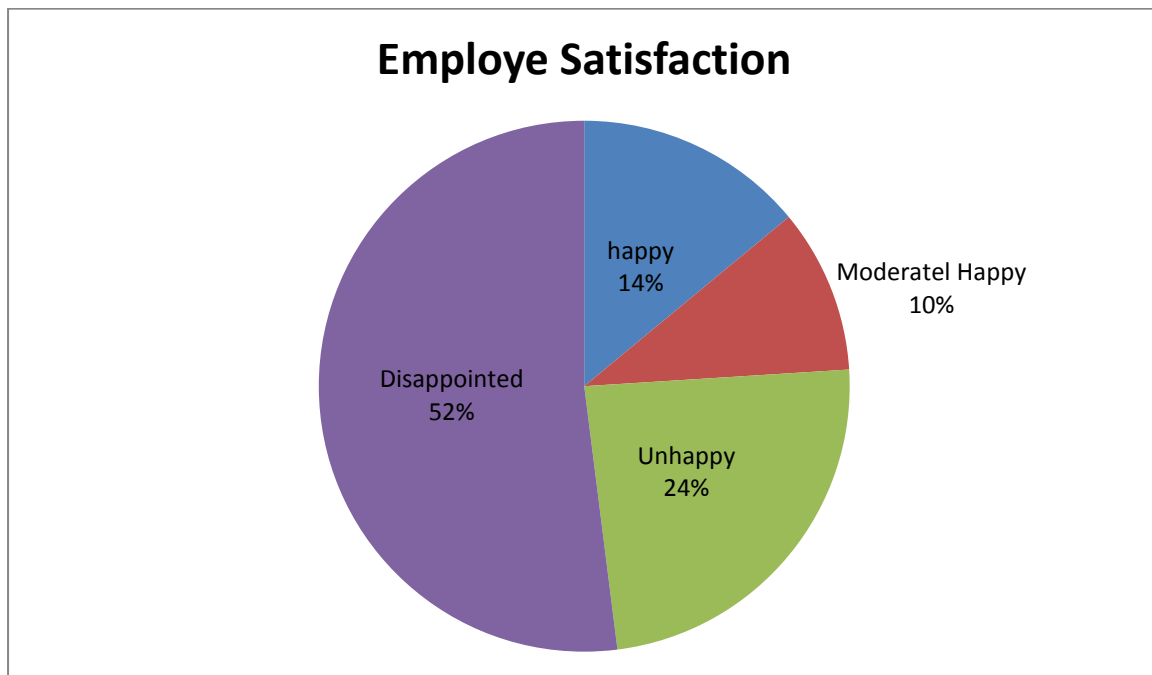


Fig: 7 Public office employees Happiness

Respondents do have a range of reasons for their disappointments, poor working condition, small salary, supervisors’ interference and not liking the profession at all.

For the question forwarded ‘whether there is favoritism in employment process?’ 82% of the respondents says no and the rest 18% says yes there is favoritism which bases on corruption, patronage, ethnicity and party membership .However 77% of the respondents believe that there is favoritism in getting promotion, training and other benefits.

Asked about the rate, which different factors have over getting promotion training and other benefits over performance evaluation, 64% of the respondents say very high. The favoritism majorly bases ruling party affiliation, ethnicity and personal relations with supervisors.

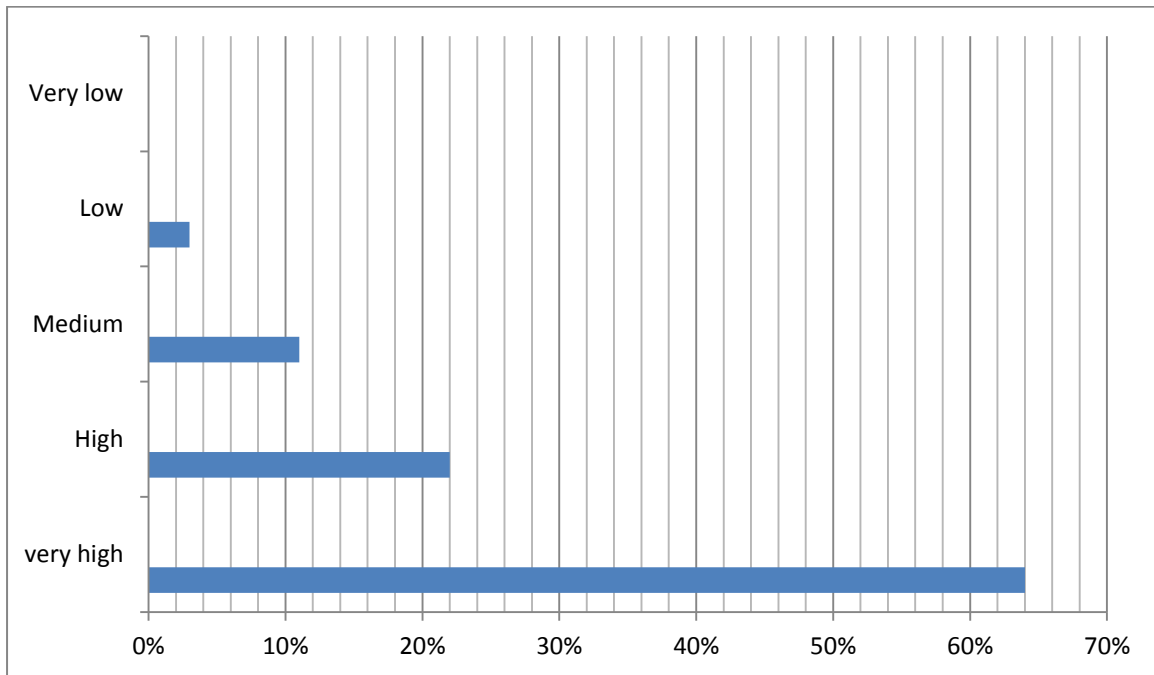


Fig: 8 Favoritism rate for getting promotion and other benefits

4.4 Politicization, implementation and Groups

From the total of 168 respondents 8% of them are members of the ruling party. The other 28% don't want disclose whether they are a party member or not. And 64% say they are not member of the ruling party.

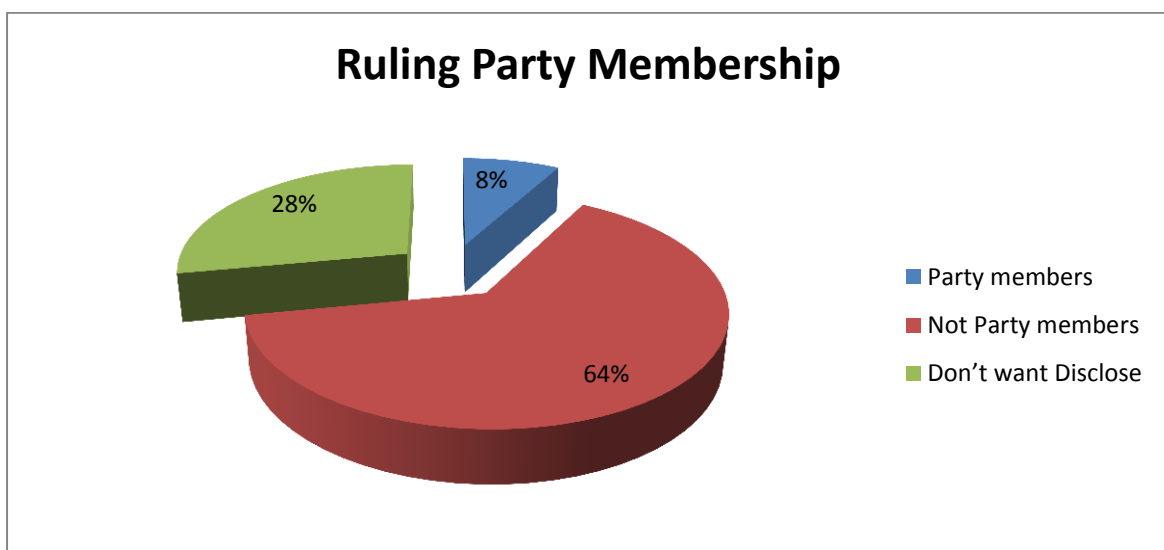


Fig: 9 Ruling party membership response

Respondents were also asked about the contents and type of different training they were receiving, were they problem solving? On what issues did training focus?

	Work place problem solving	Majorly political in contents	Majorly current affair in contents	Don't focus on challenge at work
Number	28	67	88	128
percent	16%	40%	52%	76%

Table: 3 Responses on type of Training

As we can clearly see from Table 3 the trainings that employees were receiving mainly focus on current affairs and have political content. Only 16% of the respondents believe that the trainings are problem solving and 76% of the respondents say that the trainings don not focus on work place challenges.

The other area of focus on the study was the different groups in the public office like ‘Ande le amest’ (One to Five). Respondents were asked whether these groups were helpful in facilitating day to day jobs and apolitical in their nature.

Respondents	Nature of And le Amest in the public office		Work place contribution of Ande le Amest	
	Political	Apolitical	Helpful	Not helpful
Number	141	27	148	20
Percent	84%	16%	88%	12%

Table: 4 Nature of Ande le Amest and work place helpfulness

Respondents majorly agree on the political nature and poor contribution for the day to day works of the Ande le Amest groups. As shown in the above table 84% of the respondents agree on the political nature of the group and 88% said it don't help for facilitating work in the office.

The implementation of different policies and work tools in the public office is the other issue that were tried to assess. From the total respondents 79% of them says majority of the policies and work tools were unsuccessful. And do give different reasons for their failure.

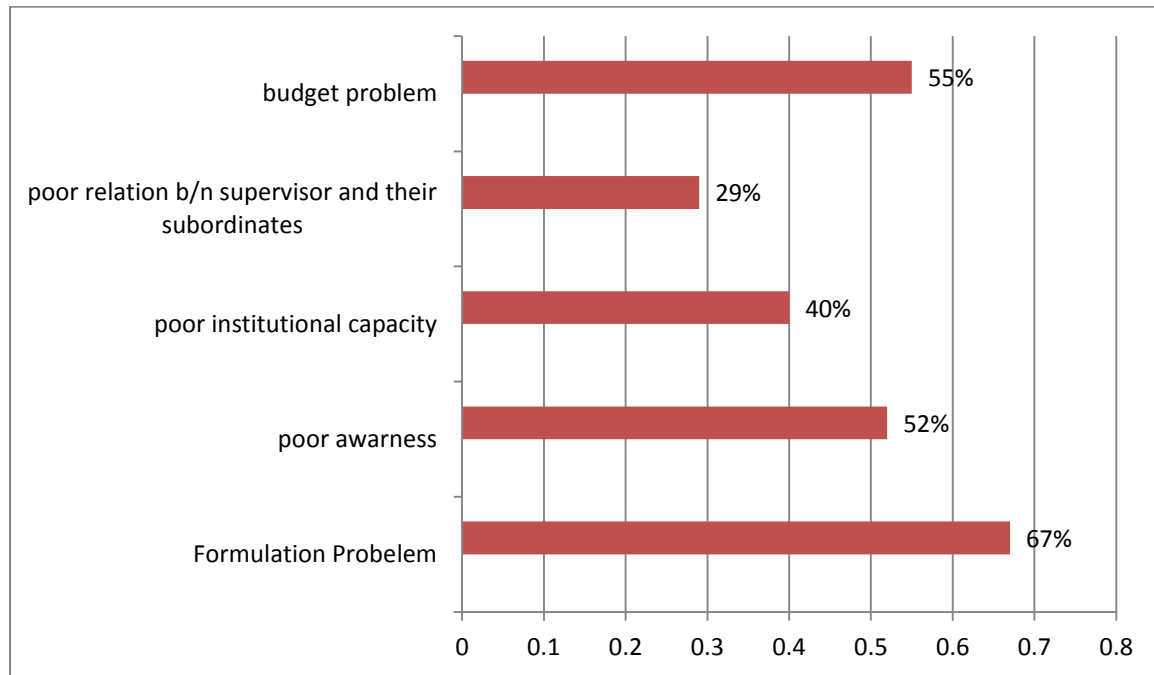


Fig: 10 Source of poor Implementation of policies and working tools

As shown in Fig 8, public servants do give different reasons for poor implementation of the different policies and working tools the government formulates. From their response 67% of them believe there is a problem in formulation. Poor awareness and budgetary issues also have their share 52% and 55% respectively. Poor relation between supervisors and their subordinates also has a meaningful impact on policy implementation.

Considering the source of poor relation of supervisor and their subordinates is necessary, which 29% of the public service respondents take it as a source of poor policy implementation?

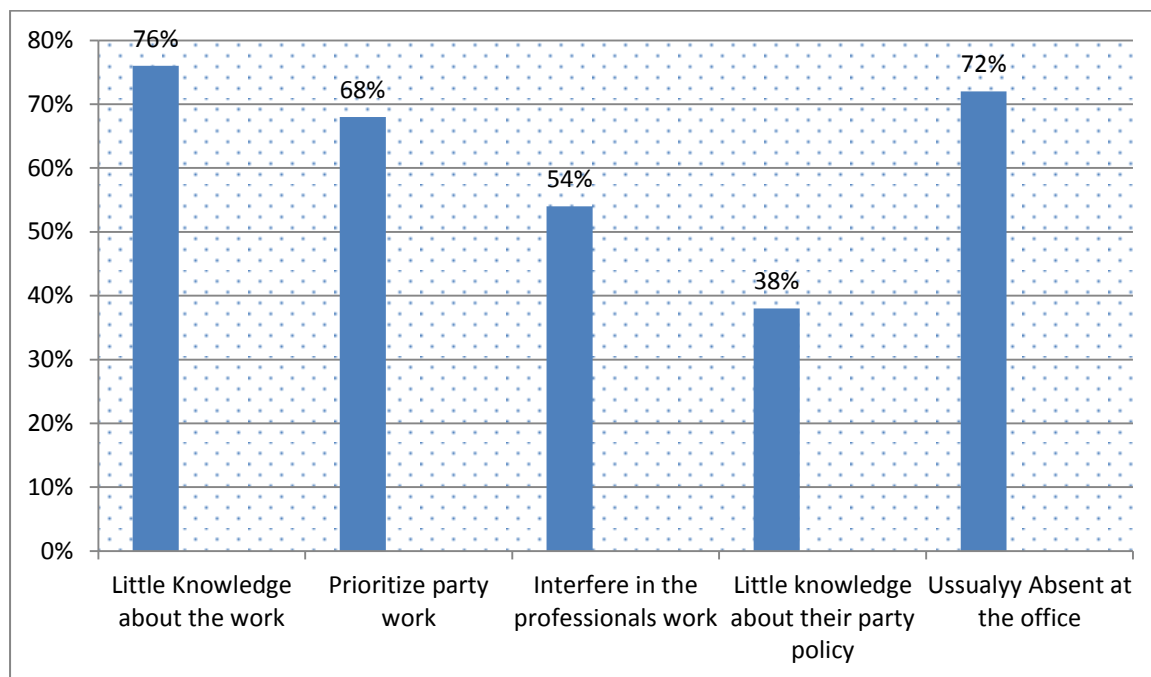


Fig: 11 Public employees complaint about Party appointed Supervisors

The figure above shows some of the complaints that public office employee have over their supervisors. Majority of the respondents,76% agree that their supervisors do not have enough knowledge about the work, not only that 38% of the respondents said their supervisor even don't have enough knowledge about the party policy they stand for. Interference on professionals works and absent at office hours are also a big concern which constitute 68% and 72% respectively. The supervisor are also blamed for prioritizing party work over public works, from the total of 168 respondents 38% of blame their supervisors for this.

4.5 Top and Middle Level Managers view

The finding of the interview conducted with middle and top level managers are almost similar. They basically agree on the politicization of the public service and the system was not following what had been stated on the country's Civil Service Proclamation.

The Middle level managers have a different view of the problems that hinders implementation they pointed their finger in both directions to the top and down of the administration. They blamed the top level for not understanding the situation while enacting different policies and working tools. And they call their subordinates as lazy and always need

control to perform. They also complain the working condition and budgetary issue for poor performance.

The top level management, recently organized due to political reform in the nation, confesses the public service was too much politicized and almost merit was little applied in the offices. They also agree that appointment of office heads was not considering capacity and profession relation. The top level managers also agree on the politicization and failure of the *Ande le Amest* group. They explained the group as a good tool applied for a wrong purpose.

The new administration says they are working and reshuffling the office based on merit. And only fewer positions at the top are going to be political appointments. The *Ande le amest* groups are replaced by a new less procedural format named “morning briefing”. The official said the former was too much politicized and procedural and employees take as boring. The new group will not held regular meeting with a chair and there will not be attendance. Rather employees with the same working group will share information, even standing I circles about the day work plan. According to the official the word “morning briefing” was taken from the medical field where the senior physician gives briefing to his Subordinates. The top level managers do also agree on the inefficiency and politicization of the trainings that were prepared by the former administration. Much of the trainings were prepared for fulfilling schedule rather without conducting need assessment of the specific office.

The new administration did not deny existence of challenges from employees. Special those who had been benefiting from the old system and in different positions on political loyalty are not happy. The other thing the top level manger asked about is the clear direction of where should the demarcation line be for political appointment and professional work should be? There is no proclamation that state which positions should be political or not, rather we are doing our best to put somebody who have related education and experience to be a head in the office. To put it word by word ‘somebody with geography background will not going to run Housing again’ said the press secretariat of the mayor’s office.

4.6 Analysis on different Proclamation

The EFDR constitution says nothing about civil service. However, Ethiopia had three civil service proclamations from 2002 till 2019 one replacing the former.

The first proclamation, The Federal Civil Servants Proclamation no. 262/2002, was in enacted aiming efficient, neutral, effective, sustainable, transparent and development oriented civil servant. Having twelve parts and 91 articles, this proclamation has clearly disclosed bases for appointment, promotion, transfer, salary increment and training. Article 57 of this proclamation with the title “Neutrality from political involvement” has two sub articles.

Article 57: Neutrality from Political Involvement

1) Any civil servant may not use his position to promote his political interest and thereby engage in 'discriminatory practices.

2) Without prejudice to the generality of Sub-Article (1) of this Article, it is prohibited for any civil servant to use his regular working hours and positions for soliciting support or instigating opposition for or against any political party or members thereof.

As we can see it above the two sub articles prohibit promoting one’s own political view and using regular working hour and positions for political purpose. But don’t define any of the civil service position political or apolitical.

The proclamation that replaced The Federal Civil Servants Proclamation no. 262/2002 is enacted in 2007. The new proclamation cited as Federal Civil Servants Proclamation no. 515/2007. The aim of this proclamation is to address the problems identified with the implementation of proclamation No.262/2002 and give the later sufficient clarity.

Like the previous one the 2007 proclamation have 12 parts but 96 articles. Even if it is exactly the same with the previous proclamation with regard to merit, this proclamation completely omit political neutrality article from part eight. Like the previous one says nothing about demarcation of political appointment and profession.

The current proclamation issued in 2017 replaced proclamation No. 515/2007 cited as The Federal Civil Servant Proclamation No.1064/2017. Having 12 sections and 100 articles, it was enacted because it is necessary to make fundamental change in the system of recruitment and selection and the introduction of national system for certification of professional and occupational competence. The new proclamation also doesn't bring anything new with regard to defining the political and apolitical positions in the civil service.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMANDTION

5.2 Conclusion

The main purpose of the study was to find out the impact of politicized civil service on policy implementation. The politicization of civil service is immense. On the study efforts have been made to display how it affects implementation directly or indirectly. Different area or source of politicization are also been identified. Civil service users (citizens), employees and leaders were contacted and have their say. The civil servant proclamations and the Ethiopian constitution were also been reviewed.

Citizens are not happy with the service they are receiving and they don't believe that the policies are being implemented properly. Not only that they view the service giving institutions (Sub Cities) as a political institutions rather than public offices. This shows us failure in policy implementation.

Much of the public office employees are not happy for working as a civil servant. Some of the even are disappointed for working there. They do have range of reasons for that, low salary, bad working condition and some say due to their supervisors. This could be the major factor for the employees not to work passionately and implement the policy the government enacted.

Both employees and top level managers disclosed that promotion, training and benefits were mainly given based on party affiliation. This created two hazards for proper policy implementation. One, employees who are not affiliated to the ruling party will be discriminated in getting promotion, training and other benefits. This will result on their disappointment and poor performances. Two, employees who are incompetent and incapable will be promoted to higher positions only due to their party affiliation, which will make the leadership full of incompetent leaders. This will lead to implementation failure.

The other concern that was identified as a source for poor implementation is training content. Not only employees were discriminated by their party affiliation in taking training but the contents of the training are mainly were been helpful to solve problem at work, rather

concern more on current political, social or economic issue in the country. This had a major impact on implementation.

The formal and informal groups do play an important role in implementation of policies. However, the Ande le Amest groups that were formed to do so failed and became a tool for evaluating employee's political view. Employees don't like and accept these groups but attend for fear of consequence. It can be concluded that these groups are a tool for the ruling party.

The relation between employees and politically appointed officials are not good, this is mainly due to party affiliated officials give priority to party work, have little knowledge about professional work and absent at office hours

The constitution of Ethiopia says nothing about public servant and political appointment demarcation. The proclamations that were in use for the last 15 years don't mention the issue at all. Only proclamation No. 262/2002 has a title about political neutrality but didn't define the line between appointed officials and professional civil servants. The upcoming two proclamations, No.564/2007 and No. 1064/2017 erased even the political neutrality article.

4.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations have been drawn. These recommendations are with the view of improved civil service and enhance better policy implementation skims.

The ruling party must separate itself from the public service offices. The role and places of the party and the public service is mixed, this has to be separated. The ruling party must stop using different resources from the public office; these could include assembly halls, offices, cars, stationary and others. By doing so the public will start considering Sub Cities and Woredas as a service giving center rather than a political/ a party centers.

Public service need to be a respected job. And people must aspire to work as civil servant. To do so the working conditions must be improved the lives of a civil servant need to be an ideal one. And much of the disappointment of the public servants arose from the public's view of

the employees as cadres of the ruling party. To improve this awareness must be created to the general public about the public servant and which position are for political appointment and which are not.

Employment, promotion, training and any kind of reward and punishment must be based on merit. As we observed a disappointed civil servant cannot implement policies properly. Therefore procedures of the civil service proclamations of the country must be followed while rewarding or punishing a civil servant.

The other area that has to be improved and have major impact on policy implementation is contents of training. Training must base needs. Without conducting need assessment conducting training is a total failure. Therefore the city Administration must conduct need assessment in the different offices before conducting it. And also the contents must give emphasis on solving the challenges of the civil servant and improve the capacity of employees. Rather preparing training for discussing current affair and other political issues is a total loss.

The different formal and informal groups must be taken seriously in an organization. The city Administration has to understand the failure of the ‘Ande le Amest’ groups and trying to replace it with the new branded groups called “Morning Briefing”. Unless the groups get acceptance by employees they are going to be futile again. Therefore the City Administration must not push employees to be a part of these new groups with tight monitoring a before. Rather must allow employees to gradually join the groups willingly. And also being a member of the group must not be taken as a base for evaluation.

Apolitically appointed leader besides being a member of the ruling party need to have the knowhow about the office work he/she is heading. On political appointment capacity need to be considered too, this will resolve the miss understanding with a politically appointed official and a professional civil servant.

The Constitution of Ethiopia must include articles about the public service. This will show to citizens how important is public to the nation and will insure sustainable direction on public service. If it is at proclamation level or below that they will be vulnerable to be changed

easily. The proclamations have to define the posts that should be held by political appointees and which posts should be free for competition. The Ghanaian Constitution could be a good example for this.

Generally policy implementation is a complex process which encompasses different stakeholders and different stages. Even if the policies are perfect and other stakeholders do their best finally the policies will be delivered to the citizens through public office. Dissatisfaction and failure of the public servant can multiply the works of other stakeholders by zero. Therefore emphasis must be given to the sector.

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Appendix

Addis Ababa University

College of business and economics

Department of public administration development management

Questioner prepared for public service employees

1. Address: City _____ sub city _____ Woreda _____
2. Department currently working at _____
3. Age _____
4. Work experience as civil servant _____
5. Gender Male Female
6. Education background

PhD Diploma MA

Certificate BA under certificate

7 Are you happy at the office that you are working?

Very happy

Happy

Medium

Not happy

Disappointed

What the reasons that makes you happy at your work?

I like the profession

Good salary

Good working condition

Other _____

What makes you unhappy or disappointed at your work?

I hate the profession

Bad working condition

Due to my supervisors

Low salary

Other _____

Do you believe that there are other factors than merit to be employed?

Yes No

If your answer for question No 10 is yes what are the factors? (you can mark more than one)

Corruption

Ethnicity

Political party membership

Family/ personal relation

Other _____

Do you believe that promotion and other benefits in the institution are based on merit?

Yes No

If your answer for question No 12 in yes, what are the bases? (you can mark more than one)

Party membership ethnicity

Family and Relationship corruption

Other _____

Do you believe that trainings prepared by the office are work police problem solving?

Yes No

Which one of the following describes the concern of the training? (you can mark more than one)

Current affair

Political

Work place problem solving

Not work place problem solving

How much is the impact of using other factor for performance evaluation?

Very high Low

High very Low

Medium

Do you believe the different group like ‘ande le Amest’ help to facilitate work?

Yes No

Are the ‘and le Amest’ groups free of politics?

Yes No

Are you a member of the ruling party?

Yes No don't want to disclose

If you say 'yes' for question No 19 what a your reasons

I support the program

Since major of the employees are member

Since promotion and other befits are based on it

Other _____

How much is the influence of party membership had on getting promotion and other benefits

Very high High

Medium Low

Very low

Do you believe that party members had an influence in performance evaluation

Yes No

How is the influence be described

Direct indirect

Do you know which position at your office are for political appointment and which one are open for competition

Yes No

Do you think the policies and working tools that the government enacted are success full

Yes No

What are the reasons for the failure of these policies (you can mark more than one)

Policy formulation problem

Institutional capacity

Budgeting problem

Poor awareness

Negative relation between supervisor and subordinates

Other _____

What are the problems of politically appointed officials? (you can mark more than one)

Have little knowledge about the job

Prioritize party work over public service

Interfere on professional work

Little knowledge

Usually absent of the office

Any suggestion about the institution

Addis Ababa University

College of business and economics

Department of public administration development management

Question for public service users

Address city _____ sub city _____ woreda _____

Name of the office they come _____

Age _____

Gender male female

Educational back ground

PhD Certificate

MA Secondary school

BA primary school

Diploma Illiterate

Do you get the service that you seek?

Yes No

How do you rate the service subsection

Very high High

Medium Low

Very low

What do you think are the reasons for poor service

Unclear rules & regulation

Poor awareness of employees about the rules

Low interest of employees to serve

Shortage of resource & human power

Absence of office heads

Favoritism

Other _____

Do you believe that there is favoritism in the institution?

Yes No

What are the bases for the favoritism?

Ethnicity Party membership Corruption

Personal relation

Other _____

How do you rate the employees capacity

Very high High

Medium Low

Very low

12. How do you rate the prevention of different policies the government issue

- Very high
- High
- Modish
- Low
- Very low

13. Where do you think is the; problem, for poor implementation

- Problem with the policies
- Problem with the Execution
- Both
- Other _____

14. What do you feel when you come to public office for sevice?

- Purely professional institution
- Partially professional institution
- Purely political institution
- Majorly political institution

15. Do you know which position is for political Appointment and which are holds?

- Yes
- No

16. Are suppression about the intuition?
