

Benchmarking for Local Governments in Asia

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Benchmarking is a continuous, systematic process for identifying and importing best practices to improve performance. It involves a series of actions, steps, functions or activities that bring about an end or result. Several types of benchmarking include the internal, competitive and functional, generic or process benchmarking. Most benchmarking processes incorporate these essential elements: planning, data collection, data analysis and reporting, and adaptations of study findings.

The article enumerates examples of how benchmarking is employed in the public sector. It features the experiences derived from an Asian Development Bank's project to pilot test the use of benchmarking as a means of improving municipal service delivery in selected Asian municipalities. Although the participating municipalities had different levels of accomplishments due to varying political and cultural circumstances, the study shows that all of them agree that benchmarking offers an exciting way for municipalities to make tangible improvements in service delivery by proving that they can do better, either by studying their internal processes, or going through a friendly competition with other agencies.

Introduction

In recent years, we have witnessed how information, communications, and information technologies transformed the way industries do business, and how these influence the behavior of every citizen. We use e-mail for communicating. We make an electronic payment on a toll road. We use ATM cards to get cash. We use the Internet for shopping, research, doing business, etc.

As citizens become accustomed to this fast, high-quality response, they do not want to tolerate the long delays, red tape and poor quality of service that have often characterized government services. In fact, they are already demanding that governments act like a business.

Both local and national governments have accepted this challenge and have sought ways to reinvent their systems and processes to reduce operating costs while improving the efficiency and efficacy of services that they provide to citizens. In doing so, they have looked outside their environment to share information with, and learn from its private sector counterparts.

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One managerial strategy that embodies this “learn from others” approach is benchmarking.

This paper explains the concept of benchmarking, how its use in the public sector has been proven, and describes the extent to which benchmarking has been used in local governments in Asia, following the experiences of an Asian Development Bank’s project to pilot test the use of benchmarking as a means of improving municipal service delivery in selected Asian municipalities.¹

What is Benchmarking?

Benchmarking is commonly known as a continuous, systematic process for identifying and importing best practices to improve performance. As a process, it involves a series of actions, steps, functions or activities that bring about an end or result. Simply identifying best practice—without importing them to your own organization—is not benchmarking (Keehly et al. 1997).

To understand benchmarking better, it is helpful to find out what it is not (Spendolini 1992).

Benchmarking is not a one-time event. Normally, benchmarking is launched with a great deal of fan fare in an organization. The senior manager talks about how good it will be for the organization, and sends the team to training. The team collects and analyzes data, writes a report, congratulate themselves, and never attempt to use the process again. They thought benchmarking is a new tool to experiment with, or a diversion from the ordinary work routine. They did not integrate benchmarking into the way they think about their work or the way they solve problems or learn. More often, the benchmarking team is not given support to implement their suggestions. Their peers do not understand what they are doing, and they are expected to perform their usual chores.

Benchmarking does not provide solutions. It is a process of investigating best practices. The information gained from this investigation needs to be incorporated with other information about one’s organizations as value-added input to the decisionmaking process.

Benchmarking is not copying or imitating. It is a process for identifying best practices, adapting them, and then implementing the practice to improve performance. Simply copying practices from other organizations without analysis, understanding and adaptation probably would not work. Post-war Japanese industry grew famous not for copying but for successful adaptation of Western management theory and industrial technique.

Benchmarking is not quick and easy. It requires a sufficient amount of project planning, process instruction, quality time, staff support and funding. The most crucial of all these is quality time.

Benchmarking is not a buzzword, a fad. Benchmarking, to a lot of people is an easy concept to understand, easy to implement and manage. This perception does not give benchmarking the level of attention, training, support and funding that it really needs to succeed. This is a typical formula that usually fades out over time.

Benchmarking	
IS	IS NOT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A continuous process • A process of investigation that provides valuable information • A process of learning from others; a pragmatic search for ideas • A time-consuming, labor intensive process requiring discipline • A viable tool that provides useful information or improving virtually any business activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A one-time event • A process of investigation that provides simple answers • Copying, imitating • Quick and easy • A buzzword, a fad

Source: Spendolini 1992

Types of Benchmarking

According to Spendolini (1992), there are several types of benchmarking activities, and each is defined by the 'target' or 'object' of the benchmarking activity. The choice of approach depends on the maturity of the organizations and the level of improvement required. These are briefly described below.

The first type is *internal benchmarking*. It involves comparison of similar process or function within an organization, and then transferring the best internal practice to other parts of the organization. It is commonly used by multinationals or multi-site organizations because it allows them to determine their internal performance, identify their best internal procedures, and then transfer them to other sections of the organization. An example of this is comparing the vouchersing process among various branches of a certain company.

Another type is *competitive benchmarking*. It is a comparison between organizations operating in the same markets with competing products or services. An example would be McDonalds against Burger King, or Starbucks Coffee versus Seattle's Best.

Functional, generic or process benchmarking involves comparing performance with that of world-class companies, which may or not be direct competitors that perform

similar functions or work processes. An example would be Xerox studying customer service at American Express, or American Postal Service studying the shipment tracking status of Federal Express.

The Benchmarking Process

Several published benchmarking models have been used worldwide: Xerox's ten-step process; IBM's sixteen-step; Alcoa's six-step; AT&T's twelve-step, American Productivity and Quality Center's (APQC) four-step; etc. There is nothing magical about the number of steps; the fundamentals are almost identical (O'Dell and Grayson 1997).

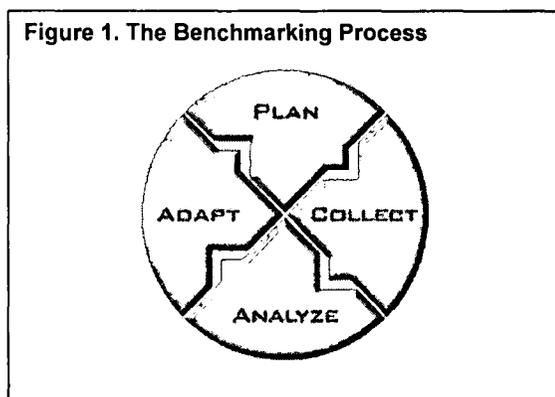
In Razmi, et al. (2000) they indicated Zairi's (1994) conclusion that "...most, if not all, of the methodological approaches are preaching the same basic rules of benchmarking, but using different languages" and "...most methodological approaches are based on the Rank Xerox approach, which is considered to be an effective and generic way of conducting benchmarking projects" (Zairi 1994: 93-95). They further noted that Zairi, after conducting a benchmarking study of 14 documents methodologies to benchmarking at the European Centre for TQM concluded that APQC's benchmarking methodology (Figure 1) came in number one as it demonstrated better clarity, clearer focus, more logical progression, and completeness.

The American Productivity Quality Center (APQC) uses a four-phased approach (Figure 1): planning, data collection, data analysis and reporting, and adaptations of study findings. These are briefly discussed below:

1. **Plan.** During this phase the specific study focus area, key measures, and definitions are established and clearly documented. Additionally, the data collection tools are refined and finalized, and research is conducted to identify the best-practice organizations to study. Representatives from the sponsor organizations select the best-practice organization to be visited.
2. **Collect.** This phase has two distinct objectives: (1) collect qualitative data and (2) learn from the best. The study questionnaire is administered to all participants, and the site visits are conducted at selected best-practice organizations.
3. **Analyze.** Key activities during this phase include analyzing trends and identifying practices that enable and hinder superior performance. The study team presents a final report containing key findings and insights at a knowledge transfer session. At this concluding meeting of the study, the sponsors discuss the key findings in-depth and have an opportunity to interact with each other and the best-practice organizations through systematic networking activities and

presentations. The study team facilitates participants' initial action plan development to adapt and implement what they have learned.

4. **Adapt.** Adaptation and improvement resulting from the best practices identified throughout a consortium study occurring after the study where participants take the findings back to their organizations.



Benchmarking in the Private Sector

The evolution of modern benchmarking dates back from the 1970s when Xerox Corporation, the inventors of Xerography process was over taken by its Japanese competitors in the market. More customers bought the Japanese products because of better quality, timely delivery, and they were only half the price of the nearest comparable Xerox machines. Xerox had to find out why and how.

Xerox discovered how their technology differed from the Japanese competitors. They also discovered that the competitors cared about and were consistent in servicing their customers, and they were quicker at updating the products and making them better.

This prompted Xerox to examine its own processes, and find others who they believed did it better—American Express, for instance on the invoicing process. Then they improved, adapted and changed the way they did things to incorporate the better ways of operating—or best practices—which they had found (Codling 1998). In no time, Xerox was able to improve the quality, delivery and service of its products, and regained its lost market share.

It was in the late 1980s when interest in benchmarking grew dramatically, with hundreds of organizations around the world seeking out benchmarking partners to improve their process and organizational performance (Benchmarking Pilot Study Report 1995).

Benchmarking in the Public Sector

Following the success of benchmarking in the private sector, it began to attract serious attention at public sector organizations and international organizations such as the European Commission and the Commonwealth Secretariat which sponsored activities in order to raise the competitiveness of both firms and nations (Codling 1998).

Evidence of successful benchmarking in the public sector is said to be relatively limited compared with the experience of the private sector. In 1998, Dorsh and Yasin made an extensive literature review of 121 benchmarking articles that were published from 1986 to 1995. They found that out of 121 articles, only sixteen (13.2%) addressed the service sector, while only two articles (1.7%) related to the public sector. They cited public sector examples of successful benchmarking initiatives from the US experience, but even here, they found progress is slow (Ogden and Wilson 2000).

In UK, the Public Sector Excellence Programme (formerly called the Benchmarking Project) is a good evidence of public sector benchmarking. Launched in 1996 as a pilot project with 30 organizations, they tested whether the Business Excellence Model (BEM; now known as EFQM Excellence Model)² was applicable to the public sector and if so, whether it was a useful tool for supporting performance improvement. The result was encouraging. From a score between 0-90, the public sector organizations on average scored better in *customer satisfaction* and almost as well in *business results, policy and strategy* and the *management of financial resources*. The only two areas where agencies were well behind the private sector were in *leadership* and the *use of non-financial resources* (Samuels 1998).

The UK government proceeded with Phase Two following the success of Phase One to extend the use of the BEM more widely across the central government. With an overwhelming response from organizations, they launched Phase Three in 1998 to invite more organizations from across the wider public sector to join and support experienced organizations in deriving maximum improvement from undertaking this assessment. Phase three is still currently being implemented.

The UK experience has gained international interest. The most advanced of these is Denmark, which launched a public sector quality prize in February 1997. According to Samuels (1998), there is insufficient data on public sector performance in other countries. On a positive note, the interest generated from the UK experience proves that in two to three years, data will become available to make a direct comparison between the public sectors of different countries.

Benchmarking in Local Governments

The success of the use of benchmarking in local governments is manifested in the experiences of some local governments in the US, Australia and OECD countries.

In the US, Oregon was recognized as the vanguard of the benchmarking movement when as early as 1991, it started its Oregon Benchmark, a program that uses 272 indicators to gauge the state's progress in achieving its goals (Oregon Progress Board 1991). Oregon Benchmark gained more prominence when it became a winner of the 1994 Innovations in State and Local Government Award by the Ford Foundation and the John F. Kennedy School of Government. More local governments, like Salt Lake City, Utah; Reno, Nevada; and West Virginia State Government have later on started to investigate the use of benchmarking in their operations (Keehley et al. 1998). Then in 1997, more US local governments have ventured into benchmarking when the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award³ was opened to the public sector.

An initial project report prepared by the Local Government Minister's Conference in early 1995 revealed that benchmarking opens up opportunities for improvement in local councils. However, the implementation of such system in most councils is constrained by unavailability of resources; inadequacy of information system and underdeveloped costing systems.

In UK, the Best Value (BV) program required local authorities to compete against one another, by submitting bids for BV pilot status. A total of 153 local authorities responded to this invitation, which revealed that benchmarking is the most frequently proposed method for performance comparison (Davis 1998).

Since 1988, the Carl Bertelsmann Prize has been awarded to municipalities that implemented innovative and excellent practices that promote the development of democratic societies. In 1994, Phoenix, Arizona, and Christchurch, New Zealand shared US\$180,000 as co-recipients of the prize. Along with the money, this special recognition brought streams of visitors, interviewers, and government administrators from around the globe to both cities, all seeking to learn the secret of their success (Keehley et al. 1996).

However, not much benchmarking has been happening in local governments in Asia, particularly in developing countries. This prompted the Asian Development Bank to pilot-test the application of benchmarking and continuous improvement⁴ as tools for improving the delivery of municipal services (Hamid 2001).

How did ADB Conduct the Benchmarking Project?

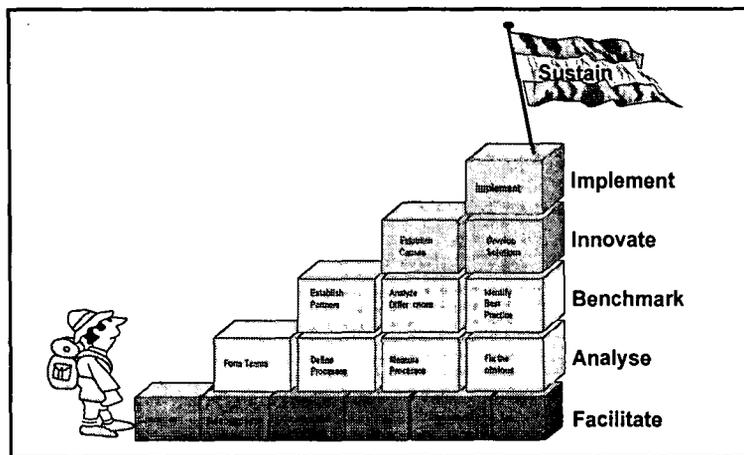
ADB's Benchmarking Project began in August 1998 in 10 selected municipalities⁵ in Asia. These municipalities were chosen from a larger number of municipalities, which signified their interest to participate in the project, based on a set of criteria.⁶

The following five step (Figure 2) process was used by the municipalities in implementing the benchmarking project:

- Step one: laying the foundations of the project.

- Step two: forming and training teams, defining and measuring processes, and fixing the problems that had obvious solutions.
- Third step: comparing processes and performance with those in other cities, analyzing differences, and identifying better practices.
- Fourth step: establishing causes and developing new solutions.
- Fifth step: carrying out the improvement proposals approved by the municipalities' steering committee and sustaining these improvements.

Figure 2. ADB's Benchmarking Process



The project leaders visited each city, introduced the project's objectives, approaches, expected results, and obtained the commitment of the mayor and senior management to support the project.

Each city sent two Benchmarking Coordinators to attend a two-week training workshop in Cebu City, Philippines, at which they were trained on benchmarking and continuous improvement tools, methods of team project management, service analysis, and performance measurements. At the workshop, the Coordinators agreed on the first two services: customer complaint handling and solid waste education and enforcement. Later on, four services⁷ were analyzed and improved in the project.

After the training, the Benchmarking Coordinators recruited, trained teams of service staff from each of the service being studied on the techniques, and facilitated them to define and map the processes of selected services; collect and analyze performance data or indicator for benchmarking; and identify areas in which the delivery of services could be improved.

Most cities preferred a simple model for indicators, as they did not have any experience with service measurement. Each service was measured in terms of quantity, quality, cost, timeliness and customer satisfaction.

The comparison of data, sharing of benchmarking experiences, and enhancing the Coordinators' skills took place in two regional workshops. One was held in Kuantan, Malaysia in April 1999 where the Benchmarking Coordinators also analyzed the weaknesses and opportunities for improvement in their own municipalities. The other workshop took place in Melbourne, Australia in October 1999, at which they visited several Melbourne municipalities to witness practices and meet practitioners of benchmarking and continuous improvement.

Aside from the regional workshops, the Coordinators also exchanged information through email. The mayors participated in three Asian Mayors' Forum at which they shared their experiences not only on benchmarking but also on other urban practices. The international consultants visited all the cities to observe teams in action, provide advice, and train teams further.

According to Hamid (2001), "the comparison between municipalities served as the basis for the teams to review all the available information, investigate the root causes of their problems, and identify improvements that could be made in the existing services. In some cases, improvement proposals by teams were drawn from the best practices identified in the Kuantan workshop rather than a fully developed critical analysis and measurement comparison. All improvement proposals made by the teams were presented to their steering committee for approval and support" (Hamid 2001: 117).

Once the steering committee approved the improvement proposals, the teams committed themselves to a timetable, assigned responsibilities, and implemented the plans.

Outcomes for the Cities

Three cities⁸ dropped out during the project's implementation. All seven remaining cities achieved service improvements, to varying degrees. These cities implemented changes that increased customer orientation, improved quality and coverage of services, and enhanced revenues (Hamid 2001). Table 1 presents the achievements of the participating cities in five municipal services.

It is evident from the table that some municipalities were able to achieve significant improvements in service delivery. These successful municipalities were helped by the following factors:

- Top management support
- Strong coordination and communication

Table 1. Achievements of Participating Cities in ADB's Benchmarking Project

City/ Service	Customer Complaints	Solid Waste Education and Enforcement	Parking	Property Taxes	Street Vendors
Bandung		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> implemented 3 pilot areas for solid waste education, disposal, recycling, composting and reduction, with the assistance of GTZ 			
Bangalore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> central customer service center customer assistance decentralized to 6 district offices allocated 6 computers to record and report on customer complaints established new complaint registration and monitoring procedure and issued a manual on the procedure implemented new complaint registration form issued formal acknowledgment of a customer complaint regular monthly reporting to the Commissioner of complaints received, resolved and outstanding for the period 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> education programs on SWM road sweepers better equipped new uniforms and IDs for all health inspectors required all health inspectors to carry and issue citation tickets to infringers; in 3 months, Rs 146,000 has been charged door-to-door collection to residents using 1,500 push carts waste separation is part of the new collection system cleaned up hot spots, posted warning notices and monitored these sites daily 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> time-limited parking parking fees for motor cars and wheelers "no parking" signs between 9 am and 8 pm on 4 roads in the CBD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> re-evaluation of all commercial properties, which is expected to yield an increase in tax revenues of some US\$4 M per annum re-evaluation of all residential properties, which is expected to yield an increase in tax revenue of US\$20M per annum introduced self-assessment scheme of residential properties established a telephone help line for residential revaluation assessments commenced negotiation with Federal Government Departments for the collection of property tax on some 20,000 properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> hawking license required mapped the city streets and decided upon legal street vending positions

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City/ Service	Customer Complaints	Solid Waste Education and Enforcement	Parking	Property Taxes	Street Vendors
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Installed computer system for property tax assessment 	
Cebu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> customer information center developed and installed a customer complaint registration and monitoring system re-launched the radio broadcast for airing public complaints implemented an escalation path for unresolved complaints 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SW enforcement officers recruited to patrol areas and fine violators; they were provided with uniform and IDs included SW education in the curriculum of junior high school through City Ordinance 1361 established a new unit for SW education cleaned up known hot spots for dumping and patrolled these areas more frequently 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> new legislation for parking regulations, condition and penalties proposed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> inspected and reassessed all machinery and agriculture properties for taxing commercial properties bought 2 new vehicles for field inspection and reassessments 	
Colombo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> customer information center 24 hour telephone service for receiving customer complaints set standards for complaints resolution - 3-days allocated Rs1M for customer service in 2000-2001 trained 150 staff for customer handling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> education programs on SWM in cooperation with high education directors and school principals organized new unit for SW education door-to-door daily waste collection 450,000 dustbins provided to houses updated by-laws relating to littering and dumping 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 150 parking bays marked in the Central Business District obtained a budget to remark 2500 bays in total capped open drains to provide additional parking areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GIS for property tax completed a training needs assessment for property values 	

City/ Service	Customer Complaints	Solid Waste Education and Enforcement	Parking	Property Taxes	Street Vendors
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> issued uniforms to 3 prosecuting officers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> converted 2-way streets to one-way streets and used one lane for additional parking 		
Kuantan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 40 managers trained in handling complaints issued complaint processing procedure to 40 trained managers complaint resolution included in manager's job statements required each department to allocate 10 percent of its budget for complaint resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> established a planning committee for solid waste education surveyed illegal dumping sites and likely dumping sites and solicited collaborated with the different agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> new parking signs erected 		
Semarang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> decentralized complaint handling resulting in elapsed time of 3 days from 38 days 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> increased the number of prosecutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> introduced limited time parking as a pilot in one location 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> amended legislation to enable tax payment directly into the City's bank introduced 16 payment offices within the city 	
Surabaya	The Surabaya teams have prepared considerable briefing documents on all six services, however, when the pilot project concluded in April, no completed projects have been documented. Like many other Indonesian cities, Surabaya has been pre-occupied with the changes promulgated in the Reformation Act and the financial crisis of the country.				

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- Team work
- Visits to other cities for external comparison of services

In the less successful cities, they were constrained by:

- Inadequate support provided by the Mayor/Steering committee
- Reluctance of teams to document existing processes and measure performance
- Coordinator incapacity and discontinuity
- Weak communication facility

Lessons Learned

ADB's pilot project has proven that benchmarking can be successfully applied to identify areas of potential improvement and help drive change. It fosters self-help rather than a continuance of experts to diagnose problems and propose solutions. It brought to light ways in which the techniques could be better implemented, particularly in certain circumstances when benchmarking is not necessarily the most appropriate management tool. In the future, projects aiming to achieve change in municipal services should consider the following lessons learned from ADB's pilot project:

- *Minimize the risks of losing trained coordinators* through promotion or transfer by increasing the number of trained coordinators from two to between six and ten in each city. This also creates a critical mass to drive and sustain change
- *Improve the commitment of senior management to a change process* through seeking their greater visibility in the process and having more interaction between the international consultants and municipal management
- *Increase the skills retention of coordinators* by adding additional skills such as managing change, developing proposals, negotiating with council and mayor, e-mail and Internet usage; performance based management; and implementation planning. Train the coordinators in smaller technical modules, at a rate that they can absorb the knowledge and then reinforce it by immediate application of the newly acquired skills
- *Demonstrate as early as possible the benefits of applying the change techniques* by using trained coordinators as the first service improvement team and increase the on-site city support by the international consultants so they can actively participate in the team's analysis of the first services

- *Avoid too wide a scope in the choice of service* as this slows progress and can frustrate improvement teams. This can be achieved by targeting services for improvement that are restricted in scope, simple to comprehend, can be improved relatively easily and that are wholly within the control and authority of the city
- *Make it easier to communicate and compare processes* by including two or more cities from every country into the Benchmarking network
- *Increase the engagement of the community and NGOs* in order to help foster a greater customer focus within the city administration and assist in monitoring progress in improving service delivery
- *Consider the use of an external Western or Asian city as an additional benchmark* for 'best practice' of municipal services rather than rely wholly upon one or more of the participating cities exhibiting 'best practice'
- *Do not proceed if the organization is unstable* as this will inevitably lead to distractions to the change process and likely redeployment of trained personnel to other duties
- *Be prepared to vary the change process if results are not being achieved* as this provides clear signals to all participants, that resources will only be channeled to cities that deserve support because of their commitment and performance
- *If possible, continue to hold Mayor Forums and issue E Newsletters* as they provide an excellent way of tying cities together, stimulating the exchange of information and building cooperative relationships between the municipalities.

Future Plans of ADB

ADB is about to start the implementation of the phase two of the benchmarking project, which involves twelve cities in three Asian countries. The three most successful cities (Bangalore, Cebu, and Colombo) in the first phase will be the hub cities for a regional benchmarking group, and lead three other nearby cities in a local benchmarking network. The second phase will be implemented for two years and will take into account the lessons learned in the first phase.

Conclusion

The participating municipalities in the benchmarking project may have different levels of accomplishments due to varying political and cultural circumstances. Yet, all of them agree that benchmarking offers an exciting way for municipalities to make tangible improvements in service delivery, and they now have a clear appreciation of its benefits on their systems and procedures. In fact, they encourage other cities to get involved in benchmarking so they could prove that they can do better, either by studying their internal processes, or going through a friendly competition with other agencies.

After all is said and done, there is no doubt that benchmarking entails a hard work but it is worth it.

Endnotes

¹ This paper relies extensively on materials that were generated from the implementation of ADB's regional technical assistance on Enhancing Municipal Service Delivery Capability. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Asian Development Bank or its member governments. ADB does not guarantee the accuracy of the data included in this paper and accepts no responsibility for any consequences of their use.

² EFQM Model was developed by the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) and 200 organizations across Europe. It is a framework which measures organizations against nine criteria (leadership; policy and strategy; people management; resources; processes; customer satisfaction; people satisfaction; impact on society; and business results), each weighted to take account of its relative importance in a quality organization.

³ The Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award was introduced in 1987 to provide firms with an incentive to improve the quality of their products and services. It requires applicants to describe how they chose competitive comparisons and benchmarking data and used them to improve process performance and set hard targets for the future.

⁴ Continuous improvement describes an organization's operating culture, in which it is always seeking ways of improving its products, services, and performance of management and staff. Benchmarking achieves greater success if it is conducted within the context of continuous improvement strategy rather than a one-time initiative.

⁵ The ten participating cities are Bandung, Indonesia; Bangalore, India; Cebu, Philippines; Colombo, Sri Lanka; Kuantan, Malaysia; Lahore, Pakistan; Peshawar, Pakistan; Semarang, Indonesia; Shanghai, People's Republic of China; and Surabaya, Indonesia.

⁶ The criteria included commitment of the mayor, nomination of suitably qualified municipal staff for training as Benchmarking Coordinators, track record in implementing change, and past relationship with ADB or German Development Cooperation (GTZ) and Urban Management Program (UNDP/UNCHS) who also supported the initiative.

⁷ The four services were Property Tax, Parking (which were studied in Round 2 of the project) and Street Hawking and Integrated Computer Services (which were studied in Round 3).

⁸ Lahore, Peshawar and Shanghai were not able to complete the project. Lahore had a new mayor and Peshawar changed its senior executives, which affected the commitment of resources and program leadership. Shanghai's Coordinators were transferred to other divisions, and because of English difficulty it was difficult to find their replacements.

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