

Does Measuring Performance Lead to Managing for Performance?: Examining a Poorly Understood Relationship¹

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Abstract

Performance measurement has long been heralded as the essential element in achieving improved accountability to citizens. It is also thought to result in improved public management. Multiple good government groups, civic organizations, and regulatory authorities have promoted and supported best practices for measuring and reporting performance, and considerable pressure on state and local governments from citizens in the U.S. to be more accountable has resulted in increasing interest and reports of its use. Research has documented this increasing use, and multiple organizations have identified and rewarded exemplary jurisdictions. However, measuring performance for accountability and managing for performance are two different activities with different purposes. Measures that help accountability are themselves, not sufficient for managing for performance. Performance management requires data from units deep within the organization capable of providing feedback to managers and employees about their operations that contribute to organizational objectives and service performance. Baltimore's CitiStat program is one such model widely viewed as exemplary in its highly programmed model of data-driven management.

In an effort to understand if, indeed, jurisdictions that achieve relevant benchmarks in measuring their service performance are also more likely to manage for performance, a search of the literature and multiple organizations that track, support, and reward U.S. cities revealed 198 jurisdictions. Through a web search of performance reports, city and agency budgets, and other public documents, we determined whether performance data is visible, where it appears, and the nature of performance measures used. With this, we ranked cities on the character and quality of their reporting and use of performance data. We then followed up a subset of twenty-four cities that ranked highly and conducted interviews with city officials and agency heads to determine the motivation and impact of their measurement activities on management. Given the severe effects of the recession on city governments nationwide, we repeated the interviews of ten one year later to understand how measurement efforts were affected by the budget environment. There appears little relationship between performance measurement and management. Very few cities do significant data-based performance management, even among the group with the most robust data measurement programs. Further, municipalities throughout the country are reducing their investments in response to budget cutbacks. Though one might think that performance management would thrive in times when doing more with less is paramount, the added short-term resource constraints reduce the probability that measurement can help achieve greater productivity.

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INTRODUCTION

Citizens are demanding better results and accountability from public officials in state and local governments around the U.S. at a time when resource constraints are increasing and the level of trust for government and public officials at all levels is at an historic low. (National Performance Management Advisory Commission 2010). The recent fate of the U.S. economy and the precipitous decline in revenues at the state and local level are only exacerbating demands for performance. The public wants more accountability and transparency from their government, and performance measurement is increasingly seen as both a way of monitoring progress and demonstrating performance for internal and public stakeholders.

Performance measurement has great promise for achieving such goals. But, as we have found, the current use of performance data is limited in most cities. Instead of integrating measurement with management strategies designed to improve performance, most cities use performance measurement in a limited way that is often disconnected from its management choices.

Lots of American cities measure their performance. New York City, for example, has reported on performance measures annually for all city services for almost 40 years in its *Mayor's Management Report*. Most cities that systematically measure performance see it as an essential way to be accountable to citizens, as a mark of "good government," and have found it to serve external political purposes as well as internal purposes. But, there are many other reasons to measure performance, and different purposes require different measures. One common reason is to learn and to improve, and one of the ways organizations can improve continuously is to become a learning organization and develop a system that not only measures performance but also manages for performance (Behn 2003).

If a major performance outcome of a city's department of finance is to maximize the

collection of taxes owed, an annual measure of proportion of taxes due that were actually collected would be an important measure of the agency's performance. The department can compare measurements from year to year and report on how the agency is doing. They can also compare that performance with the finance departments of other cities to try to benchmark their performance. But knowing how they are doing does not always tell them how they could be doing better.

Management for performance requires a data-gathering system that collects timely operational performance data from units deep within the organization. For example, there is a unit that is responsible for sending out tax bills. If those bills go to bad addresses, if the bills are incorrect, or if those bills are written in such a way that the taxpayer doesn't understand what is expected of her, taxpayers may fail to pay the correct amount at the right time. A good performance managed system would measure the bill preparation and mailing unit on multiple dimensions, since what they do influences the outcome. And in order to learn and evaluate what is working to improve performance, one would need to measure continuously over the year to evaluate what differences changes in the operation (more timely mailings, better, clearer more accurate bills, improved address checking) have on the timeliness, accuracy and proportion of payments due that are actually collected. Measuring aggregate agency performance for overall accountability would never capture the right data over the appropriate timeframe to help with this kind of learning.

Effective performance management also requires a management system and organizational leadership that continually communicates the importance of the agency's mission, and its principal outcomes. Leadership needs to reinforce the value of learning and setting goals, and to emphasize their relationship to enhancing performance. That requires resources, training,

support, and rewards for improvement. Leadership must develop a culture where units see the value of measurement and the relationship between their work and organizational outcomes. The culture needs to provide the opportunity for managerial discretion, risk-taking and some tolerance for well-conceived failures to encourage innovation and problem-solving. (Sanger 2008a; Behn 1991; 2004; 2005.)

Nevertheless, measuring performance even for narrow political purposes or for accountability purposes does require service organizations to contemplate their purposes, to consider what they view to be their principal outputs or outcomes, and to focus leadership on assessing if their performance is “acceptable” when compared over time or with other jurisdictions. Measurement is expected to change behavior. Thus, publically reporting on performance could be expected to lead managers or organizational executives to see the potential value of measurement in judging their organizational performance and considering questions about how to improve. Those questions, we might hypothesize, would lead to an understanding about the value of measurement for organizational learning, and then the use of the lessons to improve performance. These hypotheses rest of course, on a rather simple set of assumptions about how managers and political actors see their purposes and how they realize them.

Others have simply asked the question about whether collecting performance information leads to its use (for budgeting, decision-making, management, etc). When asked, most public officials that collect performance data say they use it (Melkers and Willoughby 2005; De Lancer Julnes and Holzer 2001). Most research that has pushed further has found that less demonstrable (Behn 2002; Moynihan 2008; Berman and Wang 2000). Our question is different. Performance measurement has been a growth industry. But it’s not clear what it has produced. Thus, we are inquiring about whether collecting performance information for one purpose and use is likely to

lead to collecting it and developing systems for a different kind of use. The research described here is an effort to understand whether a culture² of performance measurement leads to an adoption of performance-based management.

What is Performance Measurement?

Performance measurement, at least as a concept, has become mainstream in most American jurisdictions. In a 1998 study, out of 50 U.S. states 47 had adopted some form of performance budgeting (Melkers and Willoughby 1998). A 2002 Government Accounting Standards Board survey (GASB 2002) documented that 64 percent of cities and counties reported that at least half of their agencies reported output or outcome data in their annual budgets. (Though, of course, there is wide variance in the number and nature of measurements made in different places.) Public managers have many potential purposes for measuring performance: To evaluate, control, budget, motivate, promote, celebrate, learn and improve. Different purposes require different measures (Behn 2003).

Measures are also frequently used to compare performance to other municipalities. Mary Kopczynski of the Urban Institute and Michael Lombardo of the International City/County Management Association (ICMA), argue that communities can use cross-jurisdictional comparative performance data in five ways: “(1) to recognize good performance and to identify areas for improvement; (2) to use indicator values for higher-performing jurisdictions as improvement targets by jurisdictions that fall short of the top marks; (3) to compare performance among a subset of jurisdictions believed to be similar in some way (for example, in size, service delivery practice, geography, etc.); (4) to inform stakeholders outside of the local government sector (such as citizens or business groups); and (5) to solicit joint cooperation in improving

² Moynihan and Landuyt, 2009, have found that cultural and structural elements are both important to organizational learning. We see these intertwined here, as they did, and relate culture to the entire complex of cultural and structural elements that they found in their work.

future outcomes in respective communities” (1999, 133). Essentially, jurisdictions must view their performance in relation to some standard or best practice.

However, the meaningful comparison of performance measurements against similar public agencies is not easy, and deep cynicism accompanies the value of many measurement efforts (Radin 2006; Schick 2001). Agencies and jurisdictions organize themselves differently. They collect different kinds of data. They define inputs, processes, outputs, and outcomes differently. And they can face different service conditions and citizens with different service demands. Consequently, obtaining comparable data is difficult—sometimes impossible. Though many jurisdictions do compare themselves to their peers, the outcomes are often of dubious benefit in assessing the effectiveness of programs.

Not all cities, agencies, or managers are comparing themselves to others. Sometimes they are looking to track changes over time and compare last year’s performance against this year’s, hoping for improvements that help provide political support from authorizers, citizens and funders. Thus, performance reporting can generate both internal and external returns. But there are also important risks that are worrisome; these can produce rational incentives for gaming the system or distorting, manipulating or misrepresenting results (Smith 1995; Van Dooren et al. 2010, 158).

There is a range of motivations for cities or agencies to measure their performance, but certain kinds of cities are thought to be most likely to undertake the effort. Better and more comprehensive performance measurement efforts have been found in cities with professional management, higher resources, high levels of social capital, and in progressive and socially hospitable environments with high levels of citizen trust and engagement (King et al. 2004; Sanger 2004; 2008a). But factors revealed in earlier research lead unequivocally to the view that

no one characteristic or set of circumstances explains the embrace of performance measurement. The historical antecedents, unique politics, leadership, and civic infrastructures vary enormously, and multiple factors explain performance measurement's prevalence, shape, and use (Sanger 2004; 2008a; Moynihan 2008).

What Is Performance Management?

Performance management denotes a system that does more than merely generate performance information: it carefully targets its measurements through strategic planning to connect the gathered information to decision venues (Moynihan 2008; The National Performance Management Advisory Commission 2010). Performance management represents a paradigm shift from bureaucratic routines, (Barzalay and Armajani 1992) where organizational structures and cultures support the use of objective information for managing and policy-making to improve results (Ammons 2008).

Better information enables elected officials and managers to recognize success, identify poor performance, and through hypothesis testing about what drives success, to learn and apply the lessons to improve public performance. Moynihan argues that while there is little evidence of performance information use at the political level, the hope for performance management is that lower-level bureaucrats will take performance reform to make their agencies more strategic and effective. In case studies he presents, managers at the agency-level in Vermont and Virginia believed that performance management had helped them to develop a clearer vision, create more strategic decisions and improve communication (Moynihan 2008).

Generating the appropriate measures of performance is critical to performance management. But measuring and reporting cannot, in themselves, produce organizational learning and improved outcomes. Performance management, on the other hand, encompasses an

array of leadership practices and values, including structural and cultural elements, designed to improve performance. Performance management uses measurement and data analysis systematically, through regular and frequent meetings, to facilitate learning, incentivize improvement, and strengthen the organizational focus on outcomes. Performance management can thus, shift the paradigm of the organization to focus on how to produce results citizens value and create quality rather than simply improving efficiency (Barzalay and Armajani 1992; Sanger 2008b).

As the literature has shown, effective systems need both sound structures and organizational cultures that embrace learning and change based on new information (Moynihan and Pandey 2005; Khademian 2002; Sanger 2008b). Organizational learning results when organizational actors relate their experience and information to operational problems and routines (Moynihan and Landuyt 2009, 1098). While a performance management system may be structurally sound, characteristics of a learning culture or lack thereof may enable or confound the success of the system. At the same time, an organization with a strong learning culture cannot manage effectively for performance without valid, legitimate and functional performance information (Bouckaert 1993). Just as important is how rapidly the information is distributed to the right audience (Moynihan and Landuyt 2009). The lack of a learning culture might explain why so many public organizations that have generated performance information and believe they have implemented performance management systems have failed to improve operations or performance as a result.³

It is also important to note that managers and even organizations do not control all the factors that contribute to successful performance management. Environmental factors, such as

³ A performance culture requires leadership, a clear mission orientation, discretion, and a decentralized decision authority (Sanger 2008b; Moynihan and Pandey 2010).

support from elected officials, the public, and the media, can also have a significant influence on the performance of an organization and its ability to manage for performance effectively (Moynihan and Pandey 2005). Many jurisdictions claim to use measures for management (Poister and Streib 1999; Melkers et al. 2002; Melkers and Willoughby 1998; 2004; 2005; Smith et al. 2007) but few actually do, and when they do the use may be overstated (Sanger, 2004; Poister and Streib 1999; Smith 2006; de Lancer Julnes 2010) and seldom manages to improve operations (Denhardt and Aristiguenta 2008). Moynihan observed the principal benefits of performance management reform at the agency level away from resource allocation decisions (2008, 12).

Transparency: For Better Or For Worse

Performance measurement and performance management are linked to the idea that measurement will increase transparency and accountability in relation to efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery (Marr 2009; Osborne 2010). However, transparency and accountability cannot be assured even when an agency or jurisdiction is measuring their performance. Measurement is not objective; indeed, some have argued that performance information is socially constructed. (Talbot 2005). Further, not all goals reflect consensus (Radin 2006), and the production of performance information cannot ensure its use. Most jurisdictional political actors see the use of performance information serving political purposes. Without an effective oversight and public engagement process,⁴ citizens will have to rely on “professional judgment” or public managers to determine which performance results should be reported and how. This can lead to selective reporting of results where reports of success are more frequent and reports of failures delayed or less likely. (Dixit 2002; Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill 2001; Propper

⁴ Public participation and citizen involvement in performance measurement has become an important standard of best practice for many of the regulatory and advocacy organizations we talked to. See footnote 5 below.

and Wilson 2003; Van Dooren and Van de Walle 2010, 195). The question is whether managers and public officials are willing to truly expose themselves to the scrutiny associated with providing performance information to the public. Thus, Moynihan argues, a range of more important factors than the availability of performance information can be seen to influence the likelihood of successful performance management. It is not a case of “if you build it, they will come” (2008, 5).

The Role Of Leadership In Implementing And Sustaining Successful Performance Management In The Public Sector

When it comes to performance measurement and management in the public sector, committed leadership is essential to changing the culture (Berry et al. 2004; Moynihan and Ingraham 2003; Khademian 2002; Behn 1991; Kotter and Heskett 1992; Levin and Sanger 1994; Kouzes and Posner 1987). Leaders are able to make informed decisions, develop strategy, articulate the institution’s vision, mission, and values, communicate key ideas to the members, and coordinate organizational components. Moynihan, notes that “public officials... identified agency leadership as the most important factor in explaining reform outcomes: specifically, whether the agency leader believes in performance management or whether he sees it as waste of time or an opportunity to be exploited.” (2008, 78) Many other scholars come to similar conclusions about the primacy of leadership (Behn 1991; 2004; Levin and Sanger 2004; Kotter, 2001; Spitzer 2007, 125).

Leaders of public organizations come and go. Many public employees remain for years. They know the rules of survival well (Sanger 2008b, 625; Larkin and Larkin 1996). Leadership that engages managers and public employees to want to do what he or she wants them to do is likely to be the most successful (Kouzes and Posner 1987, 27). Many scholars agree that leadership is important in achieving successful outcomes when facing public challenges (Bryson,

Crosby and Stone 2006; Ansell and Gash 2008; Osborne 2010, 200) and that leadership and its capacity to change organizational culture are essential to the success of the change (Khademian 2002; Schein 1992; Senge 1990; Behn 1991; Levin and Sanger 1994; Ott 1989). However, it is important to stress that leadership does not reside solely among directors and senior managers. “For performance management to be effective, leadership and the right behavior have to be demonstrated across all hierarchies.” (Marr 2009, 251).

Analytic Approach

The research began by searching for a comprehensive list of U.S. cities that measure the performance of their service delivery. We generated the list of study cities in a number of ways: first, through a search of the literature where research had revealed cities that measure their performance; second, through contact with and identification of jurisdictions provided by multiple organizations that track, support, and reward U.S. cities for their efforts.⁵ This search revealed 198 jurisdictions, for which we were able to locate data on performance measurement efforts in 190 (See list of cities in Appendix A).

For each of the 198 cities, we undertook a Web search to uncover public documents that would reveal evidence of citywide performance information and/or performance data for any of four service areas. We chose common service areas where we expected the greatest probability of measurement: police, fire, parks and recreation and public works. We reviewed all city documents to uncover whether performance data was visible and reported and, if so, where it appeared, and the nature of performance measures used. We sought performance reports, city and agency budgets, strategic plans, annual reports on service efforts and accomplishments, and other

⁵ This includes the Government Accounting Standards Board (GASB), the International City/County Management Association (ICMA), The Urban Institute, The Public Performance and Measurement Research Network and The National Center for Public Performance at Rutgers, The Fund for the City of New York’s Center on Government Performance and their awardees, The Association of Governmental Accountants Service Efforts and Accomplishments Award Program.

public documents, such as citizen surveys. From the measures we identified in them, we were able to rank cities on the character and quality of their reporting and use of performance data.

We characterized the nature of their performance measurement effort by its quality and maturity. We reviewed the relevant documents (when we found them) and collected data on the character of their measures. We then ranked the cities, in part on the kinds of performance measures reported in these documents, especially by whether they measured outcomes and efficiency. We did some preliminary analysis of the initial 190 cities for which we could find evidence, to see if key variables could explain the variation we saw in the maturity of the systems and the quality and extensiveness of their measurement efforts. First, we wanted to ask whether there were differences between all the cities that simply measured their performance and those cities that exhibited key dimensions of mature performance measurement systems. We were looking for predisposing factors that might explain why some cities were able to develop robust performance measurement efforts and some were not. Understanding those factors, we hypothesized, might also explain the cultural preconditions for cities that manage for performance.

We sought variables that were good proxies for the types of factors thought to be related to performance efforts discussed above. We considered the size, region, income/wealth, city manager form of government, political party of the administration, racial characteristics of the population, and the degree to which citizens were civically engaged (measured by rates of citizen volunteerism) or politically active (measured by rates of local voting participation), hoping to explain the factors driving cities that had the most robust and mature performance measurement systems.

We also considered whether there were attempts to consider quality. To assess whether

there was the potential to use the data for management we considered whether the measures were benchmarked by time period (weekly, monthly, annually), compared to comparable cities, subdivided by precincts, boroughs or other subunits, demonstrated evidence of target-setting, or were measured frequently and extensively. Consistent with the literature reviewed above, we hypothesized that a city with a robust performance measurement system would be more likely to have a higher per capita income, have a more professional city manager form of government, be less racially diverse and thus less politically fractious, and that citizens would be more civically engaged and exert more demand on officials for accountability.

We undertook a quantitative analysis of the 190 cities for which we located data. The quantitative analysis of this project served two purposes: to determine what city-level demographic and environmental characteristics are statistically related to the robustness and maturity of the city's performance measurement system; and to guide us in selecting cities for the qualitative analysis of this project. In addition, we examined the relationship between measures of good governance and measures of civic participation and volunteerism, hypothesizing that an engaged citizenry would be more likely to demand and support good governance in the form of quality performance measurement.

In addition to the measures derived from data we found on city web sites, additional demographic data came from the 2000 US Census of Governments. These sources did not generate full information on all of our variables for all of our cities, hence the number of observations used in our statistical analyses varied depending on which variables were considered in the particular analysis and whether there were missing observations for any of those variables for particular cities. Unfortunately, indicators of civic participation and volunteerism are not readily available on municipal websites and in publically available

documents, so we turned to a 2007 module on volunteerism in the Current Population Sample (CPS). Since the CPS is measured at the individual level, we had to aggregate the micro-data to the city level to derive city level measures. (Not every city is identified in the CPS, and we are not able to attain measures of civic participation and volunteerism for all cities in our sample. Additionally, some of the cities are listed in metropolitan areas, which made it difficult to uniquely identify civic participation and volunteerism for those cities.) For robustness, our analysis was conducted based on multiple permutations of the construction of city-level civic participation and volunteerism, where we treat some cities as having missing information or not depending on the extent that we can uniquely identify characteristics of that city based on the CPS.

We conducted two-sample mean difference T-tests to examine if the characteristics of the measurement efforts we associated with good governance (measuring outcomes and efficiency, benchmarking, setting performance targets and having a city manager) differed statistically based on the various demographic, civic participation and volunteerism characteristics.⁶ Each of the good governance measures was examined separately in comparison to each of the demographic, civic participation, and volunteerism measures. Finally, since the political party of the executive was categorical, Chi-square tests were used to compare that variable to the various measures of good governance.

Quantitative Findings: Relationships Between A City's Characteristics And Its Performance Measurement System

Twenty-seven of the 190 cities for which we located data met all the characteristics thought to qualify them as having exemplary performance measurement systems. They were the ones we selected to study separately in our qualitative analysis. Ultimately, we examined many

⁶ We conducted two-sample proportion tests in the cases where the city level variables were measured as proportions or percents.

bi-variate relationships for the 190 cities. The vast majority of these relationships did not generate statistical significance. Those relationships we did observe were weak.⁷ As a result, we concluded that our originally planned multiple regression analysis was unnecessary. Little was learned from the quantitative analysis either about critical distinctions between cities with robust systems and those without or what in the environment might explain those distinctions. Even so, we were able to rank cities on key factors that distinguish the most robust and mature efforts and compare them to less developed systems on these dimensions thought to improve the likelihood of using measurement to manage.

We used a ranking to distinguish the maturity and sophistication of city performance measurement systems on five key measures of good municipal governance—we hypothesized that these dimensions of measurement might alert us to jurisdictions most likely to see the value of measurement for management and improving performance. We identified among the 190 cities those with systems that used outcome and efficiency measures, set targets for performance, benchmarked their performance and had a *city manager form of government* (meaning a professionally managed government). Twenty-seven cities exhibited these dimensions.

Our quantitative analysis was unable to reveal strong relationships between the character of jurisdictions and the nature of their performance measurement systems nor to give us much insight in distinguishing between cities with mature and high quality systems and those most likely to support performance *management*. The analysis was instructive. It suggested that the

⁷ The few cases in which we found statistical significance included the relationships between household income and whether the city measured outcomes and compared itself to other jurisdictions; population size and whether they benchmarked; share of the city that is black and jurisdiction type, and whether they surveyed their citizens; and share of the city that is Latino/Hispanic and benchmarks, and the, perhaps counterintuitive, positive relationship between the share of the city that was Latino/Hispanic and whether they had performance targets. With one exception, the volunteerism and civic engagement variables were only found to be statistically related to whether the jurisdiction undertook a citizen survey. That finding was expected. The one exception occurred when examining the share of the city that attended a public meeting and whether that city measured outcomes, however, the difference in cities that employ outcomes versus those that do not only differed by less than two percentage points based on the share of the city reporting public meeting attendance.

likelihood of developing, investing in and sustaining an exemplary performance measurement system may be more complex than we hypothesized, and may not be attributable to simple characteristics of “good government.”

Thus, we sought to learn more from semi-structured interviews with city officials in those twenty-seven cities we identified as having the best performance measurement characteristics and, according to our hypotheses would be expected to see the value of performance measurement to manage. We sought interviews with mayoral or city manager leadership responsible for performance, and or those charged with collecting and/or analyzing the data. In cities where particular agency efforts rather than citywide efforts were observed, we interviewed agency heads or performance measurement leadership to determine their initial motivation for measuring performance, and the organization, resource commitments, and measurement practices of their efforts. Finally, we sought managers in the agencies to understand the impact of their measurement efforts on management and operations.

A semi-structured instrument was used in one-hour telephone interviews with the city officials. Of the 27 cities with highly ranked performance measurement efforts, we were able to interview leadership in 24 of them (See list of cities in Appendix B). We repeated interviews of a subset of 10 cities one year later after the severe effects of the recession began to be felt, to understand how measurement efforts were influenced by the budget environment and to follow up if we had missing data. In all, over a two-year period, we made contact with multiple officials in each city at least once, and we contacted 10 cities for follow-up again.

Comparing Cities that Measure their Performance

The 190 cities that we found to be undertaking performance measurement at some level varied by size, region, type of government, dominant party and population composition (See

Table 1).

		All Cities (n=190) ¹	Exemplary Cities (n=24)
Mean Population		276,484	271,468
Median Household Income²		\$48,691	\$51,578
Region	Atlantic States:	5%	0%
	Midwest:	19%	21%
	Mountain States:	11%	17%
	Pacific:	21%	29%
	South:	28%	13%
	Southwest:	18%	21%
Political Environment³	Democratic:	26%	25%
	Republican:	15%	21%
	Non-Partisan:	59%	54%
Racial Characteristics⁴	White:	70.6%	76.1%
	Black:	14.6%	7.7%
	Indian:	0.9%	1.1%
	Asian:	5.1%	6.7%
	Hispanic/Latino:	15.1%	18.3%
Form of Government	Council-Manager:	67.9%	79.2%
	Mayor-Council:	30.5%	20.8%
	Commission:	1.6%	0%

Sources: American Community Survey 2006, International City/County Management Association, Governmental Accounting Standards Board, and city websites accessed 2008-2011.

¹ Data could not be located for all cities on every variable.

² n=189. American Community Survey 2006 Income data not available for Centennial, CO as city was incorporated in 2001.

³ n=185. Political environment could not be determined for: Farmington, NM; Highland Park, IL; Maryland Heights, MO; McHenry, IL; and, Raytown, MO.

⁴ This represents the average percentage of each race across cities, not the cumulative racial percentages of all cities.

They also varied significantly by the characteristics and “maturity” of their performance measurement systems and where the evidence of measurement activity was recorded. Some cities have citywide efforts, but for many more we found evidence for the use of performance measurement only in particular service areas, especially police (See Table 2).⁸

⁸ States, cities and counties generally comply with federal reporting standards (“Uniform Crime Reports”- UCR) for crime for statistics established voluntarily, by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (<http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr>). In releasing the information, police departments follow guidelines set out by the Office of Management and Budget and the Department of Justice (http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/data_quality_guidelines). For the most part, agencies submit monthly crime reports using uniform offense definitions to a centralized repository within their state. The state UCR Program then forwards the data to the FBI’s national UCR Program. Thus, data collection has long been the norm for police departments; further safety is among

Table 2: Performance Measurement Maturity Measures¹

By Agency ²	Fire		Police		Public Works		Parks	
	All	Exemplary	All	Exemplary	All	Exemplary	All	Exemplary
Performance Report:	46%	71%	55%	78%	30%	50%	26%	33%
Budget:	53%	75%	53%	75%	51%	75%	47%	50%
Strategic Plan:	68%	80%	30%	100%	33%	80%	45%	68%
Citizens Survey:	9%	10%	11%	0%	8%	0%	10%	0%
Citywide³			All	Exemplary				
Performance Report:			70%	88%				
Budget:			97%	100%				
Strategic Plan:			74%	96%				
Citizens Survey:			48%	58%				
Has 311:			14%	8%				
Type of Measure⁴								
Inputs:			99%	100%				
Outputs:			89%	100%				
Outcomes:			73%	100%				
Efficiency:			42%	100%				
Quality Indicators:			61%	92%				
Benchmarking⁵								
Benchmarks are Used:			92%	100%				
Against Other Time Periods:			96%	100%				
Against Other Jurisdictions:			31%	100%				
Use Subjurisdictions:			13%	75%				
Targets⁶								
Targets are Used:			58%	100%				
# of Service Areas								
Most:			41%	71%				
Some:			8%	21%				
Few:			12%	8%				
None:			38%	0%				
Frequent Reporting⁷								
Performance Report:			8%	18%				
Strategic Plan:			0%	0%				

Sources: American Community Survey 2006, International City/County Management Association, Governmental Accounting Standards Board, and city websites accessed 2008-2011.

¹ Total possible of n=190 for "all" cities, n=24 for "exemplary" cities.

²All: Performance report: Fire n=70; Police n=83; Public Works n=66; Parks n=65. Budget: Fire n=32; Police n=32; Public Works n=35; Parks n=34. Strategic Plan: Fire n=56; Police n=56; Public Works n=58; Parks n=68. Citizens Survey: Fire n=78; Police n=80; Public Works n=79; Parks n=78. **Exemplary:** Performance report: Fire n=7; Police n=9; Public Works n=6; Parks n=6. Budget: n=4 on all measures. Strategic Plan: Fire n=5; Police n=7; Public Works n=5; Parks n=8. Citizens Survey: Fire n=10; Police, Public Works, and Parks n=9.

³All: Performance Report n=188; Budget n=189; Strategic Plan n=188; Citizens Survey n=189; Has 311 n=190. **Exemplary:** n=24 on all measures.

⁴All: Inputs, Outputs, and outcomes n=190; Efficiency and Quality n=189. **Exemplary:** n=24 on all measures.

⁵All: Benchmarks are Used n=186; all others n= 178. **Exemplary:** n=24 on all measures.

⁶All: Targets Used n=189; # of Service areas n= 180. **Exemplary:** n=24 on all measures.

⁷Represents the percent of public reports conducted more frequently than annually. **All:** Performance Report n=139; Strategic Plan n=72. **Exemplary:** Performance Report n=22; Strategic Plan n=16.

the most important concerns of citizens. Finally, some remarkable success in NYC during the Giuliani administration under police Commissioner Bratten (a measurement driven performance management system called "Compstat") has caught the attention of many cities. We thus expected that even in the absence of citywide performance measurement efforts, the most likely service area where performance data is systematically collected is for police.

Mature measurement efforts attempt to define metrics that reflect on the service outcomes being sought (such as safety, health, cleanliness, and road condition.) Further, they seek to determine service efficiency by evaluating the units of services they produce for the dollars or other resources expended. Because outcomes often take longer to be influenced by changes in operations than, for example, outputs, mature systems seek to measure intermediate progress toward outcomes, and those usually involve measuring outputs too. Many jurisdictions we examined simply report on workload inputs (numbers of workers or hours). Mature systems seek to benchmark performance against other jurisdictions and time periods as well as set targets from period to period. More important, the potential to learn improves immensely by collecting performance data on the sub-jurisdictional level, by neighborhood, precinct, office, or service area. Looking for outliers (very good or very poor performers) allows managers to hypothesize what explains variation. Looking at operations at this level and comparing good performers to bad performers often reveals best practices that can be adopted citywide. We were interested in the potential that any performance measurement effort had to use data in this way. And if they did, we recognized the increased likelihood that they would be managing for performance.

Cities varied significantly on these characteristics. Most cities (70 percent) were found to have citywide performance measurement efforts, even if most of them did not exhibit all of the characteristics we associated with a mature system (See Table 2). Even for those whose performance measurement was mature, few report their performance publically more regularly than annually or collect and report data on a sub-jurisdictional level. We saw that the great majority of cities do not collect data often or disaggregate what they do collect in ways likely to induce hypotheses about what drives differential performance. Indeed, for most cities, differential performance of operating units is simply not part of the performance measurement

effort (See Table 2).

What Characterized The Cities With Mature Systems?

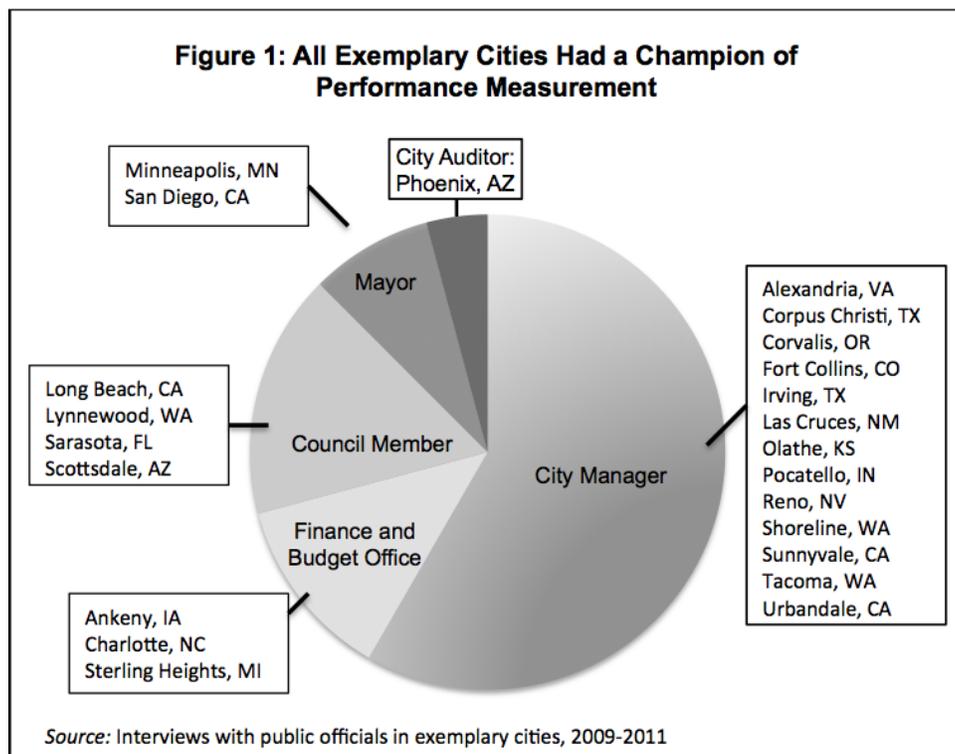
Cities with mature systems were, in general, not very different than the larger sample. (See Table 1). They were more likely to have a manager-council form of government than our sample as a whole and more likely to be nonpartisan than to have a mayor of a particular political party. Further, their regional distribution was only slightly different. The cities where we conducted interviews were slightly more likely to be from the Southwest (18 percent vs. 21 percent) and to be from the Pacific coast (21 percent vs. 29 percent).

In almost all the cities with the most mature performance measurement efforts, collection and distribution of performance data resides in the city's budget office or is formalized as part of the budget process; in a few cities, including Minneapolis, Minnesota; Tacoma, Washington; and Westminster, Colorado, the effort resides instead or in addition, in the city manager's office, and, in one city, in the auditor's office. Most cities cited the motivation for investing in performance measurement was for accountability—some to the public (to report to citizens in Alexandria, Virginia, and Ankeny, Iowa), and others for internal purposes. They also frequently reported that they were motivated by a desire to adopt “best practice,” or use the cutting edge or innovative approach. As an official from Westminster, Colorado, reported, “sophisticated governments are engaged in performance measurement.” An official in Corvallis, Oregon said they began because “everybody was doing it.” Some, however, saw the potential for improved management at the outset. The promotion of Compstat in New York City and Citistat⁹ in Baltimore, Maryland had popularized the notion and methods of managing for performance, and that motivated some jurisdictions to explore the value of measurement. A city councilman in Long Beach, California,

⁹ A city-wide version of Compstat which includes a data-driven performance management system for all city agencies based on the NYC police model.

persuaded the council and the city manager to adopt a performance measurement system on that basis.

As in Long Beach, California, performance measurement was typically the brainchild of a key city leader, usually the city manager or mayor but sometimes the city council or some champion within it (See Figure 1). In a few cases, citizen efforts or interests motivated adoption, such as in Ankeny, Iowa, where a number of cities in the state had funding from the Sloan Foundation to undertake citizen-centric performance measurement.



A variety of factors are thought to influence the development, maintenance, and use of performance measurement. Willingness and the ability to undertake the effort generally derives from leadership that understands and communicates the value, allocates the resources, and insures system integrity. Organizational culture is also important in its ability to create and support a learning organization that invests in performance data production and can potentially see the value of its use (Sanger 2008). While a citywide culture of measurement and evidence-

based decision-making is occasionally apparent—and we observed a few examples, such as Charlotte, North Carolina, and Tacoma, Washington –rarely is the effort uniform across agencies. More often, we observed pockets of real energy within particular agencies and other areas of city government with little enthusiasm.

Given the importance of leadership in developing robust performance measurement systems, we were unsurprised to find that active and enduring leadership that champions, supports, and rewards performance measurement efforts is associated with maintenance of effort; the withdrawal of leadership (through electoral change, turnover, or death) correlates with waning investment. Further, in cities with existing performance measurement systems (some, with decades of experience) changes in leadership were often associated with changes in investment in performance measurement. Long Beach, California, is instructive. With a long history of performance measurement, a committed city council and city manager, and a performance management office that originally resided in the city manager’s office, a former budget official and performance management staffer we interviewed reported a declining commitment. The effort has been rolled into the budget office and “the new city manager is not as fervent as the last one, and the city council is not as ‘sold’ either,” she said.

Finally, the fiscal crisis of U.S. cities associated with the recent national recession has depleted local treasuries around the country, resulting in reductions in staff and personnel. Annual surveys of city finance officers by the National League of Cities confirmed increasing reported rates of hiring freezes, salary and wage reductions, layoffs, and service spending cuts among municipal employees from 2009 through 2010 (National League of Cities 2009; 2010). Indeed, in 2009, 9 out of 10 reported that they were making spending cuts and predicted further cuts in 2010. By a wide margin they reported that their response to the downturn was to institute

hiring freezes and/or staff layoffs. By 2010, 79 percent reported personnel-related cuts.

While many have theorized that performance measurement and its use for management is particularly well-suited to a resource-constrained environment, our interviews painted a very different picture. Indeed, in our follow-up interviews after the full impact of the recession was being felt, officials in cities with a history and track record of investment in measurement frequently reported reduced efforts. The program management coordinator in the Office of Management and Budget in Alexandria, Virginia, for example, reported that they “dropped their quarterly performance report last year because of other pressures, and cancelled this year’s performance report entirely.” The internal auditor in Reno, Nevada, reported that interest had dwindled, particularly once the prior city manager left, and they “dropped out of ICMA to save the annual \$5500 fee.” Scottsdale, Arizona, reported that they also dropped out of ICMA for the same reason; a senior advisor for results tracking and reporting remarked that performance measurement “could be the casualty of the budget climate.” A follow-up interview with the city manager of Corvallis, Oregon, revealed pressure to cut \$2.5 million from a \$118 million budget. He reported delays in posting “this year’s report card....I would not say that there have been cuts to monies allocated to performance measurement, but simply that we have fewer staff resources to absorb ongoing performance measurement work on a timely basis.” Urbandale, Iowa, reported in our follow-up interview that “the data generated had become overwhelming. We are moving even more toward an annual report format.”

The experience of Lynnwood, Washington, is also illustrative of large trends we observed. Early in 2000, a councilman proposed and spearheaded passage of a “performance management results act” that mandated the collection and dissemination of performance related data. Consultants were hired to help in system development. They began with the system

development in two service areas: parks and recreation, and courts. Agencies collected and analyzed their own data, which was challenged by the budget office only when it aroused curiosity.¹⁰ While expanding the system to additional agencies, the budget coordinator began to deemphasize its use. Ironically, the councilman that originally spearheaded the effort was elected mayor and now pays it little attention, suggesting his lack of appetite for the political risks that performance measurement and management pose for him, despite his understanding of its potential to improve performance. Now, leadership has waned almost entirely, the effort has no teeth, and the value and potential of its use for management has been largely abandoned. The only support for the effort is carried by a part-time budget coordinator, who reported that she is charged largely with collecting ICMA benchmarking data. “The departments,” she reported, “don’t even have their own budget analysts.” We have found that 10 out of 24 cities with initially robust efforts now report that efforts are waning.

From Measurement to Management

What seems clear is that performance measurement efforts, however initially popular, are inherently fragile. Even in places where the performance measurement system is or was robust, continued support is subject to changing leadership and priorities; further these efforts sometimes fall victim to the politics of transparency where the risk of exposure to failure can create internal resistance to accountability. Without a strong culture of measurement, where employees deep in the organization see and value the contribution that measuring performance has for doing their jobs and connecting them to the broader purposes of their work, internal sabotage is possible and often predictable (Sanger 2008; Smith 1995; Van Dooren et al. 2010, 158), and auditing of data is crucial. However, when we asked how data reliability is ensured, most cities reported that it

¹⁰ It appeared that no formal auditing effort was in place. This would seem to encourage data manipulation to insure that nothing reported looked “curious”.

isn't. Only two cities actually reported that they audit (Scottsdale, Arizona, and Sunnyvale, California). Another reported that they did "spot checks" (Olathe, Kansas). An internal auditor in Reno, Nevada, when asked if the city's performance data were audited, reported that, "several years ago, a deputy at the fire department who had been responsible for submitting their ICMA data was fired. They went in and checked his files to pick up his methodology and discovered that he had simply been making up his numbers all along."¹¹

Due to these inherent liabilities, we see the survival and flourishing of robust performance measurement systems in far fewer jurisdictions than we expected. Even so, we sought to determine how many of them actually integrated and/or had moved from performance measurement to performance management. Here, we will distinguish in our discussion those who claimed to be using measures to manage, from those who we consider to be truly employing performance management. There was a far greater number of cities whose officials answered yes to a question about whether they use performance data to manage for performance than those for whom we could find evidence that they did. For example, if they reported that they did not collect, review, and analyze data more frequently than quarterly or annually, it was our judgment that they were not managing for performance, because they could not be using timely operational data to test hypotheses about what is driving changes in performance or changing the deployment and organization of service delivery systems in accordance with management data. And only 8 out of 24 cities claimed to be analyzing data as often as monthly. (Only three reported that they met weekly to analyze the data.) Finally, only 5 out of 24 thought they had sufficient resources committed to performance management.

We were also interested in exploring whether there was a learning orientation at the city

¹¹ Marr (2009) provides data from the largest performance management study internationally conducted by the Advanced Performance Institute that found evidence that 68% of public sector organizations occasionally make up or fabricate performance data. Thus, without audits the value of the data always remains suspect.

or agency level that saw performance data supporting a learning environment. This was a condition we thought was essential for building and sustaining a performance management system.

We asked all 24 jurisdictions if they used data to manage. Only 7 of 24 definitively responded that they used performance data to manage. Several others claimed to be moving in that direction. But among our high performing cities, only Charlotte, North Carolina; Corpus Christi, Texas; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and perhaps Long Beach, California, have the necessary culture and preconditions to support performance management according to our parameters (See Table 3). Some jurisdictions talked about performance management as an “evolutionary process.” And others, such as Las Cruces, New Mexico, and Fort Collins, Colorado, see the value of managing for performance, and have it as a goal. But as the budget analyst we interviewed in Fort Collins reported when asked if anyone is sitting down on a weekly or monthly basis to look at the data, “no, this is something we are trying really hard to work on....we are trying, it’s our goal, but I do not know anyone who really does it.”

Table 3: Predisposing Characteristics for Performance Management

	Longstanding leadership by city manager or elected official	Culture of measurement and evaluation	Culture of learning	CitiStat inspired systems	Sufficient Resources
Charlotte, NC	X	X	X		X
Corpus Christi, TX	X	X	X		
Long Beach, CA	X	X	X	X	
Minneapolis, MN	X	X	X	X	
Tacoma, WA	X	X	X		X

Source: Interviews with public officials in exemplary cities, 2009-2011

A line manager we interviewed in the street maintenance division in Charlotte, North Carolina, captured the necessary management process that we failed to see in most of the other cities where measurement practices are the most mature. When we asked the deputy street superintendent about their process for using performance data to manage, he described it this way:

We meet once a month on a regular basis...in the meeting we talk and compare our three maintenance facilities with each other and to other standard outputs in the field. We are looking for data that stands up and then looking at why it stands up. It can be on both sides of the coin, areas that we are doing something better or worse, we compare our facilities and between them with standards in the industry. We aren't looking to find failures in each facility; we want to improve. We have a corporate view approach; we are looking if someone is doing better and trying to learn, why, how, what are they doing? We use this as a learning process and we try to capitalize on success.

Corpus Christi, Texas, another city that is managing for performance, is using a balanced scorecard (Kaplan and Norton 1996) and developing a performance management effort where each agency's performance scorecard rolls up into a city scorecard. They began their measurement effort more than ten years ago, and there has been enormous investment by the city manager, use of outside consultants, and even retreats with the city council. Support is reported to be strong for both performance measurement and management. When queried about the process for using performance measures to manage, the assistant city manager described an electronic data system that uploads data on a daily basis, with reminders placed on managers' computer screens to check their data daily. Reports are run monthly, and the city manager has monthly meetings with agencies to review the data. Agency heads meet with their supervisors prior to the monthly meetings. All measures have set targets, but they are realistic and set in collaboration with the departments. "The environment is supportive of learning, so there are no sanctions used for missing a target....where instead, missing a target provokes questions and a

learning opportunity,” said the interim assistant city manager. She reported that the data are disseminated only internally, although the meat of performance findings do ultimately appear in the annual report and budget documents. This level of scrutiny and use of performance data to manage performance, she reported, has only developed over the last two years, even though the effort began over ten years ago.

When queried about the lesson from their efforts and the challenges, most of our high performing cities emphasized the need to go slow, take it a step at a time, and to move toward management. But few, as we have seen, are using performance measurement to manage. And even in efforts with a long history, leadership, predisposing cultures, and significant investment, systematic and imbedded performance management routines were hard to find.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our findings were disappointing but instructive. We sought to determine whether particular characteristics of cities that measured their performance explained those that had exemplary systems. We hypothesized that those with professional management and those whose demographics and citizens’ engagement were favorable to good governance would be more likely to have more mature performance measurement systems. We also hypothesized that having a more mature measurement system and these predisposing conditions might lead to efforts to manage for performance. Our analysis found no clear link between demographic and governance characteristics of the cities we identified and the maturity and robustness of the performance measurement systems. More troubling, our study failed to reveal even among jurisdictions with exemplary performance measurement efforts many who effectively used performance data to manage.

Few analysts have evaluated these relationships. Many researchers, good government

groups, and advocates see the value of measuring performance as a desirable end in itself, promoting accountability and improving transparency to citizens. If outcomes and efficiency are also measured, public officials have some evidence of program performance that is useful to justify budget requests, and the literature has shown increasing use of performance data for that purpose. But performance data, even appropriate and sophisticated outcome measures, do not tell why the outcome occurred. A performance management system is necessary to generate the management structures and the kind of detailed and useful data that allows organizations to learn what operational and managerial elements drive performance. We have seen this requires a learning organization and a culture that supports innovation and experimentation, and tolerates well-conceived failures (Sanger 2008b). When managers are learning, they do so because they are willing to take risks and try new things. They also collect the right kind of data in a timely fashion, analyze the data, meet regularly, and follow-up relentlessly.¹² As we have seen in places like Charlotte, North Carolina, and Long Beach, California, for example, managers have the right kind data and management structures to do this.

Why do good performance measurement systems so rarely lead to robust performance management systems? The literature on performance management is replete with the complexities of the factors that can lead to or undermine performance management. Moynihan's work has concluded that evidence on performance management falls between two traditional perspectives: that performance management is an unambiguously desirable movement with clear benefits; and that conversely, it has no real impact over time, as bureaucrats simply comply until the next wave of reforms (2008, 189). In our research we have found support for both perspectives. For the most part, cities don't use performance measurement to manage, and those that do are vulnerable to multiple obstacles from within agencies and from external stakeholders.

¹² These are key elements of the successful PerformanceStat models that are growing in popularity (Behn 2005).

The effects of shifting political and agency leadership, unstable resources, the changing political fortunes of champions, resistant public employees, and varying levels of citizen engagement (e.g. external demand) tend to alter forces that can promote and sustain efforts (Bourdeaux 2006; de Lancer Julnes and Holtzer 2001; Moynihan and Ingraham 2004, Sanger 2008a; Van Dooren et al. 2010).

This research has looked at cities that measure their performance and the evidence came directly from what we found in their public documents on their web sites. We looked at citywide efforts as documented in city reports and budgets, and where they were absent, at agency documents. This approach may have revealed less than was actually happening on the ground and perhaps our methodology biased our results. What is publicly reported or available may not fully capture what managers collect and use. But few cities, we found, have significant efforts to use performance measurement for management and do so with equal effort across all agencies. Most of the robust examples of organizational learning and operational responsiveness could be found at the agency level.

There can be mandates for performance reporting, but as Moynihan remind us, “The other factors are difficult to legislate (culture, leadership, worker beliefs, the nature of clients and stakeholders)...” The vigor with which the effort is embraced and its potential exploited is subject to a complex set of conditions, many of which are beyond the control of legislatures, city mayors, and managers and agency heads. Even so, evidence continues to support the notion that success is most evident at the agency level when leadership is strong and stable, a learning culture is built with imbedded routines, and managerial discretion and external support is available. Even within our most exemplary jurisdictions, the level of political, resource, and managerial investment varies by agency, over time, and with changing agency and city

leadership. The ability to bring about performance-driven change is thus highly constrained, subject to multiple and powerful obstacles and more likely to be successful where more organizational autonomy is possible. That can sometimes be found in particular agencies.

Great expectation has accompanied the performance movement both in the U.S. and internationally (Kettl 2000; Marr 2009; Van Dooren et al. 2010; National Performance Management Advisory Commission 2010). Significant accomplishment can be identified. The stunning success of performance management in police departments and cities (Baltimore, Maryland in particular) using CompStat-type performance management efforts are concrete examples (Sanger 2008a; 2008b; Behn forthcoming; Moynihan 2008; Ingraham et al. 2003).

An abundance of groups continue to promote, support and fund efforts for governments at all levels to measure and report their performance, and enormous amounts of resources are devoted to these activities. The influence of the measurement norms these elite organizations promote, and their association with “good government” and best practice clearly motivates increasing interest. Most of those we interviewed cited these influences as the compelling reasons that launched their systems.

But we have also seen that even cities with the best intentions have failed to realize the promise of these methods. Many efforts have achieved little in the use of performance information to manage, and thus there is very modest evidence that creating a culture of performance *measurement* leads to performance *management* and ultimately to improving performance. And the performance movement has many critics (Radin 2006). Measuring performance and improving it are two different kinds of activities, and our research highlights the many questions that remain. Whether we have oversold the performance movement is clearly one (Van Dooren et al. 2010). If we cannot link the performance measurement movement to

improved management, and if we cannot demonstrate the performance returns to performance management, we are by necessity weakening the case for continued investment and strengthening the case for improved research on the cost effectiveness of these efforts.

We know little about the returns to performance-managed systems and how much they actually work to improve performance.¹³ Thus as we see reduced investment in both performance measurement and management with contracting budgets, even in our exemplary cities, we may need to ask ourselves how much it matters and how much effort should continue to be placed in promoting it.¹⁴ More and better research will be necessary to answer those questions but in the face of the evidence, to date, our expectations should be modest.

¹³ Not a single jurisdiction we interviewed could tell us what the performance returns were from their investments, no less the resource savings. No one was even asking those questions.

¹⁴ This is not to say that measuring performance and reporting on it don't have an important value for accountability and transparency. That may be enough to justify the scope and expense of the effort. Here we are addressing the issue of how much the investment actually results in improved performance.

Appendix A: Performance Measurement Cities

1. Abilene, TX	44. Denver, CO	88. Las Cruces, NM
2. Albany, GA	45. Des Moines, IA	89. Las Vegas, NV
3. Albuquerque, NM	46. Detroit, MI	90. Lauderdale, FL
4. Alexandria, VA	47. District of Columbia	91. Long Beach, CA
5. Alpharetta, GA	48. Duluth, GA	92. Longmont, CO
6. Anchorage, AK	49. Duncanville, TX	93. Longview, TX
7. Ankeny, IA	50. Durham, NC	94. Los Angeles, CA
8. Ann Arbor, MI	51. East Providence, RI	95. Loveland, CO
9. Arlington, TX	52. Elgin, IL	96. Lynchburg, VA
10. Asheville, NC	53. Englewood, CO	97. Lynnwood, WA
11. Auburn, AL	54. Eugene, OR	98. Marietta, GA
12. Aurora, CO	55. Evanston, IL	99. Maryland Heights, MO
13. Austin, TX	56. Farmers Branch, TX	
14. Baltimore, MD	57. Farmington, NM	100. McAllen, TX
15. Bellevue, WA	58. Fishers, IN	101. McHenry, IL
16. Billings, MT	59. Fort Collins, CO	102. Mesa, AZ
17. Bothell, WA	60. Fort Worth, TX	103. Milwaukee, WI
18. Bowling Green, KY	61. Franklin, TN	104. Minneapolis, MN
19. Bridgeport, CT	62. Fresno, CA	105. Moorhead, MN
20. Broken Arrow, OK	63. Fullerton, CA	106. Mt. Lebanon, PA
21. Bryan, TX	64. Gainesville, FL	107. New London, CT
22. Carlsbad, CA	65. Gladstone, MO	108. New York City, NY
23. Casper, WY	66. Goodyear, AZ	109. Newport News, VA
24. Centennial, CO	67. Greensboro, NC	110. Norfolk, VA
25. Chandler, AZ	68. Hampton, VA	111. North Las Vegas, NV
26. Charlotte, NC	69. Harrisonburg, VA	
27. Charlottesville, VA	70. Hartford, CT	112. North Richland Hills, TX
28. Chattanooga, TN	71. Hayward, CA	
29. Chesapeake, VA	72. Henderson, NV	113. Northglenn, CO
30. Cleveland, OH	73. Highland Park, IL	114. O'Fallon, IL
31. College Station, TX	74. Hillsboro, OR	115. Oakland, CA
32. Collinsville, IL	75. Houston, TX	116. Oklahoma City, OK
33. Colorado Springs, CO	76. Indianapolis, IN	117. Olathe, KS
	77. Irving, TX	118. Orlando, FL
34. Columbus, OH	78. Jacksonville, FL	119. Overland Park, KS
35. Concord, NH	79. Johnson City, TN	120. Palm Coast, FL
36. Coral Springs, FL	80. Kansas City, MO	121. Palo Alto, CA
37. Corpus Christi, TX	81. Keller, TX	122. Park Ridge, IL
38. Corvallis, OR	82. Kennesaw, GA	123. Pasco, WA
39. Dallas, TX	83. Kennewick, WA	124. Peachtree City, GA
40. Danville, VA	84. Kent, WA	125. Peoria, AZ
41. Davenport, IA	85. Kirkland, WA	126. Peoria, IL
42. Dayton, OH	86. Kirkwood, MO	127. Philadelphia, PA
43. DeKalb, IL	87. Laredo, TX	128. Phoenix, AZ

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| 129. Plano, TX | 150. San Francisco, CA | 171. Tallahassee, FL |
| 130. Plant City, FL | 151. San Jose, CA | 172. Tigard, OR |
| 131. Pocatello, ID | 152. Sandy Springs, GA | 173. Tucson, AZ |
| 132. Portland, OR | 153. Santa Fe, NM | 174. Tyler, TX |
| 133. Portsmouth, VA | 154. Santa Monica, CA | 175. University Place,
WA |
| 134. Raytown, MO | 155. Sarasota, FL | 176. Urbandale, IA |
| 135. Redwood, CA | 156. Savannah, GA | 177. Vallejo, CA |
| 136. Reno, NV | 157. Scottsdale, AZ | 178. Vancouver, WA |
| 137. Renton, WA | 158. Seattle, WA | 179. Virginia Beach, VA |
| 138. Richland, WA | 159. Shawnee, KA | 180. Vista, CA |
| 139. Richmond, VA | 160. Sherman, TX | 181. West Hartford, CT |
| 140. Rock Hill, SC | 161. Shoreline, WA | 182. West Jordan, UT |
| 141. Rockford, IL | 162. Sioux City, IA | 183. Westminster, CO |
| 142. Rome, GA | 163. Sioux Falls, SD | 184. Winchester, VA |
| 143. Rowlett, TX | 164. Smyrna, GA | 185. Winston-Salem, NC |
| 144. Sacramento, CA | 165. Sparks, NV | 186. Winter Garden, FL |
| 145. Salem, OR | 166. St Charles, IL | 187. Woodbury, MN |
| 146. Salisbury, NC | 167. St. Cloud, MN | 188. Worcester, MA |
| 147. Sammamish, WA | 168. Sterling Heights, MI | 189. Yakima, WA |
| 148. San Antonio, TX | 169. Sunnyvale, CA | 190. Yuma, AZ |
| 149. San Diego, CA | 170. Tacoma, WA | |

Appendix B: “Exemplary” Performance Measurement Cities

1. Alexandria, VA
2. Ankeny, IA
3. Charlotte, NC
4. Corpus Christi, TX
5. Corvallis, OR
6. Fort Collins, CO
7. Irving, TX
8. Las Cruces, NM
9. Long Beach, CA
10. Lynnewood, WA
11. Minneapolis, MN
12. Olathe, KS
13. Phoenix, AZ
14. Pocatello, ID
15. Reno, NV
16. San Diego, CA
17. Sarasota, FL
18. Scottsdale, AZ
19. Shoreline, WA
20. Sterling Heights, MI
21. Sunnyvale, CA
22. Tacoma, WA
23. Urbandale, IA
24. Westminster, CO

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