

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY: A HISTORICAL LITERATURE REVIEW OF TANZANIA AND COTE D'IVOIRE

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Abstract: This paper examines the purported relationship between administrative reforms and Service Delivery from historical perspectives, it interrogate whether there are any types of administrative reform being implemented by democratic governments that improve service delivery. To answer this question Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire Administrative Reforms experiences were re-examined from colonial to post colonial era using New Institutionalism Theory. After analysis of the reforms programs in each country the paper offers a comparative analysis of the two countries reforms programs. Solutions for future reforms programs are provided followed by concluding remarks.

1. INTRODUCTION

Immediately after the majority of the African countries acceded to independence in the 1960s, their political leaders dwelled much on “Africanization” of the administrative systems inherited from the colonial era through accelerated training programs both domestically and internationally (Adamolekun, *et al*, 1996). In the early years of independence most of African countries resorted to engaging the expatriate members of their former colonial civil service to fill the managerial lacuna left by the departed colonial elite. Except in the case of Guinea which gained independence under conditions resulting in the immediate departure of almost the entire corps of French colonial officials (*ibid*).

From 1960 to 1970 the African leadership was pre-occupied by “Africanization” through training and continued expansion of the civil service, this was important because bureaucracy was the only tool for promoting economic and social development. Regardless, of the political ideologies these newly independent countries chose for their development, the result was the burgeoning of their civil service. This is because the public service by then recruited all the graduates from the Universities, those who were not recruited into the central government were absorbed by the parastatals handling the industrial and commercial ventures of the public sector in the 1960s and 1970s (*op.cit*).

Centralization of the civil service institutions worked positively in controlling the territories of the new states in the early days of independence by contributing to the growth of agriculture, education, healthy, social service, in commercial sector, parastatals also had a significant contribution. However, the external shocks of the 1970s affirmed that these public sector institutions were very fragile and therefore could not stand the test of time. The havoc caused by these shocks called for the second phase of the administrative reform epoch (After africanization), the decentralized government, strengthening training activities, improving tax and customs administration, and coordination in the government. These very good initiatives registered very insignificant results. Thus why since the early 1980s administrative reform become

and has remained priority in African countries. In fact, Africa contains perhaps the most over-reformed states in the world, despite their most recent origins (Timbulasi, 2010).

Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire were not left behind, Cote d'Ivoire for example embarked in the reforms as the result of the workshop on Civil Service Reform in Francophone Africa held in January 24-27, 1996 in Abidjan, followed by the similar workshop for Anglophone Africa held in April 1995 in Cape Town of which Reforms programs in Tanzania is the brainchild. The literature on public-sector reforms in Africa is diverse and multidisciplinary. There is a need to embark on theoretical and analytical frameworks to achieve deeper analysis. This article will use the New Institutionalism Theory to analyses the reform programs in Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire. This theory is particularly important as "institutions have always been regarded as the basic building blocks of social and political life" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991:1).

2. NEW INSTITUTIONALISM: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Institutions are crucial for understanding the dynamics of the public sector reform processes in the first world (Lammers, Vaara, Cornelissen, Durand, & Fiss, 2014) but also in Africa (Tambulasi, 2005). Here, institution is not taken to mean organizations as some literature claims rather institution is taken to mean all formal and informal "rules of the game" or, as North (1990:3) posit the "humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction". Institutions in this sense must be distinguished from organizations. While institutions are the "rules of the game", organizations are the players (Ibid), (Hellmann, 2015; Powell & Bromley, 2015). From the broader New Institutionalism theory this paper will narrow down to sociological isomorphism to better understand the reforms programs.

3. SOCIOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONALISM: ISOMORPHISM

Sociological isomorphism can be used in the analysis and understanding the mechanisms and processes that compelled the African countries to adopt reforms from donor organizations or other countries. In this theory the "institution isomorphism antecedent" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) will be used to analyze the mechanisms that led to Public Sector Reforms in Africa. The process that best captured the homogenization, i.e identities of the reforms models in Africa and elsewhere is the "isomorphism" Hawley (1968). Isomorphism is a constraining forces one unit in a population to resemble other unit that faces the same set of environmental conditions. i.e, the organizations characteristics are modified in a direction of increasing compatibility with the environmental characteristics (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983:149). The institution isomorphic mechanisms include "coercive", "mimetic" and "normative" pressures (Ibid). Coercive isomorphism stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983:150).

This could explain the role of donors in many Public Sector Reforms programs in Africa. For example the use of financial conditionality is the clear indicator of isomorphic pressure (Tambulasi, 2010:21). Mimetic isomorphism result from standard responses to uncertainty (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983:151). As the results the organizations which are in crisis/ambivalent tries to model themselves on other organizations which are successful. Owing to the uncertainty in the environment countries tend to model their reforms on those countries that are seen to be more successful or legitimate in achieving their policy objectives. The uncertainties in the political, economical, technological and sociological environments led to the Public Sector Reforms in Africa, borrowing from the countries where reforms were successful. Lastly, normative isomorphism which originate from the professional pressures, this perspectives views reforms as the results of increased consensus among unified policy community on the appropriateness of particular ways of working (Lodge, 2002:48). Thus most of the reforms in African countries were directed by the experts from outside Africa, mostly from International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

4. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucratic structures, principles and values of African civil service systems are rooted in the western bureaucratic systems that were transferred into African countries in the early twentieth century (Kyarimpa, 2009:18). Correspondingly, the formal political institutions principles and processes that were introduced in African countries at the independence were a duplication of their former colonial masters' systems. In Tanzania for example, the British perceived the state as a decentralized authority, overseeing diverse ethnic communities characterized by extended families, as the result, political institutions created by British reinforced pre-colonial institutions of chieftaincy, thereby promoting an indirect relationship between the state and the extended families of ethnic communities. In contrast, French authorities in Cote D'Ivoire conceptualized the state as centralized bureaucracy, the political institutions established by the French displaced

pre-colonial institutions of chieftaincy, emphasizing a direct connection between the state and individuals in particular the head of nuclear family household (McLean, 2002:65).

Administrative reforms also sometimes known as public management reforms, have been taken to engenders cheaper, more efficient government, facilitates the production of high quality services and more effective programs, free managers to manage, and enhances ethics, accountability and transparent in government (Caiden,1991). In a nutshell, administrative reforms is the “induced systematic “improvement of public sector operational performance (*Ibid*). To Pollit & Bouckaert (2000) administrative reforms are “deliberate changes to the structures and processes of public sector organizations with objective of getting them to run better”. They perceived reforms as a strategy with multiple objectives. Haggard (1997) views administrative reforms as “a process of re-writing the contract between elected politicians and bureaucratic officials¹. In this haggard support the political control of the bureaucratic politics theory. He is against Woodrow Wilson’s and frank Goodnow’s call for a politics/administration dichotomy. Indeed, in the third world more so in African countries, reforms are engineered by the politicians albeit with huge push from the Brettonwoods institutions (karimpya, 2009). To most people, “bureaucracy” is a fight word. It have been subjected to repeated criticisms in the press and dammed regularly by political soap box orators and ordinary citizens as “inefficiency”, “red-tape”, “stupidity”, “secrecy”, “smugness”, “aggressiveness” and “self-interest” are only few of the emotionally charged words used to castigate the bureaucrats (Stillman, 2005). There may be considerable truth to the above dim view of bureucrats, but this understandably outlook should not prevent us from grasping the central importance and meaning of this phenomenon of bureaucracy. From public administration and social sciences literature “bureaucracy” means much more than various bothersome characteristics of modern organizations. The term in serious administrative literature denotes the general, formal structural elements of a type of human organizations, particularly a government organization (*Ibid*). In this view bureaucracy has both good and bad qualities; it is rather neutral than one with negative traits. This is what Carl Friedrich tagged as “the core of modern government”². The origin of the term is not very clear. While the literature on western bureaucratic development can be traced to the Roman Empire, it is believed that the term was first used in 18th century France as bureaucratic to signify the working of government and later in 19th century spread to Germany as *burokodie* and eventually entered the English vocabulary³. The Germany social scientist, Max Weber, (1864-1920) is generally acknowledged to have developed the most comprehensive, classic formulation of the characteristics of bureaucracy, Weber not only pioneered the whole idea about bureaucracy but also ranged across a whole spectrum of historical, political, economic, and social thought. As Rein Bendix wrote of Weber’s idea: “The development of bureaucracy does away with, plutocratic privileges, replacing unpaid, and a vocational administration by notables with paid, full-time administration by professionals, regardless of their social and economic position. Authority is exercised in accordance with rules, and everyone subject to authority is regally equal⁴.

5. THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY IN ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Bureaucracy and administrative reforms are inseparable, as both developed and developing countries alike, reliance on bureaucratically organized public service systems. The over reliance on bureaucratic administrative systems set up. Stems from the fact that modern day nations have administrative super –structures, hence posing the problems which tend to led to bureaucratization. In much of the developing world, burecratic ideals akin to that of their masters were planted during colonialism. Chiefly, during the post 19th century, and Tanzania and Cote d’Ivoire were no exceptions.

6. COLONIAL HERITAGE AND BUREAUCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA AND COTE D’IVOIRE

Most of the African societies were integrated in the capitalist system during colonial rule (Mihanjo, 1989:91). The establishments of colonial political powers were meant to benefit the colonial political masters, and therefore their systems of governance reflected their interests, as lord Hailey puts it “the contrast between the forms of colonial rule as turning on a distinction between “identity” and “differentiation” in organizing the relationship between Europeans and Africans. The doctrine of identity conceives the future social political institutions of Africans as destined to be basically

¹ Haggard, S (1997).”Reform of the state in Latin America “in Burki, S.J.and Perry Guillemo eds.Development in Latin America and Carribean.Washngthon, D.C.

² Carl Friedrich in Stillman (2005) Public Administration; Cases and Concepts

³ Heady F (2001) Public Administration: A comparative perspective, New York

⁴ As quoted in Reinhard Bendix (1960),Max Weber; An Intellectual Portrait ,New York: Doubley and company,p.429

similar to those of Europeans, the doctrine of differentiation aims at the evolution of separate institutions appropriate to Africans conditions and different both in spirit and form, from those of Europeans”⁵. The institutions of governance in Tanzania for example perpetuated the colonial interests and not that of the individuals nor their collective goods. The system was driven by the logic of colonial capitalism and exploitation (Mukandala, 2010:9). The establishment of colonial state Tanganyika entered into a new phase were by the incorporation into a new systems was completed (Mihanjo, 1989). This was done by isolating political organizations and unifying the various pre-capitalist societies, politically, socially, and economically.

During the German era, the arrival of the Germans in Tanganyika found the formal societies being governed depending on the society’s socio-economic political systems. The Germans found more than three types of governance systems which were diverse and scattered. Colonial state (Germanys) was thus established over those societies, by harmonization of pre-colonial structures in accordance to their interest (Mukandala, 2010:12).

The British era, after the World War I, Tanganyika was entrusted to the British, when introducing their administration the British retained very few changes of the structures left by Germans. And since they wanted things to move they did not want to introduce anything new in the systems rather than the districts systems.

In contrast, French authorities in Cote d’Ivoire conceptualized the state as a centralized bureaucracy that directs the administrative policies towards the individual citizen and nuclear family (McLean, 2002). Cote d’Ivoire Administration emerged from the colonial administration. During the colonial era the administration had a material and stable infrastructure for the technical aspects which serves as support for its pressure and operations (Hibault, 1996:79). The subsequent changes that occurred didn’t have much influence on the technical services. The civil service instead represented a strictly reserved domain for the colonial powers which was runned by the metropolis. As opposed from the British the French systems in Cote d’Ivoire was completely exogenous, drawn up in Paris or Dakar and implemented in Cote d’Ivoire. The administrative systems were externally controlled until 1957 when the locus of power shifted through the termination of the duties of colonial appointed territorial departmental heads and directors on 14th may 1957. Ushering the establishment of the governing council in the same day.

Eventually, the ministerial powers were outlined on 15th May 1957, leading to the creation of the autonomous governing council and the establishment of various ministries with clearly defines roles and functions. This not only created the administration but also initiated the administrative reforms which had since then continued to evolve (*Ibid*). This article therefore argued that the process of political and administrative reforms during post-colonial period, much like the former period of state building involves the re-negotiation of the relations between the state and its citizens. The colonial legacy has had great influence on the functioning of the post-independence administrative systems in Tanzania and Cote d’Ivoire, thus, the different paths of political reforms between these two countries influence the original normative frameworks.

7. THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF MACRO-ECONOMIC DESTABILIZATION IN TANZANIA

Economic stagnation in Tanzania is the result of implementing the Ujamaa socialism, Villagelisation, and the quest for self-reliance. To curb the situation new economic development program the Arusha Declaration National Development policy statement was promulgated in February 1967. With the aim of making the country a socialist and self-reliant, through the development of the country based on the local agricultural productions. The Ujamaa socialism registered some positive results, in terms of increased agricultural productions, healthy care and sanitation facilities, increase in school enrollments and adult education; such achievements received some accolades from the western countries and made Tanzania a model to reckon with in Africa (Kyarimpa, 2009:180). These positive achievements were very ephemeral as the faulty government policies and programs, vagaries of nature such as the 1973 and 1975 drought, the Uganda war, of 1979 largely affected the functioning of Ujamaa socialism in Tanzania. Due to the above problems coupled with the absence of a viable private sector. The government resorted to opening up of several administrative offices in districts and regions under the decentralization programs of 1972-1974. With a bid to bring the services closer to the people. The establishment of those new offices demanded the personnel needed to man the expanding educational and healthy sector and other government programs. Thus why Yeager⁶ asserted that Ujamaa expanded the size of civil service. Moreover the

⁵ Lord Hailey in Mamdani, M (1996). Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of the late colonialism, Princeton University press.

⁶ Yeager 1989 cited in Kyarimpa (2009) comparative administrative reforms in Tanzania and Uganda

collapse of the then East African Community (EAC) in 1977 compelled the governments to take in the workers displaced by the community; again this further increased the size of bureaucracy. The above factors led to the collapse of the economy, which in turn adversely affect the public servants, resulting in the drop in purchasing power, absenteeism, increased corruption emerged and eventually the performance of civil service deteriorated.

The above disappointments forced the government of Tanzania to embrace the free market ideology because the Ujamaa socialism has failed to deliver to their expectations. As the result in 1986 the government reached an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Which was popularly known as the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) to enforce the macro-economic stabilization focusing more on trade liberalization and appropriate price systems as the catalyst to increase production. Furthermore, Tanzania was compelled to adopt the Structural Adjustments Program (SAPs), limits expenditure, liberalize economy, privatization of parastatals agencies in 1990s and to restore fiscal stability. These policy initiatives by the IMF registered very small achievements in the exports revenues, percapita income and rate of donor dependency. Compelling the government to enter into another agreement with the IMF so as the push the meager achievements further, the program was called "Economic and Social Action Programme (ERP II) .In this program more emphasis was put on fiscal deficit and domestic credit control by minimizing the recurrent and development expenditure⁷. The ERP II program opened the door for the institutional and public sector reforms, including civil service, parastatal, banking systems reforms, and public financial management reforms and paying much attention to cost adjustments Tanzania⁸.

8. THE PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS IN TANZANIA

Public sector reforms in Tanzania falls under the following broader categories, macro-economic reforms, Public finance management reforms, sectoral reforms , Local Government Reform and Civil Service Reforms, each with different objectives, the macro-economic reforms entails everything that has so far been done to stabilize the economy, Public finance management reforms aims at introducing accountability, transparency ,and financial discipline in the management of country's budget ,sectoral reforms on the other hand aims at generating strategies to enhance private sector participation and Local Government Reforms program are being undertaken in the broader Civil Service Reforms program and is envisage to generate efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of the services at the local level through Decentralization by Devolution (Kessy & Willy,2010). The Civil Service Reforms program was envisaged to "achieve smaller, affordable, well compensated, efficient services⁹ .So as to revitalizes the bureaucracy which will eventually implement all the reform programs. This was in line with the 1990s consensus that the structure and size of the nation's public services should reflect markets, which have become the engine for the growth.

The Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP) was launched in July 1991 to reflect the market structure. The program runned until 1999, the main focus was on cost containment and restructuring of the government. Phase two of the reform was under the banner of Public Service Reform Program phase one (PSRP I) whose implementation was designed to bridge the gap left by the CSRP it was implemented from 2000 to 2007 with the banner of "Instituting Performance Management Systems". Phase two of the program focused on "Enhancing Performance Accountability", and the third phase of the program focus on "Instituting Quality Improvement Circles" and its implementation began in 2008 until 2012. This phase is logically connected with economic growth, welfare improvement and governance of public services and it has recently been reasserted through the government's National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP)¹⁰.

The above discussions reveals that the adoption of Ujamaa socialism failed to bring the sustainable socio-economic development stability in Tanzania. And the externally driven policies interventions (The SAPs and Market liberalization) had some positive results as tried to put Tanzania on a path to development. For example, the size of civil servants have been reduced, salary have been enhanced, however, the results also reveals some disappointments, as capacity building efforts as envisioned by the PSRP I have not met their targets, Training Needs Assessments have not been completed in all Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), Staff development plans have not been prepared by all MDAs, and Training policy is yet to be completed. In a nutshell, Tanzania has made great strides as far as the reforms are concern, by

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid p.182

⁹ URT (1999).Civil Service Reform Program Implementation Status Report (1993-1999), p.5

¹⁰ URT: Public Service Reform Program phase two (PSRP II) (200-2012).

enhancing the ethics and accountability in the public service, through the ethics awareness programs, and enactment of new code of ethics and conducts which is available free to all public servants.

9. THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF MACRO-ECONOMIC DESTABILIZATION IN COTE D'IVOIRE

From the period of independence in 1960 till the 1970s, the Ivorian economy saw a period of rapid growth to the extent the country was dubbed as "Ivorian miracle" or the "African wonder"¹¹. From 1965 to 1975 the country's GDP never dropped below 4 percent and the growth rate was around 8 percent a year. During this time the development strategy was characterized by two factors (Hibault, 1996:80). First a constant enlargement of the administrator's tasks and the over-investment in the educational sector which led to a rapid increase in the number of graduates who are to be employed by the government at the end. Second an increase and diversification of the state in the economy which was largely done through complex institutions mechanisms and especially by the establishments of a number of State Enterprises as a strategy to ensure the nation presence in form of capital. Bringing the services closer to the citizens and accelerating the employment of the Ivoirians nationals (*Ibid*). These two approaches resulted into a bigger size of the civil service and in 1989 for example a report of the civil service cost indicated that the state enterprises alone have more than 20,000 employees and the state had 70,000. In comparison, the traditional public service was bigger than the parastatal sector. Through the economic functions, investments volume, the turnover, level of borrowing and financial burden owed by the state resulted to the severe financial crisis in 1965s¹². Necessitated opening the door for the administrative reforms to rectify the situation. Relatedly, the Cote d'Ivoire government embarked on the 1976-1980 five year plans with the aims of addressing the following; Overstaffing, Lack of internal mechanisms to encourage efficiency, Lack of the state vision and the accountability, Duplications of activities caused by double administrative structures and Departure of public and parastatal functions. The above interventions achieved some significant results. And in 1980s the government introduced another five year plan to consolidate and push further the achieved made by the first plan, it was called "Administration for Development" and started from 1981-1985, with the intentions of addressing the following; Lack of inventory of state functions, Poor management methods and procedures, Poor relations between the government and the citizens and Lack of the coherence between the Medium term planning and budgeting choices.

However, despite the above good intentions the reforms initiatives were undermined by the following; Continuity of some civil servants from colonial governments at all levels off the governments; hence they become obstacles to changes and new things. There was also poor adaption to development needs attribute by the colonial legacy as the colonial administration was not designed to satisfy ever increased needs of the post colonial administration, lastly was the influence of the cultural factors, it is undisputed fact that culture can be an asset in certain aspects and a liability on another hand. Across the board, society's traditions forms have serious influence on behaviors and attitudes which can work against the progress. Moreover, lack of citizen's participations continues to be obstacles to development¹³. Prompting the government to embark on broader reforms.

10. THE COTE D'IVOIRE CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS

With the support from the World Bank (WB), the government of Cote d'Ivoire embarked on a Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs) in 1981 the program received three loans provided in 1981, 1983 and 1986 respectively. Under this program the government started the stabilization measures aimed at controlling, reducing public expenditure and stabilizing the parastatal sector. The SAPs registered significant achievements in stabilizing the state, parastatal and the citizens¹⁴. In the move to increase the performance of the government, another contract was signed with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in May 1984; this contract envisage the following; Stopping the government from recruiting more public servants, Maintains the salary freeze, suspend the promotions and Conducting the census of the civil servants and the broader, restructuring of the parastatal sector and privatizations.

Moreover in 1986-1990 the country received another boost from the UNDP. To implement the project which aimed at improving the management of the state employees through the mother ministry (The civil service), to ensure better control

¹¹ Heidus et al

¹² Ibid p.80

¹³ Ibid, p.83

¹⁴ Ibid p'87

of personnel and extend the exercise to the entire civil service. The program had very little success, because it was by and large centrally operated. Without going to the details of each program, the following observations can be made about reforms in Cote d'Ivoire, the number of personnel and proportional of the wage bill were contained, significant progress were registered in the area of Human Resource Management, for example the ministry of education had built a computerized human resource management systems as the strategy to control the number of personnel and there are financial support control programs in place.

11. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS PROGRAMS IN TANZANIA AND COTE D'IVOIRE: A COMPARISON

The above discussion reveals that the administrative reforms in Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire share some similarities in terms of the objectives and contents. As both countries aimed at reducing the size of the civil servants and contain costs in Tanzania for example the program was implemented under the Civil Service Reform program (CSR), and in Cote d'Ivoire the program of the same kind was done under the UNDP led project of 1984. Training and capacity building in the civil service was undertaken in both countries and the Watchdog Institutions were established in both countries to foster ethics and accountability in the public services. The role of International Donors both countries have benefited a lot from the technical and financial backstopping from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UNDP. However, the two countries differ in political Institutions. Tanzania is generally performing better than Cote d'Ivoire because reforms are supported by the top leadership and are taking place in a political context where political leadership enjoys legitimacy. Where as in Cote d'Ivoire political turmoil and military coup de tat is hampering the reform programs.

12. SOLUTION FOR THE FUTURE

For administrative reforms to have bigger impacts in terms of bureaucratic performance both in Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire the following three essential conditions should be in place;

First, there should be political will in place especially the head of state should staunchly support the reform programs. Second, strong institutional machinery for implementation should be in place this institution should be above the ministerial level, independent, staffed with small, but competent and highly motivated staff and, third the provision of adequate human and material resources is also paramount for the success of the reform programs.

13. CONCLUSION

By and large, the administrative reforms have resulted in the bureaucratic performance in Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire as we have seen from the discussions of each country above. Therefore reforms have been and still are necessary for service delivery in the public service. But of late numerous constraints shows the limitations of mode of thinking and the strategies so far adopted in implementing these reforms. It is therefore prudent to further consider governments' actions in all sectors and create an administration whose modus operandi is clearly defined. Moreover a strong political will and effective implementations strategies are essential conditions for successful reform programs.

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