Good Governance in Africa
A Case Study from Uganda

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Attempts in the developed world to reinvent government along the lines of the private sector—treating the public as customers by tailoring services directly to their needs and expectations—have emerged as one of the most powerful concepts of the decade. A necessary ingredient in this result-oriented approach is a focus on integrity. The public (customer/consumer) is perceived as the raison d'être for government, and the public view of the government processes are necessarily influenced by the degree to which these processes are—or are not—corrupt, and thus unfair and inefficient. But the integrity elements also feed into the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire process. Leadership and the simplification and demystification of government are integral to the attainment of this goal.

This paper is comprised of three sections, demonstrating the creative partnership that can and should be developed between a government, civil society, and (where appropriate) a development agency. The sections focus on: a) capacity building with result orientation and integrity; b) containing corruption and building integrity; and c) enhancing and sustaining a result orientation within the public service.
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As part of its Governance program, the Regulatory Reform and Private Enterprise Division of the Economic Development Institute (EDIRP) has facilitated a series of anti-corruption workshops, seminars, and surveys in Uganda, Tanzania, and Jordan. Participants in these workshops have included top public administrators, representatives of international and bilateral donors, journalists, and civil society, all collaborating in the fight against malfeasance. Workshop participants outlined innovative ways to increase transparency and accountability, and reported the progress of more traditional reform activities in civil service, budgeting, and financial management. An earlier paper draws on the experience of these activities and proposes a "national integrity system" as a comprehensive method of fighting corruption. Another paper, "National Integrity System Country Studies," presented two country examples of where the strengthening of such systems is being assisted by EDI.

This paper examines the broader issue of governance that includes capacity building, integrity, and the focus on public sector service delivery and results. The holistic approach is being applied to Uganda and the paper was written by two Ugandans and two expatriates.

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Executive Summary

Attempts in the developed world to “reinvent” government along the lines of the private sector—treating the public as customers by tailoring services directly to their needs and expectations—have emerged as one of the most powerful concepts of the decade. A necessary ingredient in this result-oriented approach is a focus on integrity. The public (customer/consumer) is perceived as the raison d’être for government, and the public view of the government processes are necessarily influenced by the degree to which these processes are—or are not—corrupt, and thus unfair and inefficient. But the integrity elements also feed into the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire process. Leadership and the simplification and demystification of government are integral to the attainment of this goal.

This paper is comprised of three sections, demonstrating the creative partnership that can and should be developed between a government, civil society, and (where appropriate) a development agency. It takes as its starting point the approach diagrammed in Figure 2, which points to an amalgam of capacity, results orientation, and integrity as the matrix for effective service delivery. Each section of the paper addresses one of the three points of the matrix.

Capacity-Building with Result-Orientation and Integrity in Mind: The Experience of Uganda
Mohammad Kisubi, Ministry of Public Service, Uganda

Uganda is the trail-blazer in Africa in government reform, attacking corruption, and focusing on service delivery and results orientation. The Government of Uganda developed its approach in an holistic fashion relying on decentralization and the transfer of decision-making as close as possible to those affected. This approach has been an integral part of the defusion centralized corruption and enhancing results orientation. The civil service is currently being transformed into a “public” service whose purpose derives from public needs and whose effectiveness is measured by the impact of this approach on the service delivery outputs and outcomes.
Containing Corruption and Building Integrity: The Contributions of Civil Society
Corruption diverts decision-making and the provision of services from those who need them to those who can afford them. It has a negative impact on results, and therefore its containment is a central theme in developing a result-oriented culture.

Corruption has been an intractable problem in many countries, especially where it has become systemic to the point where many, perhaps most, in government service have a stake in its continuance. Transparency International (TI), a non-governmental organization, has been working with a number of governments worldwide (including the Government of Uganda) to develop strategies to contain corruption, particularly with the involvement of civil society. TI's national chapter in Uganda has been an active participant on the country's national integrity committee—an institution (believed to be unique) that brings together all the stakeholders in the process of containing corruption, which includes enforcement, prevention, public awareness raising, and capacity building.

This section also discusses the role of combating corruption in improving service delivery to the public against the background of practical experience gained in Uganda and elsewhere.

Enhancing and Sustaining a Results Orientation: Experience from Uganda
Petter Langseth, Senior Public Sector Management Specialist, EDI, World Bank
The Economic Development Institute of the World Bank (EDI) has been active in the promotion and introduction of the concept of results orientation through the institution of Service Delivery Surveys (SDS). The introduction of this can often empower the general population by enabling it to judge the quality of services that it receives from particular key sectors of government activity. The underlying assumption is that the opinions of citizens matter and that they should be regarded as customers in the government's delivery of services. The ultimate goal of an SDS is to improve service delivery to the public by producing information to be used in setting a baseline of existing service delivery, designing a better reform program, and improving service delivery management.

The success of public sector reform programs has generally been limited where governments have not developed several tools essential to success:

- An accurate picture of pre-reform service delivery
- A mechanism to measure the impact of reforms in terms of improving service delivery
- The means to instill a customer orientation within the organization undergoing reform
- A dialogue between citizens and government on expectations and preferences of citizens regarding service delivery, and
- An accountability mechanism for efficient, effective and equitable public spending.
District Capacity-Building with Results Orientation and Integrity in Mind: The Experience of Uganda

Mohammad A. M. Kisubi
European Development Fund/Government of Uganda

Uganda is the trend-setter in Africa in the process of reforming government, attacking corruption, and focusing on service delivery and results orientation. This section discusses how the Government of Uganda developed its approach, which has been integral to the process of defusing centralized corruption and enhancing results orientation. The civil service is currently being transformed into a “public” service, through decentralization, whose purpose derives from the needs of the public being served and whose effectiveness is measured by the impact of this approach on the service delivery outputs and outcomes.

Decentralization with a Focus on Results Orientation and Citizen Empowerment

In 1992, Uganda embarked on a comprehensive Civil Service Reform program that reviewed and rationalized government ministries and departments, in structures and number of staff as well as functions. This process culminated in a reduction of staff from 320,000 in 1992 to well below 140,000 by December 1994. The government ministries were reduced from 35 to 21, and the management of government parastatals has been either divested, or privatized or comercialized. This has streamlined procedures and reduced bureaucratic red tape—resulting in greater efficiency and effectiveness. The government maintains those functions that it could afford based on result-oriented management and value for money. The rest were divested to the private sector, marking a change whereby most Ugandans looked to the public sector as the main employer. More and more private enterprises are springing up—creating more employment opportunities and increased competition for better quality.

Since 1993, Uganda has also embarked on another reform process of decentralization which invests districts with new mandates, resources, and responsibilities for the management, administration, and provision of such fundamental services as education, health, water, and roads. Through the passage of the Local Government Statute and the new Constitution, Uganda has dramatically changed the framework within which local governments operate.
Districts have now more power, resources, responsibilities, and decision-making autonomy than under the previous centralized system. Their performance will thus be increasingly important for growth, poverty alleviation, and long-term development prospects. Thirty-nine decentralized districts and their municipalities are busy trying to develop capabilities to perform the new duties effectively. As a result, a natural concern has emerged within Uganda about the capacity of local governments and the appropriate means of strengthening it.

**Positive Outcomes in the Decentralization Reform Process**

**Local Governance and Political Reforms.** The political environment within which local governments operate has changed significantly. A reduction in the central government presence and an introduction of the local council system right from the village level has introduced more transparent and fair electoral practices. These, in turn, have enhanced the legitimacy of the leadership role of District Local Council Chairpersons in the public's eye and have made the position of District Local Council Chairman more attractive and competitive. An important result has been renovation in district leadership. Formerly, District Managers were "outsiders" posted by the central government. Now, with decentralization, district political life has become clearly more local in nature, increasing demands that the new leaders be responsive to their communities.

Experience at the local district scene indicates that competition for political office has opened the doors to responsible, more transparent, more accountable and more innovative local leadership in many cases. This in turn has become the driving force behind capacity-building efforts. More widespread community participation and growing civic involvement have expanded the range of possibilities open to districts and have provided a basis for sustaining local government capacity over time.

**Mobilization and Utilization of Resources.** Since the beginning of decentralization, districts have experienced a sharp increase in available resources. They now have the impetus to raise more and more local resources—as they retain most of the resources at the different collection points. Some of the districts have made significant efforts to mobilize local resources as evidenced by the expansion of service coverage and quality. This is very promising since the districts are now in a better position to undertake and sustain local development initiatives. There is also a five-year capacity-building plan to ensure that the districts are assisted with acquiring the necessary qualified and experienced personnel, logistics and equipment, and systems to ensure successful implementation of the decentralization process.

**Active Community Participation and Direct Involvement.** Community participation is forcing local government accountability. At the same time, it is broadening the resources that the district administration can draw upon to improve its capacity. Decentralization has been welcomed by most Ugandans, who nostalgically longed for the good old days of the 1960s, when everyone participated in jobs like maintaining feeder roads, digging wells and protecting springs, and so forth—not for pay but for "Bulungi Bwansi" (that is, for the good of my country). On days when a representative of the village chief sounded a drum, everyone assembled to undertake the specified activity in a communal manner.

The centralization of power led to an abandonment of self-help in exchange for dependency on central government services, including employment of people for road construction.
Over time, dependency on higher authorities has risen—hence the feeling of helplessness. The “Bulungi Bwansi” tradition is being revived by decentralization. This is one of the immediate success stories of decentralization. The public realize that they can take the initiative rather than wait for central government to provide services and infrastructure. Increased awareness that the central government cannot provide everything has prompted discussions to identify appropriate central government activities and community or individual ones. This has created a sense of responsibility and an opportunity to rejuvenate the “Bulungi Bwansi” tradition of communal work.

Given the impetus and encouragement from central government, decentralization can be one way of fighting and eradicating poverty of the rural poor, who make up over 90 percent of Uganda’s population. This is what decentralization is doing well for the people: taking services and opportunities nearer to the people, empowering them, and making them responsible for their own services and well-being. The practice of communities being involved in deciding the priorities and contributing labor and materials for public programs and projects is increasing not only the available resources but also cost-effectiveness and user-satisfaction.

Voice of the Citizens. Due to the decentralization process, citizens now have a voice. The consistent expression of community demands and preferences—“voice”—is an important factor explaining the development of local government capacity. The voice of citizens has made local authorities more accountable and responsible to the citizens, increasing the political costs of inefficient and inadequate public decisions. It is making local governments more interested in changing their administrations and personnel to make them more effective. In several cases, protests and civic mobilizations are forcing local government to make decisions and take action in favor of the citizens. Community voice is proving to be a way of enhancing local government capacity.

Ensuring Sustainable Capacity Development. A majority of the local governments are focusing on areas such as staff skills and professionalization, equipment, materials, and buildings, organization, and planning and execution functions by drawing upon the existing public sector or community that were not fully utilized under the old system. Efforts have begun to upgrade the skills of local government staff through new hiring and training, increased availability of equipment (for example contracting out to the private sector), and improved local administration procedures (for example, involving users in decision-making). This shows that decentralization can succeed if properly steered, and the capacity of local governments can be enhanced through skillful innovations even under difficult circumstances—given the right political incentives and if the community and its leadership are determined.

All districts have vigorously embarked on the attraction and recruitment of well-qualified and experienced personnel. This is a contrast to the former practice of receiving staff from the center—whether they were effective or not and whether they had the district at heart or not. However, capacity enhancement requires local governments to undertake reforms in the way they conduct their operations, to make investments in human resources and equipment, and to adopt new work practices.

The local leadership is also showing control over the district working staff, especially with regard to performance and behavior. An unofficial practice in the past transferred badly behaved or inefficient staff from one district to another without proper disciplinary action or mechanisms. Districts now have powers to address cor-
ruptive tendencies and abuse of office. This was impossible under centralized government. Decentralization has increased responsibility and discipline among staff.

**Reforming Management Systems, Planning, and Execution Processes.** Good people working for a badly organized district administration, or without the necessary management tools, will not go far in terms of effectiveness. New responsibilities make it imperative for the districts to undertake some types of administrative reforms: restructuring the district administration, creating new or merging departments, and establishing the corresponding division of responsibilities and channels of communication.

Regarding the execution of programs, experience indicates some weaknesses. It is at the level of implementing programs that many districts face capacity limitations. Capacity in this area seems to be closely associated with various other dimensions, such as strong leadership, community involvement in programs, clear priorities, and an effective district organization.

**Cost Sharing.** Another area that has improved under decentralization but that had failed as a central government policy is cost sharing in hospitals and health centers. Because of the special powers given to them by the Decentralization Statute, the districts have been able to convince people to engage in cost sharing so as to improve the quality of health sector services. The people are willingly contributing because they demand for and see a direct correlation between their payments and the medications, feeding of patients, bedding, and so forth, present in the health units. In fact, in some cases they have gone beyond cost sharing to provide housing and food to the staff in the health units. This, too, is a motivating factor to the health staff who have become integrated into the local community.

Improvements have been further amplified by the formation of health unit management committees (HUMC) to manage and deal with all issues pertaining to the health units. The committees are composed of local community members and health unit representatives. These committees have been instrumental in expanding coverage and improving health services delivery. An important example of this great partnership is exhibited by the mutual agreement of health staff and the local populace as to the appropriate time of the week for immunization. This has ensured that immunization of all children is undertaken at convenience and with the agreement of the mothers. It is this kind of approach that allows people to manage their own affairs.

**District Associations.** Cooperative forms of association between districts can play an important role in the capacity-building of local administrations. Decentralization has brought about inter-district cooperation, unknown previously where there was more center to district relationship and neighboring districts did not interact with one another and could not help each other without first going to the center. Now districts can choose to collaborate in offering services, hire out joint services, and so forth, to accrue from economies of scale. For instance, districts collaborate in hiring road construction services rather than individually handling simple road maintenance. Districts also report and inform each other of companies that do sub-standard work so that such companies will not be hired again.

Another important thing relates to staffing. If an individual embezzles or steals in one district, employment in another district will be next to impossible because of the now strong inter-district links and collaboration. District officials also visit one another in order to learn from each other and share experiences. This is of particular assistance to the less successful districts, can then
emulate their more successful counterparts, leading to an all win-win situation.

**Involving the Private Sector.** An important aspect of capacity development involves local government collaboration with and learning from new partners who can significantly expand their performance and service-provision capacity. Practically all districts have private contractors execute part of their construction projects. Beyond that, the evidence on collaboration between the public and private sectors at the local level is still scarce. Privatization of services does not appear prominently on the agenda of most local governments. There is ample room to advance local capacity by involving the private sector. An example could be to contract respected private health persons to give support supervision to those in government facilities, or to give specialized services like dental, and so on.

**The Challenge Ahead**

Since 1993, it has been evident that Uganda has embarked on a process of decentralization which, with other structural reforms, is fundamentally reshaping the way public policies are conducted. However, the transition to this new system is not easy. Against all odds, the picture emerging from the districts on the decentralization process is encouraging. There is evidence of increased service coverage; citizen satisfaction; attention to rural areas and to women, children, and the poor; cost consciousness; and resource mobilization efforts.

But the decentralization process is marked by ups and downs. This should be seen as an opportunity to strengthen further. Districts need guidance, assistance, and (most important) encouragement if development and growth in the districts is to continue. And just as children master walking at different ages, so will districts in their development strategies. Some make very steady progress while others seem to make none at all. Although decentralization does not come with answers, Uganda's experience shows that nevertheless it tries to answer and respond to what people really need. It is up to the Government to make periodic assessments on a district-by-district basis and the follow up on the implementation process to ensure that all districts are helped to realize the aims and objectives of decentralization.

**Districts need constructive guidance and assistance.** The challenge is to create an environment conducive to the emergence and consolidation of a system in which multiple agents (public and private) are positioned to offer support to local governments. The role of the center ministries and departments should be more sharply focused on developing ways to leverage incentives already being felt in civil society. National authorities at the center would thus become partners and enablers of efforts conducted at the local level rather than direct implementors or builders of district institutional strength.

**Decentralization requires the joint efforts of different actors at the local scene.** In this approach, the many civil society actors—public and private, national, regional, and local—become the agents of change.

**Corruption and Integrity in the Reforms and Decentralization**

Since the beginning of decentralization, districts have obtained a sharp increase in available resources. Districts now have the impetus to raise more and more local resources, as they retain most of the resources at the different collection points. They also have access to additional resources from the national level, either as block grants or equalization grants, and for the first time, they have access to credit. Under the new system, districts assume key responsibilities are the provision of services and the execution of public expenditure programs—among them programs for infrastructure, mobilization of re-
sources, provision of basic water and sanitation, feeder roads, extension services and promotion of rural development, and maintenance of law and order at the local level.

The question here is whether the new district administrators, managers, and political leaders will not squander the resources and be corrupted by the system. This is why all Ugandans need to educate themselves in the detection and exposure of corrupt tendencies and practices among the society in which they live. Indeed, the act of taking services nearer to people will improve transparency and accountability. Hence decentralization could be a way of combating corruption. This requires that the general public be involved and participate in decision-making and in demanding accountability and transparency. This is how a national integrity system against corruption must be rooted to thrive.

**Political Reforms.** The political environment within which local governments operate is also an important part of having a good national integrity system. If leaders are corrupt and untrustworthy, then it is likely that the public and the entire system will be corrupted. It is not surprising that during our years of turmoil and uncertainty in Uganda, people simply resorted to taking what was possible as fast as possible—for they knew not what would happen tomorrow. This has now changed. The district local leaders and councilors at various levels have been popularly elected. The selection of such persons is more transparent and fair. The public’s participation has been enhanced to the extent that they can now question the performance of their leaders and even recall them. Local government accountability has been enhanced. However, the new arrangements are not fully operative. Different levels of local district administrations need time to understand and adapt to the new *modus operandi.*

**Service Delivery Surveys and Citizen Satisfaction.** Building a national integrity system will not have succeeded if the citizens are not satisfied with the services provided by their respective local administrations, their rights not upheld, and law and order not maintained. Thus a key element in the assessment of a national integrity system’s effectiveness should relate to the views expressed by the citizens. Service delivery surveys and mechanisms for monitoring citizen satisfaction should be instituted. This will help to make service responsive to demand and to ensure quality and satisfaction. Citizens tend to favor and trust the local authorities more than the national ones in the provision of services. Also, community participation and contributions in labor, materials, and even money are all greater at the local level.

**The Role of the Press.** The press can contribute by educating the public and civil society that the mere amassment of property is not a measure of success. This could be done by exposing many of the people who have acquired properties through illegal and corrupt means. When such people are put on trial and punished, the public should see and treat them differently. The press can help to educate and inform the public about their rights and duties. No national integrity system can function without the various parts in the system knowing the responsibilities and tasks of the others and the reasons behind these appointments. It is only through such information that citizens will be expected to play their rightful roles and be able to demand that their interests be met.

Corrupt tendencies should be exposed and punished so as to bring sanity back in society. Whistle-blowers in civil society on corrupt practices and people must be guaranteed protection and confidentiality. Complaints offices should also be opened up where aggrieved people can
THE NEW VISION

Enforce Leadership Code

(Dar es Salaam, November 27, 1995)—NEW Tanzanian President, Benjamin Mkapa, has declared his assets. Congratulations to Mkapa. By announcing his full list of assets on national radio, the newly elected leader, who campaigned on an anti-corruption ticket, has got his presidency off to a good start.

It should buy him good will from the electorate because it is a signal that he is serious about his campaign promises. It is also a signal to politicians and bureaucrats responsible for endemic corruption that the boss is ready to crack the whip.

Democracy is accountability and transparency. Mkapa has aptly illustrated this, which should encourage political leaders in Tanzania, and particularly in Uganda.

His party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi, under outgoing President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has been scandal-ridden. Early this year, the nation's founding father Julius Nyerere accused Mwinyi of being "corrupt and inept" when Mwinyi fired anti-graft minister Augustine Mrema, in a corruption wrangle.

Corruption had sullied CCM, leading Mrema to quit and form a party that contested the election and accusing CCM of graft. Now Mkapa has shown otherwise.

Uganda needs to borrow a leaf from Tanzania. The Leadership Code of Conduct, which requires specified officers to declare their incomes, assets and liabilities from time to time, was passed by the National Resistance Council in 1991 but has not been enforced to date.

Nevertheless the importance of accountability and transparency has been recognised in denoting an entire chapter of the new constitution to the Leadership Code.

Ugandans have a right to know where their leaders' assets are, if only because it is the people who, through taxes, contribute to the leader's welfare. The leaders should own only what is legitimately due them and should account for whatever they may acquire.

Declaring assets is one form of inspiring confidence in the people. It seals the social contract—that the people are ruled by a government committed to the principles of democracy, so the people will respond by being loyal to the government.

If we are not conscious, Uganda will miss out on this. Why has the Leadership Code not been enacted? Is there a fear by those concerned?

Tanzania has stolen a march on us. Uganda has been at the forefront of enlightened leadership in the region and should not lose the initiative to Tanzania or anyone else for that matter. The prevarication must stop and the Leadership Code should be enforced.

lodge complaints for follow-up. Newspapers could also have column for the public to make complaints and seek reactions.

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS, AND SCHOOLS. Religious institutions and leaders have a large audience and broad forum for leaders to preach and counsel their followers about evils in society and bad behavior, immorality, corruption, and so on. They should promote good morals, integrity, accountability and transparency in their preaching. This is one sure way of rebuilding and sustaining an integrity system.

Schools administrators and teachers have a role to play by educating the younger generation about good morals, behavior expected of good citizens, roles and duties of citizens, and the dangers of corruption and a corrupt society.

The Challenge for the Civil Society

While signs of a good national integrity system are beginning to appear, the process may be impeded by doubt, uncertainty, and even
strained relations among the different players in the civil society. Over time, a legacy of antagonism, a “don’t care” attitude, lack of sense of responsibility, unaccountability, and lack of transparency which could creep in to derail the process. Today, mixed messages of freedom still float in an atmosphere of doubt and new obligations. The evidence suggests, however, that many Ugandans are frustrated with the way in which they have been living and for once they are being viewed with a lot of admiration and respect by the outsiders. It is high time that Ugandans resolved not to go back to the 1970s and early 1980s and strive to develop a good national integrity system. The media can have an impact by highlighting the achievements and successes in this area while pointing out the failures and areas that need attention.

Transparency Uganda: A Citizens’ Anti-Corruption Organization

Issues of transparency and accountability have become increasingly important in the post-Cold War world. In recipient countries like Uganda, the movement toward decentralization, public sector reforms, privatization, and commercialization of many government functions has increased the range of opportunities available to citizens and brought demands for greater responsiveness on the part of government and parastatal agencies. In an era of dwindling aid budgets and skeptical publics, donors are now seeking better value for their money. They are less willing to excuse widespread graft and corruption. Donors increasingly recognize that lack of transparency, corrupt project management, and poor accountability are major obstacles to effective implementation of donor-funded projects. A larger number of multi-lateral and bilateral donors are dealing explicitly with these issues both in their policy and in the actual design of their projects.

Fighting corruption cannot be left to one institution alone. The public and the private sectors, religious organizations, and all groups of good will ought to be involved. In light of the need to combat corruption wherever it may be, Transparency Uganda (Tr-U) was formed in 1995. Tr-U is affiliated with Transparency International (TI), which is an international non-governmental organization based in Germany. TI’s international mandate is to counter corruption in international business. It does so through the many TI national chapters that are steadily increasing in number—Tr-U being one of the latest.

Tr-U regards corruption as the number one enemy to economic development and social justice. The existence and proliferation of corruption impairs and impedes smooth delivery of public services and derails government projects and programs. Corruption dehumanizes public officials and diverts national resources from public to private or personal ends. It distorts the economy.

To succeed, the fight against corruption must, however, be based on a firm political commitment that provides a conducive atmosphere for the enforcement of the laws without fear, favor, or discrimination. In addition, Tr-U believes that, for the fight against corruption to be successful, it must involve all sections of the civil society. Individual and collective efforts are needed in an endeavor to create national values that will promote transparency, accountability, and good governance.

But whereas the other institutions belong more or less to government, Tr-U is an independent organization and more representative of the civil society. It may be relied upon to play the role of whistle-blowing, public awareness and a venue through which the public can direct complaints to government institutions. It is in this light that Tr-U has embarked on the establishment of a Secretariat with an office and a few
staff. Over the long run, Tr-U will work toward the establishment of a secretariat with a full-fledged office with its own logistics and a new staff.

In this respect, Tr-U intends to educate the public through media, pamphlets, to conduct seminars, and meetings, and to promote drama activities and carry out shows through television. This will equip the general public with the necessary information about the trend of corruption in Uganda and amplify on the role the public can and has to play in the fight against corruption.
Containing Corruption and Building Integrity: The Contributions of Civil Society

Damian Kato, Secretary to the Inspectorate of Government and Jeremy Pope, Transparency International

Introduction
It is a fact that corruption is present in the public (or civil) services of many countries and therefore discussions of an efficient civil service must consider measures to combat corruption. Corruption has become so systemic in some countries that many representatives, perhaps most, in government service have a stake in its continuance. The result is a distortion of decision-making and the provision of services given to those who can afford them rather than those who need them. Thus corruption impacts negatively on results, and therefore its containment is a central theme in developing a result-oriented culture. Decentralization is embraced as one efficient way of bringing services nearer to the people. Still, the challenge of fighting corruption in a decentralized administration cannot be minimized.

This section discusses the role of combating corruption in improving service delivery to the public against the background of practical experience gained in Uganda, Tanzania, and elsewhere.

What Is Corruption?
Everybody understands the phenomenon of corruption, but the term itself is difficult to define. Nevertheless, corruption in a general sense can be defined as any practice, act, or omission by a public official, private individual, or company that violates or deviates from the laid down or generally acceptable norms, rules, procedures, and principles governing the expected performance of official duties, with the intention or expectation of personal or group gain or advantage. Simply, it is the misuse of public power for personal or group gain or advantage.

The means by which corruption occurs include the following:

- Financial: such as bribery to secure a contract, concession, or license; bribery to obtain a legislative or regulatory framework in favor of the briber; introduction of a "white-elephant" project, that is a
project that is unproductive and unnecessary.

- **Political:** such as the misuse of power to allocate economically valuable rights or resources, such as shares in a privatized concern; the selective enforcement of law in a manner calculated to confer benefits or cause damage to rivals.
- **Patronage and nepotism:** favoring family, clan, tribe, and so on.

### Causes of Corruption and the Fight against It?

Many factors contribute to the spread of corruption, but the most important ones are summarized as (i) greed or habits constantly requiring money—the human nature factor; (ii) poor or weak accountability and control systems; (iii) external pressures, for instance a contractor offering a share for approval of a contract; (iv) poor rewards and remuneration in the work place; (v) lack of transparency; (vi) weak enforcement or absence of a code of conduct; (vii) and income differences that make corruption a means to become socially acceptable.

Corruption at the highest levels, described as “grand corruption,” distorts competition, thereby denying public access to the advantages of a competitive marketplace. Moreover, it induces incorrect decisions that result in the implementation of inappropriate projects, prices, and contractors; recouping overpricing by substandard delivery; promotion of lower-level corruption; and erosion of public confidence in leaders. At lower levels, petty corruption, or so-called “grease payments,” are damaging because they increase transaction costs, exclude those who cannot pay, foster public contempt for public servants, and erode capacity for revenue collection.

The distinction between the two categories—the first based on greed and the second on need—is an important one, as it provides a basis for the mounting of an attack on corruption at the highest leadership level (as the area within which corruption arguably inflicts the greatest distortions of the development process) before the strategy is applied to those at lower levels. It also provides an opportunity to underline the leadership and role-model factors needed to provide a foundation for the exercise.

However, important though it is, combating corruption is not an end in itself. Rather, it is instrumental to the broader goal of more effective, fair, and efficient government. Anti-corruption activists are not just concerned with corruption per se, but with its impact on development and society. How does corruption impact negatively on poverty alleviation through the distortion of developmental decision-making? How inefficient is bribery? Who ultimately ends up paying the cost of corruption?

Although corruption itself is costly, it would not be worthwhile to attempt to eliminate it entirely. It will simply be too expensive under many realistic conditions to reduce corruption to zero, let alone the negative impact on other freedoms and fundamental human rights that would be constrained and intruded upon unreasonably and unacceptably in such a process. Program elimination may be unjustified; bureaucratic discretion may be necessary for effective administration; stronger enforcement and deterrence may be expensive. Thus, the aim is not to achieve complete rectitude, but rather a fundamental increase in the honesty—and so the efficiency and fairness—of government.

Background conditions in societies vary greatly. In every society, however, the basic policy responses to corruption are likely to be of three types: substantive, structural, and/or moral. All three types, in their totality and individually, unite the interests and involvement of government, the private sector, and civil society.
Factors Responsible for the Success of Civil Society Measures against Corruption

The most important factor that contributes to the success of efforts by civil society against corruption is the commitment of the political leadership to fight corruption. Democratization of politics has contributed greatly to this success because it has allowed citizens to voice their opinions without fear. Coupled with this is the existence of a free press. In Uganda, the press has now taken on an investigative role in matters of corruption, abuse of office, and abuse of human rights, exposing a number of corrupt practices.

Country strategies vary a great deal, but worldwide the policy responses to corruption typically involve one or more of the eight “pillars” as seen in Figure 1 below. These pillars are interdependent and do not stand alone. If one weakens, excess weight shifts towards the others. If several weaken, their load will shift resulting in the round ball of “sustainable development” rolling off. Establishing a national integrity system involves the identification of gaps and opportunities for embracing each of these pillars into a coherent framework of institutional strengthening.

The Role of Civil Society

Coping with corruption would simply be a matter of enforcement were it not for the fact that all too often the casualties of corruption include elements within the country’s integrity system itself. There is no one “to watch the watchers,” so the watchers look after themselves. There may be corrupt judges (who grant bail to those who would abscond; or even to rig the outcome of a case), corrupt court officials (who lose files or fix judges for certain cases); corrupt prosecutors (who refuse to prosecute or who throw cases); corrupt police and investigators; corrupt lawyers (who bribe each other behind their clients’ backs); corrupt auditors; and overarching all, corrupt political leaderships who see the judicial system as a weapon, not to control their own use of power but with which to perpetuate it.

Passing laws alone is clearly no answer. In practice, public attitudes have the capacity to overshadow legal definitions, so that public opinion can define corruption in ways that will override law: If public opinion and the legal definitions lack conformity, it is likely that officials will act in accordance with the public view, and in so doing transgress the law. More than this, public co-operation in the reporting of suspected offenses and in their investigation is likely to be lacking. Voters sensitive to corruption are more likely to vote suspected corrupt politicians out of office; those inured to it may return them.

This indicates a need for the public to be informed as to what constitutes corruption, particularly in countries where a long history of corrupt practices has existed and where the public is resigned at the very least to certain low-level corrupt practices as simply being a way of getting things done.

Yet there are in any government, whatever its reputation, men and women of integrity. In the most corrupt countries, these may be a very small minority, but they exist and may be biding their time before reform can be achieved. They will be empowered not by elements within the system (who may wittingly or unwittingly have effectively marginalized them) but by the public. And the public, too, has similar people of integrity who are anxious to see the corruption tackled and who realize that little will occur to curb corruption unless public attitudes (often of a resigned acceptance) are reverse. Yet almost invariably civil society’s response to the problem is fragmented, at best. The lawyers may be policed (with a greater or lesser effectiveness) by their law societies and bar associations; the accountants by their professional bodies; and so on. Few in civil
Figure 1: The Pillars of Integrity

- **Quality of Life**
- **Sustainable Development**
- **Rule of Law**

**National Integrity System**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Will</th>
<th>Administrative Reforms</th>
<th>&quot;Watchdog&quot; Agencies</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Public Awareness</th>
<th>The Judiciary</th>
<th>The Media</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>People</th>
</tr>
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* Anti-corruption agencies; Ombudsman; Auditor General

society are in the position to take an overall view—to contemplate what the integral parts of their society's integrity system can and should look like, and to press for relevant reform against an holistic blueprint.

There is a constructive role for the civil sector to play in developing and strengthening ethics and practices in the public sector, particularly in the context of business transactions between the public and the private sectors. The place for a free press (both to inform of measures taken to contain corruption and to expose it, and generally to educate the public of its evils) and for open political debate and accountability are also important. But the real objective must be for civil society to claim and defend its own values rather than leave this integral function to those in power.

Many in civil society have a fundamental interest in achieving an effective integrity system for their own countries. These include the private sector, religious leaders, the professions, and above all, the ordinary citizens who have to bear the brunt of corruption on a daily basis. There is a constituency waiting to be galvanized into an effective coalition. Yet in most countries there is
THE SUNDAY VISION

Top Government Officials at the Centre of Fraud

[Kampala, December 3, 1995]—DESPITE government efforts to check corruption, large sums of public money and property continue to be stolen. In most cases senior officers are the culprits, reports Ofwono Opondo.

TWO months ago the office of the Inspector General of Government Mr Augustine Ruzindana conducted a surprise spot-check on motor garages in and around Kampala and found over 500 government vehicles vandalised and rotting with the connivance of public servants.

According to Mr Peter Nyombi, the Legal Counsel to the Inspectorate, some of the vehicles vandalised were less than two years on the roads, but sent to garages purportedly for repairs from where they are vandalised of crucial spareparts. “Vehicles are stolen in a clever way...they are diverted to a garage from where windscreens, tyres, lights and so on are removed by officers for sale,” Nyombi explained during a discussion with journalists on corruption in Uganda.

The Director of Audit, office of the Auditor General Mr G. Singh gave startling information about corruption and abuse of public office in government departments. According to Mr Singh the biggest racket of corruption and theft of public funds is in garage bills. “We've fought but this bill is still very high particularly repairs and fuel deposits. You can't tell whether a government officer collected 30 or 80 litres of fuel at a particular time.”

Singh enumerated six major areas through which public money was being stolen. These included “air supply, contracts, ghost suppliers, employees and companies, the printing of fake cheques, manipulation of general receipts, and barter trade protocols.” In “air supply” payments are effected for neither goods nor services rendered to a public institution with the connivance of heads and accounting officers of these bodies.

While in contracts money was siphoned through engagement of corrupt or dubious companies which offer the lowest bids during public tenders, and then revise their bills of quantities as soon as the awards have been offered. The public servant then receives a 10 or 20 percent commission.

Often public officers deliberately commit a breach of contract with a contracted company so as to bring a litigation in a court of law, so that the money awarded is shared between the concerned officer and the company which sued.

On “ghost” personnel files, correspondences and bank accounts are opened and operated in the names of people who do not exist. The files are most of the time with fake photographs attached to them. Last month the IGG Mr Augustine Ruzindana clamped on suspected thieves in the ministry of Education and Sports headquarters in an over 1bn/= fraud in the pensions and gratuity department.

He recovered 4,000 of the targeted 10,000 files, most of them fictitious. This fraud was allegedly committed by the Principal Accountant pensions department Mr David Mukasa Walakira who was charged in court last Wednesday. Through a chain of District Education Officers in Hoima, Luwero, Jinja, Tororo, Kibale, Masindi and Mukono, the money disappeared between September, 1994 and September this year, and most of the documents were later destroyed....

simply a feeling not of empowerment but of impotence, not of determination but of apathy—a feeling of not knowing where to begin.

It is true that a number of countries take advantage of some of what civil society has to offer by providing independent, “outside-the-system” elements on ad hoc oversight boards. A classic example occurred in New Zealand, where, after a massive nationwide protest campaign to save Lake Manapouri from inappropriate power development, the New Zealand Parliament established by law a “Guardian of the Lake” Committee, to provide independent monitoring of developments and carry out undertakings, and
with rights to consultation. Citizens have also participated in commissions and committees of inquiry, such as the Nolan Committee on “sleaze” in British public life. It is also the case that in selected areas, civil society has endeavored (again in an ad hoc manner) to stave off government interference in sensitive areas. Most notably this has occurred in the area of the press with the establishment of Press Councils and codes of conduct, not so much to raise standards, but to act as a buffer to government interference and prescription (for example by legislating for rights of privacy, and so on).

Other examples include the Hong Kong Independent Commission Against Corruption, which has an entire department devoted to community relations and advisory committees that incorporate significant involvement by the private sector and other civil society elements. Neighborhood Watch schemes are now established features in many countries, with citizens harnessed to provide policing support, while Australian examples include involving of workers in industry safety inspections and (in New South) tapping consumer movements to identify hazardous products on sale in the state. Some countries allow private prosecutions by citizens, although in Kenya a citizens’ group (the country’s law society) has been blocked in its efforts to prosecute in the wake of recent revelations of a fictitious gold and diamond export operation. Similar attempts in Australia have met with no success. The United States goes further in empowering citizens to bring suits against public officials who take bribes.

The lessons of experience to date tend to suggest that the role of the citizen lies more in the field of prevention and information supply than in the actual enforcement of anti-corruption laws. However, the potential has been demonstrated. At present, however, citizen input as a resource is being used more as an answer to a momentary problem than as a part of a philosophy of co-option and co-operation between government and civil society.

But civil society part of the solution; elements within it are very much a part of the problem. The business community all too often becomes inured to paying bribes to public officials in order to gain business. Some would describe it as extortion—that if they do not pay they cannot get business. Others simply see it as a fact of life. There is a sharp reluctance in many influential quarters to any apparent change in the ground rules that might result in their own loss business. The challenge is to achieve a scenario in which the rules change for all and at the same time, so that there are no “winners” or “losers.” The only winner is society as a whole—through the process of being cleaned up and getting better value for money. The only losers are those who should not be getting the business in any event.

Ugandan Civil Society Institutions

Contributing to Corruption Containment and Integrity-Building

Institutions of civil society, both governmental and non-governmental, contributing to corruption containment and integrity building are numerous. They will be restricted here to political leaders, legislature or parliament, constituent assembly, Inspectorate of Government (Ombudsman), non-governmental organizations, the press and public opinion.

Political Leaders

In Uganda the NRM political leadership has spearheaded reform implementation since 1986, which has contributed greatly in the fight against corruption and to the building of integrity in the country. One area of reform involves the democratization of , manifested in the periodic free election of leaders by the public and in the
Good Governance in Africa: A Case Study from Uganda

public's ability to speak freely about national problems, such as corruption. Recently, for instance, the country held presidential elections, in which corruption was an issue. The three presidential candidates pledged to continue the fight against this evil. Corruption also cropped up in the parliamentary elections, which followed the presidential elections.

A second series of reforms involves decentralization of political, financial, and administrative power from the central government to the districts. This is another part of the democratization process, which reduces available avenues for corruption at the center where corrupt practices had been bred previously.

The third reform is the establishment of the Office of the Inspector-General of Government (IGG) in 1986. This Ombudsman Office receives and handles public complaints, including corruption, against the actions of government officials. It has contributed greatly in the fight against corruption.

Another area of reform involves public enterprise privatization. This has quickly dissolved corruption in such enterprises, as private owners or those enterprises seeking to maximize profits will not tolerate staff stealing from the company—whether "stealing" is in actual money or through inefficient labor practices.

The assets and liabilities declarations by public officers and the acquisition of these is another area for reform. As a result of such reforms, the three presidential candidates declared their assets and liabilities to the Electoral Commission upon nomination, setting an example for other public officials.

Legislature and Parliament

As a body directly elected by the people, this civil institution is important. At the writing of this paper, arrangements for elections of new representatives to Parliament were under way. Parliament's contribution to containing corruption and building integrity is manifested by the enactment of laws to fight corruption and by the Public Accounts Committee's debates and recommendations.

With regard to enactment of anti-corruption and integrity-building laws, Parliament has codified the following:

- **Inspector-General of Government Statute No. 2 of 1988**, arranging for the Inspector-General of Government (Ombudsman) to fight corruption and any abuse of office by public officials;
- **Leadership Code Statute of 1991**, requiring the annual declaration of income, assets, and liabilities by leaders. The Code specifies minimum behavior and conduct standards for leaders regarding gifts and benefits in kind, conflicts of interest, official interests in contracts and tenders, and the use or abuse of public property. The Code also provides sanctions for violations of its provisions. This Code has not yet had a large impact on corruption because it has yet to be implemented. There is, however, mounting public pressure for its full implementation. The candidates who ran in the recent presidential elections were the first to declare their income, assets, and liabilities.
- **The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1970**, conferring upon the Director of Public Prosecutions, in conjunction with the Police, powers of search, seizure, arrest, and interrogation of those suspected of corruption. The Penal Code also provides for different corruption offenses, such as fraud, embezzlement, false accounting and abuse of office. Although this law was enacted in 1970, it generally remained idle until the current administration came to power in 1986.
Due to the vigilance of the Public Accounts Committee, the Auditor-General's reports, which at one time were ten years in arrears, are now up to date. As previously stated, the Committee considers these reports seriously. Public officials found to have embezzled public funds are dealt with severely. Many have been prosecuted or had their appointments terminated.

Constituent Assembly
A Constituent Assembly is a body elected to make or alter a political constitution. The people of Uganda elected one such body in 1994; it completed and promulgated a new constitution for Uganda in 1995.

One of the objectives of the new Constitution was to emphasize accountability by stipulating all lawful measures to expose, combat, and eradicate corruption and abuse or misuse of power by those holding political and other public offices. With this in mind, the Constituent Assembly constitutionalized the office of the Inspectorate of Government and the Leadership Code of Conduct in order to combat corruption as described above. The provisions of the new Constitution have started to be implemented.

Inspectorate of Government (Ombudsman)
Reference has already been made to this organization, which was legalized under Statute No. 2 of 1988. Under this Statute, the Inspectorate, though having power to investigate and access information, was rather weak because it could only make recommendations. However, the new Constitution enhanced its powers, enabling it to arrest or cause to arrest, and to prosecute or cause to prosecute.

The Inspectorate has made great strides in the fight against corruption by coordinating most agencies involved in the struggle, both gov-

THE EAST AFRICAN CHRONICLE

Ombudsman Feared

(Kampala, December 1, 1995) UGANDA'S new constitution promulgated last month has empowered this country's Ombudsman with far reaching powers of arrest and prosecution of people suspected of being involved in corruption, the Inspector General of Government (IGG), Augustine Ruzindana, says.

The effect of these new powers is that Mr. Ruzindana could announce to the Press the interdiction of the entire staff of the Pensions Department of the Ministry of Education. Evidence has been found that since September 1994, over Ushs. one billion had been misappropriated in the department affecting teachers from all over the country. In the district of Mukono alone, (central region) over Ushs. 1,330 million had been embezzled and incriminating files destroyed. To limit damages, the IGG's office has taken over 4,000 of the 10,000 files in the department.

IGG has also been assigned the responsibility of enforcing the Leadership Code of Conduct. The function of overseeing the adherence to Human Rights has been removed from Mr Ruzindana's office with the creation of a Human Rights Commission.

The Inspectorate of Government, which was responsible to the President since October 8, 1995 now only responsible to Parliament. Ruzindana expected the National Assembly to set up a Parliamentary Committee to which he would report his findings.

The Office of the IGG which was established in 1986 is charged with the promotion of strict adherence to the rule of law and the principles of natural justice in administration. It is also responsible for the elimination of corruption, abuse of authority and public office and to promote fair, efficient and good governance. This is in addition to investigating, public officials or any other authority and making the public aware about the values of constitutionalism, through any media and means.
ernmental and non-government, into a national integrity movement. The movement has devised the following anti-corruption programs, which are currently being implemented:

- **Public Awareness Program**—to educate the public about the damages caused by corruption and to inform them of their rights to the provision of services free from bribes. The program also makes public officials aware of their responsibilities to the public. It includes seminars and workshops for both government officials and the public (for example, for the press, which reaches a wide section of the population).

- **Preventive Program**—includes the strengthening of compliance within the existing systems, simplification of management procedures by reducing red tape, and so forth.

- **Enforcement Program**—enforces existing laws and seeks to convict corrupt irrespective of their position. It also reviews and strengthens the corruption-related practices (including freezing, seizing, and confiscating proceeds of corruption and fraud) and modifies the rules of evidence.

- **Institution-Building Program**—strengthens the role of anti-corruption agencies such as the Inspectorate of Government, the Director of Public Prosecutions, Transparency Uganda (Tr-U), and others. It includes civil society training programs such as training in investigative journalism to improve the quality of investigation and reporting practices without fear of litigation.

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**Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

NGOs play a crucial role in fighting corruption and building integrity. One of the most active NGOs in this area is Tr-U, the local chapter of Transparency International, which is a registered NGO with membership drawn from all walks of life in Uganda.

The objectives of Tr-U are to: (i) curb corruption through national coalitions, and encourage and assist government with establishing and implementing effective laws, policies, and anti-corruption programs; (ii) organize and enhance public support and understanding of the anti-corruption programs; (iii) enhance public transparency and accountability in business and the administration of public procurement; (iv) enhance and sensitize the public on the need for transparency and accountability among officials; and (v) encourage all parties in business and related areas of national interest to follow the highest levels of integrity and adhere to certain standards of conduct.

Tr-U joined the national coalition against corruption by becoming a member of the national integrity movement and works closely with the coordinating committee for the movement. Yet it works independently and has set its own goals for the next two years including: establishing a Secretariat; starting public awareness and sensitization campaigns about corruption; beginning law reform initiatives pertaining to corruption; vetting public appointments through lobbying or providing information to the responsible body to ensure that corrupt officials do not ascend to public office; holding an integrity seminar for the President, Cabinet, and Parliamentarians after elections to promote the issue of corruption as a State priority; holding similar seminars for Local Council Leaders, RDCs and Accounting Officers; demystifying the budget, budgeting process and public finance functions; monitoring elections and election-monitoring officials; holding discussions with members of Rotary Clubs about corruption with a view to enlisting their support; translating the TI Source Book into the Ugandan situation; collaborating with other chapters, such as TI-Denmark, to promote projects and objectives of Tr-U; and
working with TI-Argentina to establish a data collection system and networking and preparation of a TI National Source Book for Africa.

The Press and Public Opinion

The Press is often referred to as the Fourth Estate, symbolizing the important societal role of keeping the general populace adequately informed about public affairs and providing them a forum to voice their views. In many countries, the government press agencies—radio and television—are biased toward the reigning government, making it essential for a provision relating to the existence of a free, independent press if opinions of government opponents are not to be permanently suppressed. A free press, whether public or private, has a tremendous role to play in feeding public opinion, and exposing and debating government actions and activities.

In Uganda, the press is relatively free and assisting in teaching the public of the dangers caused by corruption and exposing corrupt practices of government and other officials. Unfortunately however, press reports have been carried out unprofessionally and as a result many papers face litigation. In response to this, the press journalists associations (that is the Uganda Journalists Association (UJA), the Uganda Media Women Association, and so on) have joined with organizations such as the IGG to train their members in investigative journalism to ensure that they expose corruption in a professional manner.

In addition, many programs incorporating concepts of ethics, honesty, responsibility, discipline, and so on are being sponsored by civil society organizations on radio and television to

THE PEOPLE

Anti-corruption Crusade Born

(Mukono, November 29-December 6, 1995) A unique two day workshop on integrity in Uganda ended at Colline Hotel Mukono, yesterday. According to Mr Petter Langseth of the World Bank, its the first time he has witnessed a seminar of high ranking government officials discuss anti-corruption measures together with journalists, any-where in the world.

Ten journalists who had earlier attended a one week workshop on investigative journalism were invited by the Inspector General of Government to compliment the reviewing and drawing up of a revised anti-corruption action plan. An initial action plan had been drawn in December 1994.

The workshop was given an update on recent initiatives against international corruption by Mr Jeremy Pope of Transparency Centre and former Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) Mr Masana also gave an update on anti-corruption in Uganda and its improvement. He referred to the new powers of the IGG and DPP to arrest and prosecute suspects.

The participants, in a press release issued at the end of the workshop publicly declared their commitment “to bringing about the Uganda which is cleansed of the corruption which plagued the country.”

The leaders present are members of the National Integrity System (NIS) working group. Present were the IGG, Mr. Augustine Ruzindana, his deputy, Mr. Psomgen and Mr. D Kato, Secretary to the IGG's office. Others present were officials from the Auditor General's office, the Ministry of Public Service, Decentralization Secretariat, the police, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Information, Central Tender Board, and the Law Development Centre.

Mr Ruzindana in his closing remarks emphasized the building of a coalition which would not only involve government officials, but also civic and clerical leaders, security officials, the press and the public.

— Emmanuel Mukanga
teach civic education to parents and children. Parents are advised particularly of how to raise their children so that future generations are more resistant to corruption.

Some Lessons from the Past
An analysis of the successes (comparatively rare) and failures (sadly numerous) of past efforts has identified certain elements. Limits of power may exist at the top. An incoming administration may want to tackle corruption effectively, but its efforts may be impeded by the corruption inherent in the existing bureaucracy. Second, there may be an absence of commitment at the highest levels, or there may be a loss of public confidence because of unrealistic and unachievable expectations resulting from overly ambitious promises. Third, reforms have been “piecemeal” and uncoordinated, and no one has been committed to see them implemented and kept current. Fourth, reforms tend to over-rely on the law, which is an uncertain instrument for changing individual behavior, or on enforcement, which leads to repression, apparent abuses of enforcement power, and the emergence of further corruption. Fifth, reforms have “overlooked” the higher level and focused instead on the “small fry”; the law, being seen as unfairly and unevenly applied, soon ceases to be applied at all. Sixth, reforms lack a specific and achievable focus and, in failing to deliver any “quick wins,” have quickly lost public support. Seventh, where reforms are focused and changes real, they have not endured because institutional mechanisms do not survive changes in leadership. Finally, attempts by government alone to achieve reforms without drawing in actors best able to assist—that is, civil society and the private sector—is likely to fail.

Uganda has benefited from this analysis, and is in the process of implementing relevant policies.

An Overall Strategy
There is no simple solution to containing corruption where the menace is out of control. There are, however, lessons to be learned from examining the experience of other countries. These lessons suggest the approach to be taken for developing a coherent, over-all, and holistic strategy. At the end of the day, corruption should be—and be seen as being—a “high risk” and “low profit” undertaking. The actual mix of these elements can vary widely. Reforms can be conceptualized under four headings: prevention, enforcement, public awareness, and institution building.

Prevention (Reducing Opportunities for Corruption)
First, the simplification of government programs and procedures will greatly reduce the opportunities for corrupt practices to occur. Modifications could include more efficient program designs, making them less prone to corruption—for example, elimination of “gatekeepers” who can exact tolls from users; reducing the steps required for government approvals and payments for goods supplied; radical regulation simplification and enforcement (not simply diminishing the need for resorting to bribery but also easing business transactions of all sorts and of access to public services generally); and reviewing payroll records to eliminate “ghost” employees and rendering their reappearance more difficult.

Second, minimizing or (better yet) eliminating areas of discretion will further reduce corruption. Where elimination is impossible, clear written guidelines should published and distributed to officials on exercising these guidelines. Since corruption thrives where the public is unaware of its rights, fewer opportunities will exist for cor-
ruption if the government is demystified. Staff manuals should be published and made accessible to department users, and so forth. Also improved work methods and procedures will reduce delay in service provision.

Depersonalization of government, including the minimization of face-to-face contact, is one means of keeping out corruption. The introduction of random elements will eliminate the practice of particular officials interacting continually with the same individuals. Staff should also be rotated regularly to minimize the development of unhealthy relationships, both between individual staff members and the public, and within “groups” in particular areas of government service. Within the bureaucracy, “monopolies” in certain areas (for example, drivers’ licenses) should be eliminated to provide rival sources, and so end unofficial “charges”—or at least drive the “price” down.

Managers at all levels must be made responsible for the activities of their subordinates. This can be accomplished by increasing the effectiveness of supervision to enable superior officers to check and control the work of their staff; and carrying out surprise checks on the work of officers. On the other hand, officials at management levels should be certified regularly by those they supervise as to their compliance with civil service regulations and the law. Complaints channels should be provided to enable junior officials to complain about their superiors’ corruption, and the press should be free to expose corruption. Also, good behavior should be recognized and rewarded and role models acclaimed.

Effective monitoring of the assets, incomes and liabilities of officials with decision-making powers should be implemented to ensure that these are consistent with known income and reasonable expectations, and appropriate bans should be placed on post-public employment by the private sector.  

The review and enforcement of appropriate “conflict of interest” regulations (including the introduction of ethics programs and periodic group discussions of real-life ethical dilemmas drawn from their own experiences) should take place.

A payment of a living wage in line with reasonable needs and expectations should be instituted, and there should be an open, genuinely competitive and transparent system of public procurement. Where necessary, policies should be considered to remove certain activities from the mainstream of the public service to enable, among other things, better salaries to be paid there without distorting civil service relativities (for example, constituting a separate Revenue Authority).

Privatization should be considered an option to help reduce corruption. Reasons for privatization go beyond minimizing corruption, but privatization itself can lead to a reduction in opportunities for corruption. It should be remembered that the process of privatization requires special measures of transparency to ensure that the process itself is kept reasonably clean.

Professional bodies (accountants, auditors, lawyers) should agree to declare any participation by their members in corruption (including money-laundering) as unprofessional activities and for which such members are liable to be professionally barred. In this same vein, requirements should be implemented for reporting and recording of all gifts, hospitality, and so forth received by government officials, as should the reporting and recording of all political donations.

Finally, coalitions of interest in support of corruption prevention should be constructed, drawing in the private sector and civil society. Mechanisms should be established for civil society to feed in to the continuous processes of review, and the public should be polled periodically as to its perceptions of changes. A review should be conducted of available mechanisms to
provide speedy and effective reviews of contentious decisions.

**Detection of Corruption and the Enforcement of Punishments**

Independent mechanisms should be established to enable investigators, prosecutors, and adjudicators to perform their professional duties in a transparent, independent fashion, and to enforce the rule of law against any who breach it irrespective of their positions (and de-politicizing law enforcement).

Adequate powers of investigation and prosecution consistent with international human rights norms should be provided. This includes access to all government documentation; placing the onus of proving legitimate acquisition of wealth on the person who has such wealth; giving investigators access to records held by lawyers and financial advisers; and developing sound arrangements with relevant countries for international mutual legal assistance.

Provisions should be established for transparent mechanisms to lift any immunities that high public officials enjoy by reason of their office, and for effective complaint-making—whether by whistle-blowers (from within and from other departments) or by members of the public. It is essential that no one feel unnecessarily exposed to reprisals. One alternative may be the implementation of telephone “hotlines.” Counseling, preferably from outside the civil service, can also be provided. When necessary, providing physical witness protection for key witnesses, whether inside or outside the country, needs to be provided.

Mechanisms for punishing those outside the jurisdiction must be developed. The use of civil penalties should be considered. Civil penalties, as judgments of the ordinary courts, may be enforced, abroad unlike criminal sanctions, which generally cannot. Blacklisting corrupt firms and sales staff is another alternative. Publication of such lists will ensure that other countries—and competitors—are aware of the corrupt activities. Extradition arrangements must guarantee that corrupt officials who flee to the most attractive countries of refuge be returned by court order. Legal provisions must be made to enable corrupt profits to be seized and forfeited, whether these be inside or outside the country. Finally, the use of ordinary civil courts should be emphasized in order to empower private interests to sue for damages in cases where they lose money and contracts through the corrupt activities of others.

**Public Awareness**

To provide a baseline against which progress can be measured, governments must ascertain public perceptions of the existing levels of corruption and where it is taking place. It is important to engender the public understanding of the harm done by corruption and the fact that the corrupt are stealing the public’s money, not money that has been given by aid donors, and so on. The public must be aware of their rights to services—at a given price or at no cost at all. It is their duty to complain when officials behave in a corrupt manner in specific cases, and guidelines for filing complaints must be publicized.

The legal and administrative environment must be such as to provide an enabling environment for a free press with the existence of Freedom of Information laws. Defamation laws and “insult” laws should be reviewed to ensure that these cannot be used unreasonably to threaten and fetter the press (that is, by public figures, as legitimate objects of public interest). Members of the press should enjoy protection equal to that of ordinary private citizens and should under no circumstances be censored. Professional standards of the press should be raised. Newspapers
should not experience discrimination evidenced by the withdrawal of government advertising, access to newsprint, and so on. The professional standards of independence and responsibility of state-owned media employees must be upheld.

To ensure that the environment in which civil society operates is appropriate to a free and democratic society, registration provisions should be simple and inexpensive where they exist, and registration should be a considered a right, not a privilege.

**Institution Building**

All relevant institutions must be adequately staffed and resourced. In the area of investigation and prosecution, independence must be guaranteed. The need for an Independent Commission Against Corruption should be assessed, as should the appropriateness of laws of evidence in a modern era. Penalties should be reviewed to ensure that they are neither too low (no deterrent) nor too high (deterrent to prosecutions being brought). Access to the courts to remedy complaints should be simplified and the adequacy of judicial review of administrative action reviewed.

Internal financial management systems should be reviewed for adequacy and effectiveness. The Auditor-General should be ensured independence—intra alia, through the appointing mechanism. His reports should enjoy widespread publicity, and action should be made to implement his recommendations. The Office should be assured independence and professionalism. Legislative mechanisms for accountability, including the role of Public Accounts Committee, must be reviewed and overhauled. Public access to proceedings should be maximized.

The Ombudsman (or an equivalent office) should be ensured adequate powers and all recommendations of the office should be addressed. The existence of the Office and all reports by the Office should be publicized.

The need for an Office of the Contractor General to conduct independent oversight of government contracting, and performance thereafter, should be reviewed. If there is such a need, the Office should be assured capacity for independent oversight and evaluation and public reporting of what is taking place with public contracts and their implementation.10

Public procurement must be professionalized by means including the examination of present practices against “best practice” and most transparent systems, the guarantee that the choice is not captive to departmental advice and interests, and that there is involvement of “outsiders.” A pool of decision-makers should be organized in such a way that there is no predictability as to those involved in any particular exercise. Decision-making should be made promptly in order to eliminate delay during which corruption can take place. Regular scrutiny (and complaints-based scrutiny) of departmental procedures should take place.

A review of training needs should occur, particularly in-service training for civil servants at all levels together with the formulation and dissemination of clearly defined ethical guidelines and rules of conduct. Also training needs of all relevant departments and agencies should be reviewed.

The Elections Commission should be secure in its independence, impartiality, and public and political party confidence. Transparency in all aspects of the elections system (except, of course, the ballot) should be guaranteed. Public participation in the monitoring process should be fostered to build confidence. Training should be conducted not only for the election staff but also for political party officials, to ensure familiarity with the system and to enable professional monitoring.

Capacity needs to be developed for the regular polling of the public (this is presently being
developed in a number of countries, among them Tanzania and Uganda). Such polls enable the degree of corruption to be measured through public participation, and so establish a "bottom line," which can serve as a performance indicator when later, repeat surveys are conducted.

**Next Steps**

Possible next steps include the establishment of a national integrity working group (however described or constituted), to draw together both the stakeholders within government (executive office, public service, judiciary, education, local government) and coalition partners from outside government (civil society, religious leaders, private sector, relevant professional bodies and groups representing consumer interests). The existing framework should be analyzed and areas for reform identified. An overall plan, including short-term, medium-term, and long-term goals (and including a public awareness-raising program) should be designed, and responsibilities should be assigned for follow-up action and reporting back to the working group. Publicity related to the establishment of the working group should be arranged, as should the publication of its overall plan, its regular meetings and work, and the solicitation of inputs from the wider public. The plan should receive political leadership endorsement, and public backing of the work to be done should be published. Particular attention should be paid to achieving some "quick wins" to build public confidence.

**Conclusion**

Reform is a long-term process where attitudes and conduct must be taught and reinforced at all levels. It should initially only tackle issues where it has high impact, or where there is the most value added. The reform process requires a number of years for policy implementation. The process and commitment to reform must be "owned" visibly and supported from the top. Tackling corruption is not just about reform; it involves the public's confidence in, and loyalty to, the State—and the State's abilities to reciprocate.

In conclusion, having an efficient civil service and decentralized administration will continue to challenge governments into the 21st century. Redesigning administration for responsiveness and accountability is therefore one answer to the problems of inefficiency now being faced because of corruption and other factors. In doing so, it is important that civil society is involved to help to face up to this challenge. In Uganda, this strategy is being employed, and it is hoped that the efforts that have been made so far will be sustained and strengthened.
Enhancing and Sustaining a Results Orientation: Experience from Uganda

Petter Langseth, Economic Development Institute

Meeting the Goals of Civil Service Reform
In many countries, programs to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of public management have had limited success. One reason is that they lack strategies to achieve one of the key goals of reform, namely improving service delivery to the public.

Results-oriented management (ROM) is an important element for improving service delivery. Yet client countries often do not have the structures or processes in place to implement such an approach, and often programs are designed with limited information about the pre-reform quality of service delivery.

Typically, the ability of any civil service reform program to meet its goals is difficult to ascertain because of the lack of a “baseline” description of pre-reform services. Knowing the baseline can help a country set realistic goals for improving service delivery to the public. As part of civil service reform, government has to monitor these baseline indicators in order to measure the progress of reform.

This information can assist government at a central and district level, as well as donors to respond more effectively to the ultimate beneficiaries of government services—the public. The indicators can also facilitate the task of ROM, upon which governments and donors increasingly focus, as well as contribute in the medium-term to the introduction of a performance appraisal system.

The Governance and Public Sector Management Program
Improving public sector management is an ongoing process—one in which the elements leading to improved, country-specific public sector management are uncovered, developed, and sustained. Fundamental to this learning process are several methods: piloting new approaches, identifying good practice, and disseminating lessons learned and other successes achieved.

The focus here is on one of the EDI Governance and Public Sector Management (GPSM)
pilot programs, the Service Delivery Survey (SDS), which attempts to adapt an existing methodology, Sentinel Community Surveillance, to the pursuit of the GPSM model's goals of creating a results orientation, enhancing transparency and accountability, and ensuring sustainability through capacity building at all levels while improving service delivery. Pilot projects using the SDS methodology were designed to meet particular needs of clients in several regions; in an iterative process. Lessons learned in one pilot have been used to adjust the methodology in another.

In addition to working with the SDS tools, the GPSM team responds to client demands in developing central government leadership networks, facilitating state and municipal level workshops, and sponsoring initiatives through other stakeholder groups within civil society. The result of this series of interventions is the development of a service delivery function that brings the

Figure 2: Capacity Building and the Involvement of Civil Society in Improving Service Delivery to the Public
benefits closer to citizens—the customers of the public sector.

A core objective of the GPSM program is the facilitation of partnerships to help expand government capacity in improving service delivery to the public. The model developed by the GPSM team (see Figure 2) hinges on collaboration with client countries, national and international NGOs, and bilateral and multilateral donors. Civil society is a crucial partner; its inclusion in the service delivery dialogue has a central function in maintaining government accountability.

The program reaches beyond the traditional approaches to capacity building, which promote conventional technical tools and skill-building at the central government level, and adds emphasis on:

* Changing mindsets, or the way problems are seen and goals defined;
* Developing leadership, to motivate people to achieve a common goal;
* Delivering services closer to the customers; and
* Involving civil society as “customers,” in assessing service delivery.

The model used by the GPSM team at EDI recognizes the important roles that local, regional, and central governments, the private sector, NGOs, and citizen organizations all have in this dynamic process. The linkages and communication between these actors must be strengthened. Ties with civil society in particular—its energy, ideas, and resources—can vitalize the process of resolving public sector management problems that have eluded solution for years.

Improving service delivery means raising the cost effectiveness, coverage, and impact of services. When defining service quality, the point of view of citizens as customers is seriously considered, reinforcing an orientation to results where a public action is justified if it produces a publicly valued impact. Adoption of this approach by policy-makers and public managers can create an enabling environment for more efficient, results-oriented public sector policy-making and management.

An emphasis on integrity strengthens and balances this strategy. Services should be designed and delivered in a transparent way—so that baselines of service delivery are openly established, targets are feasible but not unreasonably low, and progress against the baseline is fairly measured. This process supports and complements the goal of efficiency and results orientation in the public sector while encouraging governments to be accountable to citizens.

Enhancing the sustainability of effective service delivery requires more attention to regular and meaningful evaluation, monitoring, and adjustment—the subject of this section. In collaboration with teams of experts in client countries, the GPSM team and CIETInternational (CIET), an international NGO, are developing institutional- and community-based information-gathering and evaluation systems, such as SDS, and programs that use both quantitative and qualitative data to assist in improving service delivery. Guided by SDS results, a government can introduce and promote evidence-based planning and management, adjusting and refining the service delivery framework through policy reformulation, institutional development, and budget reallocation.

The evidence-based planning methodology presented here is the basis upon which governments establish the service delivery baseline. Perhaps an even more important use of the methodology is as a means to increase the involvement of civil society in the process.

As stakeholders interact, it may be found that improving service delivery requires devolution of responsibility, competitive supply arrangements, or private sector provision. If this leads to a redefini-
Box 1: The GPSM Program

EDI’s Governance and Public Sector Management program emphasizes both the piloting of new approaches to public sector management issues and the dissemination of lessons learned from such pilots and elsewhere.

Our approach involves working with client countries (both governments and civil society) and donors as partners. Accepting that there is no “blueprint” for enhanced public sector management, we work as facilitators in a learning process, rather than as experts with all the answers.

Underlying our program are the concepts that there should be, in the public sector: a focus on clients, a client orientation in the delivery of public services, and enhanced levels of accountability and transparency. As a starting point, we believe that improved governance and public sector management rests on improvements in three areas: strengthened institutional capacity, improved service delivery, and enhanced national integrity.

Reflecting these concepts, the GPSM program comprises four principal activities:

- Improving Public Sector Service Delivery
- Accountability and Transparency
- Civil Service Reform
- Public Expenditure Planning and Management

as well as one supporting activity, Multimedia Dissemination.

Our current bilateral partners are Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Ireland and Japan.

The Service Delivery Survey (SDS)

As part of its Program on Improving Service Delivery—Involving Civil Society, the EDI is assisting a number of countries to design and implement SDS systems. The systems will provide essential information to help design reforms (for example, civil service reform, decentralization, privatization), monitor results, and ultimately make services more responsive to citizens’ demands.

To date, SDSs—and the national capacities to conduct them—have been established in Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Over the next four years, EDI intends to deepen and expand this product line by undertaking more surveys and capacity building in these regions, as well as in Central/Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Asia.

Traditionally, in undertaking a new program, government begins with the planning phase, moves to implementation, and then evaluates the results. It is now argued however, that to create a customer and results-oriented culture in the civil service, the last step should be first: evaluating, through a broad-based survey, what citizens believe are the most important public services and how well these services are delivered. The results coming from the SDS then drive the planning and guide the implementation of the proposed program.

An SDS can be many things—a tool to raise awareness; an instrument of accountability; a tool of conditionality; a management tool; a means of shifting bureaucratic focus to results; a
vehicle for articulating choices between services. Each of these uses has certain implications.

The ultimate goal of an SDS is to improve service delivery to the public. In pursuit of this goal, the SDS produces information that can be used to set a baseline of service delivery, better design a reform program, and improve service delivery management. It may also highlight areas where public provision of services should be eliminated or privatized. The SDS is a measurement tool that combines social and economic data with information on the experiences, expectations, and perceptions of citizens about service delivery.

The process of designing and implementing the service delivery diagnostic tool will help assure that the civil service reform process concentrates greater attention on the public. Investigating perceptions implies valuing the customers' opinions, which in turn helps move toward a more customer-oriented government. Although some effort has been made in the past to consider the issue of service delivery at the ministerial level, this survey is more comprehensive in scope. The SDS is innovative in attempting to measure the reforms from both a "top-down" and a "bottom-up" perspective. Furthermore, the SDS has implications for other reforms; for example, indicators measured at the district-level could yield information relevant to decentralization reforms.

Focus on the Customer
An underlying assumption of the SDS technique is that citizens' opinions matter and should be considered in the design and delivery of services.

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**Box 2: What Do Service Delivery Surveys Look Like?**

Service Delivery Surveys are designed by local experts for use by public managers and policy makers. While SDSs look different in each country context, they are based on similar guiding principles and methodologies. SDSs are reiterative results-oriented evaluations schemes to:

- build local capacities, and
- deliver quantitative and qualitative data on impact, coverage and cost.

SDS supplements existing institutional-based data with community-based data from both the private and public sectors. It includes qualitative and key informant interviews, as well as institutional reviews.

A panel of communities is chosen in a given region or country, which permits comparison between communities and over time to measure the impact of reforms.

The basic building block of the community-based data is the household survey. Since the household is not subdivided by sectors, the methodology is inherently intersectoral.

A large number of nationals are trained to make the process sustainable. By emphasizing analysis and communication capacities, SDS can contribute substantively to national capacities for evidence-based planning. Thus, SDS does not require highly developed capacities to be in place; instead it takes off from-and develops along with-national capacities.

SDS has been implemented by the international NGO CIETInternational and EDI in 6 pilot countries to date.

Typically, the costs of an SDS system are lower than surveys of similar designs. But, clients should plan for substantial start-up costs. A pilot and at least 2 additional cycles are recommended in order to build strong capacity to assure the process is sustainable.

One cycle of SDS can be completed fairly rapidly, with design, data collection and entry and preliminary analysis taking around one month. (The initial cycle will take closer to 2 months.)
In order to reorient public management toward satisfying the customer, the customers' expectations, preferences, and experiences must be known.

The SDS reveals preferences through the collection of a representative sample of views of ordinary citizens and others who receive or are entitled to receive services that the government currently provides (such as businesses, local governments, civic associations, and central government agencies).

Typically, the expense of an SDS system is lower than surveys of similar design, start-up costs can be substantial. A pilot cycle and at least two additional cycles are recommended in order to build strong capacity to assure that the process is sustainable. One cycle of the SDS can be completed fairly rapidly, with design, data collection and entry, and preliminary analysis taking around one month. The initial cycle will take closer to two months.

Designed by local experts for use by public managers and policy-makers, SDSs look different in each country context. However, they are based on similar guiding principles and methodologies. As reiterative results-oriented evaluation schemes, they build local capacities, and deliver quantitative and qualitative data. The SDS combines existing institutionally based data, and community based data from both the private and public sectors. It includes qualitative data collected through focus groups and key informant interviews, as well as institutional reviews.

A panel of communities is chosen in a given region or country, which permits comparison of data between communities and over time to measure the impact of reforms. The basic building block of the community-based data is the household survey. Since the household is not subdivided by sectors, the methodology is inherently intersectoral.

A large number of nationals are trained to make the process sustainable. By emphasizing analysis and communication of capacities, the SDS can contribute substantively to national capacities for evidence-based planning. Thus, the SDS does not require highly developed capacities in place; instead, it develops from and along with national capacities.

To date, SDSs have been implemented by CIET in 35 countries and together with EDI in five countries (Uganda, Tanzania, Mali, Jordan and Nicaragua) (see Box 3).

**Box 3: CIETInternational’s Contributions to SDS**

For almost the same cost as revealing the frequency of an indicator, such as the impact of the Ministry of Environment's public awareness program, or public opinion on the quality of urban transport, SDS makes it possible to look behind these indicators, thanks to the contributions of CIETInternational.

By tailoring its “Sentinel Community Surveillance” (SCS) methods to SDS, CIET has helped local teams of experts produce analyses and indicators that motivate action.

The originality of CIET methods lies in its incorporation of:

- Modern epidemiology to evaluate evidence for planning; and
- Community voice to produce evidence, analyze it, and motivate subsequent action.

SCS has been set up by CIET in 35 countries over the last decade and has covered a wide range of sectors. With almost global access to computers, these techniques allow detailed analysis of factors that contribute to impact at the national, district, municipal, and community level.
Experience from Uganda

As part of the Uganda Institutional Capacity Building Project (UICBP), the Government of Uganda is planning to introduce results-oriented management (ROM) into its public services at all levels. As a first step in initiating ROM, the Government, through the Administrative Reform Commission of the Ministry of Public Service, commissioned a Baseline SDS with the support of the World Bank. The SDS was piloted in December 1995 and was conducted at a relatively low cost. It reviewed existing World Bank macroeconomic and sector data together with the civil society's perceptions of services delivered. Primary research, in the form of surveys to measure public perceptions of service delivery and observations of actual service delivery, was conducted by teams supervised by CIET. The purposes of this baseline SDS were: to develop a suitable methodology and establish a framework of sample sites throughout Uganda; to gather baseline data on key services that could form the basis for producing performance criteria for these services; and to build evaluative capacities within central and local government in Uganda.

This locally designed and carefully focused survey will provide information about services by district, sector, and stakeholder, and it will facilitate comparing the effects of different programs across the 39 districts. It will have focused impact through an easy-to-read format presenting the most important information policy-makers need. For example, policy-makers will receive the chosen indicators for the baseline and subsequent periods as well as a list of programs and the major events and activities that occurred in that year. Thus, policy-makers can assess the outcomes in the context of the programs; determine which reforms yielded the highest net marginal benefits, and analyze the relation between inputs and outcomes.

The services selected for the baseline SDS were the services provided to rural communities by the Ministry of Health (MoH) and those provided by the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), especially Agricultural Extension Services and District Farm Institutes. In addition, the customs services provided by the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) were selected to be assessed in a survey of businesses.

Existing relevant data on the selected services was reviewed. Users and potential users of the services were then asked about their use of and views about the services—data not usually included in routine data collection systems. This was achieved by a cross-design of methods:

1. A household survey of 40 representative communities in 9 districts throughout Uganda, covering a total of 5,564 households and 27,196 people.
2. Focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and institutional reviews in each of the sites to obtain qualitative data about local conditions and views of services.
3. Interviews with District Administrations in the sample Districts seeking their views about support for their services from central Government.
4. A postal questionnaire to 53 medium and large businesses inside and outside Kampala.

Several baseline indicators emerged from these studies that could be used by the participating ministries to assess the effectiveness of actions taken to improve their services. The intention is to repeat the survey in perhaps a year, including key questions to produce a repeat measure of these indicators.

While general guidelines for service performance indicators can be set by central government, such indicators will need to be set in detail locally, in relation to the local conditions and present levels of service delivery. Levels of service delivery clearly vary considerably among districts.
at present, and it would be unrealistic to expect them all to reach the same level at the same time, given their different starting points. Thus the setting of performance criteria for services will require a dialogue between central government and districts.

The results of the initial SDS provide a quantitative and qualitative baseline for program managers in these ministries and authorities to use in planning and to measure impact and coverage in the future. While analysis of the initial results disappointing, it should be remembered that it is easier to make progress from a relatively modest baseline. The priorities set by the ministries were their own, rather than extremely imposed. It is proposed to begin ROM on a pilot basis within the next year, and the MAAIF is likely to be one of the pilot ministries. These results should help them to set targets for their service as part of the ROM process. If they are able to demonstrate progress against these targets, this should enhance their service within the ROM framework. The design of the baseline SDS and the format of the results mean that they can be used for both district level planning and at the central ministry level; the districts are responsible for the actual service delivery, with the support and policy guidance of the central ministry.

When using the results of the baseline SDS (and future cycles of the SDS) in the ROM process, it will be important to link data on service coverage and perceptions to data about expenditure on services in different districts and internal service data on level of service provision. This will allow the output of a service to be related to the input into the service in different areas and will serve as a guide for effective resource management. Data on service expenditure are being accumulated through, for example, the Expenditure Tracking Project.

In addition to producing actionable results, the baseline SDS has contributed to building evaluative capacities at the national and district levels and has introduced many people to the concept and practice of critically examining the functioning of their services from the viewpoint of consumers. The resulting skills and attitudes will be important to the process of introducing ROM in Uganda.

**Design of an SDS Pilot**

Briefly, SDS provides a way to quantify relationships that determine who gets what. SDS Uganda is part of the World Bank-financed Capacity Building Project. The pilot phase is currently under way. To quantify relationships, as was done in the Nicaragua, Tanzania and Mali pilots, the Uganda SDS used a modified cluster design that illustrates the interfaces between (a) services and communities; (b) local government structures and ministries; (c) inter-ministerial contacts; and (d) ministry and private sector representatives. Benchmarking provides a "thermometer" showing improvements made. The pilot should be used as a starting point to move to future efforts at performance measurement and should give energy and momentum to continue the process rather than glean radical results.

**Implementation Process**

Initially, the strength of the implementation process was in the area of ROM. Negotiations held among a core group resulted in a "T" shape strategy where the horizontal represents a shallow cut addressing a range of services, and the vertical represents a deeper, more focused series of questions on select services for concrete recommendations.

The Director of Inspectorate was not particularly concerned with the process as a potential counterpart. An aggressive group of ministerial representatives were present among the members of the SDS Steering Committee including Health, Agriculture, and Finance, especially in the areas of Revenue, Customs, Licensing, and Exports. The Ministry of Health viewed
the process as an important tool for community use. Moreover, health workers' opinions may be used by the Ministry to study ministerial support for those workers. The Ministry of Agriculture is seeking to use the deep-cut strategy to compare new and old schemes on satisfaction and production. The main innovation Agriculture plans to test is the new integrated support responsibilities of extension workers. District farm institutes were also studied.

**Design of Instruments**
The Survey was presented as a capacity building process, where the country would decide on its use and the problems needing resolution. A technical team was organized of representatives from the respective ministries and NGO experts. The results are still being analyzed. Site selection was a multi-stage stratification of nine districts. Instruments were developed in the country by teams. Diplomatic, brokerage skills were of great importance in keeping the instrument succinct. Focus group discussions are also important.

Questionnaires involved households, key informants with the support of ministries, institutional reviews of operational costs and the link with different institutional practices, focus groups, and self-administered business surveys.

**Initial Results**
Although households are forthcoming with information about their use and views of services, it is a new experience to be asked their opinion on what is wrong and, especially, to offer suggestions for improvement. Most are accustomed to accepting whatever they are offered in the way of service. High proportions of respondents were unable to make suggestions for improvement. People did, however, tend to be less reticent about giving opinions, particularly critical opinions of service providers, in the focus groups, which served both to raise awareness and to provide important insights into what lies behind the quantitative data.

**The Agricultural Extension Services.**
MAAIF was enthusiastic about participating in the SDS baseline process and was very clear about the ministry services it wished to be included. The Agricultural Extension Project, started in 1993, aims to address issues of disease control, yield improvement, and capacity building for delivering and supporting effective extension services. The project promotes a United Extension approach, whereby farmers are seen by extension workers in groups in order to increase coverage of farming advice and offer peer support. Of particular interest to the Ministry, therefore, were the farmers' perceptions of the agricultural extension workers, and the level of expense that farmers might be prepared to incur for their services. There was also concern that decentralization had led to significant staff reductions in most districts and that, with an increase in the number of farmers and area to be covered by each extension worker, this could lead to a less effective service and an inferior agricultural yield.

The Survey results on coverage of agricultural extension services were revealing in their disclosure of the lack of differentiation between districts involved in the Agricultural Extension Project over the past three years, and those outside the project. Yet there is clearly a perception of needing and wanting an agricultural advisory service, as indicated by households and in focus group discussions. More than half of the households would be willing to pay for an improved service or, in most cases, to get the service at all. This indicates a large "market" for agricultural extension services and could guide a policy and implementation review of both the present methods of delivering the service and the functioning of the Agricultural Extension Project.
The Chief Agricultural Officers' (CAOs) views on decentralization were positive overall. It allowed them to make their own decisions regarding financial and other matters—salaries could be paid more promptly, decision-making was localized and staff better controlled, control of funds was more democratic, and people could take pride in district services. On the negative side, decentralization had led to problems of sectarianism in job appointments and job promotion; insecurity of tenure for administrators; control of local politicians without much experience; insufficient funding from the center; and difficulties in raising revenue through local taxes. They suggested that service could be improved by regular release of funds, more consultation between government and districts, and capacity-building for district staff faced with new responsibilities.

The decentralized role of district administrations in setting performance criteria for services—using data from the SDS—will be very important. While general guidelines can be set by the central government, these will need to be refined locally in light of local conditions and present levels of service delivery.

Health Care Services. MoH was among the ministries requesting to be included in the baseline SDS. Uganda provides health services through a decentralized network of facilities. Hospital services are delegated to each district, while hospital management remains directly under the MoH. All other health services in each district are under the management of the District Medical Officer (DMO) as part of the district management team. Other facilities include health centers, dispensaries and sub-dispensaries, along with mobile clinics and outreach services extended from health facilities.

Suggestions offered by households and focus groups for improving health services, along with the willingness to pay for services indicated by households could form the basis for dialogue between service providers and communities at the district level. This could involve the setting of performance criteria for service. Focus group discussions shed light on reasons behind people's choices in health services. It was explained that for some illnesses it was more appropriate to visit traditional healers. Traditional healers were also used by people too poor to afford the charges for government health services. There was a perception that better service is provided by private clinics, because that is where the majority of trained doctors work. A common complaint about government services was inadequate examination and the lack of drugs. Some people felt that money is better spent skipping the clinic visit and instead using the money to buy medicine elsewhere. This suggests little faith in the diagnostic abilities of staff in government facilities and a belief that it is only worth paying for the service if it includes treatment with drugs.

The information generated by the survey will be useful to the government in reviewing the policy of user charges. The fact that those who have used government health services recently are more willing to pay for improved services than those who have not may indicates that some households have avoided using the services due to inability to pay. Their situation will need to be considered. The amount households suggest paying is quite low and a little less than they are presently paying.

Areas for Improvement

Ugandan decentralization makes it important for SDS to be in districts rather than in the initial entry point chosen in the center. Thus, EDI proposes that for the next cycle, focus should be on capacity building at the district level.
Rebuilding Uganda will require strong and sustained political will to overcome significant resistance generated by the wide scope of the reform measures. Civil service reform is but one of many important and interrelated reforms needed to facilitate this ongoing development process. All of the reforms initiated in Uganda will remain artificial forms, superimposed from the top, unless genuine attempts are made to decentralize power to the grassroots level through popular participation. External and internal resources must be mobilized and managed efficiently and effectively to create widely and equitably distributed economic and spiritual prosperity. When human values are enhanced and all forms of dehumanization curbed, Uganda will attain political and cultural nationhood (Katorobo 1994).

Considerable progress has been achieved in rebuilding Uganda in the ten years since 1986, but the dangers of backsliding remain great. Uganda will have to be vigilant to uphold what has been achieved and to maintain momentum. To spread sustained democratic governance will entail changing the emphasis of several public policies.

Macroeconomic stabilization through structural adjustment programs should be maintained, but the emphasis should shift to the pursuit of social development as defined by UNDP in its Human Development Report 1994. The problem of abject poverty in the rural and urban areas must be confronted head on. The creation of islands of extreme wealth and prosperity in the urban areas of Kampala and Jinja is a recipe for future civil disorder.

Great emphasis has been placed on attracting external inflows of donor funds, and skills in project design and project presentation have been enhanced. Yet, the record of project implementation has been disastrous. Scarce donor credit has been used wastefully, and most of the funds diverted and embezzled. Turnkey projects and technical assistance have been emphasized and the low capacity to retain donor funds has resulted in excessive outflows and increased the country's debt burden.
The way forward lies in plugging the holes and stopping massive financial haemorrhage. Instead of emphasizing asset expansion, the focus must turn to physical assets management and maintenance. A shift must be made from rhetoric to reality, to capacity building, enhancement of sustainability, and genuine popular participation. The emphasis should shift from project design—measured by the amount of donor fund inflows—to project implementation measured by successful project execution in terms of project outputs, results, and impacts.

These desirable economic outcomes will depend on the establishment of a polity based on popular support and accountability. Uganda's history of fascist regimes will not be repeated if diversified and dispersed centres of power are developed. The problem is that any regime can benefit from overcentralization of power. Constitutionalism has been weakened by strong presidents (excluding the present one) who, having lost popular political support, resorted to manipulation of constitutional rules and coercion based on personalized armies. Yet, there are no strong centres of civilian power capable of putting pressure on the regime. How then can democratization come about? This remains a riddle.

That the current democratization efforts were, according to James Katorobo (1994), spearheaded and guided by President Yoweri Museveni must not be taken for granted. A delicate balance must be established between emergent, strong, and viable centres of local governance and a strong, but not dominant, central government. Relations between the centre and local authorities must be grounded in negotiations and bargaining. Only the emergence of a culture of tolerance can forestall the ever-present danger of slipping into a convenient, but destructive, dictatorial rule.

A direct link exists between building the capacity for a stable constitutional order at the national level and building capacity for effective local governance at the grassroots level. Decentralization can create better conditions for economic growth and improve administrative performance, transparency, and accountability.

Many of the demands for decentralization of federal powers have already been met by the statute of the Decentralization Act of 1993. Attaining the goals of the statute will test the skills and abilities of local leadership. Grassroots capacity therefore must be built in individuals, structures, and institutions to manage the local polity and the local economy. As such, the role of professional and voluntary organizations must be strengthened through: the development of more effective mechanisms for coordinating their activities in relation to the central and local planning processes; and, the recognition of their rights to operate, subject only to the limits of law, and, in the case of professional associations, to regulate professional behavior.

Despite sweeping economic and constitutional reforms, the need for an effective and efficient civil service will remain an imperative and a prerequisite for a stable and orderly society. Such stability is essential to create an environment conducive to the release of dormant productive forces. It is the civil service that must serve as a stabilizing force at a time when the role of the private sector in meeting society's needs is expanded, civil society is only on the verge of full involvement, and the role of government is scaled-down to activities not suited to privatization.

A core objective of Uganda's effort in Nation building is to facilitate partnerships between the civil society and the government within Uganda and between the Ugandan stakeholders and the external resources that help expand government's capacity to improve service delivery to the public. The model developed and presented in this paper hinges on collaboration with client countries, national and international NGOs, and bi-
lateral and multilateral donors. Civil society is a crucial partner, its inclusion in the service delivery dialogue having a central function in maintaining government accountability.

The Nation building effort programme reaches beyond the traditional approaches to capacity building—that promote conventional technical tools and skill-building at the central government level—to add an emphasis on:

- changing mindsets, or the way problems are seen and goals defined, and
- developing leadership, the capacity to motivate people to achieve a common goal.

This effort (see Figure 2) recognizes the important roles that local, regional, and central governments, the private sector, NGOs, and citizen organizations have in this dynamic process. The linkages and communication between these actors must be strengthened. Ties with civil society in particular, its energy, ideas, and resources, can vitalize the process of finding answers to public sector management problems that have eluded governments for years.

Improving service delivery means increasing the cost effectiveness, coverage, and impact of services. When defining service quality, the customer's point of view is taken in serious consideration, reinforcing an orientation to results where a public action is justified if it produces a publicly valued impact. Adoption of this mindset by policy makers and public managers can create an enabling environment for more efficient, results-oriented public sector policy making and management.

An emphasis on integrity strengthened and balances this mindset. Services should be designed and delivered in a transparent way so that baselines of service delivery are openly established, targets are feasible, but not unreasonably low, and progress against the baseline is fairly measured. This process supports and complements the goal of efficiency and results-orientation in the public sector while encouraging governments to be accountable to citizens.

Enhancing the sustainability of effective service delivery requires more attention to regular and meaningful evaluation, monitoring, and adjustment, the subject of this paper. In collaboration with teams of experts in client countries, the GPSM team and CIET International are developing institution- and community-based information gathering and evaluation systems, such as Service Delivery Surveys, and programmes that use both quantitative and qualitative data to assist in improving service delivery. Guided by Service Delivery Survey results, a government can introduce and promote evidence-based planning and management, adjusting and refining the service delivery framework through policy reformulation, institutional development, and budget reallocation.

The evidence-based planning methodology presented in this paper is the basis upon which governments establish the service delivery baseline. Perhaps an even more important use of the methodology is as a means to increase the involvement of civil society in the process.

As stakeholders interact, it may be found that improving service delivery requires devolution of responsibility, competitive supply arrangements, or private sector provision. If this leads to a redifinition of the role of the state, it may be necessary for the government to manage contracts as effectively as a private sector firm. Moreover, the government may maintain responsibility for the public impact of services it no longer provides, at least for the short- to medium-term. It is clear that government must have the ability to evaluate, monitor, and adjust the cost, coverage, and impact of services that it may no longer directly deliver, but that it manages and regulates.

Improving public sector management will be an ongoing process, one in which the elements leading to improved, country-specific public sec-
tor management are uncovered, developed, and sustained. Fundamental to this learning process are several methods: piloting of new approaches, identification of good practice, and dissemination of lessons learned and other successes achieved.

The book took as its starting point the attached diagram (see Figure 2)—which points to an amalgam of capacity, results orientation and integrity as the matrix for effective service delivery.

Attempts in the North to "reinvent" government along the lines of the private sector—treating the public as customers by tailoring services directly to their needs and expectations—has emerged as one of the most powerful concepts of the decade.

A necessary ingredient in this results orientation is a focus on integrity: the public (customer-consumer) has emerged, at last, as the raison d'etre for government, and the public view if the processes of government are necessarily influenced by the degree to which its processes are—or are not—corrupt and so unfair and inefficient. But the integrity elements also feed into the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire process. Leadership and the simplification and demystification of government are integral to the attainment of this goal.

Uganda is the trend-setter in Africa in the processes of reforming government, attacking corruption and focusing on service delivery and results orientation.

We explored how the government developed its approach in an holistic fashion. With decentralization and the moving of decisions as close to those affected by them as possible, this approach has been fundamental to defusing centralized corruption and enhancing results orientation. The civil service is currently being transformed into a "public" service, whose purpose derives from the needs of the public being served, and one which is measured by the impact of this approach on the service delivery outputs and outcomes.

Corruption diverts decision-making and the provision of services away from those who need them instead to those who can afford them. It has negative impacts on results, and therefore containment of corruption is a central theme in developing a results orientation culture.

However, corruption has been an intractable problem for many countries, especially where it has become systemic to the point where many, perhaps most, in government service have a stake in its continuance.

We discussed the role of combating corruption in improving service delivery to the public against the background of practical experience gained in Uganda and elsewhere.

The success of public sector reform programmes has generally been limited by governments lacking:

- an accurate picture of pre-reform service delivery
- a mechanism to measure the impact of reforms in terms of improving service delivery
- the means to instill a customer orientation within the organization undergoing reform
- a dialogue between citizens and government on expectations and preferences of citizens regarding service delivery, and
- an accountability mechanism for efficient, effective and equitable public spending.

The underlying assumption of SDS is that the opinions of citizens matter and that civil society should be treated as customers.

To make its vision of an effective, efficient and highly-regarded civil service come alive, the Government has pioneered a number of sweeping reform measures that show the feasibility of achieving its ultimate goal: sustained macroeco-
nomic stability with a delivery-oriented civil service that has clear organizational mandates and objectives. The perennial challenge, however, is to sustain existing reforms without risking the reemergence of past "evils." The benefits must justify the time, effort, and resources invested in the reform in the past and in the future.
Annex 1: Summary of National Integrity Activities and Events in FY97

*Donors Conference* to communicate GOU's Governance Strategy and to clarify who is doing what, when.

*Corruption Survey I* in Police, Judiciary, Revenue Authority and the Ministry of Lands. Requested by and developed in close collaboration with IGG. The objective of this survey will be to find out the perceived extent of corruption in the country; this will facilitate the establishment of baselines against which future progress in the fight against corruption can be measured (a technique which has been adopted with considerable success in Hong Kong). At the same time, the involvement of a broad section of the public in the conduct of the survey (both as interviewers and as interviewees) will send a positive message of empowerment to the public at large.

*Integrity Workshop for Parliamentarians.* A two-day seminar for Parliamentarians on integrity to define their role in building up a National Integrity System. The workshop will build on the achievements of the National Integrity workshops and provide a catalyst for the further development and strengthening of our country's integrity system.

*Cabinet Retreat* to familiarise Cabinet ministers with existing rules and conduct concerning integrity issues (conflict of interest, acceptance of gifts, monitoring of asset, relations with civil servants and leadership). A four day workshop will follow up on the National Integrity Workshops and will examine the concepts of transparency and accountability underlying the Mukono Integrity Pledge and the action plan developed then, and will decide on an action plan for implementation by the participants.

*District Service Delivery Survey I* involving civil society in assessing public service delivery to be undertaken in all 39 districts. The first of three annual surveys will be carried out in 1996, with the second and third at intervals of about 12 months. The surveys will greatly assist us in
our efforts to improve the levels of public service delivery to the public, initially by establishing baselines for existing levels of service satisfaction and thereafter to measure the impact of our efforts to raise these. We would expect the conduct of these surveys to build local capacity so that by the end of the series we would have developed the expertise on the ground to conduct and analyze future surveys.

**Media Training** designed to raise levels of skills and of confidence. Investigative Journalism workshops have been developed and implemented in partnership with (among others) local journalist associations, recognizing that the national interest is served by having a strong, independent and professional media. There is a need for these workshops to continue, by working in particular with the journalists who have performed well in the courses to date, and by further raising their levels of skill and confidence. There is also a need to strengthen and deepen this training, and to include training on Investigative Journalism for Editors and radio/TV reporters.

**IGG Capacity Building**, institution building especially to strengthen their investigative ability.

**Awareness Raising Programme**, initiate a pilot workshop in the field to identify how people define corruption, what messages need to be sent to the public to fight it (build up integrity) and how monitor progress of the awareness programme.

**National Integrity Workshop III** to evaluate progress to date and determine action for the future.
Endnotes

1. This list reflects the consensus view of participants at EDI/TI seminars and workshops designed to promote national integrity. An alternative taxonomy, which nonetheless covers essentially the same issues is presented in Rose-Ackerman (1996).

2. For a discussion, see “Defining corruption” by John A. Gardiner at pages 116–17.


4. See TI Newsletter, June 1995. “A corruption case against vice president George Saitoti initiated by opposition parliamentarian Raila Odinga has also been stalled. The second man in the Moi government is accused of having been involved in a major financial scandal. Attorney General Amos Wako took over the case and has lifted all charges.”

5. See Peter N. Grabosky, “Citizen co-production and corruption control,” Corruption and Reform 5: 125–51, 1990—to whom this paper is indebted in several respects.

6. In Italy, for example, many businessmen who are presently claiming as a defense against the payment of bribes to tax investigators the allegation that the tax officials threatened to over-assess them for tax should they not pay bribes to be under-assessed.

7. In the context of North-South corruption, gainers also include local suppliers and professionals. They cannot bribe with the same impunity as foreign competitors, since they are within the scope of their country’s legal system. Nor can local businesses as a rule claim tax deductions for bribes paid in contravention of their own laws.

8. The example set by Tanzania’s incoming President Benjamin Mkapa in publicly declaring his assets and those of his wife, and explaining their sources, has reverberated around the African continent.

9. In Uganda, this has helped create a situation in which the new Constitution requires that the new Parliament enact a Freedom of Information Act, which will give the public and the press a right to certain categories of
information. No similar provision exists in
the amended Tanzanian Constitution, but
such legislation is being called for by,
among others, the professional associations
of journalists there.

10. Such an office in Jamaica has served to un-
cover considerable corruption in the past
several years in the area of government con-
tracts, if not to end such practices. Belize
has recently adopted the office.

11. This has been done in Uganda and is pres-
ently under consideration in Namibia.

12. For example, work is presently being under-
taken by the Presidential Commission
Against Corruption in Tanzania. It is, how-
ever, a mistake to believe that laws and law-
yers alone can rectify a problem that in-
volves a need to change actual behavior—and
in some cases survival methods—on a day-to-
day basis.

13 The public in Uganda has generally been
dissatisfied with reforms that have failed to
jail senior figures, even though a significant
number of senior civil service leaders have
been disciplined and in a number of cases
removed from office. The approach of es-
tablishing a Uganda Revenue Authority,
outside the civil service and well-remuner-
ated, is proving to have won public confi-
dence, and tax collection has risen dramati-
cally. The same model is being pursued in
Tanzania.
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