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Institutionalization Challenges of Performance Appraisal system in Tanzanian Local Authorities

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Foremost I give thanks to the almighty God for his abundant grace, guidance, strength and wisdom that he has given me throughout my study in Norway.

Abstract

Improving the service provision of the public sector has been the struggle of many developing countries for the past two decades. Tanzania is also in the same endeavor where it aims to improve the performance of the public servants so as to improve service delivery in the public sector. It is with this intention that performance appraisal system was introduced to the local authorities, which are the service provider entities of the government. This study has been an attempt to assess the challenges of instituting PAS in the local authorities; focusing on two LGA's namely Arusha City Council and Arusha district Council. The two authorities were studied to ascertain any differences between rural and urban local authorities. The study was qualitative and data was obtained through in-depth interview, focused group discussion, observation and documentary review. It involved 34 respondents who were purposefully (heads of departments) and randomly (lower cadre) selected. Generally, it was found that there is very low institutionalization of PAS in LGA's due to some cultural, organizational and political factors. The findings have shown no significant differences between the two LGA's and that the public servants in these councils have inadequate knowledge on the purpose and processes of PAS, leading to a disregard of performance as a criteria during administrative decision making. The findings show a lack of commitment from the implementers and insufficient financial resources to facilitate the institutionalization of PAS. Furthermore, the study identified power distance and uncertainty avoidance as the major deterrents to institutionalization of PAS in local authorities in Tanzania. On these grounds my conclusion is that there is a need to alter the adapted reforms to conform to Tanzanian culture in order to enable the public servants to identify with them.

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Abbreviations

ACC: Arusha City Council

ADC: Arusha District Council

CMT: City Management Team

CSRP: Civil Service Reform Program

DED: District Executive Director

IMF: International Monetary Fund

LGA's: Local Government Authorities

LGRP: Local Government Reform Program

MP: Member of Parliament

NPM: New Public Management

OPRAS: Open Performance and Review Appraisal System

PAS: Performance Appraisal System

PMO-RALGA: Prime Minister's Officer- Regional Administration and Local
Government Authorities.

PO-PSM: Presidents Office-Public Service Management

PSMES: Public Service Management and Employment Services

PSPR: Public Service Reform Program

RAS: Regional Administrative Secretary

URT: United Republic of Tanzania

1 Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

For some years now the public sector in most countries (developed and developing) has been undergoing restructuring with the aim of bringing effectiveness and efficiency in public services and activities (Minongue, 2001). These changes where introduced and adopted in the form of reforms. The reforms aim to restructure the public sector, which seemed necessary in facing the challenge of improving their services with fewer resources (Faizal 2005:1). These reforms were "universally sanctioned as the means to bring about the desired changes to the public sector" (Turner & Hulme 1997:106)

"This wave of reforms came in the name of New Public Management (NPM) and dominated..." (Polidano, 2001:44). It is said to dominate because since its prelude NPM reforms have been implemented and instituted almost in all parts of the world. The administrative reforms were specifically aimed to restructure the public sector "to make the administrative system a more effective instrument for social change, a better instrument to bring about political equality, social justice and economic growth" (Samonte, 1970:228). In developing countries these reforms came in the form of Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs) which were initiated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as a response to the economic crisis they faced at the time (Corkery & Land, 1997)

"Poor performance, inefficiency and corruption contributed to the pressure of reforms in Tanzania..." (Therkildsen, 2000:61). With the intentions of improving public servants performance and efficiency the Government introduced and implemented Performance Appraisal System (PAS), which is an NPM reform tool for monitoring and evaluating employees' performance. Basically Performance Appraisal System is concerned with improving employee's performance so as to achieve organizational goals and objectives through specific strategies to meet "organizations need to be efficient, effective and to provide value for money" (Turner & Hulme 1997:106). It aims at getting the best results from the individuals working as a team at a defined standard and level of competence required. PAS in Tanzania was implemented from the national level and later on to the

regional and local levels. It has been established in the public sector for almost 7 years now, hence the intention of the study to the level of institutionalization in consideration of how compatible PAS is to the Tanzanian local authorities structure and culture? And whether it has matured since its implementation? Has it solved the intended problems (inefficiency and poor performance) or has it created more problems? As it is argued by Christensen et al (2001) that sometimes solutions offered by reforms are often simple and when implemented to solve a complex organizational matter they tend to be inadequate to solve the intended problem and in some cases create new ones.

The main purpose of this study is to assess the institutionalization process of performance appraisal system and identifying the factors that affect Performance Appraisal System in the local level in Tanzania.

This chapter describes the country profile, background of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study and research questions

1.2   Country profile

Tanzania, formerly known as Tanganyika, got its independence in the 9th December 1961 from the British colonial rule. In 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar (which comprise Unguja, Pemba and Mafia islands) were united to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

Tanzania has a population of 42,500,000 (IMF 2008) and a total land of 947,300 sq. km including the 1,651 sq. km of the islands. Tanzania lies in the south of the equator in East Africa and borders with Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, the democratic republic of Congo, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi (CIA-Fact book July 2011).

Tanzania is a democratic state, which has 120 ethnic groups and is divided into twenty six (26) regions, twenty one (21) in the main land and five (5) in Zanzibar. The regions are further divided into districts in which there are 130 districts in Tanzania 120 being in the mainland and 10 in Zanzibar. The districts are further sub-divided into divisions, wards and village/streets (mitaa), which are essential administrative units of the local government authorities.

1.3 Background of the study

1.3.1 Performance Appraisal System as a reform

After independence in 1961 Tanzania waged a social war against what was considered the enemies of development, poverty, diseases and ignorance so as to bring prosperity to all Tanzanians (G.V Mmari 1995:66). The public sector was the expected tool to fight against these enemies since it was the strong arm of the government. But the public sector was ineffective and inefficient which caused misuse of public expenditure (Corkery & Land, 1997). In the 1990's the government realized that it would take too long before these enemies were eradicated if certain mechanisms and measure were not adopted to transform the public sector into an institution capable of taking part in eradicating poverty and sustain economic growth (World Bank 2008:3).

In response to this situation a number of reforms were introduced and implemented, first the Civil Services Reform Programme (CSRP) which took party from 1991-1999 (Lukumai, 2006) followed by the Public Services Reform Programme (PSRP) which was implemented in phases, but the first phase is the most relevant to the study which took place from 2000-2007. This phase aimed at "Instituting Performance Management System" (URT, 2005). It was introduced and implemented in all public sectors and agencies, central and local level. It was implemented under the Public Services Management and Employment Policy of 1999 and legalized by the Public Service act No.8 of 2002 these two facilitated the institutionalization of performance management system in Tanzania (Bana & Shitindi, 2009:5). Different tools were used to ensure institutionalization of Performance Management System such as client service charter, strategic and operational programmes and performance appraisal system (URT, 2010).

Performance appraisal system was introduced in Tanzania July 2004 by Circular No.2 0f 2004, and was referred to as the Open Performance Review and Appraisal System (OPRAS). OPRAS replaced the *closed annual confidential report system,* which was characterized by absence of feedback and poor identification of training needs and made it impossible to promote performance and accountability to the public servants (Nigera, 2004). With this confident and closed system there was no transparency, which gave

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room to nepotism, poor accountability of public servants, favoritism and corruption hence the public sector was characterized with rigid bureaucracy, poor management of resources and political patronage (Turner & Hulme 1997).

1.3.2 Why Performance Appraisal System (PAS)

According to Ghorpade et al, (1995) PAS is inevitable in any kind of organization be it private, public local or multi International because of the following reasons; 1) PAS is a way of an organization to assess the individuals employees whether the organization gets what rightfully due from the individuals, as they were employed to perform certain tasks for the success of the organization. 2) Since everyone is different in their own ways hence the difference on how well and meticulous individuals can be, PAS is necessary to account for the different contributions of individuals and lastly, 3) PAS is vital in defending the organizations action against employees especially those that are guided by the law. PAS is the most used and common tool of performance management. This means the changes that took place in the surrounding environment (other African countries adapting the system) also led Tanzania to adapt the changes and in the case of this study that change is PAS.

Although the government and the public service at large have achieved a lot since its independence but still problems in the efficiency and effectiveness of the services provided by the government and the functioning of the public sector were noticed along with complains of dissatisfaction of the public hence the implementation of the administrative reforms (URT, 2010). Performance Management system in Tanzania was geared to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery in the public sector most importantly by insuring the value for money as it is the target for most of the implemented administrative reforms. Performance appraisal system is one of the tools of performance management that seem to best ensure effectiveness by connecting and aligning individual, team and organizations objectives and results (Armstrong, 2003). Performance appraisal system gives a thorough consideration of the components and various aspects of performance with the attention given to how each component plays part to the desired performance outcome in the organizational, departmental, team and individual level (Chen et al, 2009).

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Also the changes in this performance appraisal system where in accord to the Public Service Management and Employment Service (PSMES) of 1998 and the Public Service Act No.8 of 2002 (URT, 2005). And it looks into what employees do (their work) how they do it (behavior) and the result obtained. As a whole performance appraisal in Tanzania incorporated the formal and informal measures adopted by the public sector and its entities to increase organizational, team and individual effectiveness (Mbegu, 2004).

This tool is critical to the adaptation and instituting performance culture in the Tanzanian public sector. It requires the public servants and their supervisors to develop their personal objectives based on the strategic planning process and on organizational targets regarding service delivery. To develop the individual performance plan both the supervisor and subordinate are required to agree on "performance objectives, performance targets, performance criteria and required resources in order to achieve the set targets and objectives" (Bana & Shitindi 2009:13).

It has been almost 7 years since performance appraisal was implemented in public sector in Tanzania, it is the most popular and well-known tool compared to other tools of performance management. The issue is that performance appraisal system was aimed to bring efficiency and effectiveness of employee's performance in which it would lead to improved services. For this to be possible performance appraisal needs to be instituted so as to make it possible to have the expected effects (Bana & Shitindi 2009).

For the past two decades Tanzania has been implementing several political, administrative and economic reforms with the aim of developing and improving the economic status of the country (World Bank, 2008). With so many reforms being introduced and implemented almost at the same time (these reforms being suggested by donors as conditions to acquire financial aid) most of these reforms have not been successfully implemented and institutionalized (Beitenhader et al, 2010). Although performance appraisal system intentions in the Tanzanian public sector have been meritorious, it still does not seem to reach the expectations (URT, 2010). This situation is explained by the fact that PAS has faced obstacles and challenges, which hinders it to be effectively institutionalized in the public sector (Cutler & Waine, 2005). Therefore the

aim of this study is to explore the factors that affect the institutionalization of PAS in Tanzanian local government authorities.

1.4   Statement of the Problem

For years now the public sector in Tanzania has been administering performance appraisal to its employees, first the secretive appraisal and now the open performance appraisal system. The current appraisal system procedures were designed to assist both managers and subordinates in planning, managing and executing organizational goals, which will lead to effective service delivery to the public.

A number of reforms have not been successful in many developing countries (Tanzania included) which led to "development failure and disappointment to the public which are now viewed as a result of inappropriate policy choices" (Turner & Hulme, 1997:105) and among many other reasons also lack of consistence and follow up is one of the reasons. Performance appraisal system was introduced in July 2004 and was implemented for minimum of three years all over the country to all central and local agencies of the government (URT, 2005). But very little changes can be seen judging by the services delivered by the public sector. The situation in the public sector is almost still the same, too many procedures, ineffective services and poor customer care as opposed to the intent of the implementing performance appraisal system reforms.

Also contrary to the purpose of this system which is to provide information useful in decision making regarding transfers, promotions and demotions, it seems these decisions do not at all depend in the performance appraisal feedback according to the statement by President Jakaya Kikwete that "from now on any government official who is involved in transferring government employees unnecessarily will be obliged to pay transfer costs themselves". The president also said most of the government employees claims regarding promotions, transfers and leave are caused by the irresponsibility of Government officials in relevant departments (Daily News, 2 March, 2009). It is because of these diverse experience and events that I decided to examine the institutionalization of performance appraisal system in the local government authorities to examine and analyze challenges that face the process of institutionalization of performance appraisal system.

1.5 Significance of the study

A lot of reforms took place in Tanzania since the 1990's with the aim of restructuring the public sector and improve service delivery since it was the only service delivery body to the public (before privatization in the late 90's). The current performance appraisal system, which is also referred to as the open performance appraisal and review system (OPRAS) has replaced the former secretive appraisal system so as to bring more just and fairness to the government employees.

The fact that policy institutionalization is scarcely studied in the context of Africa and Tanzania in particular in spite of so many policies and reforms being introduced and implemented is what motivated me to carry out this study so as to contribute in addressing the issue. Although PAS has been studied in the recent academic researches in Tanzania (Mlay 2008; Nigera 2004; Frimat 2003) these studies have attempted to focus on the effectiveness and applicability of PAS in government agencies and private companies. This study focused on PAS in the public sector, challenges faced and the level of its institutionalization. Also there are very few studies with regards to public policy in the local level in Tanzania especially in the case of administrative reforms, hence the inspiration for me to conduct this study in the local level.

In the academic sphere, the experience drawn from my study might contribute in the knowledge of how local authorities adapt and implement policies and the variation between urban and rural local authorities differ in terms of finances, commitment and competence. The study will most likely add to the existing literature of PAS and stimulate further studies in this area to see whether the challenges facing PAS in these two local authorities are similar or different with the experiences from other local authorities. Moreover this study will enrich the public administration discipline with regards to the challenges facing western ideas (transferred reforms and policies) that are being implemented in developing countries with collective society like Tanzania.

1.6 Research Question

This study aims to answer one major question and that is "To what extent is performance appraisal system institutionalized in local government authority of Tanzania? More precisely the study is concerned with finding answers to the following specific questions:

i) How informed are the public servants in the local authorities regarding performance appraisal?

The logic behind this question is to assess the level of awareness among public servants because for something to be instituted the society involved has to be familiar with it (Zucker, 1977). Introduction of PAS brought about changes in the public sector and for these changes to be permanent they have to be known to everyone involved so as for them to act uniformly and bring about the consistency required for PAS to be instituted. The intention here is to find out to what extent the public servants in the local authorities are aware of PAS and its purpose.

ii) To what extent are important decisions such as promotion, demotion, transfers and layoff based on performance appraisal evaluation feedback?

The concern was to find out the applicability of PAS in local authorities by assessing how capable and committed the appraisers are in following the PAS processes (will be explained in the literature review chapter) so as to acquire important information regarding the ability and capacity of the individuals in their departments as per their performance.

iii) To what extent do financial resource and political will affect performance appraisal system in the local authorities?

This question is meant to examine the way in which financial resources and government support are crucial in establishing and introducing change. Political will and lack of finances to enhance the implementation is said to be among the reasons for failing public policies in many developing countries especially in Africa (Polidano, 2001).

The logic here is that in order to institutionalize the appraisal system it is essential for all

the individuals involved in this system to have an understanding and be well informed about the system so as to have a clear goal. In the context of variation it was assumed that urban local authorities have more sources of income hence they may have more funds to support the system through training, rewards and motivation of the staff, and have more committed and competent appraisers than the rural local authorities. This will all enable the determination of level of institutionalization of the PAS in local authorities.

1.7   Scope of the study

The focal point of the study is the institutionalization (continuous and persistence application)[1] of performance appraisal system in Tanzanian local government authorities. The study was then narrowed down into comparing the two local authorities these are Arusha city council (urban local authority) and Arusha district council (rural local authority) and the individuals involved were the management level and supporting staff level. I compared the two organization (local authorities) in terms of power distance existing among supervisors and junior staff, uncertainty avoidance of new changes, appraisers competence, bureaucratic commitment towards PAS, financial resources to ensure institutionalization of PAS and the government support (political will) to these local authorities to enable institutionalization of PAS. The boundaries of the study were drawn within the existing factors (cultural, political and organizational) and their effect towards institutionalization of PAS in local authorities in Tanzania.

The outcomes such as the success or failure of the implementation of PAS, effectiveness of the PAS in the local context or the effectiveness of PAS in service delivery were not the concern of this study. These kinds of outcomes are the result of interaction of multiple actors and factors, which seemed impossible to explore within the 2 months data collection period that I had. Based on this rationale I decided it was best to stay within the explained boundaries.

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[1] Used to operationalize the level of institutionalization

[2] Give narrations and perspectives on how things should be done. Like the prescribed formulas of the

1.8 Organization of the study

This study is organized in six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which covers the important aspects of the study such as the background of the study, the statement of problem and research questions. The chapter also includes the significance and scope of the study. The second chapter covers the literature review on performance appraisal system methods, purpose and processes to provide a link to the research problem. This chapter also articulates the theoretical framework of the study by identifying the theories, which guided the study it also gives the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables and explain how each was measured. The third chapter is the methodology chapter. It highlights the methodological aspects employed in this study such as the research approach, selection of sample, study area, data collection methods and the ethical consideration. The fourth chapter is devoted to explaining the local government authorities of Tanzania, and PAS in Tanzanian context. The fifth and sixth chapters present the study findings with the attempt of answering the research questions, which are discussed in the first chapter. The discussion of the findings is mainly based on the qualitative approach in an attempt to link data to the theory. The last chapter, which is the seventh chapter, gives a summary of the findings in relation to the research problem. It also gives the conclusion and suggestions for further research.

2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to discuss Performance Appraisal System in order to develop a framework for analyzing Performance appraisal system and its institutionalization in Tanzanian Local authorities. In the course of doing so I give a definition of the system, the history of its origin, intellectual inspiration (methods of appraising, the controversy of the appraisal system) and processes of appraisal system. This chapter also provides a detailed theoretical discussion of the different perspectives used in the study and the dependent and independent variables are elaborated.

2.2 Performance Appraisal System

2.2.1 Meaning and purpose

Performance can be referred to as the act of accomplishing or executing a specific task assigned to an individual or team. It is only possible to know and judge one's performance by evaluating the day to day activities of the person, or provide a specific mission to that person and when they reach that target that's what we call performance (Mlay 2008).

Performance appraisal can be referred to as the process in which humans judge other humans performance as a basis of making decisions about the effectiveness of using pay to improve performance (Milkovitch et all 1991:2,55).

According to Dale (1980) Performance appraisal system is an evaluation of individuals with respect to their work performance and their potential to develop. This entails that the working goals or expectation has to be a joint venture between the supervisor and the worker (in the case of this study; between the head of department and the junior staff/subordinates).

An effective performance appraisal system contains two operating systems which function side by side to each other; these are evaluating system and feedback system. The feedback system is for employees to know how (quality) they are performing and the

evaluation system is for the organization to find out the performance gap (what should have been done and what is actually being done) if any (Murphy & Cleveland, 1995).

In performance appraisal system both sides are included and benefit from the system. An individual side and an organizational side as argued by Forman.

> "For an individual, an effective performance management system provides ongoing feedback on performance and the resulting benefit, reward and development programs that are now provided. For the organization, an effective performance management system provides essential information about how employees (as a group) are aligned with organizational strategy and initiatives, and how well organizational objectives are being achieved" (Forman 2005:109).

Performance appraisal system has also been defined by Roush et al (1991:13) as "the process of evaluating the performance and the qualification of the employees in terms of the requirement of the job of which she/he is employed for the purpose of administration including placement, selection for promotion, providing financial reward". Through performance appraisal the manager is able to identify and develop work performance of employees so as to achieve organizational goals and objectives. In this process both the employees and organization benefit, "the employees get recognition, career guidance and feedback for their performance and the organization gets qualified, committed and disciplined employee (Faizal 2005:2). For years it has been the managers' possession to come up with an effective way of measuring and motivating their subordinates into achieving organizational goals and objectives as a team and as individuals. Performance appraisal has been the instrument used to measure employee's performance in terms of quality, time and quantity.

Performance appraisal is intended to meet three main organizational purposes which are to provide information that:

- Facilitates decision making concerning judgment to back up salary increments, demotion, promotions, layoffs, transfers, confirmations and early retentions (Armstrong, 1996; Kreitner, 2006).

- Is the means of suggesting need for behavior, skills and attitude change, through training and career development
- The superior/managers use as a base for coaching and counseling the individuals (Thomas 2006:14).

PAS can be used for several purposes such as reward, discipline, coaching, to improve work environment, raise employee morale, counseling and to improve communication among subordinates and their superiors in an organization (Wilson et al, 2000).

2.2.2   History of Performance Appraisal System

Although the interest in using and researching PAS has increased in the past 30 to 40 years the act of evaluating employees has existed in centuries. According to Prince (2000:184) performance appraisal can be depicted way back to the 3rd century AD where there is a study of a Chinese philosopher who criticized the rater who was hired by Wei dynasty whose judgment was based on like and dislike instead of merits. Appraisal on merit was possibly first used in 1800s in the cotton mills in New Lanark in Scotland as a way to evaluate and judge farm workers.

As a formal management system of evaluating work performance it is traced back to sixty years ago when Walter Dill Scott succeeded to persuade the United States Army to adopt man-to-man rating system in evaluating military officers after the 2nd world war. And in 1950 it became an established and accepted practice in many organizations in the United States (Murphy & Cleveland, 1995:3). It began simply as a system that can be used to justify income (salaries and wages) of individuals their capacity and the appraisal processes were linked to material output.

2.2.3   Performance Appraisal Methods

There are several methods of performance appraisal but the following are the commonly used methods, a) rating, b) essays and c) result-based appraisal.

In rating scale employee trait/behavior such as cooperation at work, punctuality, creativity, competence, ability to communicate and team work is rated in a grading scale, which is arranged in numbers that are used in rating from 'poor to excellent' (Murphy &

Cleveland 1995) In this method, it involves acquiring the highest point which makes the employee the best performer and other ratings are such as "outstanding, satisfactory or needs improvement" (Weise & Buckley, 1998:236).

The essay method of performance appraisal requires managers to figure out the strengths and weaknesses of an employee and suggest remedies for the identified weaknesses/problems. Here managers/raters respond narratively to questions such as; what is your overall evaluation of this person over the last year?" (Weise & Buckley, 1998:36). Employees should also describe their own strengths and weaknesses and suggest ways to overcome their weaknesses. The combination of these two suggestions will definitely lead to the best way to improve performance (Murphy & Cleveland, 1995). This method proved to be inconvenient in providing developmental feedback to the employees hence the current result based appraisal (Weise & Buckley, 1998).

With regards to result based appraisal, it involves rater/supervisor and ratee/subordinate to set and agree upon specific objectives in which will periodically be used to evaluate employee performance and reward according to the result obtained in comparison to the objectives. This method focuses more on achieving goals (results) rather than the how (means) to achieve the goals. Here "goal-setting is an important element because goals can stimulate employee effort, focus attention, increase persistence, and encourage employees to find new and better ways to work" (Karyeija 2010:41). This is the method used in most public organizations to appraise their employees it is also known as manage by objective method.

2.2.4 Performance Appraisal Process

As I have mentioned before performance appraisal is a system in which it requires certain things to be in place for it to function. One important thing that the system requires is the constant communication between the appraiser and those who are to be appraised. According to Gupta (2006) it is important that the subordinates know what is expected of them and how to go about attain the expected result. And this is possible through communication in which there is flow of information and most important agreement upon the expected goal standard. There are six processes involved in the performance appraisal

system as outlined by Gupta (2006), these are setting of performance standard, communicating the standards, measuring performance, comparing standards, discussing results and taking corrective actions.

a) Setting performance standards in some organizations it might be done with the participation of subordinates but in the case of local authorities the management team does that so the next step is more essential in which the appraiser has to b) communicate the standards to the subordinates so as for them to agree and know what is expected of them. c) Measuring performance refers to the assessment of one's performance. d) Comparing standards involves comparing the actual performance against the agreed/expected performance, while e) discussing results is the feedback given to the appraise regarding their performance and lastly the step in which the f) appraiser takes action regarding the feedback given to the subordinates whether to reward them or boost their performance through training, etc.

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          ┌──────────────┐
          │   Setting    │
          │  perfomance  │
          │   standard   │
          └──────────────┘
   ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
   │    Taking    │      │Communicating │
   │  corrective  │      │  standards   │
   │    action    │      │              │
   └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘

   ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
   │   Discuss    │      │  Measuring   │
   │   results    │      │  perfomance  │
   └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
          ┌──────────────┐
          │  Comparing   │
          │     with     │
          │  standards   │
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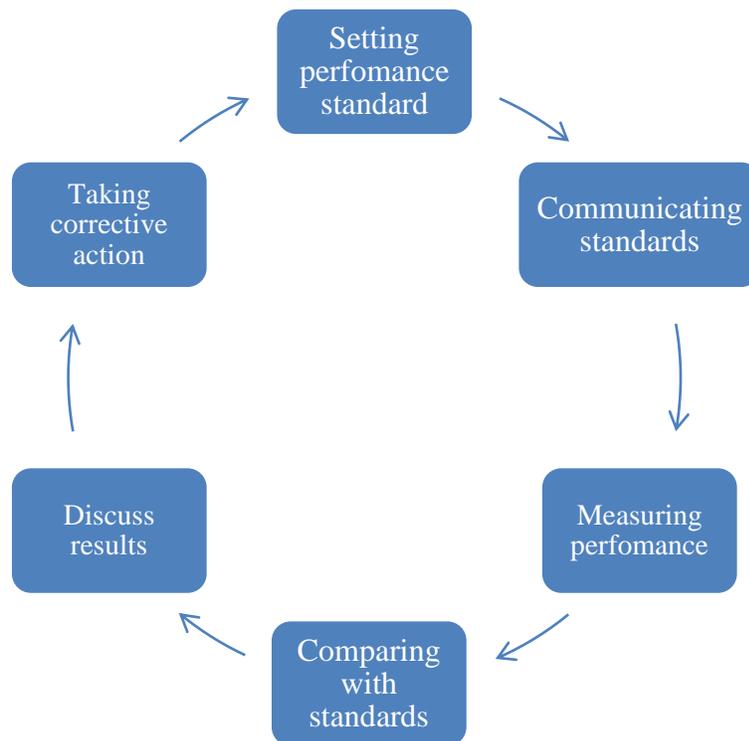
Figure 1: Performance Appraisal Process (Model) (C.B. Gupta 2006)

This study attempts to link the PAS process and the institutionalization process as they seem interdependent and relate to one another. The assumption here is that the continuous and persistence use of PAS processes will determine the level of institutionalization of PAS in local authorities in Tanzania. As explained in the PAS training manual for Local authorities; the existence of PAS depend mostly on the persistence of the implementers to continue applying its processes so as to instill them into organization's and individual's daily activities (URT, 2004)

The PAS in Tanzania context is done twice per year, that is after every six months new goals are to be set according to the countries strategic plan in terms of service delivery that is delegated to the local authorities and then are divided into each department, team and individual so as every public servant is equally responsible and accountable for the outcome. So in this rationale in every six months the heads of department (appraisers) are to set new standards communicate them to the supporting staff and appraise the staff according to the agreed standard, give feedback and take action to deal with the feedback. This measured continuity and persistence in the institutionalization process.

2.2.5 Performance Appraisal Controversy

Performance appraisal has two goals that seem to contradict each other as elaborated by Vallance (1999:79) PAS is expected to be used to judge and distinguish those who perform well from the poor performers while at the same time PAS is to be used to counsel individuals regarding their performance and career development. The system does not clearly specify who is to be trained whether the poor performers so as to improve their performance or those who perform well so they can do better.

Moreover this controversy also led to some managers to feel confined with the situation of being the evaluator and the judge/executioner, which for them to negatively judge a subordinate whom they know and work with seem awkward. This situation is what the authors called the "Psychology of leniency" (Murphy & Cleveland, 1995: 340-343). As mentioned before in the appraisal system there are two things involved and these are evaluation and feedback. During evaluation managers are acting as judges of how individuals perform and when giving feedback to their subordinates it is the managers

responsibility to reward or appraise those with good performance but also counsel or train those with performance below the agreed standard hence the contradiction. As explained by Koontz (1988:338) that in evaluating performance, supervisors assume the role of a judge. In contrast, when the aim is to develop subordinates skill, managers need to be counselors, helpers and teachers.

2.3 Performance Appraisal System and New Public Management

PAS is an offshoot of the global trend of reviewing and streamlining public administrators across the globe. As such PAS is inspired by NPM reform movement. New Public Management reforms are said to have initially started in Australia and New Zealand and later on USA, UK and Canada implemented the same reforms from the mid 1980's (Christensen et al, 2007). The mix of institutional, environmental, political and historical features can best explain the reform process reform process (Christensen, 2001: 24; Dzimbiri, 2008).

New Public Management (NPM) is a concept used to explain a shift of traditional administration also known as old public management styles to a new one which included several changes in system, structures and processes with the objective of improving them (Sincai 2008:5).

Performance appraisal is one of the tools that were inspired by NPM to be used in its administrative reforms, which originated in the West and spread across borders into different administrative settings (Vallance, 1999). These administrative reforms were deliberately meant to transform administrative practices (Caiden 2007:43). "With the wave of New Public Management (NPM) a number of reforms were introduced and implemented to different countries with the focus on public sector with the aim of introducing greater economy, effectiveness, transparency, accountability and efficiency in public services" (Sincai 2008:3).

Christopher Hood mentioned seven characteristics of NPM which included, hands on professional management in the public sector, explicit standards and measures of performance, greater emphasis on output control, shift to disaggregation of units in public sector by breaking entities into corporate agencies in order to increase efficiency, greater

competition in public sector through tendering and contract, stress on public sector style of management practice and greater discipline and parsimony in resource use (Hood 1991:3). Performance appraisal is driven from three of the above elements, as it is the tool that is aimed to evaluate and motivate employee's performance. "NPM emerged as a problem driven solution to bureaucratic rigidities, inefficiencies and lack of responsiveness" (Mia Vabo 2002:7). It is by virtue of NPM reforms that the tool performance appraisal formally originated as an effective management tool for evaluating employee's performance.

Through policy transfer these reforms crossed borders to other countries as explained by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) and it is how NPM administrative reforms found their way into Tanzania. Performance appraisal system is not a new concept in the Tanzanian public sector (as there was the annual confidential report system) but the administrative reforms brought new ways of doing things as well as new ways of appraising employees in which, these ways originated from the west which has quite different culture as well as political setting not to mention different way of doing things compared to the Tanzania public sector. But administering and implementing these reforms to most African countries were conditions influenced by donors and International financial institutions (Chitoo et al, 2009; World Bank 2008), this is so due to the fact that most African countries especially Tanzania at the time were going through an economic decline and depended heavily on financial assistance from donor countries (Agrawal et al 1993).

Before NPM reforms the public sector was assuming so many functions including developing infrastructures, providing services, operating the commercial activities such as banking, marketing and industries hence controlling trade (Balogun, 2003 cited by Dzimbiri, 2008). In 1980's the economic situation proved all these functions to be too much for the public sector especially in developing countries where poverty and economic crisis worsened at the time (Dzimbiri, 2008). When the NPM changes began taking place in most developing and developed countries the state had to rule back on some of its functions and the emphasis was shifted from the state to the private sectors and non-governmental organizations.

In developing countries like Tanzania donor countries and agencies recommended these changes, and they were introduced in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs, which included political, economic and administrative reforms (Ayeni, 2002). The NPM approach was geared towards efficiency, effectiveness, accountability and productivity. NPM emphasized on result oriented as opposed to the process oriented of the traditional public sector (Hughes, 2003). In a nutshell NPM was characterized by shifting the system into a direction where public servants are more accountable for achieving results, cutting the bureaucratic red tape, providing efficient services and enhancing value for money so as to create a better public sector for less.

PAS is an NPM inspired tool, which aims to mold public servants into result-oriented performers, efficient, responsible and accountable through monitoring and evaluating their performances individually. This is so because NPM insists on goals and performance evaluation than rules and procedures (Hughes, 1998). In this NPM inspired PAS employees are expected to perform specific targets both as an individual and at the organizational level. PAS adheres to the motivation and rewarding incentive (Armstrong, 2003). Also this NPM inspired PAS is compulsory to all public servants of all carders and level .PAS introduction to the public sector in Tanzania came along with major changes (such as instead of promotions to be based on tenure and experience now promotions are to be based on performance evaluations) in accordance to the aim of NPM to restructure the public sector. For a while now the public sector has been confronted with complex political, technological and regulatory changes as a result of NPM related reforms, which led to radical adaptation of these changes. (Greenwood et al, 1996).

2.4   Theoretical Perspective

For almost two decades now the public sector has been aspired by NPM reforms, which brought major administrative, economic and political changes. Public organizations were forced to adapt these changes as introduced by their states. Due to the pace of introduction and adaptation of these changes by the organizations there seemed to be a variation. According to Weick & Quinn (1999) organizational change can be categorized into two distinctions these are episodic, discontinuous and intermittent change and change that is continuous, evolving and incremental. They further explain that reasons for

adapting change determine which category that change will fall in. Hence the need to find a theory that well explains the reasons that led to introduction of PAS in Tanzanian public sector and these reasons will shine some light on whether PAS is an episodic and intermittent change or continuous, evolving and incremental change which will enable the study to determine on the level of institutionalization of PAS.

There are a great number of literatures with endless theories that can be used to explain organizational change, and no one theory that can best describe these changes as argued by (Christensen et al, 2007). In developing a framework that will guide me in this study analysis I used the transformative approach, which includes three perspectives that well explains introduction of administrative reforms in public organizations as it is difficult to explain organizational change by using one theory especially changes in public organizations (Christensen et al, 2007)

2.5   Transformative approach.

This approach argues that any complex organization in the public sector must one way or another engaged itself with one or several elements from these three perspectives: instrumental, cultural and myth perspective. These perspectives are important in the aspects and processes that take place during rendering and adaptation of change that occur in the operations of restructuring or modernizing the public sector as these perspectives relate and influence each other (Christensen et al, 2007:165).

2.5.1   Instrumental perspective

The first perspective is the instrumental perspective; this perspective is ex-arte[2] and refers to organizations as instruments, which act rationally in executing their goals so as to meet the expected results. Instrumental rationally refers to an organization as having clear and undeviating goals and being aware or having knowledge of all other alternatives so as to have insight on the possible consequences of the other options in relation to the goals, and choose the one that best suits their situation; hence the perspective emphasize the logic of consequences. Individual and group actions here are based on means-end

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[2] Give narrations and perspectives on how things should be done. Like the prescribed formulas of the World Bank and IMF with regards to how organizations should behave, perform and be structured.

rationality and geared on finding suitable means to achieve organizational goals which are usually formulated by leaders or external actors such as World Bank, IMF etc. (Christensen et al, 2007:20).

This logic of consequences can also apply to the bureaucrats responsible for carrying out PAS as to whether they consider it to be the best tool out of all other alternatives (Business re-engineering) and if it is useful and suitable for their organizational structure. PAS can be theoretically instrumental to be used for an organization but when applied to a different context it depends mainly on the institutionalized values and norms into which the public servants are familiar with. This perspective functions under the assumption that PAS is being introduced in a functional hierarchical structure which operates under clear set of rules and regulations.

Hierarchy and division of labor characterize public organizations structure as explained by this approach. Hierarchy is marked by superior- subordinate relations tied by work ethics and career development, which involve promotions. Whereas division of labor verify the existence of procedures and regulations which specify who should do what and how they should do it (Christensen et al, 2007).

According to Zey (1998) there are four constraints that face a rational actor. First is the resource constraint this can prevent an actor from choosing the most suitable tool and opt for the affordable tool. And the second constraint of opportunity cost in which an actor is obliged to forgo the most attractive course of action or option, third is the institutional constraints in which the actor's decisions will be derived by the institutional norms he/she works in or used to and last is the lack of information. Fourth is lack of information. For actors to act rationally they require to have reliable and broad information regarding what they are supposed to act upon. Most of the administrative reforms seem to be implemented as for the interest of politicians and most bureaucrats responsible for implementation do not have enough knowledge of the reforms.

2.5.2 Cultural perspective

This perspective is ex-post[3] and concerned with the organizational culture, the informal norms and values that exist and become important to the extent of affecting the formal organizational activities (Christensen et al, 2007: 37).

Unlike the instrumental perspective where instrumental rational is used in executing goals, here logic of appropriateness is used in executing goals, an individual believes an action to be appropriate when rules are followed and roles are fulfilled when taking that action. When an organization develops informal norms apart from the formal ones they make it to be well integrated socially as it may have institutional features such as maintaining status quo, this will enable it to function more conveniently and practically but less flexible in adapting new changes (Ibid, 37-38).

This organizational culture cannot easily be grasped through laws, rules and regulations but it can be learned and internalized through socialization as explained by the authors. These norms and values develop steadily through the natural organization development with the aid of internal (informal norms and value organization members bring with them to the organization) and external forces (actors who interacts with the organization).
In this perspective individual behavior is driven by rules and action as the result of a situation in demand and the awareness of the role of an individual in that situation. "Actors relay on intuition which is informed through training, education, socialization and experience. Choice of action is also based on morality and obligation" (March and Olsen, 1976:10-12).

This perspective is very important when introducing or analyzing change in an organization as it takes on two important tasks, one is to set public servants to act on appropriate behavior as according to the cultural frameworks they operate in and at the same time it can be an "obstruct to change if there is a gap between external pressure for change and internal pressure for stability" (Christensen et al. 2007:46). From this perspective it seems that there is a huge possibility that public servants may prefer

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[3] Concerned with the reality that happens, why things are stable and what happens when things change.

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stability to change (uncertainty avoidance), which is a cultural element of wanting to maintain status quo hence resistance towards the reforms.

Organizational culture has been said to be the cause of failing of many reforms in developing countries but more specifically it was and still is a setback for instituting PAS in Maldives (Faizal. 2006) and administrative culture of Uganda (Karyeija, 2010). This is so because these reforms are not compatible with the recipient countries and hence considered as inappropriate. Due to the extent into which the rules and regulations are internalized in public servants they become resistant to any change that may bring about uncertainty of whether the change is appropriate and necessary. PAS in most public organizations is a new system, which was established along with the public service reform program. In the light of this perspective it is safe to assume that PAS has been facing several challenges and one of them being culture constraints in most developing countries due to the fact that PAS originated in a different cultural context than Tanzania for instance.

The authors further explain that in this perspective reforms thrive gradually so as to establish the balance between the old and the new to get a sense of appropriateness' from the public servants. Sometimes when the informal conduct prevails over the formal rules, the public servants tend to ignore the This can have an implication to the PAS by which the public servant may ignore the performance output in which will defeat the purpose of a result oriented appraisal system.

2.5.3 Myth Perspective

A myth is said to be a socially legitimated recipe of how to design a part of the organization (Christensen et al. 2007:58). Organizations do not exist in vacuum, they operate in environment in which they are faced with different ideas of how they should function and be designed. For their survival organizations try to include some of the ideas, and through this organizations tend to have similar ideas to one another to some extent (Ibid, 57).

Myths are easily spread through imitation, as they are ideas that are popular, grabs attention, they have an impeccable status and often fashionable (Ibid, 58). Hence the fast

spread of similar reforms worldwide such as the civil service reform programmes, which have been implemented to most developing countries. Also performance appraisal system spread can be justified by this perspective because even though it has not been working well for some countries it still been implemented in other countries despite the failure in other countries with the same or almost the same political context. "Organizations must try to incorporate and reflect these norms outwardly even if they do not necessarily make the organization's activities more effective" (Christensen et al. 2007:57).

For two decades now the public sector in Tanzania has been incorporating different ideas and recipes from the developed world on how to design and run several activities. These ideas had the objective of transferring recipes from private sector to public sector. According to Christensen et al (2007:59) public organizations are paying more attention to their appearance and reputation to the mass media, public and political executives. More over the authors argue that some of these recipes and ideas may be adopted as a cover up to the public and the concerned actors as a sign that the public sector is dealing with a certain issue by introducing and implementing a certain idea but in reality the leaders are actually doing less or even nothing at all (Ibid, 58).

2.6   Relevance of the approach to the study

The Transformative approach clearly shows that change in an organization cannot be explained by one theory. For there are several forces that may cause a certain change in an organization. This approach elaborates how and why change may appear and rather what obstacles are likely to be faced when introducing change in an organization.
The instrumental perspective explains how actors act rationally to find means that can suit their demand to achieve their organizational goals .The Government of Tanzania had one goal, which is to provide effective and efficient public services at the lowest possible cost; the instrument used to provide public services is the public sector, which includes the central and local public organizations. In order to make this goal attainable the Government of Tanzania saw the need to monitor and improve its employee performance whereas Performance Appraisal System was chosen as an effective tool. This means that performance appraisal is the means to achieve the end; which is effective and efficient services.

According to Zey (1998) actors lack information/knowledge of the change and finances to support the changes hence an obstacle for them to act rationally or stay committed to the changes they introduce. From this I derived the bureaucratic commitment and financial resources as explanatory variables. With the introduction of PAS, bureaucratic commitment is essential to ensure its application and finances to enable its establishment through rewards, training, promotions and salary increments for the good performers as motivation.

Several studies, which have been conducted in relation to the administrative reforms (Faizal 2006. Karyeija 2010, Lukumai 2005) have proven culture to be an obstacle. This transformative approach in its cultural perspective elucidates that most reforms may not succeed due to the informal norms and routines that public servant are used to. This also means that the appraisal system may succeed if only its procedures do not clash with the existing cultural norms. "In the developing countries informal systems co-exist with formal rules, but when the informal rules take precedence, formal rules are ignored; time and resources are diverted to beat the system," (Karyeija 2010:58). This is the case with the appraisal system in Tanzania and these aspects have implications to the system. If the information generated from the appraisal system is not used for the intended purposes such as making decisions for promotion, training and demotion then the system loses its meaning and eventually fails.

PAS emphasizes increased communication between managers and their subordinates, which clashes with the cultural norm of one way communication and that is from the managers to the subordinates and not the other way round as required by PAS. Also employees in such an organization prefer stability than change so as they can maintain their status quo, this seemed to be also happening in Uganda as explained by Karyeija (2010) in his study about organizational culture and PAS in Uganda which in he explains how the public servants preference for stability than change impedes adaption of PAS.

Moreover the facts as into why the appraisal system was introduced in the Tanzania context is relevant to what the authors explained under the myth perspective. For a while

the public in Tanzania had lost their trust in the government due to the existence of a lot of ongoing claims and evidence of poor services offered by the government agencies such as migrations, hospitals, schools etc. The introduction of the administrative reforms can be for the sake of manipulating the public and use the reforms as a symbol to pretend and implementing them to show (Christensen, 2001) that the government is handling the problem or truly the efforts of the government towards improving the public sector in which it will fully support the reforms and press on enough pressure to the public organizations to ensure institutionalization of the reforms (Faizal, 2006). Because reforms may be window dressing measures to demonstrate that the government is serious about the matter and acting accordingly, however these reforms may not produce the intended results.

These perspectives can well elucidate the introduction and establishment of PAS in Tanzanian public sectors specifically the local government authorities. The local authorities in most countries including Tanzania are the instruments in which the government uses to get things done. Introduction and implementation of PAS in local authorities was a means towards getting the end, which is service delivery to the public efficiently and effectively. In the local authorities just like any other institutions they have formal and informal norms and rules, which guide their day-to-day action and attitude towards things. As explained in the cultural perspective these informal norms and rules may be an obstacle during introduction of change. The same can be said in the institutionalization of PAS. This is a new system to the local authorities and it has originated from a very different context and is now being instituted in a different context so it is bound to face some opposi

PAS is structured in a way and it requires certain things to be in place for it to function, the requirements include good communication among the raters and the ratee, financial resources set to support the system for training, motivating and rewarding, it also requires a mutual understanding of the expected results in which all these are essential in the institutionalization process. For a while now managers in the public and private sector have been seeking for a tool that they can use to evaluate employees that will minimize

bias and subjectivity and maximize efficient and effectiveness (Roush 1991). Introduction of PAS in local authorities can very well be explained by the fact that it is a tool that is used worldwide to evaluate employees and so far has been reviewed to be the best tool, and this might explain the attitude of government towards the institutionalization process as elaborated under the myth perspective.

2.7 Analytical Framework of the Study: Variables and their Operationalization.

From the theory and the three perspectives I developed five explanatory variables, which are mentioned in the elaboration above as factors that arise in the process of instituting change in an organization. These variables are a) power distance, b) uncertainty avoidance, c) financial resources, d) bureaucratic commitment and e) political will. These are the dependent variables for the study along with other one more variable which I developed when reviewing related studies this is f) appraisers' competence. In total this study has seven variables one dependent and six independent variables, which were identified as determinants of institutionalization (the dependent variable) of PAS at the local level. These six independent variables were grouped in three categories these are the cultural factors, organizational factors and political factors.

2.8 Dependent Variable

Institutionalization of Performance Appraisal System

"The only idea common to all about the usage of the term 'institution' is that of some sort of establishment of relative permanence of a distinctly social sort" (Hughes, 1936:180 cited by Zucker 1977:726). For some reasons institutionalization and persistence cannot be separated as they seem to present almost the same meaning. Knowledge, system or ways of doing things once there is a persistence of these in the society they become "institutionalized and exists as facts and become party of objective reality and can be transmitted on that basis" (Zucker 1977:726).

"Institutionalization is both a process and a property variable, (property variable meaning sense of belonging or ownership). It is the process by which individual actors transmit

what is socially defined as real and, at the same time, at any point in the process the meaning of an act can be defined as more or less a taken-for-granted part of this social reality" (Ibid, 1977: 727).

According to Selznick (1957:16) "Institutionalization is a *process*. It is something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization's own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment". To operationalize this concept for the purpose of this study, institutionalization means assess the extent in to which performance appraisal system is imprinted in the Tanzanian local level authority in the nature of:

- *Continuity and Persistence (Faizal 2005:26)*: Institutionalization is a process, which takes place over time; continuous and persistent application of PAS will enhance and determine its institutionalization. Continuous use and application of PAS will enable public servants to familiarize with it and make it part of their everyday life. Persistence application/use of PAS renders it to be a behavior instilled in the public servants hence its institutionalization.

Institutionalization in Tanzanian local authorities was measured by the continuity and persistence of the PAS processes as elaborated in figure 1 (pg. 15) which includes; setting performance standards, communicating standards, measuring performance, comparing with the standards, discussing results and taking corrective action/measures as outlined by Gupta (2006).

- **Setting performance standards**: this is the first stage of the appraisal system in which organizations are acquired to set standards or objectives in which they will be used as the bases for comparison. In Tanzania the standards are set annually according to the National strategic plan by ministers according to their respective ministries then distributed to local authorities and other government agencies. In local authorities the plan will be distributed to heads of departments and each takes on their objectives according to their departments i.e. department of finance, health, community development, statistics, etc. The objectives are the

standards used to judge the performance of employees and the degree of their contribution to organizations goals and objectives.

- **Communicating standards**: After receiving the objectives, which are the performance standards it is the manager's responsibility to communicate the standards to their subordinates, in the case of this study it is the responsibility of heads of departments to communicate the standards to their subordinates. The heads of departments are required to use the department meetings to communicate the standards in which it is obligatory for everyone in the department participate. The standards should be well explained to the subordinates so that they can acknowledge their roles and know what is expected of them and agree on the standards. The standards can be modified so as they can be attainable and possible to give feedback to.

- **Measuring performance**: This includes measuring the work performance of employees done in a specified period of time. It requires continuous assessment of employee's performance throughout the year but in the case of Tanzania where the appraisal is done twice a year it will be for six months. This stage is said to be the most difficult because it requires selection of appropriate techniques of measuring, supervisors to provide assistance instead of interference and ensuring that personal bias of supervisors will not detect the outcome (URT, 2004).

- **Comparing actual performance and standards set**: Here the supervisor compares the employee's performance against the standard agreed upon and identifies the variations. The comparison may reveal the performance to be above the expected standard/performance, which means best performance or below the expected standards, which means poor performance. It is the supervisors (heads of departments) responsibility to compare and rate the performance.

- **Discussing the results**: Since both managers and subordinates agreed on the standards, this stage ensures that the results are also communicated to the employee on a one to one basis. The main focus of this stage is communication, here results, problems/challenges (faced by the employee, if any), possible solutions to the problems are discussed so as to reach an agreement for the results

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from both parts. This is to reduce unfair and unjust ratings (Gupta, 2006). The purpose of this discussion is to improve communication and create a positive attitude to the employee because these results can have an effect to the future performance of the employee either positive effect (motivation for better performance) or negative effect (poor performance).

- **Taking corrective measures**: This is when the feedback evaluations are used to either provide training needs to improve the performance of the employees. And also these evaluation feedbacks are supposed to be used for administrative decisions such as transfers, promotions, demotions etc. (Gupta, 2006; Thomas, 2006; Armstrong, 1996)

2.9 Independent Variables

There are number of factors that have been influencing the establishment of administrative reforms in this case it is the institutionalization of performance appraisal system. I divided the factors into three categories, which are the cultural, organizational and political factors. These three factors compose of six variables, which may influence the institutionalization process of performance appraisal in Tanzanian local authorities.

i) Cultural factors

Shared values, beliefs, norms and traditions of a society can be referred to as culture. Schein (1992:12) defined culture as "a pattern of shared basic assumption that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems." Considering that this study is about public organization so the cultural concept will be narrowed into organizational culture. According to Jamil (1994) "Culture is what an organization has" when there are several variations among different organizations in a given society. The following are cultural dimensions that I will use as variables to explain how they can affect performance appraisal system.

a) Power distance

This is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a specific country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 1991:28). A high power distance organization is characterized by a tendency of subordinates depending on their superiors, they expect to be told what to do, there is a tall hierarchical structure and the salary system shows the huge differences in incomes between the managers and the subordinates.

According to Hofstede survey of 64 countries on cultural dimensions, the study shows that in a scale of 0-100, power distance in Tanzania was 64 (Hofstede, 1999) in which the score closer to zero is said to represent low power distance and scores closer to 100 is considered to be high, hence concluding that there is high power distance in Tanzania. It is clear that performance appraisal system will face implications in such a society because it relies on a participatory process between the managers and their subordinates to set goals, assess and review performance. In a high power distance organization subordinates are expected to follow orders and not to challenge the managers while performance appraisal require managers and their subordinates to discuss and agree on the standard of performance expect and communicate the feedback in which at time it requires a manager to counsel a subordinate whose performance seem to be poor but qualified for the job. Performance appraisal has to work in an environment where the rater (manager) and the ratee (employee) work without fear and the managers should function as mentor to his subordinates.

Unfair treatment is likely to be in a high power distance organization. Hofstede (2005:63) argued that "large power distance stand for fewer checks and balance against power abuse". Also in a high power distance society there are informal relations among superiors (managers) and subordinates, norms and values in which may bypass formal rules and regulations. In such relationship there tend to be high loyalty of subordinates to their supervisors and in exchange the supervisors bestow favor to subordinates, this kind of relations negates PAS, which insist on assessment of performance in basis of merits. In a high power distance society assessment of performance loyalty takes precedence over competence and skill hence compromises neutrality.

The way in which PAS in Tanzania is organized (supervisors/heads of departments are

the appraisers and implementers of PAS) it is possible for power distance to be an obstacle, because only the heads of departments have been trained with the intention of them ascending the information about PAS to their subordinates. With the 64 score of power distance in Tanzania it is possible that the heads of departments still can control what the junior staffs get to know about PAS so that they can still exercise power over them during evaluations and ratings. More over power distance has been identified to be a barrier to communication and to the implementation of PAS in Uganda (Karyeija 2010). In a context like Tanzania were both parties (heads of departments & junior staff) expect instructions to come from one side (heads of department) PAS cannot thrive. The knowledge of subordinates regarding PAS is solely expected to come from the supervisor, which in consideration of the power distance the subordinates may not be well informed due to poor communication and their attitude toward each other.

Power distance was operationalized by examining the extent into which heads of department interact and communicate with the junior staffs through meetings, seminars regarding performance standards, progress or expected targets in achieving department and organizational goals. Whether there is a dialogue between them and not just the one way, top-down communication and flow of information.

- **Hypothesis 1:-** With reference to Hofstede's survey in Tanzanian culture, my hypothesis reflects No. 3 in the chart below. The higher the power distance the lower the institutionalization of PAS.

Table 1: Hypothesis for power distance.

PAS Institutionalization	Power Distance	
	High	Low
High	1	2
Low	**3** *	4

Source: From reviewed literature on Cultural challenges towards change.

b) Uncertainty Avoidance

According to Hofstede et al (2010:191), "uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which the members of a certain culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations". Tolerance to these uncertain situations, vary across cultures hence the existence of high and low uncertain cultures. In high uncertain culture people tend to avoid any situation that may cause uncertainty hence creating rules and regulations as a way to have control on what happens in an organization. An organization with high uncertainty avoidance implies it is unwilling to accept change because even the bureaucrats will be "reluctant to take any initiatives outside the prescribed roles" in order to avoid taking any risks (Karyeija 2010:75). They prefer to stay in a safe zone and consider change as dangerous and threaten the maintenance of the status quo (Hofstede, 2010).

According to Hofstede survey in East Africa the uncertainty avoidance in Tanzania is 52 in the scale of 0-100 (Hofstede, 2010), which is high. It insinuates that the public servants in Tanzania are mostly comfortable with their rules and regulation and they are most likely reluctant to changes that oppose these rules and regulations they have in place. Introduction and establishment of PAS in Tanzania brought about major changes on how to select, evaluate, promote, appraise, and demote employees. It is likely for public servant to resist PAS because of the fear of leaving what they are familiar with and that they have to learn something new and which there is a possibility of failure as argued by Jager (2001:41) "most people are reluctant to leave the familiar behind….are concerned about how they will get from old to new, especially if it involves learning something new and risking failure". There is fear that one may not be skilled enough to fit in the new work setting introduced by PAS, "this fear can lead to resentment based resistance behavior such as not filling out appraisal forms in time, giving fraudulent appraisals and not being as transparent as possible" (Karyeija, 2010:75).

PAS has been facing cultural constraints in most developing countries mainly because of its contextual difference with the developed/industrialized countries (Faizal, 2006). As explained by Christensen et al (2007) a society may be reluctant to change especially if the change defies the rules and regulations. A society with high uncertainty avoidance tends "to have little concern about proactive or future planning while there is excessive

concern for maintaining the status quo" (Umeh, 2005: 122). And in order to maintain their status quo they tend to create more rules and regulations. This has vast implications on PAS introduction and implementation because with introduction of PAS these rules and regulation do not apply, hence the reluctance and the fear of the unknown (Groeschl, 2003).

Most public servants have negative attitude towards PAS as a result of little information regarding PAS has been exposed to them (Karyeija, 2010). The little knowledge they have with respect to PAS and results expected from them brings about the ambiguity Hofstede mentioned. And with the little information they have it is easy for them to have a negative attitude because they have no specific knowledge of whether the expected results from the change is what they need and best for them and if it's about time that they accept change since everything else around them is changing too.

Uncertainty avoidance was operationalized by examining the supervisors and subordinates perception with regard to PAS. Whether they considered the system as a threat or means towards fair and just appraisal system, if it is what they need to improve their performance. Higher uncertainty avoidance means both informal and formal rules and procedures, hence the resistance of change, which may lead to low institutionalization of PAS, which suits No. 3 in the figure below

Hypothesis 2: The higher the uncertainty avoidance the lower may be the institutionalization of PAS.

Table 2: Hypothesis for Uncertainty avoidance when instituting PAS

PAS Institutionalization	Uncertainty Avoidance	
	High	Low
High	1	2
Low	**3 ∗**	4

Source: From reviewed literature on cultural challenges towards change.

ii) Organizational factors

Public organizations are mostly concerned with providing services to the public and they are liable, accountable and responsible for their action and decisions. In adopting and establishing certain changes, in the case of this study performance appraisal system organizations play an important role in influencing how an individual perceive the adopted change.

a) Appraiser's Competence

It is essential that the appraisers are competent and this is possible if they are well informed (disposed) which will make them comfortable with the techniques of appraisal system. Competence is the collection of skills that make an individual capable of certain behaviors that meet the job demands within the required parameters and bring about the desired result. The heads of departments who are the appraisers in local governments and since performance appraisal is a new phenomenon in these organizations, should possess the skills and enough knowledge so that they can be able to communicate that knowledge to the employees, maintain the motivation and provide assistance to all in need of it and also have the capacity to facilitate the rationale for change (Boyatzis 1982, Paton and McCalman 2000).

The extent into how competent the heads of departments are concerning performance appraisal will contribute to how effective the system is in the process of its institutionalization.

Also the heads of department (who were also appraisers) need to be well disposed as to comprehensively understand the objectives and standards so they can have a stand in relation to the change they are implementing because it is possible for implementers to fail to take over their role in policies faithfully because they are not well disposed (Hill & Hupe 2002).

How competent and disposed the appraisers are describes their ability, credibility and accuracy in fairly appraising their subordinates. When the appraisers follow and take all the steps during the appraisal process will have a positive effect to PAS. For in Tanzanian local authorities the heads of department are the appraisers, it is essential for these heads

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of departments to be well disposed and informed with regards to PAS so that they can ascend the knowledge and appraise their subordinates. Credibility of appraisers can also be judged by the decisions they make regarding promotion, demotion and transfers as which are expected to be based on the performance evaluation feedback but most of these decisions are made without even the consideration of one's performance but based on seniority.

PAS evaluation feedback is meant to be the basis in making very essential decisions regarding employees' career development, promotions, organizational training needs, demotions and transfers. With incompetent appraisers these decisions may be unjust and unfair because the evaluation was not being done correctly and likely that some appraisal processes where not included. So it is critical to have competent appraisers so as PAS to accomplish its intentions.

This variable was operationalized by examining the extent into which the appraisers were exposed (Training, orientation to the system) aware and informed regarding performance appraisal processes and practice them so as to have the effect of just and fair appraisal system. It is about appraisers' awareness about details and requirement of appraisal system.

Hypothesis 3:- Competent and well-disposed appraisers may likely enhance the application of PAS and lubricate its institutionalization.

b) Bureaucratic Commitment

Commitment is a state of one being dedicated or obligated to something, which restricts one's action. The assumption is that organization with committed managers into successful adaptation of performance appraisal system will have a high level of performance improvement compared to organization with partially committed managers. Reward and motivation system is believed to be one of the ways of grooming workers (managers & subordinates) into achieving organization strategic goals (Gupta 2006). The same can be said for committed managers. In order to get committed managers there has to be a well-structured reward and motivation system, which will enhance and enable the supervisors to assist, train and appraise their subordinates so as to attain the expected

results. Also it is through this commitment that will accelerate the institutionalization process of PAS in Tanzanian local authorities.

According to Van Meters & Van Horn (1975: 472) there are three things that can affect "the ability and willingness" of the implementer to carry out the policy or change for that matter. These are perception (understanding) of the implementers, how they handle the policy/ change (accept, reject or neutral) and the magnitude of their response. From this it is clear that appraisers need to be well exposed and informed so as they can have a stand with regard to the policy or change at hand for them to be able to fully commit. Appraisers need to be well informed about PAS its purpose, aim and processes in order for them to be able, have a stand and willing to implement and continue using PAS as means of evaluating and appraising their subordinates.

For years now since the early experience of implementation in developing countries researchers have come to realize that implementation is not just a managerial issue but a political process which relies on who is getting what, when, how and from whom, in other words there are multiple actors (Brynard,2005). And it is because of that that "until recently, most reforms remained mere rhetoric on the brick of failure….they do not fail because of unsatisfactory outcomes after implementation, but because they never get past the implementation stage" (Chittoo et al, 2009:32; Polidano, 2001). In Tanzania the situation is the same, the introduction and implementation of PAS involved a lot of actors from national, regional and local level. So for PAS to thrive and survive it requires commitment of all these actors involved and not just the appraisers. The commitment of these actors will enhance progress in the institutionalization process. Setting special funds to support this system, conducting training to ensure availability and presence of well-informed appraisers and setting structures (rules, regulations) that support PAS this will show commitment of actors involved and it will definitely enable and make the appraisers willing to establish PAS.

Performance appraisal system requires managers to be mentors to their subordinates, to assess their daily performance and give feedback depending on their performance for a manager to do all this they have to be committed and willing to take initiatives and putting effort to make this work. And in a local level it is possible that the subordinates

may likely follow the footsteps of their managers because they look up to them so if managers perform well so will the subordinates. Commitment of the bureaucrats is essential because "if those responsible are unwilling very little will happen" (Warwick 1982:135). Because even if there is a suitable context, excellent policy content, funds set to support a policy or change and all the legal support needed without committed implementers things will not go as planned (Brynard, 2005) These committed implementers are the ones who will make sure things run smoothly as intended.

This was operationalized by assessing the heads of the departments in assuming their role of assessing, assisting and appraising the individual in their departments by evaluating, giving feedback and taking action with regards to the feedback given be it training, counseling or promotion to those who deserve them.

Hypothesis 4:- Committed bureaucrats may enhance the institutionalization of PAS

c) Financial Resources

In order to introduce change in an organization it is important to consider the financial status. The instrumental perspective mentioned lack of financial resources as one of the constraint for actors in public organizations to act rationally. NPM related reforms has been said to be working in countries with strong economy compared to those countries with weak economy where most of the reforms failed (Gautam, 2010). The performance appraisal system requires funds that will support its initial stages as well as the continuation of the reform. For instance it requires funds to administer training to the implementer and appraisers; it also requires funds for an organization to have a reliable motivation and reward system. The local authorities finances are from own source and mostly from the central government. These reward and motivation and training expenses and salaries are to come from the authorities own source. This being the case in most local authorities it is possible that the performance appraisal system is encountering this problem due to the fact that the money would rather be used for other important matters such as salaries rather than rewards.

As also explained in the myth perspective that the reason as to why a certain change was introduced explains the support it gets from the government. Taking into consideration

that the implementation of most of the reforms in Tanzania including the administrative reforms were the results of conditions imposed on the government for it to get loans and financial aids from the World Bank and IMF during the economic crisis in the 1980's. It means there was no specific fund set aside to ensure implementation and institutionalization of the reform hence the scarce of resources.

Financial resources are essential in enabling establishment and administration of the change in progress. For introduction and establishment of PAS it is crucial to have resources that will facilitate training of the implementers, exposing the appraisers with regard to PAS and also having "other incentives in the program that may encourage or facilitate effective implementation" (Van Meters & Van Horn, 1975:464). Inadequate resources has been said to be the major problem in implementing or introducing change in developing world especially when the initiated change was funded by donors because once the funding stops so does the program or project (Chittoo et al, 2009).

The same can be applied to PAS in local authorities, because it was a condition for getting financial aid which means the money was needed for other things and not PAS hence introducing PAS might have been a heavy load to the government considering the financial state. In order to establish PAS it requires training of implementers, appraisers and the appraised it also requires having incentives so as to enhance performance so resources are important in administering change in an organization so as to reach the intended purpose (Chittoo et al, 2009).

Access and availability of resources to assist in training, salary increment, a well-structured reward and motivation system and counseling services is how this variable was operationalized.

Hypothesis 5:- Inadequate financial resource may impede the institutionalization of PAS

iii) Political Factor

The political environment surrounding the organization influence how managers respond towards change and this is important as far as most of these changes, are initiated by politicians.

a) Political will

Public administration has a fundamental characteristic, which is its relationship to politics and the wider political system (Jamil, 2007:68). The relationship that exists between the political will and the reforms may be one of the major factors for making change process effective. In most occasions political will is the factor for bringing change in public sectors, in this case it is important to have political leaders who believe in change and are willing to make change successful. Without committed political leaders who are favoring the reforms and a democratic governance system which allows effective participation of the citizens, major administration reforms will not succeed. (Khan, 2002 cited by Faizali 2005:46).

Leaders initiated performance appraisal system in Tanzania as a tool that will improve public servants performance and enhance effective and efficient service from public sectors. Now the question is whether the leaders initiated this as a symbol to the public that the government is doing something to improve the poor public services and provide legitimacy for its actions or because they really want to change the system and improve its performance. A change that has political backing, will be under certain monitoring and evaluation radar in which the leaders will want to know the improvement and the setbacks so as to deal with them for the effectiveness of the introduced chang

In most developing countries "it is difficult to sustain political support for reform" (Chittoo, 2009:37) because with the multi-party system there is change in government and even if there is little change in government "when the government is in power they tend to be continuously in an electoral mood, with an implication that reforms….never become a priority" (ibid,37). In Tanzania there has only been one party in power since independence but with different leaders with different ideologies and priorities in which there is lack of continuation of some reforms.

This variable was operationalized by examining the extent to which government leaders/ structures are concerned by following up on the progress of the introduced change (Performance appraisal) by assessing the annual performance reports. In Tanzania the local authorities progress are being evaluated annually by the President's Office Regional Administration and Local Government Authorities and a report is given for each local authorities feedback on their general performance. The study's concern is whether these

annual evaluations include assessing the progress of ongoing reforms PAS in specific. The assumption here was if the political leaders follow up on matters the heads of departments become more accountable and responsible.

Hypothesis 6:- Political will of the political leaders may determine the continuity of the PAS which may enhance its institutionalization.

The following figure summarizes the above discussion of how the cultural, organizational and political factors affect the institutionalization of PAS.

Figure 2: Analytical Framework

Cultural factors:

- Power distance
- Uncertainty avoidance

Organizational factors:

- Appraiser's credibility
- Bureaucratic commitment
- Financial resources

Political factors:

Institutionalization of Performance Appraisal System in Tanzanian Local Authorities
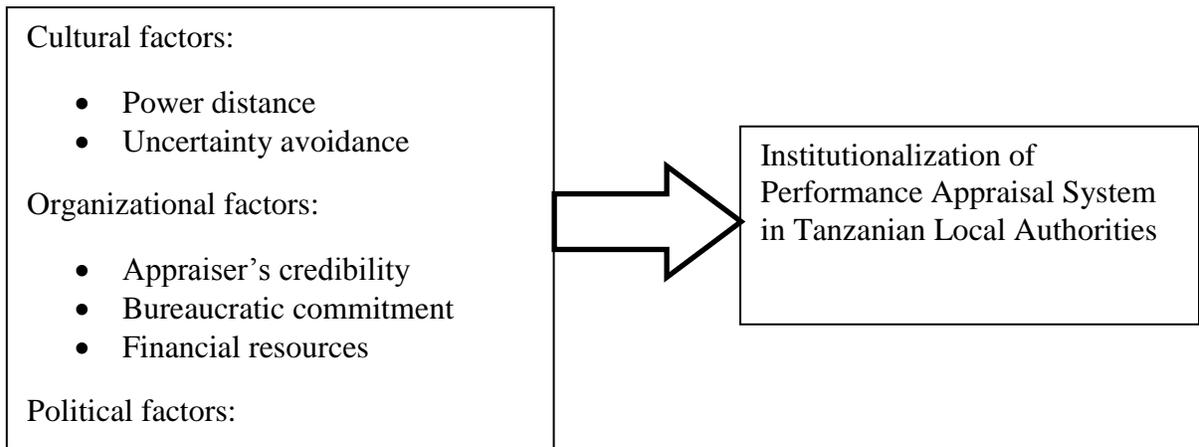
3 Chapter Three:
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains how the findings were derived; it describes the main research methods, techniques and procedures that were used in conducting the research. It includes the research design, area of study, targeted population, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis. Also the chapter highlights the issue of validity and reliability.

3.2 Research Approach

Research approach is basically how the study is organized; it can be qualitative, quantitative or mixed method according to what the researcher intends to study on. Quantitative research is mostly concerned with theory testing (Ragin1989:55) and the theory testing method is deductive. Designs such as survey and experiments use quantitative approach, as they tend to have many variables and large samples. In this approach the findings are presented in numbers. In contrary, qualitative approach is explanatory and exploratory and it gives the researcher an opportunity to listen to the informants/respondents and get a clear picture of the event, problem, matter of the research project (Creswell, 2009). "It seeks to establish meaning of a phenomenon from the view of participants" (Masue 2010:59). This approach is more concern with the theoretical explanation of a phenomenon. It usually involves fewer variables hence allowing in-depth study.

Mixed method is the combination of both the qualitative and quantitative approaches by applying their methods so as to get the best out of each approach and overcome their disadvantages/shortcomings. For instance the qualitative method allows in-depth study and understanding of a phenomenon while the quantitative methods increase accuracy by having large samples for generalization and conclusions.

In this study I used the qualitative approach in order to get an in-depth insight of how PAS is institutionalized in Tanzanian local government authorities this is achieved through the perspective and participants and their ideas. The study was exploratory, focusing on institutionalization of performance appraisal system, which has not yet been

researched on in the Tanzanian context. It aimed to study the local authorities and assess the extent to which public servants in local authorities are equipped/ exposed with relevant knowledge of PAS and how decision making with regard to promotions, demotions, transfers depends on the appraisal evaluation feedback and the way resources and government support contribute to the whole institutionalization process.

I employed the qualitative approach because it is the common method of studying PAS (Faizal, 2006; Karyeija, 2010; Gautam, 2010; Mlay, 2008) and also because it has the following advantages; first it enabled me to use more than one method of data collection, which enabled me to obtain information from various sources and allowed the triangulation of sources (interviews, documentation and observation) hence making the data more reliable. Second it gave the participants an opportunity to express their experience. This was achieved through focused group discussions and face-to-face interviews and also I was able to probe answers from the respondents in order to get relevant responses.

3.3 Research Design

Research design is a frame or strategy, which guide a researcher when conducting a research project. The design for this study is a case study design. "Research design is a plan/procedure a researcher adopts that connects data to the study's initial research questions and its conclusion" (Yin 2009:26) and a case study is "……a study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context" (Ibid: 2)

The study involved PAS as the case and two local government authorities as units of analysis one in urban and the other in rural district. By studying the two units of analysis it was more feasible to explain the regularities and interpret PAS with regard to the theories (King et al.1994). The study was basically of the two local authorities (Urban & Rural) which are located in the same region (Arusha) with similar structures and under the central guidance of Prime Minister's Office-Regional Administration and Local Government Authority (PM-RALGA). The aim of studying the two local authorities was based on the need to uncover whether the same variables have the same effect on both rural and urban authorities in the level of institutionalization of PAS. The Tanzania local

authority structure is divided in two, the urban and the rural local authorities hence the reason why the study was conducted in both settings (rural & urban) in order to be able to well represent the Tanzanian local government authority structure.

3.4 Area of Study

The local government authority in Tanzania is divided into regions which are also divided into districts which are categorized into two, rural and urban districts. For now Tanzania has 5 cities, 22 urban councils and 106 district councils. The study was conducted in Arusha District Council as the rural local authority and Arusha City Council as the urban authority. These local authorities belong into two districts out of seven districts in the Arusha region, which is situated in the northern part of Tanzania.

Arusha City Council formerly known as Arusha Municipal Council was established by the 1985 Local Government act and it covers a 208 km2 with a population of 507,903. Arusha District Council was established in July 2007 it covers a total area of 1,547.6 km2 with the population of 291,203.

The main occupation of the people in these two councils is tourism as Arusha is known for the three national parks, which are Tarangire, Manyara and Ngorongoro national parks.

Due to time and financial constraints of data collection, I selected Arusha Municipal Council (where I live) and Arusha District Council, which is the closest district and there is daily transport hence made it possible for me to conduct the research fieldwork while staying at home. The two districts represented the two types of local authorities in Tanzania, which is important in making generalization of the findings since they represent the two types of local authorities (urban &rural). Main intention of choosing the two authorities was to find out differences in the extent of level of institutionalization of PAS.

3.5 Sampling strategy

"The aim of sampling strategy is to maximize the opportunity of producing enough data to answer the research question". (Green & Thorogood, 2009:138). I used purposive sampling, which means "explicitly selecting interviewees who are likely to generate

appropriate and useful data" (ibid, 118). The two local authorities are both located at Arusha region where I live in Arusha municipal council and the Arusha district council is located a few kilometers from the Arusha municipal on account of the time and financial resources constraints that I had to put in consideration when selecting the area of study.

In this study sampling was not set on strict terms as it may cause for a vital variable or person to be overlooked, the sampling in this study aimed at acquiring sufficient data from appropriate sources. The respondents for this study where selected from the management level in which all of the heads of departments from the two councils who were responsible for the implementation and institutionalization of performance system in their respective councils. Also the study included some officials from all departments; I used random sampling to select the respondents among the junior staffs.

The total number of respondents is 34 in which, 17 from each case as elaborated in the table below. The respondents included 8 heads of department and 9 mid-level public servants from each council. The departments were chosen purposefully with regard to the number of personnel. All the heads of department included in the study had 20 or more personnel under them some up to 400 (education department), which include secondary and primary schools.

Table 3: Sample size

S/N	Arusha Municipal Council		Arusha District Council		Total
1.	Municipal Education Officer	1	District Education Officer	1	2
2.	Community Development Officer	1	District Social and Welfare Officer	1	2
3.	Municipal Human Resources Officer	1	District Human Resources Officer	1	2
4.	Municipal Engineer	1	District	1	
5.	Municipal Urban Planning Officer	1	District Land Natural Resources and Environment	1	2
6.	Municipal Medical and Health Officer	1	District Health Officer	1	2
7.	Municipal Treasurer	1	District Finance Officer	1	2
8.	Agriculture and livestock Officer	1	District Agriculture and Livestock Officer	1	2
9.	Junior Officers	9	Junior Officers	9	18
	TOTAL	17	TOTAL	17	34

Source: Researcher's own Research Design

3.6 Data Collection methods

In any empirical research data collection is essential as it enables the research to obtain information that will answer the research questions. I used the following methods of data collection, interviews, observation and documentation.

3.6.1 Interviews

According to Yin (2009:106) interviews is the most important source of information in case study because it is a guided conversation, which requires the researcher to follow his/her own inquiry and ask questions in an unbiased manner. I conducted interviews from 24th June to 19th August. I had two kinds of interviews for the two groups (heads of departments and the middle level public servants)

I conducted face-to-face interviews with the heads of departments considering the vital role they play in the institutionalization of performance appraisal system, which lasted

from 25 minutes to one hour long. The interview aimed to get the information, which cannot be obtained by observation. I used open-ended format to form the interview questions and the interviews were "semi structured" (Gray, 2009:309 cited in Kipo, 2011) that enabled me to probe for relevant answers. I asked the same questions to all respondents of both local authorities such as: how often do they interact with their subordinates? How many times have they attended courses, trainings or workshops with regards to PAS? The respondents/ interviewee answers were very important to link back to the research questions and the study variables. For example some interviewees talked about the few times they attended training programs and that they needed more training which links back to the variable of "appraisers' competence". The interviews were recorded using the mp3 voice recorder and later on transcribed and typed for analysis.

3.6.2 Focused Group Discussions

Data for this study was also obtained through discussions with the junior staff through *focused group discussions.* Focused group discussion is a group of people (6-12) gathered and meant for collecting data on particular research topic via discussions (Bryman, 2004). For this study focus group discussions one from each council were used to collect data from the junior officers. Each group had nine participants (easy to manage), which included junior officers and other public servants (drivers, secretaries) both male and female with different working experience from 2-28 years at work from different departments. I decided to use focus group discussions after facing some difficulties in getting the junior staff to talk about the commitment and credibility of the appraiser during the face-to-face interview. They were more comfortable to talk when they were in groups and it was an easy way to get to learn and understand how knowledgeable they are regarding PAS. In Arusha Municipal Council (Now the City Council) I conducted the focused group discussion on a Saturday afternoon in their conference room, while in Arusha District Council we met in a restaurant near the council; both discussions lasted for two hours.

I asked the same questions in both focused groups, which were open-ended questions aimed to gather their knowledge on PAS, how often they fill the performance appraisal forms, how they get their annual objectives, feedback and training. Other things

discussed in the focused group discussions were the communication/interaction with their heads of department, training with regards to PAS, filling of the performance appraisal forms, factors affecting their performance and commitment of their heads of departments. All the respondents participated in the discussion and it was a practical way of obtaining useful information from junior staffs because they were sincere and gave references to documents that confirm their information.

3.6.3 Direct Observation

This method was also used in collection of primary data. Observation helped to reveal relevant behavior and conditions (Yin, 2009:109).

On the 24th of June 2011 I to attend the Municipal full council meeting, which includes all the city councilors and the 3rd quarter report was being presented and they get to discuss the city performance appraisal in regard to the promotions transfers and training and the base for those decisions. 2nd of July 2011 I attended a seminar for heads of departments, sections and division regarding performance appraisal system and the client service charter.

On the 1st of August 2011 while in Arusha district council I had a chance to attend a training session, which was specifically held for the health department employees (nurses, doctors and hospital workers) to train them on how to prepare a personal work plan and how to feel them in the OPRAS (Open Performance Review and Appraisal System) forms.

In all these meetings, seminars and training sessions that I attended it was observed how PAS information is being ascended to junior staffs, the procedures followed in giving feedback and how performance standards are being communicated to the lower cadres. Also I observed how informed the public servants are about PAS in local authorities through the questions they asked in training sessions. This method was used to obtain data so as to confirm the information obtained during interviews.

3.6.4 Documentation

This kind of information takes many forms (letters, email, manuals, acts, news articles, reports, empirical researches etc.) and should be the object of explicit data collection plans. Yin (2009:103) also mentions articles and newspapers publication as among

documents that can be used in data collection.

In this study this method was used to collect secondary data. Data was collected from various documents of the councils such as quarterly reports regarding performance of the councils, annual reports for the year 2010/2011, assessment reports from 2008-2011, councils profile, budget reports of the year 2010/2011, a few personnel files, the standing order of 2009 and the Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania and the Public Regulations of 2003 and the Public Service act of 2002. The information obtained is used to cross check the answers of the respondents from the interview.

The following table is a summary of the data methods used, information obtained from each method and total number of respondents, observation period and documents used.

Table 4: Data collection methods

Tools	Type of Information	Total Number
Interview	Establishment of PAS, Appraisers commitment, cultural factors affecting PAS, PAS as a basis in decision-making, government support, financial resources and challenges of PAS.	16
Focus Group Discussion	Knowledge about PAS, challenges facing PAS, communication with the management level, perception of PAS, PAS as a basis for decision making.	18
Observation	Interaction among heads of departments and their subordinates, feedback procedures, filling of the PAS forms	2 weeks in each Council, 2 meetings in Arusha Municipal council and 1 in Arusha District Council
Documentation	Legal support for PAS, Establishment of PAS in Tanzania, reports on the implementation processes, Process of PAS	Annual reports, quarterly reports, constitution, Public Service Regulation of 2003, Public Service Act of 2002, assessment reports and standing order of 2009.

Source: Researcher's own research methods

3.7 Data Analysis

This "is the process of pulling the data apart and putting it back together in a more meaningful manner", which consists of "making a detailed description of the case and its setting" (Creswell 2007:163). It involves determining the multiple sources of data in a series of events/steps which best explains the case. By doing this a researcher can establish a pattern by using tables, graphs etc. (Ibid, 163). In other words it means interpreting and put meaning of the data. Content analysis was used in analyzing the written and the verbal information in order to get the interpretation of the data collected. The interviews records were transcribed and typed for analysis. In this study the data collected was analyzed through narration and explanation of what the respondents said and what was written in the documents obtained. Direct quotations of respondents' views and opinion were cited to support key point.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

These two issues judge the quality of social science research. Validity in a research is the extent to which findings are consistent with what the researcher intends to study. Validity is more concerned with the measurement of the data and the integrity of the conclusion reached in the research. Therefore validity refers to the "truth, authenticity and relevancy of data" (Bryman, 2003:30).

Creswell (2009: 190-191) explains that validity is when a researcher checks the accuracy of the research by using certain procedures and reliability is when the "researchers approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects".

In addressing the issue of validity I maintained the "chain of evidence" as one of the ways suggested by Yin (2009:98). I used three methods of collecting data (Interviews, documentation and direct observation) which, enabled me to triangulate the data, for instance the issue of decision making regarding promotions I interviewed the respondents about it but I also got the information on the OPRAS forms and the quarterly reports to verify the answers. This study was conducted in two local authorities, which are situated in different contexts (rural & urban) and these covers the two types of local authorities in

Tanzania. This ensures that the findings of this study can be (generalized) applied in both kinds of local authorities in Tanzania and other developing countries with a similar local level structure. Moreover some of the independent variables used in this study (power distance, uncertainty avoidance, financial resources, political will) have previously been used, tested and verified in other studies (Karyeija, 2010; Faizal, 2006; Gautam, 2010) in which they proved to be useful when researching on PAS.

And in addressing the issue of reliability I developed a clear research protocol, which includes the list of respondents (no names included), interview guide, meetings and training sessions attended, access granted, processes during data collection and report preparation. This will enable a replication/repetition of this study.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

The study considered ethical principles of conducting a social science research. This was done to preserve the rights of respondents for them to feel comfortable and give correct information for the integrity of the study. Some of ethical issues considered in this study was obtaining respondent consent, voluntary participation, guarantee for confidentiality and anonymity (Creswell 2009:89). I introduced myself with the letter that I got from the Department of Administration and Organization Theory of the University of Bergen this helped me to get access to the information and respondents needed for the study. Also I sorted consent from the respondents and I obtained letters from both councils that granted me permission to interview and access to the documents related to the study.

3.10 Conclusion

This study is a qualitative research as I have explained before and this chapter explained the methodological aspect of the study that is the methods used in data collection the way in which the data is being analyzed and interpreted. During data collection I learned one or two important things regarding methodology aspect of the research. That when conducting a qualitative study one has to have a very flexible methodology plan. For example I did not plan to have a focused group discussions but regarding the situation I found at the field of the junior staffs being scared of talking I had to switch to the focused group discussions so as to get the required information. Also by doing this it added to the

methods of data collection to the study hence the chance to triangulate, which makes the data more reliable. The second lesson I learned was that planning the study (methodology plan) during proposal writing is so much easier than executing the plan, because once in the field a lot can change.

4 Chapter Four

PAS and Local Government Authorities in Tanzania.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion about the local government authority composition in Tanzania with a brief structure and missions of the two areas of study (Arusha City council and Arusha District Council). Second, it also discusses PAS in Tanzanian context and the reasons to its introduction in the public services and especially to the local authorities. Since its independence Tanzania has embarked on service delivery to all citizens through local authorities and access to these services to all parts of the country to an effective and efficient standard.

4.2 Decentralization policy in Tanzania

Like many countries Tanzania wanted to provide services and access of the services to its citizens hence, its venture to decentralization programs so as to establish local authorities, which will enable provision of services in a participative manner. The decentralization policy was the government strategy to initiate local level involvement and participation in the socio-economic development process as it gave the citizens chance to participate in matters that concern them through planning, implementing and evaluating development strategies and making the public stakeholders in development activities (URT, 1998)

In 1980's there was a re-establishment of rural and urban authorities and in 1995 major change took place in the public sector through the Public Sector Reform Programme (PSRP), which also included the Local government Reform Programme (LGRP). The LGRP aimed at "decentralizing the government functions, responsibilities and resources to the Local Government Authorities (LGA's) and strengthen the capacity of local authorities" (Masue, 2010: 48). The reform in the local authorities was initiated in 1996 by the publication of Local Government Reform Agenda and in the government Policy paper for local authorities in 1998 (URT 1998).

The reform agenda states that the efficiency, reliability and capacity of the local authorities in delivering services to the public will be the reason of existence for the devolution of functions, resources and authority from the central government. The Policy Paper clearly states, "Local government system is to be based on devolution of political devolution and decentralization of functions and finances" (URT, 2007). This decentralization by devolution in Tanzania is a dynamic and complex programme of change, which requires different mindset of doing things and fundamental major changes of how the government should handle its business in all sectors (Ngarwe, 2005).

Two phases of LGRP has already been implemented, the first phase was from 2000-2004 and the second phase was from 2006/2007 to 2010/2011. Both phases aimed at improving performance, creating relevant institutional structures, improving transparency and communication between management, employees and stakeholders and establishing priorities for effective and efficient allocation of resources (URT, 2010). The third phase was designed to begin in 2011/2012 to 2015/2016.

4.3   Local Government Authorities in Tanzania

The local governments are entities which only act within legal boundaries drawn by the constitution and the power delegated to it by the central government through legislation. To some countries local government authorities are the result of decentralization policy (most African and Asian countries) while others they were the result of revolutionary movements for instance Norway and Belgium in 1830, Denmark and Netherlands in 1848 (Batley & Stoker 1991). As explained in the previous paragraph, in Tanzania the local authorities were a result of decentralization.

The Tanzanian constitution acknowledges that the primary objective of the government "is the welfare of the people in which it is accountable to and that people must participate in the affairs of their government, it further stipulates that Local Government Authorities should be established in each region, district and village of the United Republic". It is by this that the establishment of the formation of Local Government Authorities is legally based on. The main purpose of formation of Local Authorities is "to transfer authority to the people" according to article 146(1) of the constitution. The Local Government

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Authorities are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government which was formed in 1998 and later on integrated under the President's office so as for it to reside among the direct responsibilities of the President of the United Republic, currently there are 106 district councils, 22 urban councils and 5 cities (URT 2010).

There are two types of local authorities in Tanzania the rural authorities usually referred to as district councils and the urban authorities, which include the municipal, town and city councils. The hierarchical structure of the urban authority starts from the municipal/town/city, under which there is a ward followed by the mtaa/street government whereas in the rural authority it begins with the district council followed by the ward then village. Local authorities are under the appointed District Commissioner and the elected councilors.

Figure 3: Local Government Structure
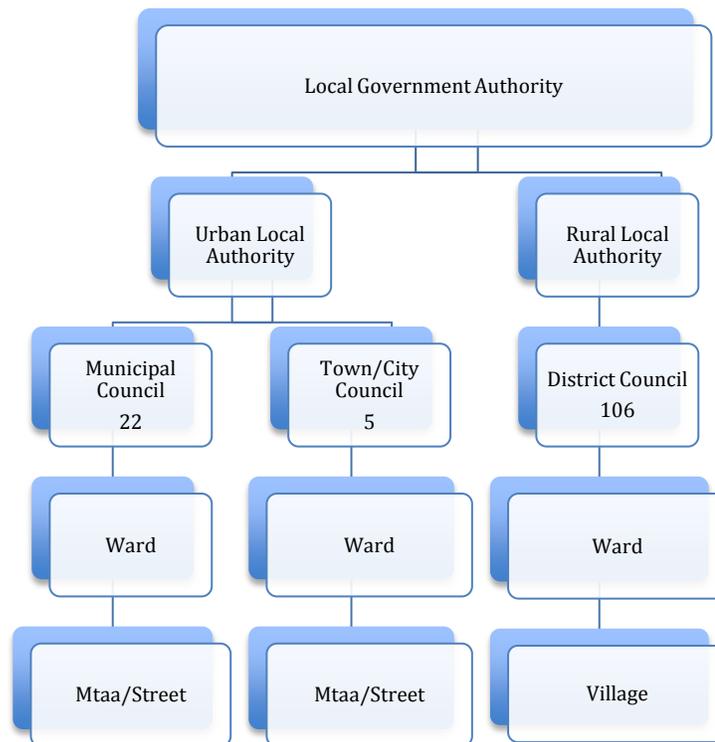
Source: Researcher, based on various legislations.

Up to 2005 findings show that more than 85% of the population (by then it was estimated to be 35 million) lives under local government (Njunwa, 2005). Since the local authorities directly interact with the majority of the public they were aimed to function efficiently and with less bureaucracy as the central government.

"*The transfer of power to the Regions and Districts must not also mean a transfer of the rigid and bureaucratic system from Dar-es-Salaam to lower levels. Nor it is the intentions of these new proposals to create new local tyrants to the persons of the regional and district development directors*" Julius K. Nyerere 1972

In this study where a research is done on the institutionalization challenges of Performance Appraisal System, the study involves two councils which represents the structure elaborated above, meaning one that is in the rural authority and the other one the urban setting authority. It has been a common knowledge that most urban authorities are well financed by the government and donors. Most city/town and municipal council have been established earlier than some of the rural councils, as it is the case with the two local authorities that were chosen for this study.

4.4 Arusha District Council

The Arusha District Council (ADC) was established in 2007 July 1st, after the Arumeru district was divided into two and form the Arusha district and the Meru district. It is among the seven local authorities in Arusha region. The district borders Monduli and Longido districts on the western side, the Meru Mountain on the north side, Simanjiro district on the east and Manyara region on the south side. The main economic activities in this district are agriculture and livestock keeping, and from the past two years a fast growing business trend within the district has been noticed.

It covers the area of 1566 square kilometers. It is has 3 divisions, 21 wards, 71 villages and 268 sub villages. The district has 28 councilors whereas 21 councilors are elected from their respective wards and 7 are elected through the preferential seats for women. The member of the parliament from this constituency is also a councilor by virtue of his position.

4.4.1 Vision and mission of the Council

To ensure prosperous and sustainable living standard of the people by 2025 is the vision of Arusha District Council. This is comparable to the nation's development strategy for improving living standard of people by improvements of the country's economy and decrease poverty. To make the vision become a reality the Arusha District Council intend to "provide quality socio-Economic services to its community through effective and efficient use of resources and good governance for improved living standard" as their mission (URT, 2010). Such socio-economic services are more elaborated in their objectives as the council as follows:

1. Improve health services with the aim of reducing HIV/AIDS infections
2. Internalize and sustain anti-corruption strategies
3. Increase access and improve quality of social services
4. Improve infrastructures, quality and quantity of the economic services in the district
5. Enhance good governance and administrative services
6. Management and conservation of the natural resources and the environment.
7. Improve social welfare and community and gender empowerment

4.4.2 Organization structure

Arusha District Council up to June 2011 had eleven departments. It functions under the supervision of the District Executive Director (DED) who is appointed by the President and under him there are 11 heads of departments and in total the council has 2757 public servants. The eleven (11) departments and the hierarchical structure of the council is at the appendix 1

4.5 Arusha City Council

Arusha City Council (ACC) formerly known as Arusha Municipal Council until it became a City Council on 14/10/2011 as announced by the Government Gazette No.341. This council was among the 38 councils that underwent the first and second phase of Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) initiated by the Government in 2000.

Arusha City council was established by the 1985 Local Government act, it is among the seven councils in Arusha region.

It covers an area of 208 square kilometers and estimated to have a population of 507,903 (2011 census). There are three divisions namely Themi, Elarai and Suye, which are sub-divided into 19 wards and there are 137 streets/Mitaa. Economic activities of the people in this council are tourism, retail business and it is the main market for the Tanzanite minerals. The city council has one Member of Parliament (MP), 19 councilors elected from their respective constituencies and 7 elected through the preferential seats for women. Also the MP is the member of the councilors by virtual of his position.

4.5.1 Vision and Mission

The vision is "Arusha city with a growing and sustainable economy by 2015" (ACC, 2010). The mission statement for the council is to create a conducive environment for economic development, quality social service and environment management. Decentralizing power in order to improve service delivery to the local populations as a means of empowering people and creating a sense of ownership is the main objective of this city council. The specific objectives are similar to those of Arusha District Council mentioned in 4.4.1. The local authorities tend to have similar objectives because they are under the same ministry doing the same functions hence having the same objectives according to the national strategic plan under implementation.

4.5.2 Organization structure

By June 2011 Arusha City Council had 12 departments and twelve heads of departments. It has four committees and three sections (Procurement, internal auditor and legal and security). The council functions under the supervision of the City Director who is assisted with the heads of departments who forms the City Management Team (CMT); this team is concerned with making decisions, and implementing policies that have effect to the council and the city at large. The departments and the hierarchical structure of this council is elaborated in appendix 2

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4.6 Performance Appraisal System in Tanzania

The PAS in Tanzania is known as the Open Performance Review and Appraisal System (OPRAS). The concept of individual performance review and appraisal system was first introduced by section 22-28 of Public Service Regulations of 2003, which was issued under section 34 of Public Service Act of 2002. The aim of introducing this system was to enable continuous improvement of individual performance throughout the year.

This current appraisal system is referred to as the Open system comparing to the past system where as it was known as the closed annual confidential report system. The confidential report basically looked into trait and behavior; annual personal reports of individuals were used to assess employee's performance based on the opinion of the supervisor. This system surely had its shortcomings because it was secretive which means there was no provision of feedback to the employees about their performance, also the validity of the confidential system was not related to improvement, there was low reliability of the supervisor ratings because the ratings were subjective, bias hence the possibility for favoritism.

In 1990's the government felt the need to restructure the public service, yes it was the kind of change that was happening in most countries but for Tanzania OPRAS mostly known as PAS was aimed to fulfill three main purposes as explained in the introduction seminar 2004;

- Remedial purpose: putting right the things that had gone wrong such as the biasness in rating, no feedback to the employees and the secretiveness which did more harm than good.
- Maintenance purpose: Encouraging the public servants to continue to do what they do well such as giving services
- Development purpose: Giving the public servants what they need to aim for the next level as a person (Mbegu, 2004).

The government under the first phase of PSRP 2000-2004 was committed to improve performance of the public services by installing performance management system in which PAS is one of the tools. The intention of the government in introducing this system

was to ensure accountability between supervisors and subordinates, clarify individual and team responsibilities in achieving organizations vision and mission while at the same time ensuring cost effectiveness and value for money (Bana & Shitindi, 2009).

PAS was aimed to establish a culture where individuals and groups take responsibilities for their performance so as to enable a continuous improvement of service delivery and contribution to the vision and mission of their organizations. This is possible through the control of the targets that they set and agree upon the foundation of the standards that they reach. Also the system was aimed to control the performance by awarding the performance of those assessed to be up to or above the standards while providing training to enable those who are judged to be below the standard to do better the next time around (URT, 2004).

4.6.1 Why PAS in Local Government Authorities?

The emphasis on performance has been stressed in the Public Service Act Number 8 of 2002 under section 6(1)(a) which stipulates that: "Every public servant, head of Extra Ministerial Department, RAS and Director of Local Authority shall pursue result oriented management and ensure that the service is mission driven and performing effectively and efficiently" (URT, 2003).

This is one of the reasons as to why it was introduced and being implemented in local authorities because their also part of the public service and everyone who works and is employed by the government is required to pursue result oriented performance. The government committed itself into providing high quality services to the public and it had to implement and institute PAS in local authorities due to the decentralization reforms, which took place and led to the establishment of local authorities in which the government aimed to decentralize some of its functions and responsibilities to involve the local authorities.

The local authorities provide most of the public services such as hospitals and schools and they were established so as to enable equal access to public services to all citizen. So the third reason for implementing PAS in local authorities was to improve service delivery from the bottom up. To meet this goal PAS was used so as to enable the local

authorities to develop measures to determine their performance, identify their performance gaps and also to have bases for decision making (URT, 2004).

4.7 Conclusion

It has been almost 8 years since the introduction of PAS so it is only fair for me to explore to what extent the system has been institutionalized. Also I wanted to study the two kinds of local authorities which are identified by the constitution the rural local authority and the urban local authority so as to represent the local authority structure. The aim is to find out whether the same factors affect and determine the institutionalization level of PAS in both Councils.

It also seem logical to explain PAS in Tanzanian context so as to map out its existence and purpose in relation to the expectations and assumptions made to justify its introduction apart from the obvious reason that the reforms were the result of the conditions the government was given to fulfill so as to get aids from IMF and World Bank as it was for other developing countries.

5 Chapter Five
Does Culture Matter for Performance Appraisal System?

5.1 Introduction

The next two chapters present the study findings from the two local authorities, which have been precipitated from the in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, observation and documentary review. The findings are presented with the attempt to compare them to the theories and frameworks as explained in previous chapters and also answer the research questions of the study "to what extent is performance appraisal system institutionalized in local government authorities". The research questions that this chapter seeks to answer are:

a) How informed are the public servant in the local authorities regarding performance appraisal?

b) To what extent administrative decisions such as promotions, demotions, transfers and layoffs depend on performance appraisal evaluation feedback?

c) What are the challenges facing PAS in local authorities?

Moreover the findings will be divided into two chapters; one chapter will include data that explains the current state of the dependent variable (institutionalization) along with the cultural factors (independent variable). While the second chapter of findings will incorporate the organizational and political factors in the course of answering the research questions. This chapter of findings and discussion looks into PAS introduction, establishment and implementation in brief followed by the current state of dependent variable then discussion of the findings on cultural factors.

5.2 Establishment of PAS

Performance appraisal system is established under section 6 of the Public Service Act No.8 of 2002 it is by this Act that PAS became mandatory to all public servants. The amended Standing Order of 2009 stipulates "performance appraisal may vary between organizations depending on the nature of their functions and between levels but it shall have to be open and transparent" (URT, 2009). The system was established hand in hand

with the appraisal forms in which the act clearly directs that they should be used to rate individual performance twice a year. Meaning that public servants are required to create work plans according to the Council's strategic plan twice in a fiscal year that is in July and January.

5.3 Introduction and Implementation

In Tanzania PAS was introduced as a tool to be used in enhancing the administrative changes that aim to restructure the public sector and improve the performance of public servants so as to enable them to deliver efficient and effective services. PAS was officially introduced in 2004 in all local authorities (Mbegu, 2004) in which several methods were used in introducing it to the public servants. In the Quarterly report of 2008 of Arusha City Council it is states that "by May 2008 all heads of departments, sections and divisions had been trained for PAS" (URT, 2008:16). And it further illustrates that more than 800 brochures had been issued to the lower cadres as a first step which was an attempt to inform a large number of public servants in a short time.

But some got to know about the system through Government Circular, which was issued to all local authorities to instruct and emphasis on the implementation of PAS as explained by the head of education department in the Arusha District Council during interviews.

"*I first learned about the system through a circular which was issued by the government on emphasis of the use and implementation of PAS, and then I attended a workshop where we were trained about PAS the processes and how to go about evaluating individuals*"

The initial plan was to train heads of departments and sections about PAS aims, purpose, processes and procedures for them to pass on the information to their subordinates in the lower cadres through inter departmental meetings, seminars and communications. This was so, because the local government authorities have a large number of public servants who specialize in different professions and it seemed impractical to reach them all at once, and it was and still is almost impossible to facilitate the expenses of training

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sessions for all public servants in a short time. The human resources officer of Arusha City Council elaborated more during interviews as follows:

"The local authorities comprise of almost 65% of all public servants, so it was impossible to train all of them at once and since it was already a mandate for all public servants to participate and there were no adequate supporting funds we had to improvise"

In the attempt to strengthen the implementation process of reforms in local authorities there was an establishment of the maboresho (implementation) division, which dealt with follow ups in the reform implementations and continuity by providing training, ensuring budget supports the reforms and capacity building for the heads of departments to enable smooth implementation of reforms and this division was financed by the central government (URT, 2010).

5.4 Institutionalization of PAS

As I have previously explained (chapter two) that by using the PAS processes assessing its continuity and persistence of the processes so as to determine the institutionalization level is how this variable was operationalized. The study findings revealed that there have been gaps in the institutionalization process, as the circle of processes (figure 1 page 15) has not being completed by most appraisers for some time now. This is vivid due to the current situation of repetition of objectives and work plans for a number of public servants as elaborated by a respondent during focused group discussion at Arusha District Council on how they come up with their work plans since their heads of departments/appraisers do not communicate the performance standards to them as expected.

"I convert my job description into my work plan; I did not even know that my work plan has to include the council's strategic plan until recently when an external auditor explained it to us"

This is similar to what happens in Arusha City Council as also a few public servants commented on how they have been copying their work plans of previous year repeatedly.

"I have only prepared a work plan once and I have been writing the same thing in all the forms I filled in the last 5 years"

This shows how some of the appraisers do not communicate the performance standards to their subordinates, and this defeats the purpose of PAS in which without the standards it is impossible to assess and evaluate the performance of individuals.

Some of the subordinates to whom the performance standards had been communicated they had complained on the lack of feedback evaluations in which are essential to the subordinates to know how they have performed and whether they needed to improve. This was not only to the lower cadres but also the heads of departments who are to be evaluated by the City/ District director had not been evaluated and given feedback as stated in the annual assessment of local authorities for the year 2009 (URT,2009).

The last stage in the process circle (taking corrective action) has been neglected by most appraisers as explained by a participant in the training session of the health department at Arusha District Council. He was concerned with the fact that the same people have been chosen to attend the trainings, meetings and courses for capacity building, and if PAS evaluations were used the situation will not be the same and the training opportunities will be equally shared among individuals who really need the extra skills to perform better. Essentially his argument was supported by another participant who stood up and spoke on the issue of lack of incentives for those who perform well along with the complaint of how great performers are not being promoted or rewarded on time and sometime not being promoted or rewarded at all.

These arguments indicate the lack of feedback and seriousness of the appraisers to focus on things that matter such as the completion of the PAS process circle and not the filling of forms only as explained by a respondent (who was a driver) during focused group discussion at Arusha City Council

"From my experience the supervisors are more concerned whether we have filled the forms and not what is in the forms, because if they paid attention to the contents in the forms they would have realized a long time ago that we copy from each other's forms and

it is most likely that if you look in my form and other drivers we have written the same thing even though we belong to different departments"

The gaps in the PAS process circle, which are found in both councils, hamper the institutionalization process because it causes inconsistencies in the appraisal system within the council. This is so due to the fact that the steps in the appraisal circle are inter dependent, and if you skip one step the rest of the steps will not fall in place, for instance without communicating the performance standards it becomes impossible to have an agreement with the subordinate and impractical to assess the performance of the subordinates without legit (agreement from both parts, the appraiser and the appraised) standards to compare to and without assessment, evaluation is out of question hence lack of feedback.

Even though some departments follow all steps in the process circle without any gaps but the majority of the departments, which tend to have large number of subordinates do not consider the steps during appraisal. Also the findings show that most appraisers pay more attention on the filling of the forms as the core of the appraisal system while paying less attention on the actual PAS process circle. Furthermore the inconsistencies do not only hinder the institutionalization process but also makes most of the public servant to think of PAS as a formality which has no effects to their daily activities or future prospect of their career because until now performance is not a determinant in any of the decisions that may affect their career such as promotion, transfers, demotions or early retirement therefore hinders PAS to be well instilled.

The PAS process circle in both councils has not been completed (taking all six stages in consideration during appraisal) for some time and there has been a continuation of the same problem over the years. Also lack of persistence is another problem that hinders institutionalization of PAS in these two local authorities and this was said to be caused by lack of commitment from the bureaucrats, and the transfer of personnel's/appraisers which leads to lack of continuity and persistence. For PAS to be instituted in the local authorities it requires constant repetition so as to enable it to be part of the system and for the public servants to familiarize with it as explained by Zucker (1977).

5.5 Cultural Factors

In most developing countries culture has been said to be one of the factors that hinder the implementation and institutionalization of most reform programs (Karyeija, 2010; Faizal, 2006). It is the effect due to the fact that most of these reforms originate from the westernized (developed) countries that have different values, norms and rules. And most of the reforms tend to be implemented without any adjustments to fit to the recipient culture. This is the same case with PAS in Tanzania, the PAS principles and procedures tend to contrast the informal norms and values in which public servants tend to embrace those informal rules and norms. The following are the findings on the two cultural dimensions, which affect's institutionalization of PAS in Tanzania, which are power distance and uncertainty avoidance.

5.5.1 Power Distance

The boundaries that exist between the management or superior officers and the lower cadres or their subordinates in the public sector are well known. It has been the situation for a while due to the fact that most heads of departments are well educated compared to their subordinates as elaborated by the Human Resources Officer of Arusha City Council

"I can say more than 50% of the employees in this council are under qualified for the posts they work in. The problem is most of them were employed in the past and still work using their past experience. "

These boundaries have been there since way back in the colonial system that the few Africans (natives) who worked for the whites were believed to be better than the rest and since they had influence, people literarily praised them and looked up to them. For this reason until sometime back the officers in the public service seem to have the same influence since they are educated and with ranks at work they feel more superior than other public servants. This was said in an interview with a participant who is a head of department in the Arusha District Council

"It is true education and qualification differences is one of the things that enhance the distance but also the fact that public services lack new blood. Most people in public

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services have been here for years in which they still hold the values and norms that they found and they are used to."

This distant relationship between these two groups of people who with the introduction of PAS they eventually need to communicate frequently and help each other constantly, it had led to multiple effects to the flow of information regarding PAS. One of the effect was that public servants are reluctant due to the fear that the way the system was designed gave more power to their superiors and they had nothing to benefit from the system as told by the Head of Trade and finances in Arusha City Council

"You see with the previous appraisal system superiors could rate their subordinates as they liked which may positively or negatively affect the subordinates, now whether they deserve it or not that is another case. But with this system it is more transparent and has brought a lot of changes. In actual situation the supervisors/superiors still have power and there is still a gap between them and their subordinates hence the fear and the reluctance of the subordinates into knowing the system and adapting the changes. Because the person who informs you is the person who will evaluate you"

This was further more explained by the head of department of education in Arusha District Council during the interview, which is as follows

"Employees are reluctant because if they are to be informed by us about PAS and we are to evaluate them it is possible for us to tell them what we only want them to know and they will not have any other source of information to compare the knowledge to. We heads of departments we are the implementers and appraisers and there is no other third part involved to insure fairness and considering that this system is only one way, heads of departments evaluating subordinates".

Also the study has revealed that still up to now there are some heads of departments who have not yet informed their subordinates about PAS. This is because the department does not usually have meetings and when they do, they have a lot to discuss as it was mentioned by one head of department in Arusha District Council:

"...I have not yet talked to them about PAS specifically, but I have printed and showed them how I filled my OPRAS form so as they can see our department targets and for them to take them on and include them in their work plan when filling their own forms. You see when there's a department meeting we have so much to talk about since we do not meet so often".

Some heads of department who have been transferred assume that the previous head of department has already talked to the subordinates regarding PAS, so they do not take on the responsibility to inform their subordinates as explained by the head of education department in Arusha City Council

"When I got here two years I go I thought the former head of department has done that as it was not among the things he mentioned for me to take on. Only recently I found out that the workshop PAS had included only the head teachers so I have to figure out how the same can be done for other teachers".

The study findings confirm that there is power distance in both local Authorities and that it has an impact on the institutionalization process of PAS due to poor communication between the management and lower levels. The fact that knowledge of PAS to the lower cadres solely depend upon their heads of department confirms that only a handful of public servants in these two local authorities have been well informed about PAS and leaving a larger number of employees in uncertain state. The two local authorities have almost 5900 employees in total and only 45% including the heads of departments are estimated to have been trained with regards to PAS according to their yearly reports of 2008/2009.

During fieldwork I observed the interaction between heads of departments and their subordinates with the intention of examining frequency of communication between these two levels of hierarchy. I realized that the heads of department communicated mostly with the next in command such as senior officers, head of sections and heads of divisions and these are the ones that have close contact with the lower cadres. The power distance between the management and the subordinates is still high and it affects the frequency of communication required by PAS.

The study findings also shows that a large number of public servants are not well informed about PAS due to the fact that those responsible for passing on the information are not directly and often interacting with their subordinates whose knowledge about PAS solely relay on their supervisors. This is due to the existence of power distance, which exists between the heads of department and their subordinates this was further confirmed by the respondents in the Focus Group Discussions when they explained how they respect their supervisors and cannot bother them asking for assistance nor will they ask about PAS. Most of them explained that the little knowledge they have about PAS they did not get it from their supervisor but from their fellow employees and some from their children who are in the Universities or classmates who now have senior posts.

Apart from power distance impeding the flow of information, the findings also unveiled that it also facilitate the existence of informal personal relations among some of the public servants and the heads of department, which led to unjust and unfair treatment since these relations facilitate tribal favoritism and patronage. These affected the rating process and the decision making which initially is supposed to be based on the individual performance but apparently they do not as explained by the respondent in the Arusha District Council during focused group discussion:

"During the last 15 years that I have worked for the government the decisions such as promotions, transfers and even training opportunities are not based on the performance evaluation feedback but mostly on the personal relations. If my uncle works at the Public Service Commission I can ask him to transfer anyone who I think is a threat for me to be promoted. This is a setback for those who perform well and do not have any relatives at higher ranks"

Another respondent had a different opinion regarding power distance as he seemed to have experienced the effects of power distance even during recruitment processes in which most of those who were employed in high rank positions was not because they were qualified to be there but because they knew someone or gave money to those involved in the recruitment procedure. This was further argued by one of the respondents who seemed truly bothered by the situation:

"These days it is no longer how qualified or what you know for you to be employed but who do you know, and this is not a secret everyone knows but who is to say something so as to change this situation? And I can say this is what has prompted poor performance and lack of commitment in the public sector"

Favoritism during recruitment has been a complaint in government institutions especially in the local authorities in Tanzania, which is said to be the reason why the local authorities are manned by "under-qualified staff" as explained by the report of Research For Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) which was done by Kikula & Cooksey (2005) in local authorities. Furthermore existence of power distance has been said to be the cause for unjust and unfair treatment due to abuse of power of those with authority who tend to make decisions which affect a lot and favor a few. This was mentioned by one of the Councilors in Arusha City Council during the Full Council meeting in which I attended as an observer. He argued that most of the projects/reforms do not go as planned or fail due to poor checks and balance of those responsible to hold accountable the ones who abuse their powers which come with the posts into which they hold.

The study also revealed that personal interest of the heads of department to be affecting the decisions they make during promotions, demotions and transfers. This was said by one of the respondents from Arusha District Council during focused group discussions in which she explained how some of them (lower cadre public servants) have been denied promotion opportunities just because they had previously questioned or expressed their opinions to their heads of department hence creating a hostile relation to them. Sometimes the heads of department will even recommend demotion or transfer of an individual based on their personal interest and not based on performance as it should be. This has led to the government incurring so much cost for paying the unnecessary transfer costs and law suits to the public servants who have been wrongfully treated as explained by President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete during the public service week celebrations in 2009. (Daily News, 2 March 2009)

The above study findings are evidence of power distance being among the major factors hindering the institutionalization of PAS in the two councils as its characteristics defeats the aims and intentions of PAS in an organization. In a power distance society like this,

there are norms (gap among the superior and the weak group, personal relations, favoritism, patronage) that are practiced and embraced that technically affect and hamper the institutionalization of PAS for it leads to the gaps in the PAS process. For instance poor communication among the heads of departments/appraisers and their subordinate affects the communication of performance standards, favoritism prevent fair assessment and patronage instigate unjust and unfair ratings hence power distance derails the intentions and purpose of PAS in an organization as seen in these two councils.

5.5.2 Uncertainty Avoidance

The study findings show that there is uncertainty among the public servants regarding PAS due to the changes that had occurred as the result of introduction of PAS. This uncertainty causes the public servants to be reluctant towards the system as explained by the head of department of administration and personnel in Arusha District Council

"*I think this system is a way towards well-structured goals and will enable effective attainment of organizational objectives, but for now the way things are it does not seem to be succeeding it is just a big confusion*"

An official who is the head of finance and trade department (City Treasurer) at Arusha City Council when asked about his opinion with regards to PAS he had the following the response:

"*I think it's a good way to increase competence and I think the intentions for introducing it were genuine but practically the system is not what was supposed to be neither what was intended for. And this causes confusion and it is disappointing and a bit ambiguous to whether it is worth the time and money wasted in implementing it.*"

The respondents above implies that the PAS purpose and intentions seem to have the best intentions of improving individual and organizations performance but at present the introduction of PAS brought about a lot of changes at once and at the same time something's are still the same (structures, procedures and rules) hence the confusion, which causes the uncertainty among public servants. The study unveiled that the uncertainty was not only among lower cadre public servants but also at the managerial

level in which they resist the system to the point of opposing some of the procedures including filling of the appraisal forms used in evaluating their performance. The Annual Assessment Report of 2010 for Arusha City Council confirms the reluctance of the management cadre, as it vindicate that up until February 2010 (time of assessment) none of the heads of departments had filled the OPRAS (Open Performance Review and Appraisal System) forms, and by that it marked the state of PAS in Arusha City Council as "not improved". (URT, 2010). This kind of resistance was also used by public servants in the Ugandan Public sector as reported in the study conducted by Karyeija (2010)

As pointed out in the theoretical part, in a high uncertainty avoidance society they tend to create more rules and regulations so as to maintain their status quo, and these rules tend to interfere with the change in progress. The findings also revealed this in the Arusha District Council as one head of department explained how they spend so much time working on activities that are resulting from immediate orders from the top officials, these activities are not in their work plans hence they are not assessed or appraised at the end of the day. He further explained that these immediate activities also known as ad hoc activities tend to be more demanding and time consuming to the extent that they do not have time to work on the actual plan in which they will be evaluated from.

"*The ad hoc activities tend to take up most of our time and at the end of the day we spend so much time executing activities that benefit politicians rather than activities that will attain organizational objectives which are more important I think. I say this with utmost concern because it is disturbing to know that with this kind of system of doing things PAS will not work for us which means there is no point being committed to making it work*"

Moreover the bureaucrats seem to have more concern for maintaining the status quo and very little concern or none at all for the future plan. This was elaborated by the head of urban planning in Arusha City Council during the interviews when asked about her perspective on PAS. She explained how the top officials act on their uncertainty by smothering the implementers with so many reforms and programs at once, knowing it is impossible for them to fully commit and bring about the expected changes required to make any of the reform work and achieve the expected results. She went on explaining that some bureaucrats are comfortable in their post and will do anything to avoid any

reform that suggests change hence require them to take some initiative to work on the bigger picture, which includes the society and the future of the country. Also she explained how all this prevents professionals especially in her department to be innovative and creative since they do not have time to think but always repeating old and outdated structures:

"You see urban planning is an art, you need to have a clear head to come up with the plan that is both affordable and reliable and better yet an up to date city structure. And as you can see Arusha is a city now so we need an advanced city plan. But how can we do that while every day we do something else that is not in our work plan and we spend most of the time running up and down following orders. These prevents us from being creative and innovative because at the end of the day I will just come up with a hurriedly done plan just to avail the deadline by knowing that it is not the best. But if am judged by my performance I will make sure I come up with the best plan because I know everything depends on it."

The study finding also illustrate that due to the existence of uncertainty among the bureaucrats, they are unwilling to accept the change that are brought by PAS hence they hesitate putting the changes in practice. And because of this their subordinates are left confused with the ambiguous situation of PAS being implemented theoretically and not practically because more than half of the public servants have no idea what it is and why they should practice it. During Focus Group Discussions (FGD's) with the employees of the lower cadre at the Arusha City Council some of them seemed confused and expressed their confusion because things are not how they were supposed to be with PAS being in place as they expected. One of the respondent explains that:

"We are told to create work plans and fill in the forms, but I don't know why and what is the use of it. I have been filling those forms for 5 years now and I have never been promoted, demoted nor trained as I was told there should be feedbacks. I was told one thing, and what is happening is the opposite and who should I express my concern to and who is responsible I don't know, it is really confusing and disappointing I thought things will be better with this new appraisal system"

The same feelings were expressed by a respondent during the Focused Group Discussion with the officers of the lower carders in Arusha district Council:

"*I don't really know PAS but I know enough to know that it is not fully practiced, because there are no changes, still people are promoted by seniority and I have not filled the appraisal form and nothing happened.*"

The study findings from both councils revealed that most public servants are not well informed about the appraisal system hence the confusion and the uncertainty avoidance. Moreover the findings show that the ambiguity is caused by the changes happening as the result of introduction and implementation of PAS. And that more rules and regulations are created which in one way or another prevent these changes to be instilled in the organization hence affecting the establishment and continuity of PAS in these local authorities. Furthermore the reluctance of the bureaucrats to take initiative outside prescribed roles by accepting and instilling the necessary changes so as to ensure continuity of PAS proves there is a high rate of uncertainty avoidance in both councils. The bureaucrats are responsible for implementing PAS but if they are uncertain this means they are reluctant towards the change hence failure to commit which affects PAS since there are gaps in the appraisal process and if the system is not completely practiced it is unlikely that the expected objectives (efficiency and effectiveness of performance to improve service delivery) will be met.

6   Chapter Six

Organizational and political factors affecting PAS

6.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the data that was obtained during data collection with the attempt to link them to the theoretical framework elaborated in chapter two. The chapter discusses the findings in relation to the organizational and political independent variables in answering the study research questions.

6.2   Organizational Factors

In the process of adopting and instituting change in an organization there are things that should be considered such as the ability of those who initiate the change (implementers), their commitment and availability of resources to enable them to implement thoroughly (Van Meters & Van Horn, 1975; Brynard, 2005). The following three variables that will be discussed in this section are appraisers' competence, bureaucratic commitment and financial resources. This section includes also the data that explains how often PAS is a basis in the administration decisions such as promotions, demotions and transfers.

6.3   Bureaucratic Commitment

Continuous and persistent use of PAS at the local level depends upon commitment of the implementers. Thus bureaucratic commitment is one of the six variables of the study. As indicated in the theoretical chapter bureaucratic commitment plays an important role in the institutionalization of a policy/reform. Commitment of responsible bureaucrats advocates successful institutionalization of a reform or change. As explained by Mowday et al (1982) that one's commitment can be explained by the effort they put in a job, which is likely to improve their performance.

On bureaucratic commitment at the local level, the study focused on the effort of the heads of department into instilling PAS through communicating goals, assessing, evaluating individuals in order to ensure the continuous cycle of appraisal process. The discussion on this variable was divided into two sections in which one was the face to

face interview with the top officials in these two councils (heads of department) and in Focus Group Discussions with the middle and lower level officials where they were asked to talk about their supervisors commitment and their own in instituting PAS in the local level.

During an interview with the head of department of community development in the Arusha City Council he gave the following remarks:

"Yes I am committed, and the fact that almost all my subordinates know what PAS is proof enough, though they have not been well trained but the little they know helps them be more responsible and accountable because they know someone is watching. And I try as much as I can to give feedback to those who fill the forms."

The head of department of land and resource development at Arusha District Council further explained:

"I do what I can to assist, assess, monitor and evaluate my subordinates performance I cannot say it is the best but considering the circumstances I can say my commitment to my job which includes instituting PAS is what pushes me to these lengths because am only one person expected to evaluate almost 70 people in six months. Beside I still have other responsibilities".

The respondents entail that the actual situations they function in are not supporting neither encouraging but they do what they can to show their commitment to their jobs and that the effort can be seen by the changes that can evidently be noticed though may not be to the expected standard.

Moreover one of the officials at the Arusha City Council explains how difficult it is to stay committed due to the workload and high expectation from the public and the top officials

"In my opinion I am committed because to even be able to sign the forms of those who fill them and give feedback to some who accomplish their plans is a lot sometimes I stay in the office until 22:00 and I also work on weekends during the evaluation time. Judging by

the pressure we get from the top with regard to other projects, you have to be real committed to even find time to assess, leave alone evaluating which takes more time".

The number of subordinates in some departments have made it difficult for the heads of department to fully keep the continuous cycle of appraisal process as explained by head of health department in Arusha District Council

"I am only one person and expected to evaluate and appraise all my subordinates who are over 200, it is impossible and the fact that some employees do not get their feedback kills their work morale and some of them stop filling the forms. All in all commitment of public servants in the past ten years or so has declined due to poor motivation and reward system".

The study findings further revealed that in the past public servants were committed to their work and into developing the nation and that their morale has been lowering for the past 10 years due to low wages, poor motivation and reward system and the increasing life expenses. During the interview respondents explained how they are dwelling in debts just to make ends meet and how impossible it is to leave only on the government salary hence the lack of commitment as explained by the head of department in Arusha City Council

"The appraisal process requires the appraiser and the appraisee to work together so as to get the continuous cycle, but most public servants do not like PAS. Some do not like it because they don't really know it and some do not like it because they see it as a heavy load imposed on them because it requires them to be at work to perform hence the need for them to toil and achieve the required goals. A suitable motivation and reward system would have greased the wheels."

It was further explained that some public servants have other jobs or businesses and thus they use their daytime not to work for the government but on their personal activities. This affects their commitment as well as their performance hence the need for an improved reward and motivation system.

Another head of department at the Arusha City Council mentioned how poor incentive system in the local authorities can be a reason for lack of commitment of some public servants. He explained the following when interviewed

"You see the local authority is the entity of the government that actually gets things done, unlike other entities which are more (involved) information, ordering and delegating. And in the local authorities is where most of the public servants are employed you would think with this being the fact the local authorities would have the most attractive incentive package. But it is actually the opposite. We work in very demanding environment and we are unappreciated, and this is why most public servants are less committed now as they were 10 years ago because these conditions killed their work morale. With PAS in place, it demands so much from a head of department/appraiser and for people to commit it requires a very attractive motivation and reward system."

From the quote above the respondent imply that there is a poor reward and motivation system in local authorities, which in one way or another is the cause of low commitment of public servants into improving their own performance as well as the performance of their organizations. The heads of department also explain how lack of incentive is lowering their morale when it comes to policy and project implementation and instituting.

This was further elaborated by the middle and lower cadre officers during Focused Group discussions were they explained how the motivation program of the local authorities benefits the management level and that for the lower cadre they benefit only when they work over time. The Local Authority Reward and Motivation Guidance of 2007, which was reviewed during fieldwork, further validated the information. The guidance indicates key areas which local authorities should consider when making their reward and motivation system such as electricity, water, mobile allowances for the heads of departments, employee of the year reward and overtime allowances. And still all these depend up on availability of funds from the revenue collected by the council. But also the guidance insisted on having non-financial incentives such as recommendation letters, certificate of performance so as to support the morale of the good performers and give them a sense of belonging.

The study further unveiled that tenure is another reason for poor commitment of public servants in improving their own performance or the performance of their organizations. This was said by one of the heads of departments in Arusha District Council during interviews. He explained how most public servants do not perform to the expected standard because nobody has been accountable for not performing and they have a permanent contract. And that the worst thing that could happen is for them to be transferred which is not a severe punishment for lazy people.

"You see most public servants are committed when under probation and they give their best, but most of them when they get their tenure they tend to lay back, only a few who are self-motivated will continue to give their best".

Another reason as explained by the head of department of community development in Arusha District Council is the orders and what they referred to as "ad hoc activities" assigned to local authorities randomly by the top officials such as District Commissioners, Regional Commissioner, Regional Administrative Secretary, Ministers and Members of the Parliament which technically the local authorities are obliged to execute such orders originating from these top officials of the Government. Most Of these orders are not in the organization's strategic plan hence not included among the individual work plan. These kind of orders are categorized under emergency activities (Dharura in Swahili) hence the need for them to be given priority therefore putting on hold the original work plan that will be used to evaluate one's performance and perform these "ad hoc" activities that will not be evaluated. He considered these activities as a waste of time and discouraging because it shows how the PAS was not designed for an organizational structure like ours (Tanzanian Local Authority) and it also shows how the politicians do not care about the strategic plan and that grass root commitment of the bureaucrats does not really count if the top level bureaucrats are not committed as well as he explained during interview:

"I would understand if these activities had an emergency nature, sometimes It's not even an emergency activity for instance this morning I was told that I am supposed to prepare an annual report of all the youth groups which were granted financial assistance from the government. I already submitted this report previously, only now I am supposed to

use a different structure but still it's the same information. I don't think this is an emergency and it's going to take me two days or so to get it done, while at the same time I am supposed to recommend 30 individuals for promotion before the end of this week. It is almost impossible to stay committed in this working environment".

However it was observed that the commitment of the heads of department (the appraisers) of the two councils to be considerably low (64 % in average of the heads of departments admitted not to have ever finished the appraisal process cycle or being committed into giving feedback), this shows that rural and urban context of the councils may not be considered an essential criteria for appraisers commitment. In this case PAS seem to be taken as a formality and not the process that it is and which requires commitment of those responsible so as to instill it into the values and culture of these authorities. In Maldives for instance, lack of commitment of the appraisers (which was caused by low wages and poor reward and incentive system) was explained to be one of the reasons leading to low institutionalization of PAS (Faizal, 2006). This implies promoting commitment of appraisers in Local Authorities in terms of well structure reward and motivation programs and reducing the interference of the Central Government officials is necessary.

6.4 Appraiser's Competence

It is essential to consider the competence and disposition of appraisers, as they are responsible in implementing and instituting PAS in their respective councils. The appraisers in the case of Local Authorities are the heads of department, City director, District Executive Director and the Mayors of both councils. The mayor is responsible for appraising the City/ District Executive director and the Council Director appraises the heads of departments whereas the heads of department appraise those supervised by them (subordinates). Competence of the appraiser depends on how disposed the appraisers are with regard to PAS processes and requirement. During fieldwork I reviewed several documents, which documented the trainings and workshop conducted to educate and train appraisers.

In Arusha City Council reports show that they have conducted training for the heads of departments on PAS three times in 5 years that is in 2004 when it began, then in 2007 and in 2010. Whereas in Arusha District Council I could only find two documented workshops, which took place in 2008 and 2010 although one head of department had commented on attending three PAS training seminars. In all these two councils there was no evidence that showed City Director, District Executive Director or the Mayors being trained.

Despite the trainings conducted still during interviews some heads of departments admitted to needing more training so that they can be competent into setting goals and assisting those supervised by them. It was explained by the Human Resources Officer of Arusha District Council who is the head of department of Administration and Personnel that incompetent appraisers was a result of transfers of government personnel which causes having heads of departments who are not well trained as he commented during interviews:

"If you go through the personal files of the heads of departments you will find very few of them have been here longer than 3 years, if am not mistaken most of them have transferred from other councils. Now we will train them but in a while they will be transferred and we will be back to square one"

PAS brought about major changes in the public services, which needed to be adapted and instilled in the day-to-day activities of the personnel. Establishment of such a change requires more than three training sessions for those expected to establish this change in these institutions one may argue. The appraisers are expected to be competent enough to take on the appraisal process so as to be able to use the acquired information when making important decisions (promotions, demotions, layoffs and transfers), which require solid bases to validate the credibility of such decisions. The Arusha City Engineer who is the head of department of Works had the following to say when asked to what extent heads of departments use the PAS evaluation results in making decisions such as promotion, demotion and transfers:

"To a zero extent, none of these decisions are based on the PAS evaluations. These decision most of the time are based on seniority, personal preferences and other non-performance related factors because most of us do not finish the whole process cycle to be able to evaluate".

The head of department at Arusha District Council further explained,

"I can honestly say that we are not fully competent in this new system of appraising employees because still some of us struggle in understanding the key issues, and if the government aimed to train us so we can be competent or just aware of the system because there are so many other things that are not clear. As for me I need more training because these changes are a bit too much to accommodate with only three training sessions"

From the quotes above the respondents imply that most appraisers are not well disposed to the facts, requirement and importance of the system and as to how they should go about using the system to improve individual performance as well as organizations performance. PAS evaluation feedbacks were aimed to be used in two ways; first to act as basis for decision making with regard to employee's career future and second to give a chance to the employees to know how they have contributed to the organizations' success or failure in attained its objectives (URT, 2004). Study findings substantiate that the appraisers in local authorities both rural and urban are not competent due to minimum or lack of training for some. The mayor who is a political post is responsible of evaluating and appraising the Director in which most of them have not been trained at all in both councils. Moreover those who have been trained such as the heads of departments have not been fully exposed to the information regarding the purpose, expectations and goals of PAS, which makes it hard for them to commit and taking on their role in institutionalizing PAS. As explained by Hill and Hupe (2002) lack of disposition of implementers into comprehensively understanding the objectives and goals of the policy may lead to failure of the implementers to faithfully perform their role.

The limited number of training provided to the appraisers affects their willingness to applying and instituting PAS into their daily routine and activities because they lack the knowledge required to understand the specific objectives of PAS. Most of the

respondents expressed their frustration because their lack of adherence and understanding of some of the process (mostly communicating the standards, the assessment and taking measures stages of appraisal). And some of the heads of department (3 from both councils) did not know that they were supposed to base their decisions on the PAS evaluation feedback, this shows how the core actors in the institutionalization process do not have the required knowledge to equip them to be competent and capable in taking on their roles as appraisers.

6.5 PAS as a basis of Decision Making

For a while public servants had been complaining about the unfair and unjust confidential appraisal system, hence the introduction of the new appraisal system, which aimed into being transparent and fair by using individual performance as a determinant of one's career path. The study findings show that decisions such as promotion, demotions and transfers in the local authorities depend entirely on other things such as influence, working years (seniority), disciplinary issues and very little on performance.

A head of department at Arusha District Council explained:

"*These decisions do not depend on a person's performance because still there are past mistakes that have to be amended. A lot of public servants were not promoted on time when they deserved, due to resource constraints; we cannot just forget about them and move to this new system of things".*

This shows that still people are being promoted and performance is not the basis of such decision due to the past mistakes. Currently according to the Public Service Standing Orders of 2009, which instructs that public servant who upgrade their skills by acquiring more knowledge on their respective professions are entitled to promotion as well as those who perform well (URT, 2009). During fieldwork I observed that the promotion process for the Administration department in Arusha City Council, it adhered to the Standing Order guidance except for the performance part. The promotion recommendations were done without consulting individual files in which the appraisal forms are attached. The head of department will use previous records to learn who has been promoted recently and also consider the years they have been employed for. The promotion process did not

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seemed sensitive in wanting to reduce complains of the public servants, but done to amend the past mistakes by promoting those who had been working for more than 10-15 years and have been promoted only once or not at all. The head of department explained the situation as follows:

"At times I think PAS was introduced prematurely when the public service was not yet ready for it. You see we need time to sort these kinds of issues first before instilling something new on top of this messy situation. If we follow PAS requirements now this system will be unjust and unfair to all these public servants who have toiled and worked faithfully for the government in very hard conditions for the past twenty years".

Another issue is the fact that in matters of decisions such as demotion and transfers are not within the local authorities jurisdiction. The study findings unveiled that the Regional Commissioner and the Permanent Secretary at the Public Service Commission are the ones that can authorize transfers or demotions. It is evident from this that performance is not a criteria in these decisions because how is it possible for these top officials to have any knowledge on individual employee performance records? And to consider that there isn't an updated computerized system in Tanzania that includes the records of all public servants that these officials can access when making such decisions.

Moreover it has been an issue of concern over the years that in the Public Service those who perform poorly or are involved in disciplinary matters such as corruption and misuse of government fund to be transferred as a punishment instead of serving time in jail or facing more serious disciplinary measures. This was said to be discouraging and a cause of low work morale to those who used to perform well as explained by a personnel during Focus Group Discussion:

"We see some of our co-workers who have scandals and being warned with regard to disciplinary matters, some even been taken to court but after a while they got transferred and enjoy all the allowances that come with the new post as if nothing happened and everybody forgets about it. It is really discouraging because it gets you to think I don't really have to perform well because even if I do nobody cares anyway, if there was someone who cares these things will not be happening"

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From the quotes above it is evident that decision making on Local Authorities do not depend on PAS evaluation feedback as it was intended attributed by past mistakes, the lack of commitment of heads of department into completing the appraisal process and giving feedback and the fact that the local authorities decision making system has other actors who have more power and authority. The above findings revealed that the two councils to be facing the same problem that some decisions such as transfers and demotions have not been delegated to them and still have more influence from the central government than the local level where they matter.

6.6 Financial Resources

As explained in Chapter four PAS was introduced along with other major changes that took place in the public services. These vast and dynamic changes required different mindset and attitude of getting things done (Ngware, 2005). All these required resources to make things possible and be able to move with accordance to the changes established in the public sector. As explained by the head of administration department at Arusha District Council, he states financial constraint to be the main challenge because if resources are available changing people's attitude and beliefs is just a matter of time but without the resources it is almost impossible.

"*If we had the means then it is possible, all these other issues could be taken care off, with time we could have changed our attitude, belief and overcome our fears towards these changes but it is almost impossible and so hard because we do not have the means*"

The government had limited resources which were used to only train the heads of departments so as for them to ascend the information to their subordinates because it seemed as the only possible way at the time as said by the head of department of works in Arusha City Council

"*We were not prepared for this system only we were desperate so we did what seemed possible at the time, but so far we lack resources for training employees, we still have poor reward and motivation programmes and we promote people on limited budgets which defeats the purpose and intentions of PAS*"

During data collection I realized that local authorities are implementers of most of the policies that the government initiates, and these reforms/projects and policies are of different nature and priorities as well as demands. And one thing that all these projects/policies/reforms have in common is the need of financial resources for them to be successfully implemented and institutionalized so as to serve the expected purpose. As mentioned in Chapter Four, local authorities are service providers and they tend to take on more than one project at a time hence the need for equal redistribution of resources to new priorities and projects that once where financed by donors. Due to this PAS is facing a lot of constraints caused by lack of financial resources to support its institutionalization.

Financial resources are said to be a determining factor for success or failure of reforms in developing countries (Gautam, 2010) this means that the economic condition of a country has a significant impact on the reforms adapted. During fieldwork I attended a council meeting at Arusha City Council, which is held quarterly reports of all departments were presented to the councilors. In this meeting the City Treasurer explained how difficult it was for them to execute all council projects for the past three months (April-June) within the available resources and how certain projects and activities such as capacity building (training) had to get less funds so as to allow progression of other important projects such as class room constructions and renovation of teachers houses as well as road constructions. This implies that there is always something else that seems to outweigh the importance of instituting PAS with regard to distribution of funds. As explained by the head of department of land and resource development at Arusha District Council:

"There is no specific fund set aside to support PAS so we have to use the little that we have to finance it. But at times there are other things that need more priority and of extreme necessity such as road construction, school construction and by putting effort in these it means less efforts in older reforms such as PAS"

The head of department of administration in Arusha City Council had this to say:

"Lack of resources is what makes it impossible for the appraisers to be persistent and maintain the existence of the system in the council, because for the system to be continuous it has to complete all the steps in the process but it is impossible without the

necessary funds to appraise those who performed well and to train those who need help hence the reason why we do not give feedback"

Inadequate financial resources seem to be the challenge facing local authorities in the cause of adapting and instituting PAS. Although urban local authorities have more revenues compared to rural authorities, according to the Annual Assessment of local government authorities of 2008, which is issued by the PM0-RALG it showed concerns to the low revenue collections of District Councils and their ability to operationalize and maintain their projects. But the distribution of the revenues is monitored by the Ministry of finance, which ensures that all local authorities get to spend the same or almost the same amount of money for the prioritized projects. Hence there is no significant difference with regard to financial resources that assist PAS institutionalization.

In the study of PAS in Nepal Gautam (2010) argued that there is a possibility that NPM related reforms have not effectively been applied in developing countries due to their poor national economies. There have been some struggles in establishing and adapting PAS in local authorities due to lack of funds to support the necessary changes. Both councils have managed to train the heads of departments and the senior officers and a few officers and still plans are in place to train the rest of the public servants in these councils in groups but lacking the funds to put the plans in action. This has also been the case in Uganda as Kiiza (2007) explains financial resources to be one among the four big public policy challenges. Thus, showing the lack of financial resources in establishing and instituting changes to be a critical challenge and also a determinant of the level of institutionalization of PAS in local authorities.

6.7 Political Will

Political will represents the will of the government and the effort made to ensure adaptation and establishment of PAS in public services especially in local authorities. The government has been supporting PAS since its introduction and this is evident due to its effort into training the heads of departments of all local authorities in a seminar held in Morogoro region in 2004. Also the government has initiated the establishment of an implementation division in all local authorities dedicated into supporting and assisting the

local authorities into establishing the structural adjustment reforms in which PAS is one of them.

However the respondent from Arusha District Council seem to have a different opinion regarding political will of the government when initiating this reform:

"*The government was desperate when initiating the introduction of this reform into the public service, because it was a condition given by the donors but I doubt if it sincerely wanted to implement this reform*".

This was further elaborated by the Arusha City Council Engineer who is the head of department of works, he explained that one can tell that introduction of these reforms was just an act of desperation because there were no prior preparations done to support these changes no funds set to finance the reforms or structures formulated to ensure sustainability of these reforms. "*The reforms were forced to our system and that is why so far it just seems confusing*".

On the other hand the head of department of urban planning in Arusha City Council explained how the government not being willing to institute PAS due to the contradictions caused by central government officials to the local authorities

"*There is a lot to be done so as for this system to fit in to our structure. But the local government structure is not like any other organization we don't have one defined authority figure we have more bosses and decision makers than you can imagine. Ministers, Regional Commissioner, District Commissioner, Regional Administrative Secretary and anyone who has authority in the government can order something to be done in the local authority and it has to be so. This is what makes it had for us to accomplish our targets or stick to them and efficiently accomplish them*".

The respondent imply that these interferences that tend to contradict with the intensions of establishing PAS which are caused by the same people who initiated the changes show how less supporting they are in instituting PAS. While it appears that most public servant believe that the introduction of PAS and other structural adjustment programmes was mainly to fulfill the conditions for acquiring aids from the World Bank and the IMF,

reports show that there has been a close government follow up on the establishment and implementation of PAS in local authorities and assessment teams from the Public Service Commission have been passing through all local authorities since 2007 (according to the reports available in both councils) to assess the progress made, challenges faced and the offer assistance when necessary.

However the findings from the two councils show inconsistence of the government support in both urban and rural authorities. In the beginning when PAS was introduced it seemed relevant since the public had lost faith in the government due to ineffective and insufficient provision of public services, and whenever other problems or issues arise the government seem to shift the attention and at times totally forget about the previous reforms. Although the main issue that seem to discourage the implementers is the interference from the central government in matters such as decision making (for instance transfers of local authorities employee is still done by the Public Service Commission, promotion budget has to be verified by the ministry of finance) which seem to support the unwillingness of the government to fully let PAS take over.

7 Chapter Seven

Summary, Conclusion and Implication of the findings

7.1 Introduction

This is the final chapter of this study about institutionalization challenges of PAS in local government authorities in Tanzania. It briefly highlights the study problem and methods used, followed by a summary of the major findings and the study's implication for PAS in Tanzania. Finally, this chapter outlines the study limitation and gives indications for further research.

7.2 Study context, theories and methodology

This study was focused in the introduction and challenges facing a performance management tool, which was inspired by the NPM doctrine known as performance appraisal system. The study employed the transformative theory by Christensen in which it includes the instrumental, cultural and the myth perspectives. The study took place in two local government authorities one being urban (Arusha city council) and the other rural (Arusha district council). The aim to involve these two authorities from different context (urban & rural) was to represent the local government structure of Tanzania, which is divided into two parts the urban authorities and the rural authorities. The study began with examining the two councils on how they adopt and institute PAS and the challenges PAS face in these councils. The aim was to make a comparison between the rural and urban council in terms of continuity and persistence in instituting PAS. Qualitative approach was employed in this study and face-to-face interviews, focused group discussions, observation and document review were used as the main methods of obtaining data. The participants of this study were purposefully (heads of departments for face-to-face interviews) and randomly (junior staffs for focused group discussions) selected to enable acquiring relevant data to answer the research questions; the study had 34 participants.

7.3   Summary of the Key Findings

7.3.1   Power distance

This refers to the relationship between the appraisers and the appraised. This cultural dimension is very significant in studying adaptation and institutionalization of reforms conditioned to recipient countries. The study found that in both councils there is high power distance among the public servants between the management level and the lower levels. Although several measures (contracting out, centralizing recruitment and selection processes) have been taken to cover some of the effects of power distance such as favoritism, personal relations and patronage which seem to affect the decisions of those in power (managers/heads of departments) during recruitment, selection, promotions, ratings and disciplinary measures. But still power distance has its effects in the appraisal processes. Evidence from the study show there is still unfair and unjust rating of individuals due to tribal relations, personal relations and poor communication between the appraiser and the appraised. Moreover poor communication between the appraisers and the appraised has caused the gap in the PAS process because most appraisers do not communicate the performance standards to their subordinate, which is the core stage in the appraisal process. Without the performance standards most public servant fail to have knowledge of what is expected of them hence repeating performing on previous or outdated standards. This defeats the purpose of PAS of having effective and efficient public servants to provide effective and efficient services.

The initial hypothesis of the study was the higher the power distance the lower the institutionalization of PAS. The findings of the study from the two local authorities fortify this hypothesis, as it was revealed that personal relations, favoritism and patronage to be the cause of poor follow ups, lack of accountability and responsibility of some of the public servants due to their personal relations with some of the heads of department which led them into performing poorly with no fear of any disciplinary measures being taken against them. This unfairness and injustice causes the deterioration of performance morale and opposes all that PAS stands for hence impedes its institutionalization.

7.3.2 Uncertainty Avoidance

The higher the uncertainty avoidance the lower the institutionalization of PAS, this was the study hypothesis for this variable. The study found that in both councils, they had imposed rules and regulations that aimed at avoiding uncertainty and maintain their status quo against the changes brought by the establishment of PAS in local authorities. As explained by Hofstede (2010) in a society with high uncertainty avoidance they consider change as a threat and they impose rules and regulations to maintain their status quo. The study revealed imposition of ad hoc activities, resistance in filling the appraisal forms, poor initiation of the management level into instilling change in the organization as some of the activities which signifies that this is a high uncertainty avoidance society. These activities and rules and regulations hamper the institutionalization of PAS. However the uncertainty was not only observed in the local level but seem to have its roots from the central level because some of the rules and regulations are imposed as orders from the top officials such as ad hoc activities which are never evaluated but they are financed and executed on time and some of them are not as important as they are described to be. Moreover the study noted no difference between the two councils in their level of uncertainty avoidance.

7.3.3 Appraiser's Competence

12 (75%) heads of department out of 16 who were interviewed from Arusha City Council and Arusha District Council admitted into needing more training to enable them to manage the changes and responsibilities. And there was no difference between the two councils with regards to how competent the appraisers are. The hypothesis was that competent appraisers enhance PAS institutionalization. But the study findings show that almost all heads of department with exception of a few had been trained two to three times. Despite the facilitated trainings to the heads of department, the findings revealed that most of them lacked the knowledge of how they should go about appraising their subordinates (the six stages of appraisal) and the trainings did not specify how important each stage was in order to form a complete continuous cycle. However some of them have not been completely informed on the importance, expectations and purposes of PAS for them to fully know the system and be willing to implement and instill it in their daily

activities. As explained by Van Meters & Van Horn that the implementers are to be well informed so they can understand the reform/policy and have a stand in order for them to have "the ability and willingness to carry out the policy" (1974:472). Incompetent appraisers not only hamper the flow of PAS knowledge but also affect the credibility of the ratings and decisions since they will have little to do with individual performance which defeats the initial purpose of PAS in the public sector. For institutionalization of PAS in local authorities the heads of department require adequate knowledge of the system for them to be capable to train, assess and evaluate those supervised by them. The same observation were made in another study on institutionalization of PAS in Maldives (Faizal, 2006) where competence and disposition of the implementers had effects on the institutionalization process due to lack of ability to initiate and manage the changes that where necessary in order to establish PAS.

7.3.4 Bureaucratic Commitment

The study findings from the two councils reveal poor commitment of both heads of department and their subordinates due to several reasons such as large number of subordinates under one head of departments (health, education, livestock and agriculture departments), poor reward and motivation system and over lapping reforms which are implemented at the same time. Due to poor commitment of the heads of department who are also the appraisers it led to gaps in the appraisal process in which certain stages are not and have not been applied by some of the heads of department. 10 out of 16 heads of department who were interviewed from the two councils admitted not to have been able to give evaluation feedback to their subordinates, and almost half of them have not yet got around and assess the performance of their subordinates. This does not only affect the process cycle of PAS but also hinder the individual performance to be the basis for decision-making as it is supposed to be. However it was argued during interviews that there is a necessity for all the officials meaning from the central level (ministers, permanent secretaries, regional secretaries etc.) to reduce interference to the local level through orders and imposing rules and regulations which tend to interfere with the councils objectives and finances so as for them to be able to commit to their plans and improve their work morale. The study hypothesis was that committed bureaucrats may

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enhance the institutionalization of PAS. As per the study findings there is poor commitment of bureaucrats hence the findings do not support the hypothesis.

7.3.5 Financial Resources

There were no significant differences between Arusha City Council and Arusha District Council in terms of finances. The study findings found that both local authorities' budgets with regard to revenue and expenditure are authorized and controlled by the central government through the ministry of finance so through this most local authorities have equal funds supporting similar reforms and projects. This implies that being a rural or an urban local authority may not be an essential criterion for availability of financial resources. From the findings there were inadequate financial resources to support PAS in both councils. There was a huge demand of finances to improve the reward and motivation system of the local authorities in which is very poor, demand for finances to enhance training of the appraisers and finances for capacity building in which is essential since most of the public servants in the two local authorities were under qualified for their posts (Cooksey & Kikula, 2005). The study revealed that lack of funds in these two councils to be the sources of poor continuity of the PAS process since the councils cannot afford to reward or train those with poor performance. However the available inadequate funds also had complaints of not being issued on time in which is needed to assist and that most of the time they are issued late. Inadequate financial resources has been said to contribute into failure of reforms and policies in most developing countries (Chittoo, 2009; Gautam, 2010).

Adequate financial resources is essential in instilling changes in an organization, so as to enhance required training to the implementers, fulfill requirements for the implemented reform in the case of this study, improved and well-structured reward system so as to create competitive environment which enhances innovation and creativity to the employees. Inadequate financial resources will result to poor institutionalization of PAS was the study hypothesis for this variable. The study findings show that in the two councils, lack of adequate financial resources to be affecting the institutionalization process since more than half of the public servants have not been trained, and in spite PAS being implemented over seven years ago still they have not been able to accumulate

funds specifically for PAS due to having other reforms (client service charter, economic growth and poverty reduction, agricultural development policy, agricultural marketing policy etc.) that are being implemented at the same time in which they are also supposed to be financed. With so much reforms and very little funds it forces the councils to divide their revenues in small portions to support all reforms at once or sometimes decide which they should support and which they should put on hold and on that note PAS has been seen as less important and most of the times other reforms or activities (road constructions, salaries, allowances) will be given priority.

7.3.6 Political Will

The study noted a moderate political will of the government which was observed from the support the councils receive from the government in order to enhance and instill PAS in the local level. I used the word moderate because according to the reports reviewed in both councils the government support has been seasonal and not constant. Both Councils had the same government support in terms of checks and balance and financial support. In both councils there were arguments related to the reason as to why PAS was implemented to begin with in which they argued that still the government is not completely committed into instilling PAS in the public sector because some of the obstacles are within the government power to change them but still it has not, despite the seven years of PAS existence. The obstacles mentioned were the interferences from the central government officials, the structures, which need improvement such as that of a mayor (political figure) being responsible of evaluating a public servant (local authority directors) in the appraisal process, or that of one head of department being responsible of evaluating 200 subordinates which is nearly impossible. Despite these short falls the government has managed to insure training of all heads of department in all councils in the country by 2004 (Mbegu, 2004) and also giving the system a legal support by including it in the Public Service Act of 2003, and making it mandatory to all public servants through the amendment of the 2009 standing order. Moreover the government has managed to conduct several checks and follow ups on the reform by including it in the annual assessment of local authorities and imposing rules, which facilitate PAS such as, employees cannot apply for annual leave without filling in the appraisal forms.

Although there is a moderate political will the study findings noted that there is still a lot to be done in order to insure institutionalization of PAS by 2012 as planned. The government has to start considering training all public servants and not only the heads of department and also there has to be minimal interference from the central government. The following table summarizes the study findings:

Table 4: Summary of the study hypothesis and findings

Hypothesis	Study Findings
Hypothesis 1: the higher the power distance the lower the PAS institutionalization	High power distance marked by personal relations, favoritism and patronage which impede PAS institutionalization
Hypothesis 2: the higher the uncertainty avoidance the lower the lower the institutionalization of PAS	High uncertainty avoidance enhanced by imposing rules and regulations, reluctance of management level to establish the changes and of public servants in filling the forms.
Hypothesis 3:Competent and well-disposed appraisers may likely enhance application of PAS	Incompetent appraisers due to limited or lack of training, poor focus of the trainers during training sessions hence poor ability and willingness of the appraisers to assess and evaluate their subordinates fairly and accordingly
Hypothesis 4: Committed bureaucrats may enhance the institutionalization of PAS	Lack of committed bureaucrats in adapting and instituting PAS due to poor structures (reward and motivation), large number of subordinates to be appraised, reluctance of some of the bureaucrats due to lack of information/knowledge regarding PAS.
Hypothesis 5:Inadequate financial resources may impede PAS institutionalization	There are inadequate financial resources in both councils due to poor priorities, over lapping reforms and lack of specific funding to support the reform (PAS). This hampers its institutionalization because still the councils cannot afford to train the heads of departments and the junior staff.
Hypothesis 6: Political will of political leaders may determine the continuity of PAS which may enhance its institutionalization	Moderate political will, marked by inconsistence government support, which led to lack of consistence and persistence of the implementers in instituting PAS.

Source: Study's hypothesis and findings

7.4 Implications of the study findings

From the findings, low institutionalization of PAS in both councils is the manifestation of incompatibility of PAS to Tanzanian culture and setting. The informal values and norms oppose the formal values and requirements of PAS; this implies that the introduction of PAS included the exact content as that of the western countries without any consideration on the ramification due to differences in culture, economy and political differences and settings of the two societies. For instance, power distance enhanced poor communication among heads of departments/appraisers and their subordinates, which impede the process of communicating performance standards to the subordinates so as for them to have knowledge of what is expected of them. It was also found that uncertainty avoidance is the cause of the long procedures, rules and regulations, hence the red tape in service delivery, which opposes the initial aim of PAS, to reduce bureaucracy and red tape by shifting the focus from procedures to outcome (performance). Based on the cultural perspective "logic of appropriateness", the implication is that PAS is not compatible to the Tanzanian culture hence the need to mold the reform so as to make it appropriate and compatible for it to fit to the recipient (Tanzanian) culture. If we consider the fact that heads of departments are responsible to establish and ascend the information about PAS to their subordinates and yet they are uncertain about it and they keep imposing rules and regulation so as to insure PAS changes are not established; and obviously it is impossible for them to hold their subordinates accountable for poor performance. This is therefore an indication that in these communities (the two local authorities) public servants are reluctant towards change and prefer stability instead.

With regards to appraisers' competence, the findings show that the two local authorities had incompetent appraisers based on the limited training provided which does not justify the huge responsibility and expectations. The implication here is that with the government strategy of instilling PAS in the local level by training the heads of departments in order for them to ascend the knowledge/information to their subordinates, still a lot has not been done to build capacity of these heads of department who are the appraisers as well as the implementers of PAS in the local level. The incompetence hampers their ability and willingness to implement, adapt and institute PAS. However,

the two councils also lacked committed bureaucrats to take initiatives into adapting and instituting PAS in their respective councils. It was learned that lack of commitment was the reason that not much changes could be noticed even after seven years of PAS being applied in local authorities. This implies that poor commitment of bureaucrats hinders the continuity and persistence in the application of PAS in local levels.

Regarding financial resources, the findings show that the two councils had inadequate resources to fund the adaption and institutionalization of PAS. It was learned due to overlapping implementation of reforms the councils had to distribute their revenues to cover expenses of implementing multiple reforms and policies at the same time hence fewer funds per reforms or no funds at all for some reforms due to the priorities being given to other matters such as salaries, allowances, road constructions etc. Owing to this the councils have not been able to well train the appraisers or the junior staff or establish a proper training need analysis for those who need to improve their performances per their evaluation feedback. But in the beginning when PAS was introduced it was funded by the World Bank in which there was reliable finances to support PAS and it's when most heads of departments where trained and the reward and motivation guidelines where set as incentives to the public servants. This implies that adequate financial resources render continuity and persistence in the application of PAS. With regards to political will, heads of departments from the two councils commented on the lack of support from the political leaders marked by the inconsistence government support in instituting PAS. The government seemed overwhelmed by its attempt to fulfill all the required conditions so as to obtain grants and other financial supports, which makes it impossible to monitor, check and balance of all the reforms and policies. Although currently the government has managed to include PAS in the annual assessment of local authorities and the heads of departments are required to prepare semi-annual reports with regards to their subordinates performance and evaluation recommendations. This implies that the government is intended in using PAS to improve performance so as to enhance effective and efficient services.

7.5   Emerging Issues

When selecting the area of study in the two contexts (urban and rural) the assumption was that in urban authority (Arusha City Council) PAS will be well instituted due to it being in the city hence having less cultural ties, have well organized organizational structures and trained personnel unlike the rural authority (Arusha District Council) which may have more cultural ties since it is located in the rural area, less organized hierarchical structure in order to fit the environment. Another attribute I made was regarding the financial resources of the two councils. That the urban authority is more likely to have more access to financial resources (tourism, industries, and minerals) compared to the rural authority, which mostly depend on agriculture and livestock and government grants. As statistics show poverty rate of urban areas to be 17.1% and that of rural to be 34.5% during 2004-2005 (URT, 2005). However, as revealed in the findings there were no significant differences that were observed regarding their continuity and persistence on application of PAS. The two councils had similar trend in power distance, level of uncertainty avoidance, commitment of the bureaucrats, gaps in the appraisal process cycle and financial resources. Nonetheless, this might be the cause of the few number of areas of study (unit of analysis) involved in this study, which makes the study narrow and also the regulatory effect (all local authorities being regulated by the same ministry, using the same organization structure same hierarchical structure, standard provision of grants and procedures from the central government). I consider this as an important emerging matter, which might be of use for further exploration.

7.6   Limitation of the Study and suggestion for further research

Generalization is a challenge to all researchers who employ a qualitative method of research. This study is no exception, as it is a qualitative research with limited geographical area (the councils are located in the same region). Despite the limitations the study has brought some insight on the factor affecting the adaptation and establishment of PAS in both rural and urban local authorities. Based on the findings of this study another study may be carried out to explore PAS in local or central level by using cultural and organization change theories to assess challenges facing PAS and suggest ways to overcome the challenges. Although if the study is to specifically focus on

the local level it would be useful to involve more units of analysis (more than two local authorities) and if possible from different regions so as to be able to generalize.

7.7 Conclusion

Culture has been an obstacle in the implementation and institutionalization of many reforms and policies in developing countries (Karyeija, 2010; Faizal, 2006) hence the need for recipient countries to groom and mold the reforms so as they can fit the national culture and that they implementers will be able to identify with the reform. Although a lot of reforms have already failed but we can learn and start grooming the current reforms to fit with recipient culture and become home grown which will enhance a sense of belongingness and ownership. However adequate financial resources, committed bureaucrats not only in the local level but from the central officials also and competent appraisers are essential for instituting PAS. Margaret Thatcher who was the Prime Minister of United Kingdom is proof of how important political will in terms of support and commitment in bringing change and for successful policy implementation and institutionalization.

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Appendix 1: Arusha District Organizational Chart

ARUSHA DISTRICT ORGANIZATION CHART

FULL COUNCIL

FINANCE ADMINISTRATION AND PLANNING COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE FOR HIV/AIDS CONTROL

EDUCATION, HEALTH AND WATER COMMITTEE

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, WORKS AND ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

INTERNAL AUDIT UNIT

LEGAL OFFICE UNIT

PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION DEPT

WATER DEPT

PLANNING, ECONOMICS & TRADE DEPT

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEALTH DEPT

WORKS DEPT

AGRICULTURE LIVESTOCK AND COOPERATIVE DEPARTMENT

SOCIAL AND WELFARE DEPARTMENT

LAND NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

FINANCE DEPART-MENT

WARD

VILLAGE

Appendix 2: Arusha municipal council organization structure

```
                              FULL COUNCIL

  FINANCE AND ADMIN      COMMITTEE FOR HIV/AIDS    EDUCATION, HEALTH AND ECONOMIC    URBAN PLANNING AND
     COMMITEE                 CONTROL                      COMMITTEE               ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE

                            MUNICIPAL DIRECTOR

  PROCUREMENT                                                                LEGAL AND SECURITY SERVICE

                            INTERNAL AUDITOR
```

EDUCATION SECONDARY	PLANNINGS TATISTICS EVALUATION	ADMINISTRATION AND HUMAN RESOURCE	EDUCATION & CULTURE (P)	HEALTH & CLEANING	AGRICULTURE. & COOPE	WATER & IRRIGATION	LIVE STOCK & FISH ERIE	WORKS & FIRE			
ACADEMIC	STASTIC TIC	PUBLIC RELATIONS	ACADEMICS	PREVENTIVE	CROP RODUCTION	WATER	LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION	ROADS	URBAN PLANNING & ENVIRON	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	FINANCE & TRADE
ADULT EDUCATION	PLANNING	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	ADULT EDUCATION	CURATIVE	COOPE RATIVE	IRRIGATION	EXTENTION SERVICES	BUILDING	NATURAL RESOURCES		TRADE
CULTURE	INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	TRANSPORT	CULTURE	CLEANI	EXTENTION SERVICES			MECHANICAL	TOWN PLANNING		REVENUE
STATICS & LOGISTIC			STATICS & LOGISTIC	SOCIAL WELFARE				ARCHITECTURAL	VALUATION		EXPENDITURE
								FIRE	LANDS AND SURVEY		SALARIES
											FINANCIAL ACCOUNT
											PROCUREMENT

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Appendix 3: OPRAS FORM

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
OPEN PERFORMANCE REVIEW AND APPRAISAL FORM
(To be filled in Triplicate)
From: July 2011 to **June 2012**

This Form replaces all other appraisal forms in the Public Service Institutions. It is intended to meet the requirements of the performance management system and development process.

NOTES ON HOW TO FILL THIS FORM:

1. This Form must be filled by all employees in the Public Service Institutions. For principal officers and above, at the end of the year, once fully completed, the original should be sent to the Permanent Secretary (Establishments), duplicate to the respective Head of organisation and triplicate to the public servant concerned. All other employees (senior officers and below) original copy should be sent to the Chief Executive Officer of the organization, duplicate to the parent ministry of the specific cadre and the triplicate to the public servant concerned.

2. Where appropriate, each box shall carry only one letter or figure. Letters to be in capitals.

3. Personal/Agreed objectives are derived from the Organisation's work plan (Strategic plan, Annual operating plans or Action plans) and are expected to be implemented in the current year.

4. Sections 2, 3 and 4 of this Form shall be filled by the Appraisee in consultation with the Supervisor and sections 5-6 in the presence of a third party if necessary.

5. Please note that appraisals that are rated as 1 are the best performers and appraisals rated as 5 are the worst performers. These should be brought to the attention of top management and usually to the attention of the Chief Executive Officer of their respective Organisation.

SECTION 1: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Vote Code   Check Number
Vote Description

Sub Vote   Present Station
Sub-vote description

Name in Full   **M**   **F**
Surname   First name   Middle name   Gender

Academic Qualification

Duty Post   Substantive Post

Date of First Appointment   D D M M Y Y Y Y   Date of Appointment to present post   D D M M Y Y Y Y

Salary Scale   Period served under Present Supervisor   Date of Birth   D D M M Y Y Y Y
Number.of Months

Terms of Service
DD= Day, MM= Month, YYYY= Year, F= Female, Male= Male

SECTION 2: PERFORMANCE AGREEMENT
To be filled by the Appraisee in consultation with the Supervisor

2.1 S/N	2.2 Agreed Objectives	2.3 Agreed performance Targets	2.4 Agreed Performance Criteria	2.5 Agreed Resources

2.6 Appraisee   2.7 Supervisor

……………………………….. ……….   ………………………………………….. …………
Name (in capital letters)   Signed   Date   Name (in capital letters)   Signed   Date

SECTION 3: MID-YEAR REVIEW (DECEMBER, 2011)
To be filled by the Appraissee in Consultation with the Supervisor

3.1 S/N	3.2 Agreed Objectives	3.3 Agreed performance Targets	3.4 Agreed Performance Criteria	3.5 Agreed Resources

SECTION 4: REVISED OBJECTIVES (if any)
To be filled by the Appraissee in Consultation with the Supervisor

4.1 S/N	4.2 Agreed Revised Objective(s)	4.3 Agreed performance Targets	4.4 Agreed Performance Criteria	4.5 Agreed Resources

4.6 Appraisee   4.7 Supervisor

....
Name (in capital letters)   Signed   Date   Name (in capital letters)   Signed
        Date

SECTION 5:   ANNUAL PERFORMANCE REVIEW & APPRAISAL (JUNE ………………)

To be filled by the Appraisee and the Supervisor

5.1 S/N	5.2 Agreed Objective(s)	5.3 Progress made	5.4 Rated Mark		
			App-raisee	Super visor	Agreed Mark
Overall Performance Mark: *This should reflect the overall performance and achievement of agreed objectives in Section 5.*					

Rating:
1 = Outstanding performance   2 = Performance above average   3 = Average performance
4 = Poor performance   5 =   Very poor performance

SECTION 6: ATTRIBUTES OF GOOD PERFORMANCE
To be filled by the Appraisee and the Supervisor

6.1 S/N	6.2 MAIN FACTORS	6.3 QUALITY ATTRIBUTE	6.4 RATED MARK		
			Appraisee	Supervisor	Agreed Mark
1	WORKING RELATIONSHIPS	Ability to work in team			
		Ability to get on with other staff			
		Ability to gain respect from others			
2	COMMUNICATION AND LISTENING	Ability to express in writing			
		Ability to express orally			
		Ability to listen and comprehend			
		Ability to train and develop subordinates			
3	MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP	Ability to plan and organize			
		Ability to lead, motivate and resolve conflicts			
4	PERFOMANCE IN TERMS OF QUALITY	Ability to initiate and innovate			
		Ability to deliver accurate and high quality output timely			
		Ability for resilience and persistence			
5	PERFORMANCE IN TERMS OF QUANTITY	Ability to meet demand			
		Ability to handle extra work			
6	RESPONSIBILITY AND JUDGEMENT	Ability to accept and fulfil responsibility			
		Ability to make right decisions			
7	CUSTOMER FOCUS	Ability to respond well to the customer			
8	LOYALTY	Ability to demonstrate follower ship skills			
		Ability to provide ongoing support to supervisor(s)			
		Ability to comply with lawful instructions of supervisors			
9	INTEGRITY	Ability to devote working time exclusively to work related duties			
		Ability to provide quality services without need for any inducements			
		Ability to apply knowledge abilities to benefit Government and not for personal gains			
	Overall Performance Section 6				

Rating: 1 = Outstanding performance   2 = Performance above average   3 = Average performance

4 = Poor performance   5 = Very poor performance

SECTION 7: OVERALL PERFORMANCE (AVERAGE OF SECTIONS 5 & 6)

COMMENTS BY APPRAISEE (IF ANY)

....
....
....
....
....

Name of Appraisee   Signature   Date

COMMENTS BY OBSORVER (IF ANY)

....
....
....
....
....

Name of Observer   Signature   Date

COMMENTS BY SUPERVISOR (IF ANY)

....
....
....
....
....

Name of Supervisor   Signature   Date

SECTION 8: EMPLOYEE REWARDS, SANCTIONS AND DEVELOPMENTAL MEASURES

The supervisor will recommend/suggest the most appropriate reward, sanctions or developmental measures to be taken against the employee/appraise in accordance to the level of agreed performance targets. All these should be in line with the requirement of the Staff regulations 2011

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

a) Questions for the Heads of Departments

1. How do you define Performance appraisal system?
2. What do you think were the main intentions for introducing performance appraisal system?
3. What techniques were used in introducing performance appraisal in this council?
4. How many PAS training sessions have been administered to you as an appraiser?
5. Do you think the government has provided enough training and support to implement and institutionalize performance appraisal system in Local Authorities?
6. Would you say the employees in this council especially the one in your department, have enough knowledge regarding Performance Appraisal System?
7. How often do you evaluate the performance of the employees in your department?
8. Performance Appraisal System requires good communication between appraisers and the appraised in this case the head of department and the employees under them. How will you explain your relationship with other workers in this department?
9. Do you consider Performance Appraisal System as a threat or a means towards success in attaining organizational objectives and improving service delivery?
10. How do most public servant perceive performance appraisal system from your experience?
11. You as an implementer do you think you have enough knowledge about Performance Appraisal System in order to assist and evaluate those under you?
12. How committed are you as an implementer to ensure the performance of individuals in your department improves as well as the performance of the organization?
13. To what extent are public servants in your department committed in improving their performance as well as the performance of the organization at large?
14. As an implementer, how important do you think your commitment is in institutionalizing Performance Appraisal System in this council?

15. From your experience to what extent do the important decision-making such as promotion, transfers and demotions depend on Performance Appraisal evaluation feedback?

16. Performance appraisal is linked with the motivation and reward system, how do the employees in this department being motivated and rewarded for their performance?

17. From your perspective, what will you say is the role of politicians in successful institutionalization of Performance Appraisal System?

18. Has Performance Appraisal System improved the performance of civil servants in this council so far?

19. Do you think Performance Appraisal System is the best way to reinvigorate the performance of civil servants?

20. Public servant performance is measured by filling the OPRAS (Open Performance Review and Appraisal System) forms. How applicable are the forms in relation to the activities in your department?

21. What are the challenges facing the process of institutionalizing Performance Appraisal System in this council or department?

22. What problems do you face/encounter when evaluating the performance of the employees in your department?

23. Would you say that the implementation of performance appraisal system has been a success in this council?

b) Questions for the Junior Staff (middle and lower cadre)

1. What do you know about PAS?
2. How did you get to know about PAS?
3. Would you say you have enough knowledge about PAS?
4. Have you been trained or informed about PAS with your head of department?
5. Do you get assistance or allowed to consult your head of department about?
6. Are the heads of department committed in establishing PAS?
7. Have you ever filled in the OPRAS forms? How many times in one year?
8. How applicable are the forms with regards with the activities you perform?
9. How do you explain your working relationship with your head of department?
10. Have you ever been evaluated and receive you evaluation feedback?

Appendix 5: Clearance letters

5a)

ARUSHA MUNICIPAL COUNCIL
(All corresponds to be addressed to be the Municipal Director)

Simu: 2508073/2503494
Fax : 2505013
E-Mail: arushamunico@yahoo.com
Website: www.arushamunicipal.go.tz

MUNICIPAL HALL
P. BOX 3013

ARUSHA - TANZANIA

Ref. Na: MD/ P.20/ 010/ VOL. VII

15th June,2011

Administrator,
University of Bergan,
Norway.

RE: ANJELA HEZEKIA MLAY

I would like to inform you that permission is granted to the above mentioned student to cunduct her field work in this Municipal Council as you have requested.

The topic selected titled "Institutionalization of performance appraisal system in Local Authorities" is a suitable topic since it is a prerequisite ingredient in the management of employee, which is a partial requirement for your masters programme in Bergen University.

The practical period will commerce on 20th June 2011, and you will be assigned to the Human Resource office.

N. W. Laitetei
For: MUNICIPAL DIRECTOR
ARUSHA

for Municipal Director
Arusha Municipal Council

5 b)

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA ARUSHA

(Barua zote za kiofisi zitumwe kwa Mkurugenzi Mtendaji)

Mkoa wa Arusha,
Telegram: Arusha.
Simu: 2737.
Mobile Na...............
Fax: 250 3701.

Ukumbi wa Wilaya,
S.L.P.2330,
ARUSHA.

Ref. Na: MM/AR/N10/5/28   26th July, 2011

Anjela H. Mlay,

RE: REQUEST FOR PRACTICAL TRAINING WITH OUR ORGANIZATION

Reference is made to your letter without reference number dated 14th July, 2011.

I would like to inform you that your request to be attached with this Organization for your research has been accepted

The topic you selected titled "**Institutionalization of Performance Appraisal system in the Local Government Authorities of Tanzania**" is a suitable topic since it is a prerequisite ingredient in the management of employee - hence expect maximum cooperation.

Your are warmly welcome,
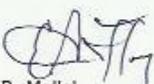
E. R. Mollel
**For: DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ARUSHA DISTRICT COUNCIL** DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECT...
ARUSHA

cc: District Executive Director   -   To see in the file

        Head of Departments   -   Assist her to complete her thesis