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## Policy challenge and development in Africa

BETTY MUBANGIZI

### Introduction

We present this issue of *African Journal of Governance and Development* against the backdrop of the recently released MDG Report of 2013: Assessing progress in Africa toward the Millennium Development Goals. The forward to this Report states that:

“Africa must commit to inclusive, transformative development that reduces income poverty, creates decent jobs, enhances access to social services, reduces inequality and promotes resilience to climate-related hazards”.

The Report notes that while Africa has made great strides towards reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) the continent's low development has required more effort to make meaningful progress and that while Africa is the world's second fastest growing region, its rate of poverty reduction is insufficient to reach the target of halving extreme poverty by 2015. For this reason, Africa must thus put structures in place to sustain its development well beyond the MDG timeline.

It is not that Africa is poor on policies that would progressively lead to these ideals. Indeed, it is often said that government departments, while awash with good policy intentions, are always hamstrung by weak implementation of these policies leading to incessant policy failures.

This issue of the *African Journal of Governance and Development* presents reflections on pertinent issues relating to how good policy intentions can, through the public service, be translated into reality and the challenges thereof.

**Kalu and Nwaigwe** report on a study on improving the Nigerian investment climate for enhanced economic growth using data sourced from the *Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Bulletin* and the National Bureau of Statistics. The authors observed many reasons for the poor economic performance of the Nigerian economy, among which was the decline in investment rates. Given the central role of investment in the Nigerian development process, the authors suggest that steps must be taken to create a stable macro-economic framework, ensuring a favourable fiscal regime, strengthening the capacity and integrity of institutions, developing human resources, deepening and diversifying the economic base, as well as enhancing competitiveness, among other policy options, to boost investment.

**Lauer** looks at Africa's challenges from a global and structural perspective, arguing that African presence is essential in forming any agency to express the contemporary effort to develop distributive and retributive principles of global justice. On this basis, her article explores the possibility of creating a forum to develop global justice consensually as the outcome of deliberation and compromise through cultural diversity and the lessons carried within post-colonial efforts at democratic governance indigenous to Africa.

One of concerns raised in The MDG Report 2013 is that of the need to address inequality. In



this regard, the report recommends that countries should develop social protection mechanisms which include health insurance to improve access to high-impact interventions for children, targeting the poorest and most marginalised children and families. South Africa's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) is a case in point. Mubangizi and Mkhize report on a study that examined how the eThekweni Municipality's EPWP has been conceptualised with particular regard to job creation. It attempts to establish the extent to which the beneficiaries of the EPWP have been able to obtain and sustain decent jobs beyond their involvement in the Municipality's EPWP. The study indicates how public officials and beneficiaries seem to have varying perceptions of what the EPWP aims to achieve. In this regard, Mubangizi and Mkhize make recommendations on how to reconcile these divergent views to yield sustainable benefits for both public officials and project beneficiaries.

**Ondoa, Basheka, Muhenda and Basaasa's** article lends an organisational perspective to policy implementation. They examine the institutional dynamics affecting health service delivery using a regional referral hospital in eastern Uganda. The overall findings confirm that while a referral system in healthcare is indeed welcome policy intervention, institutional factors of inadequate infrastructure and equipment were the dominant factors causing the unacceptably low level of health service delivery. The study attributes this finding to an inadequate procurement process within the healthcare facility.

Implicit in The MDG Report 2013 is a recommendation that Africa invests in rural infrastructure to promote agricultural transformation, boost rural incomes and address rural-urban income disparities. The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme of Uganda was launched as one of the seven pillars of a grand plan to modernise agriculture through improved agricultural service delivery. The programme hinges on farmer groups and their participation in a range of NAADS activities and processes. Kyohairwe and Tibajjuka observed that the subjection of the less technical ordinary citizen to highly technical administrators of the local governments and the NAADS coordinators was a blow to accountability in the programme. Kyohairwe and Tibajjuka recommend that actual engagement should involve establishing relationships, building trust, working with the formal and informal leadership, and seeking commitment from community organisations and leaders to create processes for mobilising the community.

Lastly, **Ruzaaza, Malowa and Mugisha** attempt to understand how policy implementation in the public sector should be monitored by observation of how public sector performance can be improved. Using insights from Uganda, they question whether performance management, as advanced by the managerial model of public administration, is indeed a panacea for effective accountability and transparency in the public service delivery system of a developing country. Their observations bring the inequitable distribution of service delivery to the surface, within the key priority areas of health and education – despite the implementation of the managerial model. Ruzaaza, Malowa and Mugisha conclude that performance measurement cannot be a panacea to accountability problems and that a new comprehensive strategy be adopted to ensure equitable service delivery.

## An econometric analysis of the investment climate and growth potential in Nigeria

KALU U CHRISTOPHER AND FRANCIS O NWAIGWE

### Abstract

*The slow economic growth rate experienced by most developing countries, including Nigeria in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, has now manifested itself in the form of macro-economic imbalances, a wide saving/investment disparity, a steep inflationary spiral, and a high debt overhang. Hence, the study examines improving the Nigerian investment climate for enhanced economic growth. The data was sourced from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Bulletin and National Bureau of Statistics. The level testing results reveal that none of the variables were stationary at its levels. However, the absolute values of the variables in the first-difference is greater than the Mackinnon Critical value as provided by EViews Package, which means that we do not reject the null hypotheses for the non-stationary series. It was observed that there were many reasons for the poor economic performance of the Nigerian economy, among which was the decline in investment rates. It is thus recommended that policies which will improve and encourage investment should be institutionalised, a stable macro-economic framework should be pursued, a favourable fiscal regime should be promoted, and the financial sector strengthened by diversification to achieve investment objectives.*

**Keywords:** Investment, economic growth, co integration, Nigeria

### Sumário

*A taxa de crescimento econômico lento vivida pela maioria dos países em desenvolvimento, incluindo a Nigéria no final dos anos de 1970s e início de 1980s, já se manifestava na forma de desequilíbrios macroeconômicos, uma grande poupança/disparidade de investimentos, uma espiral inflacionária íngreme, e um alto excesso da dívida. Assim, o estudo analisa a melhoria do clima de investimento nigeriano para um maior crescimento econômico. Os dados são provenientes do Banco Central da Nigéria (CBN) Bulletin and National Bureau of Statistics. Os resultados dos testes revelam que nenhum nível das variáveis é estacionário. No entanto, os valores absolutos das variáveis na primeira diferença é maior do que o valor crítico de Mackinnon, tal como previsto pelo pacote EViews, o que significa que não rejeitam as hipóteses nulas para a série de não-estacionária. Observou-se que havia muitas razões para o fraco desempenho econômico da economia nigeriana, entre os quais o declínio nas taxas de investimento. Portanto, recomenda-se que as políticas que irão melhorar e incentivar o investimento devem ser institucionalizadas, um quadro macroeconômico estável deve ser desenvolvido, um regime fiscal favorável deve ser promovido, e o sector financeiro fortalecido pela diversificação dos seus produtos para alcançar os objetivos dos investimentos.*

**Palavras chave:** investimento, o crescimento econômico, a integração econômica, Nigéria

## Introduction

It is the desire to attract investment, particularly foreign direct investment, that has brought about economic reform in Nigeria. The economic rationale for offering special incentives to attract foreign direct investment frequently derives from the fact that it promotes growth, not only directly, by augmenting capital formation in the recipient countries, but also indirectly by improving human capital development, helping technology transfers and strengthening competition (Qi, 2007).

The desire to improve the Nigerian investment climate stems from the acknowledged advantages (Akinlo, 2004). In fact, the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD), a programme floated by Africa's statesmen to address the downward spiral of poverty and to set Africa on the road to globalisation, was launched to increase capital in the sub-region to US\$ 64 billion through a combination of reforms and resource mobilisation, as well as enabling the economies for investment (Funke and Nsouli, 2003).

From the current International Finance Corporation and World Bank report, Nigeria is ranked 133 out of 183 nations for doing business. For starting a new business, Nigeria is ranked 116, obtaining a construction permit 84, setting electricity for a local firm 176, registering property 180, getting credit 78, protecting investors 65, paying taxes 138, trading across borders 149, enforcing contracts 97 and resolving insolvency 99. In the regional ranking, Mauritius is the best country for doing business in Africa, while Nigeria (the 'giant of Africa') is ranked as the 15th. By comparison South Africa is ranked 1st, Rwanda (a former war-torn country) 2nd, Botswana 3rd and Ghana 5th (Ohura, 2012). Other economic indicators of low growth rates in Nigeria (out of 142 countries) include infrastructure 135, ease of access to loans 125, soundness of banks 136, regulation of securities exchange 81, business sophistication 64, capacity for innovation 54, state of the environment 119. For power generation, a critically important factor for growth, Nigeria's per capita energy consumption is one of the lowest in the world – about 12 watts, against that of South Africa 478 watts, Mauritius 198 watts, Gabon 124 watts, Cameroon 29 watts, and Ghana 27 watts.

It is notable that a statistical increase of a country's GDP, income per capita, external reserve and trade/revenue surplus does not necessarily constitute meaningful economic growth and development. It is about material improvement in the lives of the citizenry in terms of meeting and satisfying their basic needs and necessities of life, while enhancing the creation and equitable distribution of wealth, to minimise social disparity. The Nigerian development experience since independence in 1960 has been characterised by despair, frustration, disappointment, poverty and hunger (caused mainly by corruption in all levels of governance), changes in government from a military administration to a civilian regime, autocratic leadership and a lack of infrastructural facilities.

Furthermore, despite the various economic policies and structural reform programmes by successive Nigerian governments, the macro-economic problems of falling industrial output, rising inflation, a high level of unemployment, huge budget and balance of payments deficits, infrastructural decay and other economic difficulties, continue to linger. Therefore, for Nigeria to be able to meet the Millennium Development Goals and achieve the desired economic growth rate of 7.36% and reduce the inflation rate of 12.9%, there is a need for increased emphasis on

improving and sustaining the Nigerian investment environment to make it more conducive for both domestic and foreign investment.

The broad objective of this study is to examine the Nigerian investment climate and to proffer policy options aimed at enhancing economic growth. Following the introduction is the investment climate in Nigeria – an overview. Next are the theoretical and empirical issues as it relates to investment, then methodology, a discussion of econometric estimating results, and finally, policy implications of the findings, as well as a conclusion.

## Investment climate in Nigeria: A brief overview

At independence, in addition to being a leading exporter of groundnuts, Nigeria accounted for 16% and 43% of world cocoa and palm oil production respectively. The country was largely self-sufficient in terms of domestic food production (85%) and Nigerian agriculture contributed over 60% of the GDP and 90% of exports. Conversely, manufacturing was less than 3% of the GDP and 1% of exports, while the oil sector represented only 0.2% of the GDP.

Okigbo (1989) stated that the First National Development Plan of Nigeria (1962-1968) sought to broaden the base of the economy and limit the risk of over-dependence on foreign trade. In keeping with the developmental question of that period, the tariff structure was formulated with industrialisation and import substitution in mind.

The Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) accelerated indigenisation of resource and productive ownership on the grounds that it was vital for government to acquire, by law if necessary, the greater proportion of the productive assets of the economy (NIPC, 2011). Restrictions were therefore imposed on the activities of foreign investors with the first indigenisation decree. Relaxation of these restrictions began in 1989. The Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decree (NEPD) was amended so as to leave a single group of 40 business activities in which foreign participation was completely prohibited, unless the value of the enterprise exceeded N20 million (US\$2.7 million) in 1989.

In 1995, the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission Act opened all sectors to foreign participation, except for a short list (including drugs and arms) and allowed for 100% foreign ownership in all sectors, with the exception of the petroleum sector (where foreign direct investment is limited to joint ventures or production sharing). Following the major decline of oil prices in the early 1980s, the shortcomings of past economic planning were exposed. Agriculture accounted for less than 10% of exports and the country had become a net food importer. Manufacturing output started falling at about 2% per annum between 1982 and 1986, while the GDP stagnated, with less than 1% growth annually. Furthermore, by 1986, there were about 1 500 state-owned enterprises, of which 600 were under the control of the federal government and the remainder under state and local governments. The evidence suggested that many enterprises made no contribution to Nigeria's productive capacities and were not financially viable (Mahmud, 2004).

Between 1970 and the mid-1990s, Nigeria as the primary destination for foreign direct investment inflows to Africa, accounted for more than 30% of all foreign direct investment inflows to the continent. This is largely as a result of its oil attractiveness. However, in 2007, notwithstanding

the booming oil industry, Nigeria accounted for only about 16% of total foreign direct investment inflows to Africa. It's leading role in terms of attracting foreign direct investment started eroding due to the surge of foreign direct investment inflows to oil-rich countries such as Angola and Sudan. Another factor was the improved foreign direct investment performance of other large African countries such as Egypt and South Africa, which were successful in attracting foreign direct investment in diverse sectors of their economies.

The Structural Adjustment Period (SAP) (1986-1988), which emphasised privatisation, market liberalisation and agricultural export orientation, was not implemented consistently and was at odds with other facets of policy, e.g. tariff increases. The economic reform process, which continues to the present, has its origin in this period. Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 has created the opportunity for economic renewal and associated ambitious measures with a view to improving the investment climate. The reform process also takes into account the potential role that close to five million Nigerians living abroad could play. The policy changes have started bearing fruit and if sustained, they will certainly provide an environment more conducive to private investment and contribute to enhance the attractiveness to foreign direct investment of Nigeria's large and growing market.

It is now widely acknowledged that foreign direct investment is an important aspect of the recent wave of globalisation. UNCTAD (2001) notes that foreign direct investment in the world rose from US\$57 billion in 1982 to US\$1,271 billion in 2000. Even so, only a few countries have been successful in attracting significant foreign direct investment flows. Indeed, Africa as a whole and sub-Saharan African (SSA) in particular, has not particularly benefited from a foreign direct investment boom, Ayanwale (2007).

**Table 1: Nigeria: Net foreign direct investment inflows (US\$ million)**

Year	Africa	Nigeria	% of Africa
1980	392	-188.52	-
1990	2 430	588	24.19
1995	5 119	1 079	21.07
1997	10 667	1 539	14.43
1998	8 923	1 051	11.77
1999	12 231	1 005	8.22
2000	8 489	930	10.96
2001	18 769	1 104	5.88
2002	10 998	1 281	11.65
2003	15 033	1 200	7.78
2005	1 604	1 252	9.64
2008	2 047	1 678	12.57
2010	3 079	1 864	15.82

Source: UNCTAD Foreign Direct Investment Database Online

Despite its great potential, investment in Nigeria has been poor. Many reasons have been adduced for the poor investment condition in Nigeria and most are applicable to developing economics. These include political and social instability (including, Niger Delta militants, Boko Haram and ethnic based insurgencies), lack of transparency, corruption, poor human development, lack of favourable fiscal regime, and a poor legal system. These factors no doubt have caused a decline in foreign direct investment inflows to Nigeria as seen in the table above, in the early 1980s, 1990s and 2000.

## Theoretical issues

Economic theory provides us with many reasons why investment, particularly foreign direct investment may result in enhanced growth performance in the recovery country. In the neoclassical growth theory, foreign direct investment is associated positively with output growth because it either increases the volume of investment and its productivity, thus putting the economy on a path of greater long-term growth. In an exogenous growth model, foreign direct investment has only a levelling effect in the steady state and no permanent impact on the growth rate, except during the transitional dynamics to the steady state. In a neoclassical production function, output is generated using capital and labour in the production process. With this framework in mind, foreign direct investment can exert an influence on each argument in the production function. Foreign direct investment increases capital, it may qualitatively improve the factor labour and by transferring new technologies, it also has the potential to raise total factor productivity. Further, as discussed in more recent theoretical growth models (e.g. Grossman and Helpman, 1991), by raising the number of varieties for intermediate goods or capital equipments, foreign direct investment can also increase productivity (Borensztein, Gregorio and Lee, 1998). This, in addition to the direct, capital-augmenting effect, FDI may also have additional indirect effects on the growth rate. Most importantly, foreign direct investment can permanently increase growth rate through spillovers and the transfer and diffusion of technologies, ideas, management processes, and the like.

Available evidence for developed countries seems to support the idea that the productivity of domestic firms is positively related to the presence of foreign firms (Globerman, 1979, Imbriani and Reganeti, 1997). The results for developing countries are not so clear, with some finding positive spillovers (Bloomstrom, 1986, Kokko, 1994) but reporting limited evidence. Still others find no evidence of positive short-run spillovers from foreign firms.

The growth-enhancing ability of foreign direct investment is affected by its chosen mode. It is argued by Johnson (2006) that the "effect of foreign direct investment inflows on variables such as technology spillover and physical capital are expected to differ between Greenfield and Brownfield foreign direct investment". According to him, Greenfield foreign direct investment implies that Multi National Enterprises (MNE) construct new facilities in production, distribution or research in the host country.

This result is an increase in the host country's stock of physical capital that can be substantial, especially for capital-scarce developing economies. In the case of a Brownfield investment, the MNE acquires already existing facilities in the host country. Brownfield foreign direct investment

should therefore only result in a limited increase in the stock of actual capital since there is a change in ownership rather than an inflow of new capital. Greenfield and Brownfield foreign direct investment should affect host country growth differently, since Greenfield foreign direct investment results in a larger inflow of actual capital.

## Empirical issue

There is a large body of literature that has modelled the investment behaviour of countries across the world. These studies have adopted various investment models such as the accelerated model, the cash-flow model, Tobin's Q model, and the neoclassical model, which differ according to the various assumptions on which the models rest. Most studies on the determinants of investment (Shafik (1992), Oshikoya (1994), have focused on macro-economic and financial variables, while ignoring the role of policy and institution.

Oshikoya (1994) and Ndikumana (2000) investigated the importance of macro-economic and financial variables as determinants of domestic investment in sub-Saharan African. Evidence from their panel data estimates shows a positive and significant relationship between domestic investment and the various indicators of financial development and macro-economic variables. Similar results were found in Gbura and Godwin (2000), who investigated the determinants of private investment in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America.

In analysing foreign direct investment in Nigeria and the agricultural sector, Ogbanje *et al* (2010) employed a one-way analysis of variance and concluded that the "agricultural sector, comprising crop production, forestry and fishery, received the least mean net foreign investment, showing that investments discriminate against Nigeria's agriculture, notwithstanding the strategic position of the sector to the economy".

Asiedu (2002, 2007), using cross country data on 71 developing countries, attempted to answer the following set of questions: What factor drives foreign direct investment to developing countries? Are these factors equally relevant for foreign direct investment to sub-Saharan Africa? Why has sub-Saharan Africa attracted so little foreign direct investment? Why has sub-Saharan Africa been relatively unsuccessful in attracting foreign direct investment despite policy reform? Is Africa different? Her analysis focused on only three main variables: the return on investment, availability of infrastructure and resources to trade. It does not take into account natural resource availability, which is an important determinant of foreign direct investment to Africa.

De Mello (1999) finds weak indications of a positive relationship between foreign direct investment and economic growth, despite using both times series and panel data fixed effects estimations for a sample of 32 developed and developing countries.

Zang (1999) analyses the causality between direct investment and economic growth. Using data from 11 developing countries in East Asia and Latin America and employing co-integration and Granger causality tests, he found that in five cases, economic growth is enhanced by foreign direct investment but that host country conditions such as trade regime and macro-economic stability are important.

Carkovic and Levine (2002) used a panel data set covering 72 developed and developing countries in order to analyse the relationship between foreign direct investment inflow and sound economic performance. The study performs a cross-sectional ordinary least square analysis, as well as a dynamic panel data analysis using generalised maximum likelihood. The paper concludes that there is no robust link running from inward foreign direct investment to host country economic growth.

Bengoa and Sanches-Robles (2003) investigated the relationship between foreign direct investment and market freedom and growth using panel data for Latin America, comparing fixed and random effects estimations. They concluded that foreign direct investment has a significant positive effect on host country economic growth but have similar views to Borensztein *et al* (1998) who concluded that the magnitude depends on host country conditions.

Kalemli-Ozean (2007) investigated FDI and economic growth, the role of local financial market, on selected Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and non-OECD countries using cross-country data. He concluded that direct investment alone plays an ambiguous role in contributing to economic growth, but in countries with well-developed financial markets.

Ayenwale (2007), using an augmented growth model via the ordinary least square and two stage least square (2SLS) method, ascertained the relationship between foreign direct investment, its components and economic growth. He concluded that the determinants of foreign direct investment in Nigeria are market size, infrastructure development and stable macro-economic policy, not openness to trade and available human capital.

Jerome *et al* (2004) assessed the magnitude, direction and prospects of foreign direct investment in Nigeria. They noted that while foreign direct investment regime in Nigerian is generally improving, some serious deficiencies remain. These deficiencies are mainly in the area of the corporate environment (such as corporate law, bankruptcy, labour law, etc.).

Herzer *et al* (2006) using a bivariate VAR modelling technique, found evidence of a positive growth for Nigeria, Sir Lanka, Tunisia and Egypt led by foreign direct investment and based on weak exogenous tests, a long-run causality between foreign direct investment and economic growth running in both directions was found for the same set of data. A slight difference from this result is observed in Okodua (2009) who examined the sustainability of the foreign direct investment growth relationship in Nigeria.

Finally, Ogho (2011) is of the view that the Nigerian economy has the potential for significant increments in investment. However, the nature of attracting investment is such that the public investment must precede private investment.

The review of empirical literature on the investment climate and growth potential reveals that much has been done on developing countries, Nigeria inclusive, and that all the factors (mostly economic) for investment are the same in every economy. This research departs from previous work on investment climate and growth potential in Nigeria by accounting for the direct effect of security, corruption, red tape, political and social instability and a lack of transparency on the part of government.



**Table 2: Summary of empirical literature relating to developing countries**

Author/year	Country	Nature of study	Nature of data	Methodology/ estimations technique	Findings
Balasubramaniam, (1996)	Developing countries	Foreign direct investment and economic growth	Time series	Ordinary least square	Foreign direct investment has a positive effect on growth in host country using an export promotion strategy but not in countries using import substitution strategy.
Borensztein (1998)	Developing countries	Foreign direct investment, technology diffusion and growth	Time series	Ordinary least square	Foreign direct investment has a positive effect on growth but the magnitude of the effect depends on the amount of human capital in the host country.
Olofsdoffer (1998)	Developing countries	Foreign direct investment, technology diffusion and economic growth	Time series	Ordinary least square	Foreign direct investment stock is positively related to growth and the effect is stronger for host countries with a higher level of institutional capability as measured by the degree of property right protection and efficiency (management) in the host country.
Zang, (1999)	East Asia and Latin America	Causality between foreign direct investment and Economic Growth	Time series	Co-integration approach	Economic growth is enhanced by foreign direct investment but the host country conditions such as trade regime and macroeconomic stability are important.
Carkwic and Ledine, (2002)	Developed and developing	Relationship between foreign direct investment inflow and economic growth	Time series	Granger causality test approach	There is no robust link running from inward foreign direct investment to host country economic growth.
Kalu, <i>et al</i> (2012)	Nigeria	Econometric analysis of Investment climate and growth potential in Nigeria	Time series	Co-integration approach	Investment and trade are two complementary elements in the strategy to accelerate Nigeria's development, boost the rate of economic growth and sustain progress toward central eradication of poverty.

## Methodology

The methodology adopted in the study follows the co-integration approach. Traditional economic theories are premised on the assumption that the underlying data processes are stationary. The co-integration and error correction mechanism was first proposed by Granger (1981) and developed further by Hendry and Richard (1982, 1985), Engle and Granger (1987), and Johansen and Juselius (1990).

As described by Granger (1981) and Engle and Granger (1987), a non-stationary time series  $X_t$  is said to be integrated of order  $d$  if it achieves stationary status after being differenced  $d$  times. This is usually denoted  $X_t I(d)$ . Generally, co-integration means that non-stationary time-series variables tend to move together, such that a linear combination of them is stationary. Hence, the basic idea of co-integration is that two or more variables may be regarded as defining a long-run equilibrium relationship if they move closely together in the long run. Even though they might drift apart in the variables, a regression containing all the variables if none of the variables taken alone is stationary.

A popular approach to co-integration has been to use a unit root test such as the Dickey-fuller or the Augmented Dickey-fuller test to determine relevant variables' degree of integration, and then to apply the Engle and Granger (1987) two-step procedure, based on an ordinary least square estimation of the co-integrating vectors and unit test of its residuals. There exists a correspondence between co-integration and error correction mechanisms. For every co-integrated variable, there is a valid error correction mechanism. This mechanism represents a systematic adjustment process through which the variables are prevented from drifting apart. The error correction model has existed as a dynamic specification for a significant period of time, Sargan (1984). The specification relates the short-run changes in the dependent variable to the short-run change in the explanatory variables (the impact effect), but ties the change to the long-run proportionality between the dependent and explanatory variables (the long-run effect) through a feedback mechanism. In doing so, it allows us to exploit information on the equilibrium relationship between non-stationary series within a stationary and statistically consistent model.

Adenikinju *et al* (2004) posit that the presence of co-integration permits the combination of the long run and short run information in the same model, and thereby overcomes some of the drawbacks associated with the loss of information that occurs from other attempts to address non-stationary variables through differencing.

Finally, the error correction mechanism encompasses models in both levels and differences of variables. It is also compatible with long run equilibrium behaviour. Equilibrium here refers to the situation in which the variables that are hypothesised to be linked, should not diverge from each other in the long run.

Such variables may drift apart in the short-run for several reasons, such as seasonal effects, price stocks etc., but in the long run, they should not diverge and should return back to the long run behaviour.

## Model specification

Our model specification follows the Solow model with little modification to test the impact of investment, in particular, foreign direct investment, on Nigeria's economic growth. We assumed a neoclassical production function:

$$Y = Af(kl) \text{-----} (1)$$

Where Y = output, L = labour, K = capital and A = technical change variable.

The Solow model assumes that output is a function of capital (human and physical), labour and technical progress. However, proponents of the new growth theory put forward explanatory variables for economic growth as investment, population, and human capital. Hence, the model is based on the assumption that investment (both foreign and domestic) as a percentage of GDP and export and import as percentages of GDP are expected to rise as countries pass through stages of development and experience faster growth rates. Thus:

$$GDP = f(FDI, CF, HC, INF, NE, EG, GDP_{t-k}) \dots \dots \dots (2)$$

The corresponding error correction specification incorporating the long run equilibrium relationship and short-run dynamic for the third equation is given as:

$$\Delta LGDP = a_0 + a_1 \sum \Delta LFDI_{t-i} + a_2 \sum \Delta LCF_{t-i} + a_3 \sum \Delta LHCT_{t-i} + a_4 \sum \Delta LINFT_{t-i} + a_5 \sum \Delta LNET_{t-i} + a_6 \sum \Delta LEG_{t-i} + a_7 \sum \Delta LGDPT_{t-i} + \delta ECM_{t-i} \dots \dots \dots (3)$$

- Where:
- $\Delta$  = first difference
  - L = natural logarithm
  - LGDP = log of real gross domestic product
  - LFDI = log of foreign direct investment
  - LCF = log of domestic capital formation
  - LHC = log of human capital (primary & secondary school enrolment)
  - LINF = log of inflation rate
  - LNE = log of net export
  - LEG = log of infrastructure development
  - $\delta$  = adjustment factor
  - ECM<sub>t-i</sub> = error correction term

## Theoretical expectation

The theoretical expectation about the coefficients of the third equation is as follows:

$$a_1 > 0, a_2 > 0, a_3 > 0, a_4 < 0, a_5 > 0, a_6 > 0$$

Foreign direct investment is expected to have a positive relationship with economic growth. Similarly, we expect domestic human capital formation (increased primary and secondary school enrolment), net export, and infrastructure development to have a positive relationship with economic growth while we expect a negative relationship between inflation rate and economic growth. The coefficient of the error-correction term is to be negative, so as to serve as a feedback mechanism among the variables and also to ensure a long run relationship.

## Presentation and discussion of results<sup>1</sup>

The first step of this model employs a comprehensive pre-testing procedure to investigate the characteristic of the time series variables, before conducting Johansen's procedure for co-integration and developing error correction models.

Results of the stationary tests on the level data were obtained using the Augments Dickey-Fuller (ADF) procedure. The ADF procedure is used because it is more powerful and captures autocorrelation problems among error terms more precisely, and because most of the previous studies on foreign direct investment has made use of the ADF procedure. The result of the stationary test is shown in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Stationary test using the ADF procedure**

Variables	ADF*	Variables	ADF**
LGDP	-0.1646	DLGDP	-3.4553
LFDI	-0.7521	DLFDI	-7.6725
LCF	-1.0589	DLCF	-5.4858
LHC	-0.1888	DLHC	-4.9662
LEG	-1.9565	DLEG	-5.7782
Mackinnon CV			<b>Note:</b> The shifting state of the variables above is at of 5% level.
*5%		-2.9499	
**5%		-2.9499	

Source: Computed

The level testing results reveal that more of the variables were stationary. However, the shifting variable became stationary when first differenced. The absolute value of all the variables in the first difference is greater than the Mackinnon critical value as provided by the EVIEWS package, which means that we do not reject the null hypothesis for the non-stationary series.

Johansen's co-integration test was carried out for the model, to determine the existence of a long run relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The Johansen method tests the null hypothesis of "no co-integrating relationship". That is  $r = 0$  versus  $r \geq 0$ . The optimal lags for the variables were determined using Akaike information criteria.

<sup>1</sup> The empirical specification took cognisance of those variables for which there is data availability.

**Table 3: Co-integration test**

Null	Alternative	Eigenvalue	Likelihood Ratio	5 Percent Critical Value	1 Percent Critical Value
$r \leq 0$	$r - 1$	0.9929	407.7504	94.15	103.18
$r \leq 1$	$r - 2$	0.9759	288.8988	68.52	96.07
$r \leq 2$	$r - 3$	0.9268	199.5078	47.21	57.46
$r \leq 3$	$r - 4$	0.8936	136.7486	29.68	35.65
$r \leq 4$	$r - 5$	0.8288	82.9693	15.41	20.04
$r \leq 5$	$r - 6$	0.8159	40.61361	3.76	6.65

Source: Computed

From the co-integration table, the likelihood ratio test indicates that all the variables are co-integrated at 5% critical levels. We therefore reject the null hypothesis of no co-integration and conclude that there exists a long run relationship among the dependent and independent variables.

The satisfactory results obtained from the unit root and co-integration tests motivated the estimation of an over-parameterised model using three lags or each variable in the equation. Redundant variables were eliminated using the variable redundancy test. The resultant frugal error-correction model estimated is presented in the table below.

**Table 4: Error correction result**

Variables	Coefficient	Standard error	T-statistics	Probability
Constant	-0.157137	0.031693	-4.958179	0.0413
$\Delta$ LDP	1.9159	0.2764	6.9330	0.0010
$\Delta$ FDI	0.066094	0.017208	3.840991	0.0027
$\Delta$ LCF	0.0526	0.019455	2.7030	0.0426
$\Delta$ LHC	0.050872	0.020571	2.461009	0.0572
$\Delta$ LINF	0.071625	0.01834	3.9063	0.01130
$\Delta$ LEG	0.0553305	0.117718	4.7002	0.0053
ECM (-1)	-1.519296	0.206549	-7.355625	0.0007

Source: Computed

R<sup>2</sup> = 0.971                      Schwarz Criterion = 3.108639  
 Adj R<sup>2</sup> = 0.85                 F – statistics = 8.456179  
 DW = 2.04

The general statistics of the results R<sup>2</sup>, F, and DW, are within the acceptable region. The R<sup>2</sup> shows that about 97% of systematic variation in economic growth is explained by the admitted

exogenous variables. The F value is significant, complimenting the coefficient of determination, R<sup>2</sup>, to confirm the 'right fit' of the model. It also establishes the existence of a significant linear relationship between the endogenous and exogenous variables. One can conclude that there is no serial correlation given the Durbin-Watson statistics. The coefficient of the ECM is correctly signed, suggesting that it will rightly correct any deviation from its long-run equilibrium.

The coefficient of foreign direct investment lagged is significant and the t-statistic (3.840991) is positive. This results corroborate with some foreign direct investment-led growth hypothesis (Oseghale and Amonkhienan, 1987, Akinlo, 2007). The coefficient of lagged energy is significant, and therefore a major determinant of economic growth. Despite been relatively poor in supply, this result suggests that an improvement on infrastructure will lead to industrial growth. Human capacity building is very important to economic growth and therefore a major determinant of economic growth. The inflation rate rises by about 72% with a 100% increase in growth of money supply, exchange rate depreciation and government expenditure, which explains inflation in the economy.

## Policy implication of findings and conclusion

The study set out to further lend evidence on improving the Nigerian investment climate for enhanced economic growth. First, the econometric results of the model reveal that foreign direct investment, human capacity building, domestic capital formation, infrastructural development and a country's degree of amenability through export promotions, determine economic growth rate.

Second, a high inflationary rate on a year-on-year basis in Nigeria has negatively impacted on Nigeria's economic growth drive. This has been attributed to the reckless spending of oil money, monetisation of political activities in Nigeria, the increase in domestic money supply, and uncontrolled expenditure by the government.

Given the central role of investment in the Nigerian development process, steps must be taken to create a stable macro-economic framework, ensuring a favourable fiscal regime, strengthening the capacity and integrity of institutions, developing human resources, deepening and diversifying the economic base, as well as enhancing competitiveness among others policy options to boost investment. The fight to control inflation and mitigate its debilitating effects in the economy must be encouraged. This is the only way Nigeria can position herself among the investment destination economies.

Finally, whatever policy the government embarks upon should be stable and relevant to the Nigerian economy and should create an enabling environment for investment and investors.

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# Prospects for creating global justice consensually: suggestions from models of indigenous African governance<sup>1</sup>

HELEN LAUER

## Abstract

*Echoing Hobbes' seventeenth century classic liberal scepticism about global justice, recently articulated for the twenty-first century by Thomas Nagel, the political philosopher A.G.A. Bello once remarked that "[a] world government, of whatever form, must ... remain a dream or an ideal" and for that reason he regarded the idea of global justice a fanciful chimera. This essay is a non-empirical consideration of how to sustain as a working ideal the notion of economic justice as negotiable in the global arena. The essay explores deductively the normative tenability of creating a forum to develop global justice consensually, as the outcome of deliberation and compromise through cultural diversity. This is a concept paper to apply globally the lessons carried within post-colonial efforts at democratic governance indigenous to West African (e.g. pre-colonial Ghana) traditions of peacekeeping diplomacy and effective stewardship.*

*In contrast, the current framework of international human rights and justice presupposed in the global arena is structured and sustained by the same neo-liberal logic of self-interest that justifies the covert authority of an elite minority wholly occupied with mega-capital accumulation.*

*It is argued here that an African presence is essential in forming any agency to express the contemporary effort of developing distributive and retributive principles of global justice. The reasons provided here not only are historical, practical, and circumstantial, but also conceptual. I will try to show that a chief obstacle to realising universal norms of good governance is that the political culture dominating the global arena just cannot grasp the basics.*

**Key words:** global economic justice, Thomas Nagel, Hobbesian scepticism, indigenous African governance, consensual democracy, international law, transnational corporate social responsibility

## Sumário

*Ecoando no século XVII o clássico cepticismo de Hobbes sobre "a justiça social liberal global", recentemente articulada para o século XXI por Thomas Nagel, o filósofo e político AGA Bello observou certa vez que "[a] o governo mundial, de qualquer forma, deve ... "Ser um sonho ou um ideal" e por essa razão ele considerava a ideia de justiça global uma quimera fantasiosa. Este*

<sup>1</sup> An early precursor of this paper was the oral presentation prepared for the 2011 UNESCO World Philosophy Day at UNIZIK, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State, Nigeria, November 13-15. Subsequent additions concerning the debate about consensuality and deliberative politics through responses of Daniel Levine, Maryland School of Public Policy and Fulbright Visiting Scholar, University of Ghana, Legon, December 2011. The author acknowledges with appreciation the helpful comments of blind reviewers of *African Journal of Governance and Development*.

*ensaio é uma consideração não-empírica de como se sustentar, como um ideal de trabalho e a noção de justiça econômica, podem ser negociáveis na arena global.*

*O ensaio explora de forma dedutiva e tenaz a criação de um fórum para desenvolver a justiça global, consensualmente, como resultado de deliberação e compromisso com a diversidade cultural. Este é um documento de conceito para aplicar globalmente as lições realizadas no âmbito dos esforços pós-coloniais na governação democrática indígena Oeste Africano (por exemplo, Gana pré-colonial) tradições da diplomacia e gestão eficaz de manutenção da paz.*

*Em contraste, o actual quadro de normas internacionais de direitos humanos e justiça pressupostas na arena global está estruturada e sustentada pela mesma lógica neoliberal de auto interesses que justificam a autoridade secreta de uma elite minoritária totalmente ocupado com a acumulação de mega-capital.*

*Argumenta-se aqui que uma presença Africana é essencial na formação de qualquer órgão para expressar o esforço contemporâneo de desenvolvimento de princípios distributivos e retributivos da justiça global. Os motivos apresentados aqui não são apenas históricos, prático e circunstancial, mas também conceptual. Vou tentar mostrar que o principal obstáculo à realização de normas universais de boa governação é que a cultura política que domina a arena global simplesmente não consegue entender o básico.*

**Palavras chave:** Justiça econômica global, Thomas Nagel, o ceticismo hobbesiana, governação Africana indígena, a democracia consensual, o direito internacional, a responsabilidade social corporativa transnacional

## Introduction

In the contemporary literature that regards sovereignty as essential to civility, resting squarely in the Hobbesian tradition, there still sits Thomas Nagel's widely praised 2005 paper "The problem with global justice", providing a very convincing reason to disparage international law since it is unenforceable without a central global authority backed by force.

In this contribution, I explore, deductively and normatively, correctives to the various errors that Nagel seems to presuppose in his defence of scepticism about global justice. This exercise is useful because I advocate rational deliberation as a means of promoting justice in the international sphere. Seeing how Nagel may be wrong in his neo-classic liberal assumptions about the global arena, there may be good reasons to be optimistic about global justice as a feasible, ongoing, cross cultural enterprise. Roughly sketched, the mistakes I found underlying Nagel's scepticism include the following assumptions:

<sup>2</sup> Nagel claims this unequivocally in his paper (2009: 421) as follows: "[t]he full standards of justice, though they can be known by moral reasoning, apply only within the boundaries of a sovereign state, however arbitrary those boundaries may be. Internationally, there may well be standards, but they do not merit the full name of justice."

- (i) gross inequalities and international violence cannot be regarded as injustice without a central recognised global sovereign backed by coercive threats of force;<sup>2</sup>
- (ii) the absence of certain kinds of institutions in the global arena makes it virtually impossible to make judicial process and constraints applicable among nations;<sup>3</sup>
- (iii) persons as legal subjects – that is, as bearers of constitutional and convention-ratified human rights – exist in formal isolation, independent of their communities, cohorts and co-dependents; so that none of these economic dependencies or mutual caring relationships can motivate moral duties and rights beyond voluntary inclinations to fuel today's humanitarian aid projects;
- (iv) since individuals as rights-bearers are abstract agents, a sharp division can be drawn between humanitarian concerns and 'higher level standards' incurred formally by the demands of justice upon institutions;<sup>4</sup>
- (v) the world's cultural diversity poses the chief impediment to a universally applicable code of ethics and to legitimatising the supra-national political authority requisite for delivering justice globally;
- (vi) global justice, if it existed, would be a fixed and unassailable, immutable procedure, culturally neutral, enduring and omnipresent.

Each of these beliefs demands a thorough analysis. In this essay, I will point perfunctorily at only a few of them.

The alternatives to classic liberal thinking about the demands and requisites of justice have come to me through the generous writings and conversations of scholars in political science, philosophy, sociology and history in Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal. Their varied bifocal orientations as West Africans provide keen insights into contrasting models of democracy, competing notions of good governance and justice, of personhood according to indigenous Akan matrilineal clan ethos and as it is defined by modern liberals and cosmopolitans. These West African perspectives overlap instructively with some Western political theorists who promote the ethics of care, who

<sup>3</sup> Nagel (2005 (2009: 420, 434 et *passim*)). Amartya Sen (2009: 82) has accused Robert Nozick (1974) of "institutional fundamentalism," whereby Nozick mistakenly regards institutions as promoting justice, rather realising they are the manifestations of justice. An example of Nagel's excessive confidence in sovereignty and its formal institutions is evident in this passage: "Without the enabling condition of sovereignty to confer stability on just institutions, individuals, however morally motivated, can only fall back on a pure aspiration for justice that has no practical expression, apart from the willingness to support just institutions, should they become possible."

<sup>4</sup> Nagel (2005 (2009: 434)) differentiates humanitarianism from the 'higher level' standards of justice. I rely here on the notion of abstract individualism characteristic of classic liberal political theory as succinctly spelled out by Alison Jaggar (1988).

take seriously the demand for fair trade and distributive justice on a global scale, and who seek an antidote to the dominant free-market-value orientation that ratifies the level of violence and inequity characteristic of the current global economic order.<sup>5</sup> Before exploring these overlaps, I provide a brief overview of Nagel's explanation for his reluctant scepticism about global justice, to show the source of errors I attribute to his otherwise very compelling view.

## Nagel's scepticism

Thomas Nagel insists that the potential for positing a doctrine of *universal* human rights – or any other uniform vocabulary for global justice – is not merely naïve or muddle-headed, it is morally illegitimate for two reasons: first, because there are no universally recognised standards about what justice requires of individuals or of the state, and secondly, if there were rules and obligations spelled out, there is no way to enforce them, since the institutions do not exist. So the rules and obligations would not be binding. According to the Hobbesian traditional contract theory of legitimate state power, laws have to be backed by force otherwise they are empty declarations of good will, a discursive form of narcissism. Since today there exist no universally binding procedures for fair and impartial trial,<sup>6</sup> there can be no legitimacy in imposing any set of rights and principles of justice for all the world's citizens.

The relevant institutions that may seem to exist are the United Nations with its Declaration of Human Rights and its agencies in the Hague: the International Court of Justice which is the judiciary organ of the United Nations, or the International Criminal Court which was erected by a treaty established in 2002 called the Roman Statute. Since the jurisdiction of these bodies is not universally legitimated, their injunctions and proceedings can be, and have been, criticised as arbitrary and capricious. The principles of international law imply no rights and no obligations for third party states that have not signed up to the Roman Statute, without that third party state's

<sup>5</sup> Some examples: I am indebted to Virginia Held (2011) for her application of care ethics to strengthening respect for international law; to Barrie Karp for extensive and illuminating conversations and for introducing me to this article; to Katrin Flikschuh (2010) for her analysis of contemporary limitations of international human rights instruments in light of their historic focus since post-WWII; to Michael Sandel (2009) for his BBC Reith Lecture series; to Anne Cutler (1999) for exposing the covert yet coercive authority sustained in the global arena by an entrepreneurial multinational business elite class camouflaged by neo-liberal ideology; to Thomas Pogge (2009) for his analysis of the vulnerability of individuals to global human rights violations; and to Divine Amenumey for explaining alternative notions of justice.

<sup>6</sup> This is the notorious fact described in subsequent passages, upon which most criticism is heaped upon the International Criminal Court in the Hague. See e.g. Kofi Annan's comments on this enduring condition (2012: 147-155). For case studies of ICC ineffectiveness in Sudan and Uganda, see also Gwen Barnes (2010); Sarah Newan and Wouton Werner (2011).

<sup>7</sup> 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

<sup>8</sup> Under the George W. Bush administration, bilateral agreements were created with countries that signed up to the ICC, whereby the US threatened to terminate economic aid, or to withdraw military assistance to these countries if they could not help protect US citizens' immunity from ICC proceedings. This was particularly crucial in saving America's face in the exposé of human rights violations at Guantanamo Bay and elsewhere.

consent.<sup>7</sup> Several countries including India, China, Russia and the United States have not ratified the Roman Statute and on occasion, noisily frown upon the ICC when convenient.<sup>8</sup>

So on Nagel's view, the very notion of global justice is not just currently impractical, the ideal itself is incoherent because no institutional arrangement or legal order exists by which to regulate behaviour across national boundaries; and no juridical body enjoys sufficient credibility worldwide to decide legitimately when an injustice against a person or a state has been committed.

Let us outline the presuppositions underlying Nagel's scepticism, which I signalled at the outset as vulnerable to challenge. Nagel assumes [i] that justice requires a sovereign whose authority is backed by force; [ii] that only institutions, not individuals, can deliver justice; [iii] that individuals are bearers of rights as abstract and independent moral agents without distinguishing needs or differentiating contingent features; [iv] that the formal procedures and demands of justice are of a higher order in priority and moral significance than the demands and dynamics of humanitarian care; [v] that cultural diversity is the key impediment to legitimating the formal mechanisms of universal justice; and [vi] that if it did exist, global justice would be a fixed and immutable procedure.

## An alternative definition of global justice

Constructing a viable alternative to this discouraging picture entails that *the way we go about defining* global justice will determine the likelihood of its being achievable.<sup>9</sup> Contrary to popularised versions of Hobbes' contract theory, Akan consensual procedures of rule by elders' council suggest that a principle of justice may enjoy universal legitimacy not because the rule is regarded as indubitable or because its author is unassailable but because of the careful collaborative and deliberative means by which the principle was discovered or constructed. Here, I extrapolate from Wiredu's (1988) suggestive account of indigenous Akan rule by deliberative council. When and if consensus is reached, it is because each ruling is understood as a product of compromise, whereby everyone's ideal of what *should* be done has been granted due weight in the decision making about what *will* be done. Then, the resulting decision is promoted with the status of a refutable hypothesis, potentially revisable in the light of future generations' voices or new stakeholders' perspectives. This process of consensual rule is an ongoing effort of deliberation by conflicting interest groups represented in council by elders whose only shared conviction might be their 'will to consent'<sup>10</sup> in an effort to find the way forward, always understood as an amalgam

<sup>9</sup> The germ of this idea to depend upon a collective, gradual process for legitimating moral principles cross-culturally was first given me with respect to a universal code of ethics for higher education in December 2009 by my former Vice Chancellor, the medical Professor Clifford Nii Boi Tagoe, when we were preparing his contributions for a roundtable question and answer session to which he was invited as a panellist by the International Association of Universities, at their annual conference June 25-26, 2010 "Ethics and values in higher education in the era of globalization: what role for the disciplines?" Mykolis Romerus University, Vilnius, Lithuania.

<sup>10</sup> Wiredu (1988: 243). The italicised emphases have been added.

of divergent views about what ideally ought to be done.

This perspective presupposes no capitulation to a demand for conformity (Wiredu 1998: 243). Compromise according to Wiredu's depiction of consensual democratic rule does not mean sacrificing one's own principles or moral ideals; it does mean sustaining those views and still arriving at a policy for implementation that takes into consideration everyone's represented views. It means preparedness to reflect upon one's moral convictions in light of the moral intuitions of others, and to adjust one's decisive output about what is to be done, in consequence. Such self-reflection through deliberation might have the result of changing one's core moral intuitions as well, but it need not effect the consensual decision required in order to implement a policy for action.<sup>11</sup>

This process might be adaptable to the pursuit of justice through cross-cultural conjecture and refutation in the global arena. Each procedural rule is qualified as a stage in an unfolding collective realisation of justice, yielding a vision that is always revisable in principle. And in practice, it is implemented only provisionally, until a transforming re-vision is called for and then realised. If postulating principles of global justice is a collective work in progress, then universal legitimacy is achieved: whatever resolutions or pronouncements are made at any point in time are subject to prescribed revision or renewal through further consideration by subsequent sittings of council which will bring updated perspectives with its new representative members. Cultural diversity becomes the vehicle and catalyst for discovering fundamental convictions about global justice, rather than being the main obstacle to its realisation.

To think about the Promethean nature of normative judgments in this way, I interpret moral beliefs as being subject to criteria of validity as well as other logical properties – in this respect, I regard value judgments as subject to a 'cognitive interpretation'. They need not be regarded on a par with bursts of emotion, to which revision based on rational systematic reflection cannot apply.<sup>12</sup> This position needs further review, but on first brush, it seems that a non-cognitive interpretation of moral judgment renders impossible any rational introspection about one's own moral convictions and those of others. Pick any non-cognitive theory of moral claims – for example, one that interprets moral vocabulary as emotive and ejaculatory. Then there is no reasoned way to assess or revise our respective standpoints. For similar reasons, staunch moral positions must be recognised as porous and accessible to all disputants in a moral deliberation. This is a requirement if judicial policy and verdicts are to be regarded as the outcome of rational debate rather than an axiomatic decree backed by force and issued by a supra-sovereign central authority. That is, it must be the case that moral perspectives of people in cultural traditions radically different from each other are nonetheless understandable and reliably interpretable by each participant in a dispute. Otherwise

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Bernhard Weiss' presentation "Disagreement," at the University of Ghana, Legon Philosophy Department, where he lays out various stances that illustrate different normative epistemic strategies in situations of uncertainty and divergent opinion.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful here to Virginia Held for her correction; initially, I claimed that value judgments bear truth values, but this puts them in too close alignment with empirical judgments whose veracity depends upon non-discursive evidence such as observation reports. I am following Geoffrey Sayre-McCord when I treat value judgments to a 'cognitive' meaning; because as he argues, non-cognitive readings of value judgements defeat realist interpretations of moral relativism (1991: 163).

we couldn't make sense of the idea of a substantive moral disagreement, let alone of modification or transformation of one's own convictions through reflective accommodation of other contrary points of view. Unlike judgments about the physical world as we find it to be, our interpretation of how others think they would like the world to become involves recognising the cogency of perspectives different from our own. Understanding other moral agents requires attributing to them beliefs *about* justice according to principles that both define and regulate the notion of justice as we understand it ourselves. What is arrived at through deliberation and consensus concerning a given case or policy thereby *defines* what gets counted as justice at a given place and time in history. The definition of justice may change with the subsequent deliberation of future generations.<sup>13</sup>

According to this view, a council of global justice is not a supreme authority; it functions as one of the several ongoing communities of discourse and generates one among the many conversations that influence the practices and conventions of major and minor agents in the global arena. Along with other organisations that act as technical consultants or as lobbying groups for the accumulators of capital, or for the concerns of Labour, there could be a council that is honoured and respected for acting as a moral conscience and deliberating body for the dignity and political welfare of humanity as a whole.

This approach to moral judgment implies that we have to give up the widely accepted conviction that the only rational method of engaging in effective conflict resolution is either through the threat of military force or through negotiation backed by such threats. A third avenue of appeal which has proven effective in putting an end to guerrilla warfare but which is undermined both by threats of force and by bargaining self-interests, includes appealing to our initial and enduring state of interdependence, appealing to the vulnerability of innocent loved ones, to our mutual need for care, and to our common humanity.<sup>14</sup>

A global council for deliberating and constructing the dictates of global justice does not need to fix a rigid structure that is impenetrable to contest or reconstruction; it does not need to demand absolute conformity nor capitulation. Deliberation that yields consensus does not need to presuppose existing moral universals that everyone must ultimately share, or should be forced to accept. Appeals to our mutual need and to our common humanity prescribe no fixed universals, no pre-set obligations established *a priori*. The needs of humanity and common calls for justice, when practically applied, may change – are likely to change. And without profound

<sup>13</sup> I follow here Michael Root's characterisation of interpretation principles as regulative and constitutive when he contrasts our attribution of beliefs to people in radically different cultures, in contrast with our attribution of properties to things in the physical world, in his very useful "Davidson and the Social Sciences" (1986: 276-277).

<sup>14</sup> Gratitude is owed to Daniel H. Levine, Maryland School of Public Policy, for sharing his theoretical proposal based on research in Liberia, in the talk "Threat/Negotiation/Appeal and Civilian Protection," September 28 2011 during his tenure as Fulbright Scholar in the Department of Philosophy and Classics, University of Ghana, Legon. 2011

<sup>15</sup> Wiredu. (1988). *op.cit.* pp. 242-243.

disagreement, there can be no progress in understanding the direction of that change, no way to restore a harmony or balance<sup>15</sup> that has been lost in the inequities of gross injustice, the contours of which change over time. The camps in Dachau, the castles in Cape Coast, the oil rigs in the Niger Delta, the barbed wire throughout Palestine's West Bank, the blood stains all over Kilali in Rwanda, all look very different, and require different kinds of judicial preventive measures or restorative responses – but in the violation of human integrity that they all display, and by virtue of the demands for restitution that they all provoke, they are the same.

## Is consensus a pretension of modern democracy?

Before closing these considerations, attention must be drawn to the ease with which African interests are distorted and camouflaged by facile dependence on models of local representation jacked up to include global interventions, rationalised by romanticised references to traditional rule by consensus in Africa. There is not adequate scope in this paper to properly illustrate this phenomenon, but it is widely documented in literature concerning the politics and ethics of market-driven development economics.<sup>16</sup>

Intercultural forums, formally sustained by world bodies and regional consortia in West Africa, typically do not include traditional leaders. Normally, it is only the modern elite members of every region of Africa who are selected as representing their populaces at the level of global agency. Traditional institutions of governance are regarded summarily as ornamental relics of an ineffectual primordial past. Yet as we have observed so far, this is not because traditional leadership is defunct or anachronistic in the region. Despite the norms that persist in West African societies at large, they prevail unmonitored by the international gaze, and it is modern elites who control national proceedings in the global arena. So it is the local elites whose orientation is chiefly external, acting as representatives of corporations on the ground in African national economic structures, who are in fact serving the needs of foreign investors who pay their salaries and sustain those structures, who monopolise the local voice of authoritative experience in the process of international decision-making. Their purported responsibility to speak for Africans has in many situations constituted a pretence. Unless measures are taken to protect against this elitist monopolisation by agents of foreign power who hold local nationality status, the classic methods of consensus and deliberation in political arrangements will systematically and procedurally discount those traditional or grass roots voices of authority operating at the social levels

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. Cutler (1999), Tabb (2002), Táiwò (2010). A very vivid example of this pretence, for which there is no space here to provide details, is the global HIV/AIDS initiative to boost public health in Africa. See e.g. Lauer (2006; 2011b).

<sup>17</sup> Lance (2005).

of African nations whose interests are genuinely conflicting with transnational corporate agendas.<sup>17</sup> This is why some progressive activists advocating social and economic redress regard testimony *prior* to deliberations by council key to the delivery of justice.<sup>18</sup>

Elected officials in modern African democracies are regarded among the worst offenders in the respect of suppressing interests that might conflict with multi-national corporation profits. In response, modern states in Africa are perpetually subverted by the ordinary citizen on account of their geographic boundaries being anachronisms of former colonial intrusion, their inherited Western bureaucratic apparatus being sluggish and corrupt, their fiscal management policies being foreign imports, their compulsively distracted loyalties being monopolised by their dealings with greed-motivated foreign venture capitalists. Africa's central states lose credibility insofar as they must deal with multi-national corporation rather than confining their focus to custodianship of their citizens. Africa's modern state leaders lose credibility through the mandate they are obliged to fulfil by number eight of the Millennium Development Goals.<sup>19</sup> It is contentious whether central state governments of post-Independence Africa are adequate to represent those sectors of their populations who are most often victimised or have most to lose by multi-national corporation policies in general or through the impact of particular initiatives (e.g. oil drilling in the Niger Delta, export of poultry and rice to markets in Ghana, mechanised trolling, and dredge-fishing of Senegal's waters). Political philosophers dispute whether the problem of good representation in developing economies is rooted in the method of government composition via multi-party electoral politics.<sup>20</sup> Modern state structures make the ancestors furious<sup>21</sup> because in large

<sup>18</sup> Sanders (1997). I am grateful to Daniel H. Levine, Maryland School of Public Policy, for drawing my attention to the literature critiquing the elitism and hegemony prevalent in many consensus-based systems. Quoting Levine in email correspondence: "the official denial of power is a mask for the operations of fairly rigid power hierarchies" which exclude those for whom access to juridical redress is denied systematically, University of Ghana, Legon November 2011. A similar concern is demonstrated in the abuses of land tenure rights committed in chieftaincy systems, decisively by Kojo Sebastian Amanor (2012). See also Kojo S. Amanor's "Custom, Community and Conflict: Neoliberalism, global market opportunity and local exclusion in the land question in Africa," presented to the International Symposium: At the frontier of land issues: social embeddedness of rights and public policy in Montpellier France, May 17-19 (2006). Accessed online Nov.2007: [http://www.mpl.ird.fr/colloque\\_foncier/Communications/PDF/Amanor%20TR.pdf](http://www.mpl.ird.fr/colloque_foncier/Communications/PDF/Amanor%20TR.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> It may be speculative but not wholly misguided to imagine that the remote, invincible and elusive power of General Motors and Exxon, Anglo-Ashanti Gold and Dutch Shell Oil Company today make roughly the same impression upon contemporary residents of West Africa as was imposed by the giant slave forts of Elmina, Cape Coast and Gore Island upon ordinary residents along this coast four hundred years ago.

<sup>20</sup> On the counterproductive effect of multi-party electoral politics in African countries undergoing economic development see Kwasi Wiredu, "The State, Civil Society and Democracy in Africa," *Quest*, Special Issue: *State and Civil Society in Africa*, June, vol. 12, no. 1, (1998), pp. 240-252.

<sup>21</sup> Paraphrased from a quotation of Ali Mazrui, *The Africans: a triple heritage*. (London: BBC publishers, 1986) p. 11; featured by Damian Opata, p. 135 of "The beautiful interpreters are not yet here: the poverty of a metaphysics of state and civil society in Africa," *Quest* vol. 12, no. 1 (1998) Special issue: Proceedings of the international interdisciplinary colloquium: State and civil society in Africa, July 13-18, pp. 135-150.

<sup>22</sup> Recently broadcast remarks of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, if in earnest, suggest that Liberia may become a singular exception to the general rule within the next decade. *BBC*



measure, successive governments in Africa have designed their commercial and tax laws, domestic labour policy, emigration procedures, and centralised public services to serve foreign capital interests.<sup>22</sup> About this there is no dispute: central government agents in West Africa are compelled to act as reliable borrowers and accommodating business partners with multi-national corporations in the global arena. For this priority, they sacrifice their obligations to provide their constituents with social services (healthcare delivery, education, basic utilities, decent affordable housing, minimal wage). So the job of defining and fulfilling the stewardship duties of government most often falls to traditional authorities. Africans hold radically divergent views about the integration of indigenous governments into the central state apparatus of their constitutional republics and federations. This aspect of African political culture and heritage requires the attention of international relations theorists who purport to advise Africans on the subject of good governance.<sup>23</sup>

## Conclusion

There is one feature that exhibits the propriety of a characteristically West African capacity for serving the needs of a council that deliberates global justice. This historical fact about West African nationals generally escapes the consideration of those vehemently opposed to deliberative politics as it has developed in the Western tradition of classic liberal democratic structures. Schooled in the international languages of their former colonisers, citizens of post-colonised West Africa typically adjudicate between divergent procedures of justice, conflicting norms of feasibility, incompatible senses of propriety, contrary moral codes and multiple definitions of family. African intelligentsia assesses current events in Africa and in other regions of the global South from a wider, richer repertoire of political experience than do their counterparts, whose experience is mediated by the perception management of capital-controlled interests that monopolise the production of images in the electronic worldwide media. Thus, the various African understandings by which today's global inequities can be viewed at least in part as the perpetuation of historical injustices, serve as a foundation upon which to build protocols that can serve the goals of a council devised for deliberating global justice.

One such incorporation of divergent frameworks is the West African familiarity with contrasting notions of justice. I am grateful to the Ghanaian historian Divine Amenumey for explaining the following purpose and structure of legal arbitration in un-centralised, non-state polities. This shifts the very notion of justice away from the competitive model of juridical process that dominates Western legal systems. When two or more parties in a West African primordial public are in conflict, they seek a neutral party to mediate. If this fails, a formal hearing is sought in an established legal structure presided over by a recognised authority, who might be a chief. When called upon to resolve the conflict, this authority is not expected to establish which party is the winner and which

<sup>23</sup> The efficacy and relevance of traditional deliberative politics is a focus of enduring controversy in African political philosophy. Vigorous detractors, for instance, were referred to in this essay; see Amanor (2012) and Ninsin (2007). For a review of some of the concerns and the debate between Eze and Wiredu, see Lauer (2012).

the loser. Judicial process is not a competition; justice in this system is not served by determining who is legally 'right' and who is 'wrong'. Rather, conflict resolution through these procedures of justice is the "restoration of an equilibrium that previously prevailed before the conflict arose."<sup>24</sup>

In this light, it becomes clear why classic Western neo-liberal criteria are inadequate, if not irrelevant, for building the potential structures for pursuing justice globally. Alternative models and outcomes of judicial procedure and intra-regional diplomacy of Africa's post-colonised societies do provide corrective models of justice and reparation that are pertinent to the inequities existing in the international arena, from viewpoints predominantly shared in the Two-Thirds World.<sup>25</sup> The Western liberal competitive democratic model fails to generate criteria that are relevant for evaluating injustice in the global arena (at least in part) because it sustains the pretensions of capitalist *laissez faire* ideology – and in doing so, protects rigorously the interests of an elite oligarchic minority. According to free market dogma, a strict demarcation exists between the public domain of state accountability and responsibility, and the private sphere of personal pursuits and freedoms. The latter sphere is allocated to the operations of multi-national authorities and their agents. In their profit accumulation activities, this elite trans-national business class command and control the lives and welfare of individuals globally, yet with no obligation whatsoever on the part of invasive firms and business networks to respond to needs or to repair damages incurred due to their activities.

What remains at the top of the current global human rights agenda is an over-riding juridical concern to maintain efficiency in the extraction of resources. Currently, good governance around the world is measured according to its contribution to the feasibility and security of efficient, long-term foreign returns on investments and ventures euphemistically labelled economic aid for development, as enshrined in the Millennium Development Goals.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, justice once concerned itself with individual welfare, human rights (however defined) and constitutional law. This perspective has lost all rational purchase in the global arena. So it is in this respect that Thomas Nagel's cynicism is absolutely spot on, though I do not think for all the reasons he claims. Currently, thanks to those in authority who do control affairs and maintain very robust institutional arrangements in the international arena by use of force, the practicality, if not the very idea, of global justice has indeed become virtually incoherent.

<sup>24</sup> Divine E. K. Amenumey, Professor Emeritus, History Department, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, in conversation, July 2003.

<sup>25</sup> I borrow this improvement on 'Third World' from David Bussau, the founder of Opportunity International (OI).

<sup>26</sup> An excellent, albeit very controversial example of human rights concerns serving the interests of capital investments, is the focus on Darfur and the janjaweed in 2003, which justifies militarising the Western Sudanese border, now heavily patrolled by foreign troops, to protect foreign interests. The pipeline's construction has attracted storms of escalating outrage in its own right, attracting considerable attention since its completion in 2001, about the time when the violence in Darfur is reported conveniently to have begun. However, Daniel Levine, Maryland School of Public Policy, who was involved in the NGO Human Rights Watch's monitoring of Sudan, rigorously challenges my reading of the context and motivation for global human rights discourse about Darfur circa 2001-2004; in conversation December 2011, University of Ghana, Legon.

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# The effectiveness of the Expanded Public Works Programme on job creation: a look at a South African metropolitan municipality

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## Abstract

One of the goals of South Africa's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), agreed upon at the 2003 Growth and Development Summit, is to increase the participation of unskilled and unemployed people in the economy of the country. The EPWP has three objectives: providing employment to the unemployed, building the skills base of the unskilled, and building public infrastructure in the form of roads, schools and other amenities. In multifaceted development programmes such as the EPWP, it is easy to lose sight of these respective goals. When this happens, various role players – depending on how they have conceptualised the Programme – focus on the narrow objectives that are of direct interest to them.

This paper reports of a study that examined how the eThekweni Municipality's EPWP has been conceptualised, with particular regard to job creation. It attempts to establish the extent to which the beneficiaries of the EPWP have been able to obtain and sustain decent jobs beyond their involvement in the Municipality's EPWP. The study indicates how public officials and beneficiaries seem to have varying perceptions of what the EPWP aims to achieve, and it makes recommendations on how to reconcile these divergent views to yield sustainable benefits for both public officials and project beneficiaries.

The study was largely qualitative, seeking to establish people's views and perceptions on the Programme, and was packaged with one-on-one interviews with selected officials to gain a deeper understanding of the situation.

**Key words:** Public Works Programmes, job Creation, poverty relief, local governance

## Sumário

Um dos objetivos do Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), acordada na Cimeira sobre Crescimento económico e Desenvolvimento em 2003, é aumentar a participação de pessoas sem qualificação e desempregados na economia do país. O EPWP tem três objetivos: proporcionar emprego aos desempregados, a construção da base de competências de trabalhadores não qualificados e a construção de infraestruturas públicas, na forma de estradas, escolas e outras. Num contexto multifacetado de programas tais como o EPWP, é fácil perder de vista esses objetivos. Quando isso acontece, vários actores – dependendo de como eles têm conceptualizado o programa – focam-se mais nos objetivos estreitos que são de interesse directo.

Este artigo relata um estudo que analisou como EPWP do Município de Thekwini foi concebida, nomeadamente em matéria de criação de emprego. Ele tenta estabelecer a medida

em que os beneficiários do EPWP teriam sido capazes de obter e manter empregos decentes para além do seu envolvimento em EPWP do Município. O estudo indica como funcionários públicos e beneficiários parecem ter diferentes perceções do que o EPWP pretende alcançar, e faz recomendações sobre como conciliar esses pontos de vista divergentes para produzir benefícios sustentáveis para ambos os funcionários públicos e beneficiários do projeto.

O estudo foi em grande parte qualitativo, buscando estabelecer visões e perceções das pessoas sobre o Programa, e foi sustentado por entrevistas um-em-um com funcionários selecionados para ganhar uma compreensão mais profunda da situação.

**Palavras chave:** Programas de Obras Públicas, criação de empregos, alívio da pobreza, governação local

## Background

A key objective of the 2003 national Growth and Development Summit (GDS) of South Africa was to tackle the continuing disjuncture between growth in the South African economy and the high numbers of unskilled and unemployed people who still fail to derive benefit from it. South Africa's GDP has, according to the South African Revenue Bank (2010), steadily increased from R1.175 billion in 2006 to R1.294 billion in 2010. However, according to the diagnostic report of the national Planning Commission, currently only 41% of South Africa's working population is working (National Planning Commission, 2011:12) To address this issue, one of the initiatives agreed upon at the job summit held in 2003, was what came to be known as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).

The EPWP, first rolled out in 2004, creates temporary work opportunities for the unemployed using public sector expenditure to build public infrastructure with a strong social development focus. Recognising that most of the unemployed are also unskilled, the EPWP focuses on job creation for a relatively unskilled workforce. It is the intention that once established, these work opportunities will be combined with training, education or skills development that will enhance workers' ability to obtain a job when they leave the programme. The EPWP thus has three objectives: create jobs, alleviate poverty and train people for the job market. They are hopeful objectives, and how far they may be realised remains to be seen.

So far, evidence has yet to emerge of any significant effect of the EPWP on unemployment and poverty levels in South Africa. These levels remain disturbingly high, despite the range of initiatives and frameworks to develop skills and create jobs for the lower end of the workforce.

## The problem statement

The continuing predicament of the eThekweni Municipality is that while it strives to provide world class services, high levels of unemployment mean its citizens are often unable to pay for these services. Like all municipalities, eThekweni generates revenue from its citizens through municipal

rates along with charges on water and electricity. An unemployed (and often unemployable) citizenry both reduces the revenue flow and also inflates expenditure, because funds must be diverted to mandated support for the indigent (such as free basic provision of water and electricity). The size of the indigent population is hence in direct proportion to the income that a municipality will forfeit from its coffers. For this reason, it is directly in the interest of the municipality to reduce the levels of indigence and unemployment within its bounds. In this regard, the EPWP offers eThekweni Municipality a potentially well-suited framework, both for responding to its immediate unemployment situation, and reducing poverty in the longer term.

Policy analyst Jean Triegaardt (2007) argues that South African unemployment is a chronic, structural problem, rather than an acute, cyclical one. The EPWP attempts to address this structural problem by 'bridging the gap' between the unemployed and the jobs that they could fill if they were better skilled. By creating temporary, rather than sustained employment (which would admittedly do more to alleviate the unemployment problem), the EPWP can be criticised for having missed the mark. Yet the Programme doesn't claim to do more than offer a partial solution to the structural unemployment problem.

The Department of Public Works' (DPW) website acknowledges that "the EPWP will not solve the structural unemployment problem". Rather, it presents the EPWP as just "one of South African Government's short-to-medium term programmes aimed at the provision of additional work opportunities coupled with training" (DPW, 2011). That said, it is significant that the Programme is being counted on to relieve the unemployment situation by creating a consistent pool of 4.5 million temporary job opportunities. The short-term nature of the jobs provided by the EPWP can be attributed to the nature of the work (such as once-off construction projects), and to its objective of boosting workers' skills so that they can compete for longer-term jobs outside of the Programme. It is for the latter reason that training is a critical element of the Programme.

The difficulty however, is that some municipalities do not view the programme as one of job creation, but rather as an infrastructural development one. There thus appears to be a disjuncture between the EPWP objectives and those of the municipalities that implement the programme.

## Objectives of the study

This study investigates how the EPWP has been conceptualised in the eThekweni Municipality with particular regard to job creation. It also attempts to establish the extent to which the beneficiaries of the EPWP have been able to sustain decent jobs beyond their involvement in the Programme, and hence to gauge the Programme's effectiveness in relation to its stated aims.

## Conceptual underpinnings

According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey for Quarter 3 of 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2011), the estimated unemployment rate for South Africa was 25%. Of the 4,4 million people who remained unemployed, just over 3,0 million (68,2%) had been without work for at least one year. Furthermore, 60,2% of job seekers did not have matric, which further limits their

chances of finding employment. It is against this backdrop of high numbers of unemployed (and largely unemployable) but able-bodied South Africans that public works programmes (PWP) are conceived and implemented. As described by Biyase and Bromberger (2005), "The primary purpose of a PWP is poverty alleviation through labour absorption, and this is frequently achieved through the creation of public assets using labour intensive methods." These authors go on to note that the effectiveness of a public works programme depends on the benefits (direct and indirect) that it confers on the poor; on the costs of participation it requires (or imposes), and on the way it is financed.

While it would be imprudent to expect that public works programmes (the EPWP included) could on their own resolve the unemployment problem of post-apartheid South Africa, the EPWP presents itself as an appropriate short- to medium-term intervention to alleviate poverty associated with the unemployment of able-bodied but unskilled adults. Phillips (2004:7) describes it as a cross-cutting programme to be implemented by all spheres of government and state-owned enterprises. Through its nation-wide application, it is intended to draw significant numbers of the unemployed into productive work where they will gain skills and thereby increase their income-earning capacity. A crucial element of the EPWP should thus be to improve the employability of the beneficiaries beyond the project. It is according to this criterion that the programme will be judged as efficient.

Phillips (2004:2) differentiates between economically efficient and inefficient public works programmes (PWP). Inefficient PWPs create employment but do so wastefully without creating quality public infrastructure. In contrast, economically efficient programmes provide quality public infrastructure in a cost-effective way, and have a strong regard for the social objective of the programme – which, in the case of the EPWP, is to build workers' skills level and increase their chances of employment. In a resource-constrained environment such as South Africa's, PWPs are only sustainable if they are economically efficient. According to Phillips (2004:2), well-conceived PWPs deliver simultaneously on a range of valuable objectives: "providing public services; temporarily increasing incomes; increasing dignity, reducing alienation, and giving people valuable experience of the workplace; and making a modest contribution to raising skills levels".

Negotiations between organised labour, the construction industry and government on appropriate protection for workers in a PWP resulted in the establishment in 2002 of a Code of Good Practice that sets targets for the employment of youth, women and people with disabilities. The code requires that pertinent community-level structures be consulted in the selection of workers to be recruited on PWP projects, and it emphasises the importance of providing the unemployed with a combination of work experience and training.

Reviewing international PWP trends, McCord (2007) considers a variety of PWPs ranging from small- to very large-scale initiatives. These include the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme in India and the New Deal programme in the 1930s in USA – both of which absorbed up to 30% of the unemployed populations of their respective countries when they were implemented (McCord, 2007:8). Noting that PWPs can vary greatly in scale and objectives, McCord (2007:49)

identifies four distinct PWP types:

- programmes offering short-term employment;
- programmes promoting labour intensification of government infrastructure spending;
- large-scale government employment programmes which offer some form of employment guarantee; and
- programmes which enhance employability.

While each stresses the provision of employment with some form of social protection, each PWP type implies a different conception of public works and has different institutional implications. South Africa's EPWP, which embraces a number of simultaneous objectives, shares characteristics with all four of these PWP types. This makes it a conceptual hybrid in terms of its aspirations. Its form, however, is demarcated by a specific emphasis on short-term, labour-intensifying and skills-formational requirements. The combination of these multivariate objectives in a programme positioned to focus on labour intensification is potentially problematic as it requires all role-players to have a common understanding of the objectives.

McCord (2007) notes that in the EPWP, increasing aggregate employment through labour intensification and small-scale government employment is directly tied to improving the future employability of participants – in other words, 'employment now, and enhanced employability for the future'. McCord argues that:

In the former case, PWPs are reviewed in terms of their immediate impact on participants and their macroeconomic impact on employment and unemployment, while in the latter case, programme performance is reviewed in terms of the employment and earnings experience of participants after leaving the programme (McCord, 2007:7).

Which approach is adopted is dependent on the perceived purpose of the PWP, whether that be 'to close an economy's job gap' or to 'enhance the 'employability' of jobless workers in an economy that is presumed to have jobs available for them to fill" (McCord, 2007:7).

Considerations such as these make the EPWP a conceptually complex intervention for poverty alleviation, in which potentially diverging requirements have to be continuously reconciled. Much depends on all EPWP participants being able to work together, and with an adequately shared understanding of the programme objectives from the outset. This way, beneficiaries and implementers alike are more likely to have appropriate expectations of what the Programme can in fact achieve.

With its multifaceted objectives, the EPWP requires multifaceted coordination. While PWPs in South Africa were up until this point directly undertaken by national or provincial government, EPWPs are planned and run by a variety of authorities at all levels of government, and also by sector departments. However, the Department of Public Works remains the overall coordinating department responsible for (i) monitoring and evaluation, (ii) making progress reports to Cabinet, (iii) promoting linkages between sectors (e.g. through learning networks), and (iv) putting in place common support

programmes (e.g. access to credit for learner entrepreneurs) and common monitoring, evaluation, exit strategy, and training frameworks. To this end, an EPWP Unit with approximately 15 professional positions, has been created in the Department of Public Works (Phillips, 2004:9).

Each of the sector coordinating departments is in turn required to:

champion the EPWP in their sector; produce a sectoral plan identifying areas of expansion for EPWP approaches and setting targets for expansion; facilitate the meeting of common needs in the sector (e.g. sectoral training and qualifications frameworks and sectoral guidelines); monitor implementation against the sectoral plan; and produce sectoral progress reports to the Department of Public Works (Phillips, 2004:9).

Devolving implementation from national government to provincial and municipal government makes the EPWP highly decentralised and this offers possibilities for leveraging funds that have a variety of objectives (Lieuw-Kie-Song, 2009). The difficulty with decentralisation, however, is that the proliferation of accountable departments greatly complicates enforcement of grant conditions, and the EPWP Unit at national level has little control over the Programme and is not in a position to enforce compliance.

## The eThekweni EPWP

The EPWP Policy Framework developed by eThekweni Municipality was initially adopted in April 2007 and has since been rolled out across all sectors and clusters within the Municipality. Defined in conformity with the Municipality's mainstream development plans, the objectives for the eThekweni EPWP are:

- to establish the eThekweni's EPWP as an approved socio-economic developmental and poverty alleviation programme with sustainable exit strategies that maximise SMME development, employment creation and skills development;
- to entrench the EPWP methodology within the IDP (Integrated Development Plan) – a methodology that expands the current service delivery model of goods and services to ensure shared economic growth; and
- to ensure developmental integration across all sectors and re-engineer how we plan, design and implement projects/programmes within the existing municipal operational and capital budgets (eThekweni Municipality, 2007).

Implementation strategies for the Programme are centred on the re-orientation of line function budgets (capital and maintenance) so that for every unit of expenditure the focus is on:

- maximising employment opportunities from each administrative cluster's business plan;
- developing sustainable skills and capacity within communities through EPWP training programmes using accredited training providers; and
- developing sustainable emerging enterprises through accredited learnerships.

Each administrative cluster is charged with developing and implementing its individual sector plans and ensuring EPWP compliance in terms of the respective national sector EPWP guidelines. eThekweni's EPWP policy provides for interventions in each of the four sectors named in the national policy: the infrastructure sector, the environment/tourism and culture sector, the social sector, and the economic sector. Each cluster plan should consist of identified projects, associated budgets, training requirements, resource requirements, monitoring and evaluation methodologies, and deliverables against timeframes.

The EPWP Progress Report for 2011 (eThekweni Municipality, 2011) indicates significant advances since the Programme's inception. An example of this is the EPWP's Contractor Development Programme (the two-year Vuk'uphile Contractor Learnership) through which a number of emerging contractors have been trained to manage construction teams, thereby boosting the city's construction capacity and increasing its pool of professional contractors and supervisors.

## Research methods

A short questionnaire was used to source data from a sample of project beneficiaries of the EPWP, and one-on-one interviews were held with municipal officials who had had direct involvement with the EPWP for at least three years. In all, data was collected from:

- six municipal officials, selected on the basis of their involvement in the implementation of the EPWP for a period of at least three years;
- two contractors, selected on the basis of having been part of the EPWP for at least three years; and
- twenty-five community members, selected randomly from a list of beneficiaries as sourced from the Municipality.

Ethical clearance was obtained in line with ethical guidelines stipulated by the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

## Key research questions

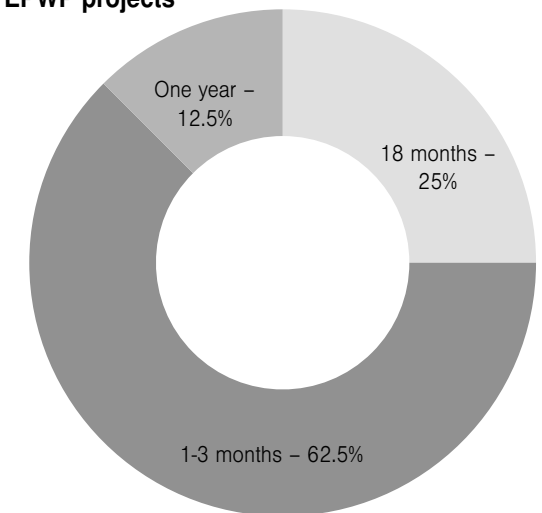
- Were the EPWP training targets met in the last financial year?
- Were the recipients of the EPWP able to sustain jobs beyond the project?

## Presentation of findings

A critical measure of EPWP goal achievement in poverty alleviation is the duration of created jobs – in other words, the length of time beneficiaries are employed under EPWP. Figure 1 shows how long the beneficiaries of the EPWP were typically employed for any one infrastructure development project.

Nearly two thirds (62.5%) of the jobs created were short-term contracts of 1 to 3 months. A quarter of the contracts were for 18 months, and 12.5% of created jobs ran for a year.

**Figure 1: Duration of employment in specific EPWP projects**



## Achievement of EPWP targets by eThekweni Municipality

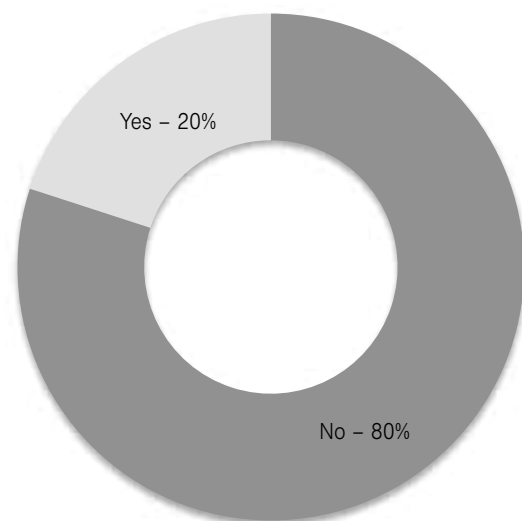
Among the beneficiaries interviewed, some were happy just to have found employment of any kind, but many felt that the targets had been either partially achieved or not at all. Some respondents mentioned that they had received training in community development work, HIV/AIDS counselling and gardening while working on the EPWP. Subsequently, they had found other positions within the Municipality where they were continuing to work on pertinent social development issues in the community. These benefits notwithstanding, some beneficiaries nonetheless complained of administrative difficulties that prevented them from benefiting from the EPWP's training objectives.

These impressions were confirmed in the focus group discussions with municipal officials working on the Programme, who cited the following reasons for non-achievement of EPWP training targets:

- budgetary constraints brought about by competing and equally important social demands on the Municipality;
- a lack of involvement in joint planning processes by pertinent sectors of the Municipality. Respondents pointed to the fact that the social sector of the Municipality was not included in the IDP. As a result, insufficient funds were allocated for this sector (which relied solely on the Municipal Department of Health's social development unit for financial support);
- a lack of dedicated EPWP staff in the Municipality. As the EPWP is not regarded as a permanent mainstream programme of the Municipality, it does not feature in the municipal organogram. As a result, the only personnel assigned to EPWP activities were four drivers who had been nominated by deputy municipal managers to perform EPWP functions over and above their appointed duties. The EPWP social sector currently depends on in-service trainees serving on short-term contracts;
- unclear intergovernmental coordination mechanisms that often lead to blurred communication between the different spheres of government. This lack of communication means that the Municipality does not sufficiently benefit from the repository of experience that no doubt exists at the national level.

## Employment sustainability

Figure 2: Employment sustainability



A large majority of respondents, both in participant interviews (see Figure 2) and in focus group discussions with officials, doubted that trainees and beneficiaries in EPWP programmes would be able to secure decent future employment that would serve them beyond the duration of their involvement in the EPWP.

Respondents pointed out that although the Municipality provided beneficiaries with simple skills and sometimes also necessary equipment to start their own business, very few people were actually in a position to start businesses or form co-operatives, as had been hoped in the planning phase of the Programme. Criticisms were that the skills training programme fell short in developing adequate skills for beneficiaries to find jobs,

and that even the work experience gained was problematic because the EPWP does not award any form of certification – so beneficiaries subsequently seeking jobs have nothing to show would-be employers. Even where skills were gained, beneficiaries would not have the start-up capital to launch their own businesses and create employment for themselves.

## Discussion

The EPWP is one way in which the eThekweni Municipality attempts to respond to the local unemployment situation. Although intended to tackle the structural roots of the unemployment problem, the EPWP focuses in practice only on short-term work opportunities because it is constrained by the nature of work in the particular industries where it is most commonly involved (such as once-off maintenance projects). Creating temporary rather than sustained employment (which would be more suitable in the context of South Africa's unemployment challenge) means that the EPWP is limited in its ability to address the deeper problem.

The study indicated various reasons why eThekweni EPWP targets were not met, including budgetary and administrative constraints. While it was clear enough that the EPWP was actively underway in the Municipality, with tenders regularly being awarded under the Programme, the most obvious drawback was that too many of these were tenders of very short duration, and for menial work such as providing pack-sheds and distributing food hampers. Projects of such short duration cannot seriously be regarded as responsive to the unemployment problem. Not only is there little by way of remuneration for participants in such a short period of time, but the

type of menial work performed also has little potential for skills transfer (in comparison, say, with projects in infrastructure development or the building of schools). The fact that all the respondents indicated that the job creation targets of the Municipality were only partly achieved shows that the Municipality has fallen short of its original EPWP targets. A proper job should be ongoing work that allows people to achieve their right to a decent life – which can scarcely be said of the very brief working opportunity that most EPWP workers in the study experienced.

While the EPWP policy does acknowledge its limitations in addressing the chronic structural unemployment problem, reaching its objectives would enable it to make a significant difference in providing work and training. In practice, the degeneration of the programme into a stop gap source of temporary work, with little associated training or empowerment, raises serious questions about its practicability. Triegaardt (2007) lists the following five fundamental limitations of the EPWP:

- the average duration of these EPWP jobs is only four months;
- there is only a limited number of learnerships available, providing limited training (8-12 days), although individuals do obtain life skills training;
- the supply of unemployed low- and unskilled workers exceeds the demand for work;
- the EPWP will not provide sustainable employment; and
- the EPWP will not provide long-term employment, and thus is not a credible response to the unemployment crisis.

In South Africa, public works programmes have traditionally been run by national and provincial government and various degrees of previous success have been reported (see Mubangizi, 2004). In a study of the public works programme in Mvenyane, Mubangizi (2004) recommended that decentralisation and the involvement of local government would go a long way in responding to implementation challenges. This study has shown that decentralisation or involvement of local government in public works programmes does not necessarily tackle the fundamental problems, although its findings do suggest possible recommendations for more satisfactory attainment of EPWP objectives.

## Recommendations

For more effective implementation of the eThekweni EPWP, the following recommendations may be considered:

- **Institutional arrangements:** eThekweni Municipality could consider incorporating the EPWP in its institutional organogram and appointing permanent staff members who will be responsible for planning, leading, organising and controlling EPWP implementation.
- **Budget:** The Municipality should ensure that all EPWP sectors are incorporated into both the Integrated Development Programme (IDP) and Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plans (SDBIP), and that both capital and operating budgets are allocated to the EPWP. In this way, budgetary constraints of the programme will be borne by mainstream activities of the Municipality. This being said, the contribution of the Department of Labour through channels

such as the Skills Development Levy needs to be stepped up. The Municipality will have to aggressively lobby the Department of Labour in this regard.

- **Communication:** The driving line managers and government departments (national, provincial, district and local) need to re-align their responsibilities and coordinate their roles to ensure the effectiveness and sustainability of the EPWP. It is suggested that all spheres of government concentrate on creating a system of regular communication to establish a clear understanding of what is expected of them in relation to implementing the EPWP. A proactive step in this regard would be to establish direct linkages with the national EPWP Unit, whose responsibility includes programme design and offering technical support in the implementation of the EPWP.
- **Job creation:** The EPWP drivers for the Municipality need to identify long-term employment opportunities rather than short-term jobs which often don't serve the purpose of the Programme (that is, developing skills for future work or self-employment). Respondents' accounts of 'achieved targets' tend to simply be justifications of where money was spent, with little being said about empowerment of people or job sustainability. It is therefore important for the Municipality to reconsider the duration of job contracts to give recipients of the EPWP more lengthy work exposure in the jobs provided. In this respect, the infrastructure sector is probably the most important in job creation because it normally provides longer-term contracts and has the potential to absorb a large number of low skilled beneficiaries.
- **Database:** It is suggested that a database be created with details of all participants who have been offered training, and who have been appointed or gained formal or informal skills while on the EPWP. This database could then be used to select people who have acquired skills in various sectors to be considered for minor work/tenders within the Municipality, should these arise.
- **Training:** Training should be provided to each participant in the Programme, and this should be linked not just to the skills required for the job, but to life skills such as CV writing, basic financial management, basic literacy, information on how to apply for loans, and so on. This would enable workers to leverage their skills to create their own jobs and potentially employ others down the line. Crucial to the success of this training endeavour are all the above factors – proper institutional recognition of the EPWP; adequate financial resources; proper communication around the aims and implementation of the Programme; longer-term jobs in which skills can be adequately practised; and a database providing details of participants and the skills they can offer to prospective employers.
- **Monitoring and evaluation:** The given percentages for the achievement of targets were extremely low, revealing that targets were not achieved. Among all the respondents, not one confirmed that targets were fully achieved. It is, therefore, recommended that the Municipality try to set achievable targets and ensure that its implementation plan/strategy is reviewed annually.

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# Institutional dynamics and health service delivery in regional referral hospitals in Uganda: What lessons from a case of Jinja Regional Hospital?

CHRISTINE J ONDOA, BENON C BASHEKA AND MUHENDA M BASAASA

## Abstract

*This paper reports on a study that examined the institutional dynamics affecting health service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital in Eastern Uganda. The institutional dynamics examined included the supply of essential medicines and other health supplies, physical infrastructure and the availability of medical equipment. While other factors were likely to affect the capacity of a health facility in improving its service delivery system, our hypotheses relied on institutional factors as the most likely dominant. Although contemporary analysis of development emphasises the central role of institutions, little work looks at how institutions matter for healthcare workers and health care delivery and that's the focus of this paper. One reason for the scarcity of work in this field is that it is unclear what the relevant theory is in this area. We used the institutional theory. The study population comprised of referral hospital top management, healthcare workers and a few purposively selected patients. The overall findings confirm that two institutional factors, namely physical infrastructure and medical equipment, are the dominant factors in explaining the level of health service delivery. Medical supplies were not found to be a significant predictor, suggesting that government health facilities are perhaps not seriously affected by lack of drugs but by inadequate facilities. This raises a governance issue among the health facilities. We suggest that the Ministry of Health should budget more funds for infrastructural development and emphasise more support supervision and monitoring strategies to ensure full utilisation of lower level health centre facilities so that referral hospitals are decongested and left to handle only referrals and emergency cases by specialists. The implementation and operationalisation of the policy to standardise equipment procurements at different health facility levels is likely to have positive implications in improving the situation.*

**Key words:** Health delivery, infrastructural development, support supervision monitoring, medical equipment procurement, Uganda

## Sumário

*Este artigo relata um estudo que analisou a dinâmica institucional que afeta a prestação de serviços de saúde no Hospital de Referência Regional Jinja, em Uganda Oriental. As dinâmicas institucionais examinadas incluem o fornecimento de medicamentos essenciais e outros suprimentos de saúde, infraestrutura física e da disponibilidade de equipamentos médicos. Embora outros fatores sejam susceptíveis de afectar a capacidade de uma unidade de saúde na melhoria do seu sistema de prestação de serviços, nossas hipóteses basearam-se em considerar que elementos institucionais*

*são os mais prováveis para influenciar a dominância operacional. Embora a análise contemporânea de desenvolvimento enfatiza o papel central das instituições, poucos trabalhos analisam a forma como as instituições são importantes para os trabalhadores de saúde e na prestação de cuidados de saúde que é o foco deste artigo. Uma razão para a falta de trabalhos neste campo é que não é claro quais são as teorias relevantes para esta área. Nós usamos a teoria institucional. A população do estudo é composta pelo pessoal de gestão hospitalar de referência superior, profissionais de saúde e alguns pacientes propositalmente selecionados. Os resultados globais confirmam que dois fatores institucionais, infra-estrutura ou seja, física e de equipamentos médicos, são os fatores dominantes para explicar o nível de prestação de serviços de saúde. Suprimentos médicos não foram encontrados para ser um preditor significativo, sugerindo que as unidades de saúde do governo não são, talvez, seriamente afetada pela falta de medicamentos, mas por instalações inadequadas. Isto levanta uma questão de governação entre os serviços de saúde. Nós sugerimos que o Ministério da Saúde deverá orçar mais fundos para o desenvolvimento de infraestrutura e enfatizar mais a supervisão de apoio e estratégias de monitoramento para garantir a plena utilização das instalações do centro de saúde de nível inferior para que hospitais de referência sejam descongestionados e deixem de lidar com apenas referências e casos de emergência por especialistas. A implementação e operacionalização da política de padronizar as aquisições de equipamentos em diferentes níveis das unidades de saúde é susceptível de ter implicações positivas para melhorar a situação.*

**Palavras chave:** serviços de saúde, o desenvolvimento de infraestrutura, monitoramento de supervisão de apoio, aquisição de equipamentos médicos, Uganda

## Introduction

Health service delivery remains at the core of government activities upon which the majority of citizens of a particular country depend. Failure of a health delivery system at any level of government legitimises accusations about the incapacity of governments. Referral hospitals are often located some distance from the national referral hospitals (capital city hospitals). They handle cases that are referred from the regional hospitals and need specialists' attention. Over the past few decades, health has attained worldwide recognition as a crucial component of human development and poverty eradication. In this regard, improvement of health is a critical governance issue. However, there is a realisation that one third of the world population lacks access to essential medicines, and this critically contributes to further poverty, mortality and morbidity (WHO, 2004). The 2009 Report of the Special United Nations Rapporteur on the Right to Health observed that the disease of the poor – that is maternal, peri-natal and nutritional diseases, among others – still account for 50% of the burden of diseases in developing countries.

Improving access to medicines alone can save ten million lives a year – four million in Africa and South Asia (WHO, 2010 Report). Effective health service delivery also depends on other determinants of health, which include the availability of highly motivated healthcare workers, well equipped infrastructure, access to roads, sanitation and to clean water (WHO, 2004). In Africa,

health service delivery has continued to face many challenges, most of which are similar across the continent. According to the WHO 2010 Report, in Mali for example, medical facilities are very limited and medicines are in short supply most of the time. In the 1990s, there were only five physicians per 100 000 inhabitants and only 36% of Malians were estimated to have access to health services within a five-kilometre radius, (WHO, 2010 Report). The health care system in Niger suffers a chronic lack of resources and a small number of health providers relative to the population. Most essential medicines are in short supply or unavailable. Similarly, the health system in Zimbabwe has more or less collapsed, and due to the political and economic crises, many doctors and other health personnel have migrated, hence resulting in very poor health service delivery (WHO, 2010).

From the 1960s to the mid 1970s, Uganda had one of the most effective public service systems in sub-Saharan Africa. The country's health system in particular, was one of the finest, with an effective referral system from the village dispensaries and district hospitals to the national referral hospital. During the 1970s and early 1980s, many of these institutional systems collapsed, resulting in substantial deterioration of the health outcome indicators (UBOS, 2009:1). By 1986, the health sector was in a state of near collapse, with dilapidated and very poorly equipped public health facilities. Healthcare workers in the public sector were demoralised due to very low and irregular wages, and in addition, public funding for the sector was unreliable (National Health Policy, 1999). While several reforms have been undertaken in the health sector with a view to improving health outcome indicators, progress has stagnated since the late 1990s. The immediate reform emphasis was on the rehabilitation of the existing facilities to restore functional capacity, and shift of emphasis to primary health care, in order to improve service delivery.

This paper examines the implications of institutional dynamics to health service delivery using the case study of Jinja Referral hospital. Although contemporary analysis of development emphasises the central role of institutions, it surprisingly looks at how institutions matter for healthcare workers and health care delivery, which is the focus of this paper. The rest of the paper is presented as follows: part two presents the study problem as well as the research questions that guided the study; part three reviews some secondary and primary literature; part four gives the methodology used for the study; part five presents and discusses the results. Finally, part six makes concluding remarks and suggests a number of implications from the study.

## Study problem and research question

A high-performing, effective health care system is important for improvement in human health, accessibility and utilisation of health services, reduction of morbidity and mortality rates in the community, and economic growth of the nation. Uganda has one of the highest maternal mortality ratios in the world, currently at 435 per 100 000 live births, and infant mortality rates estimated at 76 per 1 000 live births (UBOS, 2006). If Uganda is to improve health service delivery and also meet the Health Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the maternal and infant mortality rates will have to shrink to 131 deaths per 100 000 live births and 31 deaths per 1 000 live births respectively by 2015 (MOFPED, 2010; MOH, 2007).

The maternal deaths per year at regional referral hospitals are very high, with an average of 37 maternal deaths per hospital (MOH, 2009). In Jinja Regional Referral Hospital, the trends for the last three years has been an average of 30 maternal deaths per year and an infant death rate of about 14% in a month (Jinja Hospital, 2010). Some of the factors that contribute to these poor indices include poor access to and utilisation of health services that include delayed referrals, inadequate and ill-equipped lower level health facilities, unavailability or inadequate essential medicines and health supplies in the facilities (MOH, 2010). Poor health service delivery negatively affects access and utilisation of health services and the health of the general population, thus leading to low economic productivity. This consequently impacts negatively on the maternal and infant morbidity and mortality rates (WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, 2007). All other health indices will also remain unacceptable and the quality of health care will get poorer. While the Ministry of Health have done assessments, among others, empirical studies have generally been lacking, creating a knowledge gap. While the 2010 assessment for example, highlights a number of factors that account for poor health service delivery, empirical analysis of the most important factors is lacking. Yet, that is the kind of information that would be needed to guide policy makers. This study therefore investigates the institutional factors that are likely to have significant implications to the delivery of health services in Jinja Regional Referral Hospital. The following questions are answered:

- 1: How do essential medicines and health supplies affect health service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital?
- 2: In what way does physical infrastructure affect health service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital?
- 3: How does medical equipment contribute to health service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital?

## Literature review

Factors contributing to stock depletion at health facilities have been established and documented to include those at supply and consumption levels according to the findings of Arube-Wani, Jitta & Muiyinda, (2008); Yusuff & Tayo, (2004); and Abola, (2005). Characterised by late order placement by health facilities, late payment of previous drug orders, poor supply lead time, inadequate procurement policies, increased consumption, expiry of medicines, improper storage and inadequate product selection, have all contributed to the problem. Other factors include irrational prescription and dispensing by healthcare workers and lack of support supervision (Erah, Olumide & Ohamafe, 2003; Abola, 2005). Increased facility utilisation has also been cited as a factor that contributes to medicine shortage (Anakbongo, Aupont, Obua, Ogwai-Okeng & Ross, 2004). The 2010 report by the Medicines and Health Service Delivery Monitoring Unit (MHSDMU) in Uganda documents lengthy or inefficient procurement procedures, delayed deliveries, irrational prescriptions, poor stock management and poor needs assessments as reasons associated for stock shortage.

Studies elsewhere have shown that frequent shortages of essential medicines affect health service utilisation and delivery. According to Nabyonga, Desmet & Karamagi, (2005), patients tend to visit health facilities in large numbers when they have information that drugs are available. A review of literature from Tanzania suggests that people considered the availability of essential drugs a prerequisite to the credibility of health services, (Mamdani & Bangser, 2004). According to Wabwire-Mangen, Amuge & Pariyo, (2004), in Rakai District, some of the reasons why patients choose to go to a health facility include a short distance, cheap and free treatment, availability of drugs and quick service to patients. These findings therefore indicate that essential medicines and health supplies (EMHS) contribute to delivery of health services at health facilities. This study attempted to find out how essential medicines and health supplies affect health service delivery in Jinja Regional Referral Hospital, a facility with specialised services. All the above studies were done in a lower level health facility setting, with basic minimum requirements for primary healthcare.

Effective healthcare service delivery requires a network of functional health facilities. Over the past decade, the Ugandan Government has focused on expanding its health infrastructure through construction of more health facilities in an effort to bring services closer to the people. However, a number of these health facilities are neither manned with the right cadre of healthcare workers nor adequately equipped, (MOH, 2010). Although 72% of the households in Uganda live within five kilometres from a health facility, utilisation is limited due to poor infrastructure, lack of medicines and other health supplies, a shortage of human resources, low salaries, a lack of accommodation for staff at the health facilities and other factors that further constrain access to quality service delivery (MOH, 2010). Besides, maintenance of health infrastructure and medical equipment remains a major challenge coupled with inadequate supervision and monitoring of health facility functions (MOH, 2005). There are also variations with regard to access, ranging from as low as 7% of the population within five kilometres of a health facility in Kotido, to 100% in Jinja, Tororo and Kampala districts. Could similar factors also be a constraint to quality service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral hospital?

Some studies have shown that physical accessibility and improvement of the infrastructure affects health service utilisation and delivery. Jennings (2000) observed that the physical infrastructure at the service delivery point could enhance provider client interaction, creating an environment that fosters privacy, efficiency and client comfort. Physical infrastructure close to people seeking health services was found to increase utilisation rates of these health facilities in Uganda (Katende, 1994). This was also observed to be a key determinant to the utilisation of reproductive services in most developing countries (Gish, 1990; Peltzer, 2005). Health infrastructures far away from the people often negatively impact health service utilisation (Ikamari, 2004). This was also cited in several studies as a reason why women deliver at home rather than at a health facility (Amooti & Nuwaha, 2000; Parkhurs & Ssengooba, 2005). Similar observations were also made in others studies (Arinaitwe, 2001; Wagle, Svend & Bruun, 2004; Gage & Calixte, 2006). Failure of mothers to go back for postnatal services included, among other factors, poor access to a health facility, the unattractiveness of a health facility or poor infrastructure (Lukwago, 1998).

A study conducted in 2008 on users' satisfaction and understanding of client experiences showed that in general, clients were satisfied with physical access to health service delivery (66%) and availability and affordability of services, including the providers' skills and competencies (Arube-Wani, Jitta & Muiyinda, 2008). Other findings equally showed that adequacy of facilities and equipment actually predicted effective healthcare service delivery (Ogundele & Olafimihan, 2009). These findings therefore, clearly show that well constructed/maintained and equipped health facilities closer to the people contribute to delivery of health services. Could similar results be reported at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital for us to support earlier studies since it is a referral facility with specialised services compared to the other facilities for primary healthcare?

An essential component of health facility functionality is having appropriate and functional medical equipment. Equipment actually improves both diagnosis and treatment of patients at health facilities (MOH, 2005). An essential medical equipment credit line has been established by the Ministry of Health to ensure supply of essential medical equipment to the districts. Procurement, supply and installation of medical equipment and plants was done by various development partners in addition to training of equipment users and technical staff as part of capacity building for better management of health infrastructure. However, many districts in Uganda do not consider equipment maintenance a priority and do not use even the 5% provided regularly for this purpose (MOH, 2005). This has resulted in a lot of medical equipment breaking down and hence contributing to ineffective service delivery.

Ogundele & Olafimihan (2009) documented in their study that availability and adequacy of facilities and equipment actually predicted effective healthcare delivery service. Some of the main reasons why clients did not utilise the health facilities in Kampala City Council for example, included shortage of drugs and a lack of laboratory services due to inadequate equipment (Nsabiyumba, 2007). In the MDG report for Uganda, in 2010, only 5% of facilities have a vacuum extractor for assisted vaginal delivery (MOFPED, 2010). It also noted that insufficient supplies and commodities, as well as limitations in transport and communication for referral, are also key bottlenecks in the supply of maternal health services. A number of health facilities are underutilised because of non-functional equipment and this is due to various reasons like failure to repair or install, or to train users in operating them (MHSDMU, 2010). These reviews therefore affirm that the availability and functionality of medical equipment is crucial in delivering effective health services. This study critically looked at some of these factors and also tried to identify some of the gaps that other studies may not have addressed since none of them were done in a regional referral hospital.

## Methodology

The case study combined with a cross-sectional design was used. The sample size included hospital staff, specifically top managers (4), medical doctors (6), Allied Health professionals (8), nurses/midwives (32) and patients (10) from the respective offices, wards and clinics. The response rate of the hospital staff was 100%. Similarly, the sampled patients had a 100% response rate. The mix of respondents from different categories provided varying views on health

service delivery issues. The patients are the direct consumers of the services and thus offered useful insights. Purposive sampling technique was used for the category of top management, medical doctors and allied health professionals. Whereas simple random sampling was used to get nurses/midwives, such a sampling gives equal chance for every cadre to be included in the selection so as to avoid bias.

Data was collected using a questionnaire, interviews, observation and analysis of existing documents. The reliability test for the quantitative data derived from the questionnaires was analysed using Cronbach's Alpha co-efficient, which built confidence in the data.

**Table 1: Reliability results for variables**

Variables	Description	Number of items	Cronbach Alpha
Dependent variable	Health service delivery	10	0.876
Independent variable	Essential medicines and health supplies	18	0.887
	Physical infrastructure	13	0.853
	Medical equipment	15	0.871

All the items in the different sections of the questionnaire had alpha greater than 0.7, which indicates a higher reliability as recommended by Amin, (2005). Respondents' views on institutional factors were analysed using descriptive statistics. Regression analysis was used to test the effect of institutional factors on service delivery. Interviews were conducted with key informants who included members of top management and patients who were purposively selected according to their experience and exposure to the hospital.

## Findings and discussion

Before the multivariate results are presented, a description of the sample and descriptive results are presented. Among the top management staff, female respondents were 2 (50%), which implied gender equality as far as generating top management views. For healthcare workers, the study revealed 38 (82.6%) female respondents and 8 (17.4) male respondents. This seems to imply that more staff are female and it could be deduced that the majority of healthcare workers at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital are female. The study revealed that 75% of top management staff had a Masters degree in the field of patient management, hospital management and management of other resources, and 25% had an ordinary diploma in related areas. We can conclude that top management comprises managers whose education is above the minimum requirement for the health profession and therefore they have in-depth knowledge, skills and experience in health service delivery related issues. The varying levels of education are also likely to affect varying respondents' perceptions and enrich the study further. Meanwhile, among the healthcare workers, a majority (47.8%) had attained an ordinary diploma.

The study revealed 50% of the respondents among top managers in the age category 41-50 while 50% were above 50 years. Among the healthcare workers, 34.8% were in the age category 41-50, 10.9% are between 21-30, 23.9% in the age category 31-40 and 30.4% were above 50 years. This suggests that views about health service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital were generated from varying age groups – ranging from twenty-one to over fifty years of age. In addition, the public service policy puts retirement of healthcare workers at 60 years, implying that those above 50 years of age are likely to be focusing more on retirement than health service delivery. Since the majority was below 50 years, we are confident that the responses reflect the sentiments of those still in active service.

Among top management, 25% had worked for less than a year, 50% had working experience of 1-3 years and 25% had worked for 3-5 years in management. While among the healthcare workers, 15.2% had worked for less than one year, 6.5% had worked for 1-3 years, 17.4% had worked for 3-5 years and 60.9% had worked for over five years. This could imply that the majority of healthcare workers are very experienced and thus they are likely to give reasonable answers and responses as far as this study is concerned. The results from this table revealed that 39.2% of the health professionals (constituting the majority) were midwives, while the nurses constituted 30.4% of the healthcare workers. The lower cadre healthcare workers constituted the majority of the respondents as these were the front line health service providers. The result is in agreement with health policy guidelines that for improvement in maternal health, more of the lower health cadres such as midwives and nurses are required, since they are directly involved in delivering healthcare services to pregnant mothers and children respectively.

To measure health service delivery among healthcare workers, respondents were asked to disagree or agree with 13 items in the questionnaire. For the purpose of this study, the disagree and strongly disagree cases were merged to form disagree (D) opinion while the agree and strongly agree were merged to form the agree (A) opinion. Below is a summary of the descriptive results:

**Table 2: Healthcare workers' responses on health service delivery**

No	Items	Percentages				
		D	NS	A	M	SD
<b>Service delivery indicators (healthcare workers)</b>						
1	Essential medicines are adequate in my unit	82.6	6.6	10.8	1.98	1.04
2	The orders of essential medicines and supplies are timely	60.8	10.9	28.3	2.50	1.21
3	The delivery of essential medicines and supplies are timely	84.8	8.7	6.5	1.76	0.87
4	Patients receive appropriate dosages prescribed	50.0	4.4	45.6	3.00	1.28
5	Essential medicines provided in the private wing are at affordable prices to the individual patients	39.1	19.6	41.3	3.00	1.19
6	The physical structures in the hospital are easily accessible	39.2	8.6	52.2	3.04	1.55
7	There is adequate space for patients to be worked on	76.1	0.0	23.9	2.00	1.26
8	My unit has prescribing guidelines for essential medicines	30.4	10.7	58.9	3.37	1.36
9	The physical infrastructures offer privacy to the patients	65.2	2.2	32.6	2.46	1.43
10	The physical infrastructures offer comfort to the patients	63.0	8.7	28.3	2.43	1.34
11	The medicine equipment required for the unit/department are adequate for delivery of healthcare services	84.8	0.0	15.2	1.93	1.00
12	The medical equipment required for the unit/department are reliable for use	67.4	8.7	23.9	2.41	1.15
13	The medical equipment required for the unit/department are available when needed for use	52.1	8.7	39.2	2.74	1.34
<b>Overall aggregated statistics</b>		<b>61.2</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>31.3</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>1.23</b>

Key D = disagree + strongly disagree; A = agree + strongly agree; NS = not sure; M = mean and SD = standard deviation.

The majority of healthcare workers (82.6%) disagreed that essential medicines in their units were adequate, 6.6% were not sure and only 10.8% agreed. The study also revealed that 45.6% of the respondents agreed that patients receive appropriate dosages prescribed, 4.4% were not sure and 50.0% were in disagreement. This generally implied that patients did not receive appropriate dosages prescribed by the healthcare workers. This result was substantiated with results from oral interviews with one of the top managers. When asked whether patients receive appropriate dosages, they replied, "Patients receive the 1st or 2nd doses and are asked to buy the rest of the dosages." Documentary reviews also revealed that healthcare worker requisitions from stores were always short by more than half. For instance, documents indicated that for a requisition of 500 tablets from stores, less than half (200) would be issued. Concerning the timely supply of essential medicines and supplies, 60.8% disagreed, 10.9% were not sure and only 28.3% were in agreement. Records from stores indicated that it takes over three months to supply some of the essential medicines and other health supplies. Health service delivery was also measured using accessibility of infrastructure, adequacy and availability of medical equipment. Concerning the same, 39.2% disagreed, 8.6% were not sure and 52.2% agreed that the available infrastructure is easily accessible. Regarding medical equipment, 84.8% disagreed that medical equipment

required for the health facility is adequate for delivery of health services, while 15.2% were in agreement. The aggregated mean of 2.5% implies that generally healthcare workers disagreed with all the measures of health service delivery in terms of accessibility, timeliness, availability and adequacy of physical infrastructure, medical equipment, essential medicines and health supplies.

**Table 3: Respondents' views on essential medicines and health supplies**

No	Items	Percentages				
		D	NS	A	M	SD
<b>Essential medicines and health supplies</b>						
1	Essential medicines are adequate in my unit	82.6	6.6	10.8	1.98	1.04
2	Essential supplies are adequate in my unit	89.1	8.7	2.2	1.74	0.71
3	The order of essential medicines and supplies are timely	60.8	10.9	28.3	2.50	1.21
4	The delivery of essential medicine and supplies are timely	84.8	8.7	6.5	1.76	0.87
5	Patients receive appropriate dosages prescribed	50.0	4.4	45.6	3.00	1.28
6	Essential medicines in my unit are of the approved quality	19.5	13.0	67.5	3.65	1.18
7	My unit has prescription guidelines for essential medicines	30.4	10.7	58.9	3.37	1.36
8	Medicines and essential supplies expire in my unit	82.6	2.2	15.2	1.76	1.14
9	Storage facilities for all medicines and essential supplies are adequate	58.7	4.4	36.9	2.57	1.29
10	The medicines needed for my unit are identified by patient demands	54.2	6.6	39.2	2.85	1.32
11	The medicines needed for my unit are identified by patients' needs	43.5	10.9	43.5	2.91	1.28
12	The medicines needed for my unit are identified by a medicines and therapeutic committee	47.9	10.9	41.2	2.85	1.35
13	The medicines needed for my unit are identified by a Departmental needs assessment	36.9	2.2	60.9	3.28	1.36
14	The medicines needed for my unit are identified by the National Medical Store	26.1	13.0	60.9	3.41	1.26
15	Information for the medicines/essential supplies are well stored	19.6	8.7	71.7	3.63	1.00
16	Essential medicines provided in the private wing are at an affordable price for individual patients	39.1	19.6	41.3	3.00	1.19
17	Patients visit the hospital as soon as essential medicines are delivered to the hospital	58.7	6.5	34.8	2.74	1.27
18	Patients visit the hospital when doctors and other healthcare is available even when essential medicines are not available	23.9	6.5	69.6	3.59	1.39
<b>Overall aggregated statistics</b>		<b>50.5</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>40.8</b>	<b>2.81</b>	<b>0.43</b>

Key D = disagree + strongly disagree; A = agree + strongly agree; NS = not sure; M = mean and SD = standard deviation

Concerning medicine and health supplies orders, 54.2% disagreed that medicine needed in the units was identified by patient demands, 6.6% were not sure, while 39.2% were in disagreement. Moreover 60.9% agreed that medicines needed by the units were identified by national medical stores, 13.0% were not sure and only 26.1% were in agreement.

**Table 4: Healthcare workers' response on physical infrastructure**

No	Items	Percentages				
		D	NS	A	M	SD
<b>Physical infrastructure</b>						
19	The physical structures in the hospital are easily accessible	39.2	8.6	52.2	3.04	1.55
20	There is adequate space for staff to work	76.1	0.0	23.9	2.00	1.26
21	There is adequate space for patients to be worked on	80.4	6.5	13.1	1.87	1.09
22	The physical facilities are functional for staff	67.4	4.3	28.3	2.36	1.27
23	The physical facilities are functional for patients	60.9	8.7	30.4	2.50	1.35
24	The physical infrastructures for my unit are properly maintained	54.4	6.5	39.1	2.61	1.34
25	The right personnel are available to sustain the maintenance of the infrastructure	67.4	17.4	15.2	2.26	1.04
26	The physical facilities are supervised and monitored regularly for maintenance	67.4	8.7	23.9	2.24	1.16
27	The physical infrastructure offer privacy to patients	65.2	2.2	32.6	2.46	1.43
28	The physical infrastructure offer comfort to patients	63.0	8.7	28.3	2.43	1.34
29	The physical infrastructure are adequate for patient management	78.2	4.4	17.4	2.11	1.08
30	The physical infrastructure are adequately equipped for staff use	91.3	4.3	4.3	1.70	0.76
31	The physical infrastructure are adequately equipped for patient use	89.1	4.3	6.6	1.85	0.79
<b>Overall aggregated statistics</b>		<b>69.2</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>2.26</b>	<b>0.76</b>

Key D = disagree + strongly disagree; A = agree + strongly agree; NS = not sure; M = mean and SD = standard deviation

Healthcare workers were asked to give their views on adequacy of space for patients to be worked on and 80.4% were in disagreement, 6.5% were not sure and only 13.1% were in agreement. Further inquiry on whether physical infrastructures were adequately equipped for patient use, 89.1% disagreed, 4.3% were not sure and only 6.6% agreed. For physical infrastructures being adequately equipped for staff use, 91.3% disagreed, 4.3% were not sure while only 4.3% agreed. When asked whether physical facilities were supervised and monitored regularly for maintenance, 67.4% disagreed, 8.7% were not sure and only 23.9% agreed.

**Table 5: Healthcare workers' responses on medical supplies**

No	Items	Percentages				
		D	NS	A	M	SD
<b>Medical equipment</b>						
32	The medical equipment required for the unit/department are adequate for delivery of health services	84.8	0.0	15.2	1.93	1.00
33	The medical equipment required for the unit/department are reliable for use	67.4	8.7	23.9	2.41	1.15
34	The equipment for the unit/department are durable when in use	37.0	21.7	41.3	2.96	1.09
35	The equipment for the unit/department are appropriate (right type) for use	43.4	2.2	54.4	3.07	1.29
36	The equipment for the department are functional when in use	37.0	13.0	50.0	3.07	1.16
37	The equipment for the unit/department are maintained regularly	63.0	10.9	26.1	2.46	1.19
38	The equipment for the unit/department are available when needed for use	52.1	8.7	39.2	2.74	1.34
39	Patients are sometimes referred to other health facilities because of non-functional equipment	36.9	2.3	60.8	3.24	1.51
40	Patients are sometimes referred to other health facilities because staffs are not trained to use the medical equipment	78.2	4.4	17.4	2.04	1.17
41	Patients are sometimes referred to other health facilities because of a lack of equipment	30.4	4.3	65.3	3.52	1.47
42	My commitment to work is affected the adequacy of the medical equipment in the hospital	32.6	4.3	63.1	3.41	1.48
43	My attitude to work is affected by the type of medical equipment in the hospital	47.8	2.2	50.0	2.93	1.44
44	There are measures in place for my unit/department to ensure sustainability of medical equipment	43.5	6.5	50.0	3.04	1.40
45	The units are consulted when medical equipment are being purchased	67.4	6.5	26.1	2.26	1.34
46	My unit/department is well equipped	86.9	2.2	10.9	1.78	1.01
<b>Overall aggregated statistics</b>		<b>53.9</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>39.6</b>	<b>2.72</b>	<b>0.48</b>

Key D = disagree + strongly disagree; A = agree + strongly agree; NS = not sure; M = mean and SD = standard deviation

Healthcare workers were asked to give their views on whether their units/departments were well equipped: 86.9% disagreed, 2.2% were not sure while only 10.9% were in agreement. Moreover, concerning regular maintenance of the available equipment, 63.0% disagreed, 10.9% were not sure and only 26.1% agreed. Pertaining to consultation of users when equipment are being procured, 67.4% disagreed, 6.5% were not sure and only 26.1% agreed. The overall aggregated statistics

revealed that 53.9% of the respondents disagreed that medical equipment were adequate for use, and only 39.6% were in agreement. To substantiate this quantitative data, healthcare workers were interviewed about how medical equipment affected their commitment and attitude to their work. One of them stated: “My commitment and attitude towards my work is highly affected by the availability, adequacy and usability of the medical equipment. Some of the equipment is hard to use and most times it is brought to us without user or maintenance guides.”

**Table 6: Results of regression analysis**

Model		Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. error	Beta	B	Std. error
1	(Constant)	2.206	.540		4.087	.000
	Sex	.099	.298	.061	.333	.741
	Level of education	-.066	.100	-.121	-.667	.508
	working experience	.059	.086	.105	.684	.498
2	(Constant)	-.014	.428		-.032	.975
	Sex	-.205	.149	-.125	-1.376	.177
	Level of education	.005	.050	.009	.097	.923
	working experience	.060	.042	.107	1.414	.165
	Physical infrastructure	.594	.071	.720	8.353	.000
	Medical equipment	.382	.118	.294	3.249	.002
	Essential medicines	.034	.126	.024	.272	.787

Physical infrastructures and medical equipment were found to be the strongest institutional dynamics that if worked upon, can contribute to improved health service delivery. On the basis of the emerging results in Table 6, we tested the study hypotheses as follows:

**H1: Essential medicines and health supplies have an effect on health service delivery.**

The study revealed that essential medicines have the lowest beta value of 0.024 and sig value of 0.787, which is not statistically significant due to the fact that it was above the acceptable limits of 0.05. This implies that the relationship between essential medicines, health supplies and health service delivery is not significant – even if essential medicines and health supplies are improved, health service delivery is not likely to improve. Therefore, to healthcare workers, essential medicines and health supplies do not contribute significantly to health service delivery. It is also ranked last in contributing to health service delivery among all the institutional factors studied. The study therefore rejects the alternate hypothesis.

**H2: Physical infrastructures affect health service delivery.**

The study revealed the highest beta value of 0.720 and sig. value of 0.000 that was statistically significant. This variable is ranked first among the three factors in contributing to health service delivery. Improving physical infrastructure is therefore likely to improve health service delivery. The study therefore accepts the research hypothesis.

**H3: Medical equipment contributes to health service delivery.**

According to healthcare workers, the beta value of 0.294 was second among the investigated institutional factors. The sig. value of 0.002 also revealed statistically significant results. This variable is ranked second in contributing to health service delivery. The alternate hypothesis is therefore accepted.

**Conclusions and implications**

This study contributes to the existing body of knowledge in the area of institutional factors having an effect on health service delivery. The study further makes practical recommendations that aim at improving health service delivery at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital in Uganda. This study investigated a few institutional factors affecting health service delivery, although there could be other factors apart from these ones studied or other non-institutional factors that may affect health service delivery that could be investigated in another study. The study was carried out at Jinja Regional Referral Hospital and yet different regional referral hospitals may be endowed differently with disease patterns, health conditions and risk factors to the catchment populations. A similar study may therefore be undertaken among all the regional referral hospitals in Uganda. Besides, there could be other causes of maternal and infant mortality, other than the factors that have been examined and these can be further investigated. However, we have strong confidence in the results presented. Our findings have important implications for different role-players.

At an individual level, healthcare workers need to forecast which essential medicines and health supplies will be needed and order in a timely fashion to ensure timely procurement and deliveries. They should also prescribe medicines to patients in right dosages and indications and offer counselling to patients as far as best practices for medicine use is concerned. To patients, much as medicine is an integral element in disease management, not all illnesses or diseases require medicine. Therefore, they should visit health facilities to get proper diagnoses and receive appropriate medicines. This will eliminate self-medication that normally leads to over dosage or under dosage, hence adverse health effects. Information to the community about this should be disseminated by the Information and Media Department at the MOH headquarters and also by the respective Community Health Departments at the district and regional referral hospitals.

Healthcare workers should make use of the available physical infrastructure for best use and these should be well maintained by management. Therefore, health facility management should plan and appropriately budget for maintenance of the equipment, and this plan and activity should be implemented accordingly. In addition to a maintenance budget, management should plan and

budget for more physical infrastructural development in order to create more office space and changing rooms for healthcare workers, more storage space, ward space and wash rooms to ensure that healthcare workers are comfortable at work. The government of Uganda, through the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, should approve and allocate the budget for this accordingly. Taking into consideration the increasing number of patients at the regional referral hospitals, the Ministry of Health should allocate more funds for infrastructural development for expansion. The government should also allocate more funds to the health sector so that health service delivery is addressed in totality. There should be strategies to ensure full utilisation of lower level health facilities so that Jinja Regional Referral Hospital is decongested and left to handle only referral cases for specialists' attention. At all levels, patients should be encouraged to utilise lower level health centres through health education programmes and sensitisation. This can also be made effective by the information and media department at the Ministry of Health headquarters, but also through the Community Health Departments at the regional referral and general hospitals.

Healthcare workers need to handle the available equipment with care and diligence so that they last a long time. They should also give right information during appraisals so that equipment utilisation gaps are identified by management for appropriate intervention. On identification of the equipment usage gap, management should offer training and refresher courses to staff in order to have their skills and knowledge enhanced; user needs assessment should be emphasised by departments and Jinja Regional Referral Hospital management should ensure that healthcare workers are availed with equipment they; there should be proper records, maintenance and inventory management of the medical equipment; the health referral hospitals should budget adequately for buying and maintaining the equipment. This can be done by utilising capital development funds. The Ministry of Health should recruit and train more bio-medical technicians/engineers, deploy them in the referral hospitals and other lower level health facilities to ensure effective and timely maintenance of the equipment, and the Ministry of Health should also enforce the application of the policy to standardise equipment procurements at different health levels.

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# Boundaries of community engagement in enhancing performance of government programs at the local level: a lesson drawing from National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), Uganda

STELLA B KYOHAIRWE AND BENET TIBAIJUKA

## Abstract

*The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme in Uganda arises out of the Poverty Eradication Plan of 1997, a framework aimed at ensuring sustainable development of the Ugandan economy. NAADS was launched as one of the seven pillars of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture meant to commercialise agriculture through improved agricultural service delivery. The NAADS Implementation Framework consists of multiple actors. Most notable of these are the farmer institutions formed with the cardinal aim of controlling and gaining access to the intended agricultural advisory services.*

*NAADS was structured to deliver agricultural extension services as a private sector-led programme in line with government agricultural sector policy that hinges on farmer groups. Although farmer groups are formed at local government level, they do not always have the required numbers and their formation has lagged behind in successive years. This has been attributed to farmers' false expectations of remuneration and their failure to pay group fees. The frequent split of districts and sub-counties into new local governments has stunted group formation, which in turn has reduced the farmers' capacity to effectively enhance NAADS's performance. The paper reveals that community engagement in government programmes may fully realise its potential in a well-designed approach that considers public participation as a continuum of well-coordinated rather than isolated activities. It concludes that the principles of community empowerment need to be appreciated by engaging organisations.*

**Key words:** NAADS, farmer institutions, community Engagement, public participation

## Sumário

*O Programa Nacional de Serviço de Consultoria Agrícola (NAADS) em Uganda decorre do Plano de 1997, um quadro destinado a assegurar o desenvolvimento sustentável da economia de Uganda e a erradicação da pobreza. NAADS foi lançado como um dos sete pilares do Plano de modernização da agricultura, pretendendo a melhoria da comercialização dos produtos agrícolas através da melhoria da prestação de serviços. O quadro de implementação do NAADS consiste em múltiplos atores. Os mais notáveis deles são as instituições de agricultores formados com o objetivo fundamental de controle e acesso aos serviços de aconselhamento agrícola pretendidos.*

*NAADS foi estruturado para oferecer serviços de extensão agrícola como um programa*

*liderado pelo setor privado, de acordo com a política do governo no setor agrícola. Entretanto, estes grupos de agricultores nem sempre tem os números necessários e sua formação têm ficado para trás em anos sucessivos. Isto tem sido atribuído às expectativas não realizáveis de remuneração e de sua incapacidade de pagar as taxas. A divisão frequente de distritos e sub-distritos em novos governos locais tem entravado a formação do grupo, que por sua vez, reduziu a capacidade dos agricultores para efetivamente melhorar o desempenho do NAADS. O documento revela que o envolvimento da comunidade em programas governamentais podem realizar plenamente o seu potencial em uma abordagem bem concebida, que considera a participação do público de forma coordenada em vez de atividades isoladas. Conclui-se que os princípios de empoderamento da comunidade precisam ser apreciados por organizações envolvidas.*

**Palavras chave:** NAADS, instituições de agricultores, o envolvimento da comunidade, participação pública

## Introduction

Since the late 1980s, the government of Uganda, like most of sub-Saharan Africa, has implemented macroeconomic and development reforms, with some noticeable improved economic performance indicators. In spite of the achievements in the macroeconomic sphere, over the years, poverty levels among the majority of the people remained high, especially in the rural areas where the majority live, a large number of whom are employed in agriculture.

Despite considerable advances being realised in the macroeconomic sector by the close of the 20th Century, most people had not benefited from the economic growth and a vast portion of Uganda's population remained poor. According to the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) Programme Implementation Manual (2001), by the end of the 1990s, the gross domestic product (GDP) per person averaged only about US\$330 per year and at least 40% of the population was living in extreme poverty. The economy also remained largely dependent on low input/output cycles of subsistence agricultural production for both food and cash crops.

To guide the agricultural sector planning and in a bid to meet the challenges of high poverty levels in the rural areas, the government of Uganda put in place the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) in 1997, a framework aimed at eradicating poverty, especially among the rural people where the majority live. PEAP implementation was to benefit from decentralised governance structures consolidated by the Uganda 1995 Constitution and the 1997 Local Governments Act.

## Decentralisation and plan for modernisation of agriculture

The PEAP was launched at a time when the country was enacting the Local Government Act 1997 (Local Government Act 1997, Chapter 243). The act aimed to amend, consolidate and streamline the then existing law on local governments in line with the 1995 Constitution of Uganda to give effect to the decentralisation and devolution of functions, powers and services to local governments. In regard to agriculture, under the PEAP, the government instituted Plan for the

Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), which constituted of five core programmes. Agriculture modernisation under PMA would be attained through policy formulation and strategic planning; institutional reform and strengthening for improved efficiency and effectiveness of agricultural service delivery; provision of agricultural advisory services to farmers; provision of regulatory services; agricultural research and technology development for farmers; agricultural statistical data collection; analysis and provision of market information for agricultural inputs and outputs; formulation of a land use policy; and implementation of the Land Act and others (MAAIF, at <http://www.agriculture.go.ug>).

Subsequently, the other national and local agencies, sometimes referred to as 'components', were initiated. These included: the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO), NAADS, the Uganda Coffee Development Authority (UCDA), the Cotton Development Organisation (CDO), the Dairy Development Authority (DDA), the National Genetic Resource Information Centre and Data Bank (NAGRIC&DB), and the Coordinating Office for the Control of Trypanosomiasis in Uganda (COCTU). Each of these agencies had its own mandate to contribute to improved agricultural production aiming at poverty eradication, especially for the rural population.

The modernisation of agriculture would benefit from decentralised government structures. Decentralisation had been adopted to ensure good governance, democratic participation, and control of decision-making by the people; to provide for revenue and the political and administrative setup of local governments; and to provide for election of local councils and to improve service delivery and accountability. Decentralisation of governance was also meant to empower the local governments (districts, sub-counties and urban authorities) to undertake increased responsibilities for the delivery of services and the promotion of popular participation of local communities in decision-making (Local Government Act 1997, chapter 243; Kauzya 2007). The premise for decentralised governance was that local authorities are better placed to respond to the needs of local communities who can, in turn, easily hold implementers of public activities, projects and programmes (including delivery of agricultural services) accountable for the use of public resources. The implication of local governance to modernisation of agriculture would therefore suggest a full engagement of politically and administratively organised local communities.

## National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS)

NAADS, as one of the seven components under the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), is the planning framework of the government for the transformation of subsistence agriculture to a market oriented for commercial production. It derives its mandate from an Act of Parliament (NAADS Act 2001) and aims at redressing past shortcomings in the provision of the agricultural extension services through far reaching reforms and innovative approaches in service delivery. NAADS was structured to deliver agricultural extension services as a private sector-led programme in line with government agricultural sector policy under five components: (i) advisory and information services to farmers – designed to support farmers' initiatives, contract private agricultural advisors to deliver identified priority services, mobilise farmers to undertake participatory planning, provide

farm advisory services and disseminate related information; (ii) technology development and linkages with markets – focusing on making funds available at the local governments to contract the services of researchers and all stakeholders for specific technology, market development and adaptation; (iii) quality assurance concerning the regulation and technical auditing of service providers in liaison with MAAIF, to set up and enforce standards for qualification and performance; (iv) private sector institutional development – aimed at establishing a programme to assist firms and other institutions to become eligible for award of service provider contracts through NAADS financing, and; (v) programme management and monitoring and evaluation aimed at establishing and supporting entities at both the national and district levels, as well as coordinating and administering NAADS through its Board and Secretariat.

In order to control and gain access to NAADS services and make their voice heard in decision-making (in planning, control and monitoring and evaluation), the NAADS implementation guidelines (revised in August 2007) support the establishment and development of the following farmer institutions through which they can perform their participatory/engagement roles:

- (i) Farmers' groups
- (ii) Parish coordination committees
- (iii) Sub-county farmers forum
- (iv) District farmers forum
- (v) Community-based facilitators
- (vi) National farmers forum
- (vii) Higher level farmers' organisation.

While all these farmer institutions are instrumental in the NAADS programme, this paper focuses on the analyses of farmers' groups, and sub-county farmers' forum as core grassroots participants in the NAADS community engagement.

## Paper objectives

The cardinal objective of this paper is to assess the extent to which community engagement approach may enable the performance of government programmes. The discussion will explore the relevance of community participation in Uganda's NAADS programme as a single case of the many other programmes operating in Uganda's decentralised framework. The paper will reveal whether local communities, through their institutions, have enhanced the performance of NAADS to achieve its overall goal of commercialising agriculture and increasing total factor productivity of both land and labour for the benefit of the farmers, as envisaged in the programme design.

## Methodology

The paper is an outcome of desk research in which a thorough review of numerous documents related to government legislation and NAADS programme's periodic performance reports was done. The core documents include NAADS Act 2001, NAADS Programme Implementation

Manual September 2001, NAADS Implementation Guidelines August 2007, NAADS Monitoring & Evaluation Manual 2004, NAADS M&E Manual, 2004, and NAADS Value for Money Audits (2007, 2008), as indicated in the list of references. The paper further involved an intensive theoretical and literature review related to community engagement in order to come up with an ideal conclusion on the relevance of this approach in governance.

## The conceptual understanding of community engagement

Broadly conceived, community engagement denotes a process of working collaboratively with and through groups of people affiliated by geographic proximity, special interest, or similar situations to address issues affecting the well being of those people. It often involves partnerships and coalitions that help mobilise resources and influence systems, change relationships among partners, and serve as catalysts for changing policies, programmes, and practices (Fawcett et al., 1995). A science committee on community engagement comprising of the Center for Disease Control and Prevention and the Agency for Toxic Substance and Disease Registry (CDC/ATSDR1997), held that community engagement process means working with and through constituents to achieve common goals. This process demands that those implementing the engagement effort should communicate with community leaders and members who have diverse backgrounds, values, priorities, and concerns.

## Community engagement principles and theoretical framework

Several underlying principles can help guide community leaders in designing, implementing, and evaluating community engagement efforts. These principles may be perceived in three broad categories: considerations before starting the engagement effort, the necessity for engagement to occur, and what to consider for the engagement to be successful (CDC/ATSDR Committee for Community Engagement, 1997).

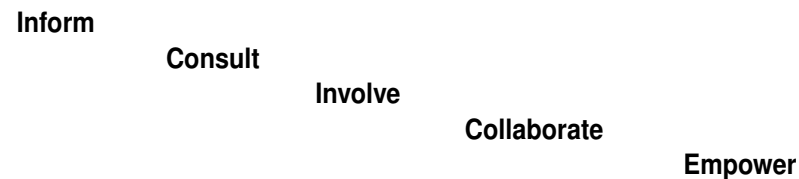
The principles to consider before community development efforts include: a) being clear about the purposes or goals of the engagement effort, and the populations and/or communities you want to engage; and b) becoming knowledgeable about the community in terms of its economic conditions, political structures, norms and values, demographic trends, history, and experience with engagement efforts. Learning about the community's perceptions of those initiating the engagement activities is also considered to be critical.

CDC/ATSDR Committee for Community Engagement further observes that before actual engagement occurs, the following principles should be adhered to: a) go into the community, establish relationships, build trust, work with the formal and informal leadership, and seek commitment from community organisations and leaders to create processes for mobilising the community, and; b) remember and accept community self-determination as the responsibility and right of all people who comprise a community. Thus, no external entity should assume that it could bestow on a community the power to act in its own self-interest.

The success of community engagement is further conceived as being dependent on: a) the

principle of partnering with the community to create change and improve situations; b) all aspects of community engagement must recognise and respect community diversity. Awareness of the various cultures of a community and other factors of diversity must be paramount in designing and implementing community engagement approaches; c) community engagement can only be sustained by identifying and mobilising community assets, and by developing capacities and resources for community decisions and action; d) an engaging organisation or individual change agent must be prepared to release control of actions or interventions to the community, and be flexible enough to meet the changing needs of the community; and, e) community collaboration requires long-term commitment by the engaging organisation and its partners.

Relatedly, the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) developed a Public Participation Spectrum representing community engagement as a continuum of activities, as shown in Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1: The IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum**

At one end of the spectrum, community engagement may involve no more than a basic level of interaction with the local community, such as providing information about the operation. This is often facilitated through diverse communication channels, including media releases, newsletters, brochures and websites. The use of these techniques is often perceived as a way to present basic information to the widest range of stakeholders. As the engagement process moves towards a more directed method of stakeholder interaction, consultation may be employed to ascertain specific areas of risk and opportunity. This interaction can involve public meetings, discussion groups, polls, surveys and focus groups.

Once key stakeholders have been identified, the process becomes more than information gathering and dissemination and moves towards a two-way interactive mode. The involvement and collaborative steps represent more active and, at times, stakeholder-driven interaction. Activities in these areas can include workshops and discussion groups, learning circles, interviews, reference groups and community consultative committees. At the other end of the spectrum, empowerment represents a level of engagement that can extend to participation in planning and decision-making, not only on issues related to operational impacts, but also on decisions regarding the community's future (IAP2, 2007).

The above engagement spectrum offers a great explanation of the entire process through which the communities are integrated in government programmes. The model suggests that there is an increasing level of impact as we move towards the edge of the continuum where communities

are empowered. It suggests that community participation does not involve isolated engagement activities, but rather it is a continuous process whose impact can be realised when all these activities are sequentially executed to the end. However, much as there appears to be a likelihood that community engagement will be successful in meeting pro-community goals, Community and Translational Science Awards (CTSA) Consortium recognised that the engagement process faces challenges related to continuous engaging and maintaining of community involvement due to mistrust of the motives and techniques employed in the engagement process. This argument depicts a lack of the community's full participation as a genesis of the failures of community engagement approaches.

## **Structural arrangements and the relevance of citizen engagement in the NAADS programme**

According to NAADS Programme Implementation Manual (2001), local communities in decentralised governments are expected to enhance the effectiveness of NAADS through their farmer groups and participation in decision-making when zoning or selecting the right enterprises for their area, and getting involved in the promotion and production of the selected enterprises. Through the sub-county farmer group, NAADS is required to support capacity development and to enhance the linkage of farmers to markets. Farmer institutions therefore should be pivotal to the success of the NAADS programme. The composition and roles of the farmer institutions are summarised in Table 1 over the page.

**Table 1: Engagement roles of farmer institutions in NAADS**

Farmer institutions	Membership & management	Role in NAADS planning & selection of enterprises	Role in NAADS control	Role in monitoring and evaluation
<b>Farmers' groups</b>	Group of individual farmers, association, cooperative or any legal entity of farmers with common interests, a distinct address, constitution, membership roll, and regular meetings. Lead by a chairperson, secretary, treasurer, and others elected	Registered at the sub-county for common/ similar farming activity	Individual farmers manage their own farms, leaders of associations cooperatives and other entities follow group constitution for the management of group enterprises	Groups hold regular meetings to discuss the progress of their businesses, constraints and solutions
<b>Parish Coordination Committee</b>	Parish leaders and committee members; Parish Chief, Area SC Councillors	Planning, enterprise selection, capacity building, procurement	Supervision, coordination, mobilisation	M&E, reporting feedback
<b>Sub-county (SC) Farmers' Forum (SCFF)</b>	Representatives of all various farmer interest groups in the SC; one per parish, women; youth, SC procurement committee; SC Chief, SC NAADS Coordinator	Planning, selection of enterprises, approval of annual work plan and budgets; advice on strategies for implementation of NAADS; procure NAADS goods and services	Support and facilitate farmers' groups;	M&E of NAADS in SC: the financial performance of FGs, private service providers; gender involvement in SC
<b>District Farmers Forum</b>	Chairpersons of the SCFF, LCV secretary for development; district NAADS coordinator	Planning and budgeting for NAADS in the district; coordination with NAADS Secretariat	Supervise NAADS implementation	M & E, reporting to NAADS, MAAIF, MoLG
<b>Community-based facilitators (CBFs) in SCs</b>	Experienced in field, skilled, knowledgeable farmer volunteers	Participate in needs assessment advisory services, supplement private service providers	Training and guiding farmers in SC in specific areas; promote farmer to farmer extension; upscale technologies	Assist in M&E of technology development stations, trainings, others
<b>National Farmers Forum and higher level farmers organisations</b>	Intergroup association by farmer; two or more groups in similar or different enterprises	Help in dealing with challenges of planning and budgeting, funding	Help in dealing with challenges of production and marketing	M&E of overall sector performance; farmers support; policy issues

Source: NAADS Act 2001 and NAADS Implementation Guidelines (revised August 2007).

**Abbreviations:** SC = Subcounty; SCFC = Subcounty Farmers' Forum; LCV = Local Council Five (District), M&E = Monitoring and evaluation; FGs = Farmer Groups; MAAIF = Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries; MoLG = Ministry of Local Government; NAADS = National Agricultural Advisory Services, M & E = Monitoring and Evaluation.

Initiation of farmer groups according to the provisions of the NAADS Act 2001 aims at creating grassroots structures for identifying and prioritising members' needs for advisory services; developing operational plans for meeting members' needs for advisory services; and raising financial contributions for the operation of advisory services at group level. Other objectives include monitoring and evaluating the performance of agricultural service providers; the election of representatives to the Farmer Forum; and participation (through elected representatives) in the Farmer Forum and activities of higher-level NAADS organs. The Farmer Groups also aid in developing linkages and partnerships with other stakeholders for purposes of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of advisory services. Indeed the NAADS implementation guidelines (2007) clearly indicate that farmer groups are important for empowerment, demonstration and adoption of new technologies, sharing and dissemination of information, and for achieving advisory services outreach.

The Sub-county Farmers' Forum on the other hand, is meant to consider and approve proposed annual work plans and budgets at the sub-county level for implementation of NAADS in their area, for incorporation into the sub-county development plan; to advise the NAADS Organisation on suitable strategies for implementation of NAADS; to support and facilitate the operations of the farmer groups in the sub-county; to monitor and report the establishment, registration, physical and financial performance of the farmer groups, Forum and service providers in the sub-county (NAADS Act 2001, Sec 18). The forum serves as an assembly of farmer group representatives elected to provide a mechanism in which farmers consult, discuss issues of interest to the farming profession and prepare a common viewpoint to interact with stakeholders and the administration. Through their farmer groups and Farmers' Forum, the farmers at the sub-county level participate in the planning and procurement of services, setting standards for quality control, in regulation, monitoring and evaluation of development processes (NAADS Implementation Guidelines, 2007).

### From theory to reality: exploring the significance of community engagement on NAADS performance

The above discussion highlights the essence of farmer institutions at different levels in ensuring the success of NAADS. Specifically, it depicts good intent of grassroots farmer groups and sub-county Farmer Forum. Critical analyses of the roles of the farmer groups in the NAADS programme suggest that the public participation activities according to the IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum exist. The identification and prioritisation of members' needs for advisory services means that there is information and consultation. Developing operational plans and raising financial contributions for the operation of advisory services, and monitoring and evaluating the performance of

agricultural service providers suggest involvement and empowerment. Also, developing linkages and partnerships with other stakeholders for the purposes of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness, implies that there is collaboration.

Public participation at the level of sub-county Farmers' Forum also seems to reflect the activities of informing, consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering. The duty of consideration and approval of proposed annual work plans and budgets implies 'involvement' and 'empowerment'; while advising on suitable strategies for implementation of NAADS signifies 'consultation'. Further, we may perceive the Farmers' Forum role of supporting and facilitating the operations of the farmer groups as 'collaboration'; and the monitoring and reporting of the establishment, registration, physical and financial performance of farmer groups as 'information'.

From the above interpretation of the ways in which community engagement is effected at grassroots level through farmer groups and sub-county farmer forum, it is implied that there is a commendable community engagement in the NAADS programme. The conceptual description of community engagement – of involving people affiliated by geographic proximity, special interest, or similar situations to address issues affecting them – as noted earlier in the paper, seem to fit appropriately in the involvement of the grassroots farmers in the NAADS process. It is surprising, however, that over time, the NAADS programme evaluation has consistently indicated poor performance. What therefore went off beam?

Explanations for the poor NAADS performance largely relate to the implementation design. Initially, the programme hinged on the assumption that the desirable performance of NAADS would be a function of the membership composition as well as the actual members' duties in the planning and enterprise selection, control and monitoring and evaluation of the programme to ensure programme success. The underlying suggestion was that these duties should enable improved performance and accountability of the NAADS programme. The principle of farmer empowerment was to have the farmers access and control the agricultural agenda through their institutions in which they are expected to act collectively. Through their institutions, the farmers were expected to acquire skills and capacity to identify their agricultural advisory needs, setting priorities, formulating plans, and monitoring and evaluating NAADS outputs and outcomes. Through procurement and contract management and control, the farmers were expected to involve the private sector in the provision of services (NAADS Implementation Manual 2001).

The review of various NAADS reports, however, indicate that the number of farmer groups formed per district and sub-county was higher during the first five years (up to 2006), but drastically declined in the successive years as depicted in the Mid-term Evaluation of NAADS by the International Food Research Institute (IFRI) and other related evaluation (Opondo, *et al.* 2006; IFRI 2007). This was attributed to farmers' false expectation of remuneration, their failure to pay group fees and a frequent split of districts and sub-counties into new ones. By failing to form the required groups in the successive years, this meant that the farmers were unable to effectively enhance NAADS performance in their areas. Functions such as contracting private sector service providers to promote specific enterprises and provide advisory services lagged behind, affecting overall NAADS performance.

The design also focused on zoning of enterprises, which was challenged by the reality that the selection of enterprises was subsequently influenced by market opportunities, and disregarded the strategic need to enhance food security (NAADS VFM Audits 2007; 2008). Selection of enterprises was done mainly by the NAADS Secretariat under the influence of politicians where mainly crop enterprises are zoned for districts without the engagement of the farmers and yet, according to the NAADS Assessment by IFPRI (2007), livestock enterprises were in greater demand than crop enterprises. Poor enterprise selection contributed to low new technology adoption and the farmer groups could not effectively enhance performance of NAADS in their areas. Moreover, food security concerns were not prioritised since the selection of enterprises was based on profitability enhancement with little concerns about food security.

On funding, the NAADS Programme Implementation Manual (2001) provided for co-funding and cost estimates per component at each level – national, district and sub-county. Co-funding was procured from the donor basket fund (68%), Central Government of Uganda (20%), participating district (5%), sub-counties (5%) and the farmers through their groups (2%). The donor and government funds were transferred from the government's Grants Collection Account to districts and sub-county NAADS accounts, based on contributions from the farmers and local governments. Reviewed documents indicated critical challenges faced by local governments in meeting their obligations to fund NAADS, which include (i) a low financial resource base due to limited sources of local tax revenue leading to their failure to adhere to the co-funding obligations (ii) their overdependence on the late release of central government grants for the districts' and sub-counties' accounts; and (iii) failure to prepare and submit accountability reports to trigger the release of matching grants from the centre so as to coincide with the beginning of the farming seasons (IFPRI 2012).

Realities surrounding attempts to enhance NAADS' performance in increasing farmers' access to knowledge, information and communication, was equally problematic. The farmers' low levels of knowledge and skills made it difficult to make the government officials in charge of the NAADS programme accountable. The NAADS officers included the Chief Administrative Officer of the district – the principle accounting officer for the NAADS funds – and the district and sub-county NAADS coordinators who were responsible for making work plans, releasing funds and any NAADS inputs to the beneficiaries, and supervising and monitoring the implementation of NAADS activities. An apt question to pose here is to what extent could the grassroots farmer groups enhance the performance of NAADS, especially in areas where they have knowledge gaps? The NAADS farmers are not only meant to provide research information, but they also should serve as relevant collegial partners to other stakeholders.

NAADS' implementation design further embedded training programmes aimed at exposing farmers to agricultural knowledge and information that would enable them to understand, practice and sustain modern agricultural methods. The review of reports indicated that districts and sub-counties did not conduct all the themes required and moreover, the logical sequence of topics to empower farmers in a systematic manner was not always followed. In some cases,

training topics were picked randomly and gender implications were not always given due attention as expected (MAAIF 2005; NAADS VFM Audits 2007, 2008). The implication of this was that farmer groups lacked adequate knowledge to undertake their NAADS-supported activities and were not adequately empowered to engage other NAADS stakeholders to enhance the overall implementation.

Further, the NAADS aim of increasing farmers' access to effective and efficient productivity-enhancing technologies, was also marginally realised. According to the NAADS' implementation manual, Technology Development and Linkages with Markets, the second component of NAADS, was designed to make funds available at the local government level to enable contracting of private researchers for on-farm technology development, adoption and marketing. Rosetti Nabbumba and Godfrey Bahigwa in their publication, *Agricultural Productivity Constraints in Uganda* (2003), emphasised the need to strengthen NAADS to ensure technology adoption by farmers. Farmers were supposed to adopt new technologies after viewing their performance in technology development sites. A number of documents indicate that many NAADS technology development sites were poorly managed due to inadequate training and poor group leadership of the host farmers leading to neglect of the technology development sites as indicated in the performance of (NAADS Evaluation by ITAD-2008). The choices made by host farmers, which ought to have been the responsibility of NAADS structures at local government level and farmer groups, were reportedly influenced by political patronage, not by their own experience and capacity (NAADS VFM Audit 2009). The consequences of this have been poor management of NAADS technology development sites resulting into poor technology adoption and of course, slow NAADS performance and impact.

Another considerable NAADS design challenge concerned the alignment and maintenance of linkages and co-ordination with government policies. The government of Uganda initiated and followed policies of privatisation, liberalisation, and decentralisation. Through the NAADS Act (2001), NAADS was launched to take agricultural services closer to the people, and was designed for implementation through the local government and farmer groups. The number of groups formed was higher in early years of NAADS' entry up to the period when many districts were split (between 2003/2004 and 2005/2006) and after this period, the number of groups declined in most districts (MAAIF 2005). This was attributed to: (i) false expectations of cash as opposed to provision of technology and skills development in kind; (ii) the split of districts into the new districts and sub-counties, thus taking away the groups already formed in the mother district; and lastly (iii) stagnation or saturation of the number of farming households and potential members of new groups. Some farmers were unable to pay group fees because of either a lack of cash due to high poverty levels, or some non-NAADS farmers receiving benefits from the technology development sites without the obligation of group co-funding. The farmer groups however, maintained linkages and co-ordination with government policies such as liberalised marketing of their produce where there were no price controls.

## Conclusion and recommendations

NAADS was structured to deliver agricultural extension services as a private sector-led programme in line with government agricultural sector policy under five components. The overall goal was to commercialise agriculture and improve food security. The review of a number of NAADS documents and reports has shown that to date, NAADS has not achieved its objective of commercialising agriculture in the country and improving food security levels. It has not been cost-effective as it has not achieved maximum output and outcome as observed in the current NAADS reality discussion above.

The paper has clearly revealed that NAADS' implementation hinged on farmer groups whose role was to participate in decision-making regarding planning, controlling, monitoring and evaluating of NAADS performance so as to ensure the success of the programme and access to NAADS services. It has been observed in the discussion that farmer groups and the Sub-county Farmer Forum were given opportunities for community empowerment that involved informing, consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering. While the extent to which each of these participatory opportunities has not been assessed, it is realised that a number of exogenous factors worsened the situation. Technically and financially ill-capacitated farmer groups constituted membership of the Sub-county Farmers Forum and yet they were subjected to highly technical administrators of local government and to the NAADS co-ordinators. This definitely hampered accountability in the programme.

Our final thesis is that the principles of community participation need to be observed if the approach is to yield desirable results. Before community development efforts ensue, there should be a clear purpose for the engagement effort, and knowledge about the community to be engaged (economic conditions, political structures, norms and values, demographic trends, history, and experience with engagement efforts). The actual engagement should involve establishing relationships, building trust, working with the formal and informal leadership, and seeking commitment from community organisations and leaders to create processes for mobilising the community. It needs to be acknowledged that no external entity should assume that it can bestow on a community the power to act in its own self-interest. Finally, the success of community engagement will be determined by the principle of partnering with the community to create change, improve situations and ensure respect to community diversity. There is a need to identify and mobilise community assets, and develop capacities and resources for community decisions and action. Also, organisations must be prepared to release interventions to the community, while exhibiting a long-term commitment.

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## Is performance management measurement a panacea for effective accountability and transparency in public service delivery in a developing country? Insights from Uganda

GAD RUZAAZA, DAVIS MALOWA AND MAUDE MUGISHA

### Abstract

*This paper is conceived from the perspective of practitioners and evidence well documented in the field of governance and social accountability. The greatest impact of corruption is on the poor – those least able to absorb its costs. Corruption illegally diverts state funds, undercuts services such as health, education, public transportation or local policing that the people depend on most. Diversion of scarce resources jeopardises the health and safety of citizens through, for example, poorly designed infrastructure projects and scarcity of medical drugs in hospitals. Whereas there are favourable policies and legal frameworks such as the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995), the Code of Conduct for public officers (2002), the Local Government Act (1997), the anti-corruption laws to hold public officials in Uganda accountable, there has been inadequate follow up and actions to actually hold corrupt officials liable. Existing policies demand that public officials in Uganda declare their source of wealth, exhibiting a high level of integrity and social accountability. This paper discusses the performance management measures instituted in Uganda in the light of the cross cutting bottlenecks in their execution. It brings to the fore the resultant negative consequences that manifest in inequitable distribution of service delivery, most particularly within the key priority areas of health and education. We use insights from these two sectors to question whether performance measurement can be a panacea to accountability problems.*

*The paper suggests new strategies and approaches, which in our view could (1) mitigate corruption and (2) address inequity in public service delivery for the benefit of the common citizen.*

**Key words:** corruption, accountability, performance management, service delivery

### Sumário

*Este trabalho foi concebido a partir da perspectiva dos profissionais e as provas documentadas na área de governação e responsabilidade social. O maior impacto da corrupção é sobre os pobres – os menos capazes de absorver seus custos. Corrupção desvia ilegalmente, fundos do Estado provoca cortes nos serviços tais como saúde, educação, transporte público ou de policiamento que as pessoas dependem mais ao nível local.*

*O desvio de recursos escassos compromete a saúde e a segurança dos cidadãos através de, por exemplo, os projetos de infraestrutura mal concebidos e escassez de medicamentos em hospitais. Considerando que existem políticas favoráveis descritos em documentos*



legais, como a Constituição da República de Uganda (1995), o Código de Conduta para os funcionários públicos (2002), a Lei de Governo Local (1997), as leis anticorrupção para manter os funcionários públicos em Uganda responsável, tem sido insuficiente e o acompanhamento e ações para realmente manter funcionários corruptos responsáveis. As políticas actuais exigem que os funcionários públicos em Uganda devem declarar a sua fonte de riqueza, exibindo um alto nível de integridade e responsabilidade social. Este artigo discute as medidas de gestão de desempenho instituído em Uganda à luz dos gargalos transversais em sua execução. Ele traz à tona as consequências negativas resultantes que se manifestam na distribuição desigual de prestação de serviços, mais especificamente nas áreas prioritárias da saúde e educação. Usamos idéias desses dois sectores a questão de saber se a medição de desempenho pode ser uma panaceia para os problemas de prestação de contas.

O documento sugere novas estratégias e abordagens, o que na nossa opinião poderia (1) mitigar a corrupção e (2) a desigualdade no endereço e na prestação de serviços públicos para o benefício do cidadão comum.

**Palavras chave:** corrupção, prestação de contas, gestão de desempenho, prestação de serviços

## Introduction

Conceived from the perspective of practitioners and evidence well documented in the field of governance and social accountability, this paper underpins the impact of corruption on the poor – those least able to absorb its costs. The most adversely affected are poor women located in remote areas who succumb to poor maternal health services; their children stay out of school while their spouses are away earning a living on petty jobs in the towns and cities.

Corruption in Uganda is said to be systemic and institutionalised. It is further observed that corruption and poor accountability is evident at all levels of governance. This is evident in: the flouting of public procurement regulations; exercising undue influence in recruitment and promotions; bribery; misuse of funds; buying votes; forging academic papers, among others. Corruption has continued to flourish in every sector of society – the public is becoming immune to this evil to the extent of tolerating it, while oftentimes the corrupt are admired. This has greatly contributed to the breakdown of the ethical values system of the society (Africa Peer Review Report 2007).

A number of performance management measures exist for both the international, national and local context. Globally, there is the good governance framework, international labour regulations and laws. In reference to education and health, access to quality education and to an acceptable level of healthcare is a human right.

In Uganda, there are policies and legal frameworks that act as performance management measures. This paper discusses the performance management measures instituted in Uganda in the light of the cross cutting bottlenecks in their execution. Whereas the measures are of a cross cutting nature, the authors will use the scope of the health and education sector to present the realities of enhancing performance management measures. The service delivery bottlenecks in

education and health are examined in the light of the instituted measures. Strategies and attempts to combat corruption and to address inequity in public service delivery are discussed.

The Paper highlights the resultant negative consequences that manifest in poor and inequitable service delivery, most particularly within the key priority areas. A looming question is whether performance measurement can be a panacea to accountability problems.

In a final analysis, the paper suggests new strategies and approaches, which in our view, could (1) mitigate corruption and (2) address inequity in public service delivery for the benefit of the common citizen. While the legal and institutional framework exist to fight corruption in Uganda, the challenge is the implementation of the legal mandates of the courts and the rise of a culture of impunity based on failure to successfully prosecute the culprits and to enact a law that confiscates the proceeds of (corruption?) crime (a bill that has been in parliament for over five years). There is a perception that only the lowest cadre of civil servants is prosecuted while high level ministers and administrators are free from prosecution.

## Defining performance management measures

According to Reyes (2006), performance management measurement can be defined from three points of view. Firstly, it can be defined as a philosophy of continuous learning in which feedback is used to make ongoing adjustments to the course of an organisation in the pursuit of its vision. Secondly, it can be defined as a continuous and ongoing process that begins with the setting of objectives and the development of strategies/plans to achieve those objectives in support of the vision. Performance management measurement can also be defined as a structure in which strategic, tactical and operational actions are linked by a feedback process to provide the information required to intervene and/or improve the programme or service on a systematic basis.

Transparency and accountability are essential tenets to performance management measurement. Transparency implies that decisions and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. Transparency ensures that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media.

According to Deere and Strayer (2001), the notion of accountability is an amorphous concept that is difficult to define in precise terms. However, broadly speaking, accountability exists when an individual or body, and the performance of tasks or functions by that individual or body, are subject to another's oversight, direction or request that they provide information or justification for their actions. Therefore, the concept of accountability involves two distinct stages: answerability and enforcement. Answerability refers to the obligation of the government, its agencies and public officials to provide information about their decisions and actions and to justify them to the public and those institutions of accountability tasked with providing oversight. Enforcement suggests that the public or the institution responsible for accountability can sanction the offending party or remedy the contravening behaviour. As such, different institutions of accountability might be

responsible for either or both of these stages. Accountability ensures actions and decisions taken by public officials are subject to oversight so as to guarantee that government initiatives meet their stated objectives and respond to the needs of the community they are meant to be benefiting, thereby contributing to better governance and poverty reduction.

### **The context of performance management measures**

Globally, most nations and countries have adopted performance measurement in both private and public organisations. Organisational performance measurement in government is not new but was given increasing importance in the UK and elsewhere post-1979 with the emergence of the global new public management (Hood, 1991). New public management refers to a series of themes relating to reforming the organisation and procedures of the public sector in order to make it more competitive and efficient in resource use and service delivery (Hood 1995).

In an African context, public service has always been the tool available to African governments for the implementation of developmental goals and objectives. It is seen as being crucial to the growth and development of African economies. The current drive to improve management in governments through public service reform programmes to increase efficiency, effectiveness, and the delivery of quality service to the public is common to many African countries.

The public sector has for a long time enjoyed a pride of place, particularly since the post-industrial revolution era. Public administration moved away from being mere watchers, to being the engine of the society and became the major provider of various services, including regulatory and distributive ones. Generally, all societies have some form of public service provision for reasons of economics, risk, and moral responsibility.

Almost all African countries are caught in the web of public sector reform. Good governance and efficient public administration are regarded as a wishful thought without public sector reform. Also, accountability, transparency, and merit-driven public service are thought to be unachievable unless programmes of public sector reform are drawn up. Efficiency, effectiveness, and responsiveness of government to the yearning of its citizens could only be gauged through the lenses of public sector reform (Omoyefa, 2008).

In Uganda, the reform of the civil service has been one of the central themes of the government's agenda since 1986. This is because it is believed that without a transparent, accountable and effective civil service, government business and effective service delivery to the public cannot be achieved as a lack of accountability and transparency cripples the process of public service delivery with dishonesty and graft. In Uganda, cases of unethical behaviour have been echoed more specifically in public procurements whereby the procurement procedures stipulated by the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets (PPDA) Act (2003) are continuously ignored and there is inefficient enforcement of the rules and procedures embedded in the Act.

Uganda as a country has an excellent legal and policy framework that can enhance performance, accountability and transparency. But the ethical behaviour of its civil servants renders it inefficient in delivering quality public service. In the Ugandan context, the public service review of

1989 revealed that the Public Service was inefficient, ineffective, unresponsive, demoralised and consequently not delivering. This led to the introduction of Results Oriented Management (ROM) in 1996, with project management, management by objectives and programme and performance budgeting as the core components of the approach. In Uganda, results-oriented management is being applied to promote optimal use of available resources by focusing on the results delivered at institutional and individual levels in line with institutional plans, sector plans and the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which has been transformed into the National Development Plan 2010-2015 and the Vision 2040 focusing on attaining middle income status for Uganda by 2017.

Results-oriented management is at the core of the integrated performance management framework, the main components of which are:

- strategic performance planning and budgeting;
- performance reviews;
- performance improvement, rewarding and recognising performance;
- service delivery standards; and monitoring and evaluation.

Around 1993, a sector-wide approach to planning and budgeting was adopted to provide a common forum for discussion and agreeing on sector priorities, performance indicators and outcomes. From 1997, strategic performance management in the public service was anchored on the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), and National Development Plan (NDP) 2010-2015. A national development plan incorporating the national vision and goals, the ruling party manifesto, the millennium development goals and goals of the New Economic Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) was being developed to replace PEAP as the national planning framework as from the 2009/2010 financial year. At institutional level, annual performance plans with clear outputs, performance measures and indicators were developed based on the policy priorities in the PEAP.

Government uses the Medium Term Expenditure Framework as a planning, budgeting and monitoring tool. Individual performance planning is undertaken at the beginning of a financial year. A key step in results orientation is the implementation of deliberate performance improvement initiatives. High performance is also recognised at institutional and individual levels through non-monetary rewards. Service delivery standards and client charters were introduced in 2007 to place direct responsibility on respective institutions and individual employees to provide reasonable levels of service to citizens. The major challenge of the two frameworks is that they do not, however, talk to each other. The financial estimates that are embedded in the NDP are not reflected in the financial framework of the Medium Term Expenditure Framework, which the basis of government is budgeting. As a result, the NDP is seen as a redundant document that is not based on the financial reality as per the operational budget of the government.

Performance reviews are conducted at sectoral, institutional and employee levels. Annual joint sector reviews are undertaken to analyse policy developments, investment plans, constraints and performance towards sectoral outcomes. Performance reviews are also undertaken in

ministries, departments and local governments to monitor performance on planned outputs, both at institutional and individual levels. In 2003, the government established a National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System for the PAP to ensure that all programmes are monitored and evaluated in a rational and synchronised manner.

The challenges to implementation relate to the collection of performance data; equipping service recipients with the confidence and capacity to demand services; eliminating red tape; providing adequate incentives to support performance management; strengthening monitoring and evaluation mechanisms; ensuring effective use of performance management information; determining cross-organisational outcomes; and providing continuous capacity building for managers.

Uganda's performance management measurement uses both financial measures and traditional measures. Financial measures are usually linked to the budget of an organisation, controlled by the central office and linked to the costs of line budgeted items. Grants are made on the basis of amounts of previous years and sometimes linked to estimates taken from regional or field offices. Traditional methods related to effectiveness (output measures, quantitative, for instance cases disposed of, recoveries made and targets achieved during the year). However, all these measures need to be budgeted for in the national budget as they cost. The challenge of the government and specifically the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development is gathering the requisite data from different institutions in timely and effective manner. The data on financial performance at the decentralised level rests with the Ministry of Local Government. Performance measurements are controlled by the office of the Prime Minister and the contribution of development partners (25%) to the budgets is on a voluntary basis and is often inadequate to provide a true picture of the financial flows.

### Existing performance management measures

The Constitution of Uganda (1995) is the basis of Uganda's anti-corruption legal framework from which all other laws derive their authority and function. It pronounces itself very clearly on corruption in Article 17 (1i):

“all persons placed in positions of leadership and responsibility shall, in their work, be answerable to the people; all lawful measures shall be taken to expose, combat and eradicate corruption and abuse or misuse of power by those handling political and public offices.”

The Constitutional provisions form the specific anti-corruption legislative enactments such as the:

- Inspectorate of Government Act of 2002;
- Leadership Code Act of 2002;
- Anti-corruption Act 2009;
- Whistleblowers Protection Act;
- Access to information Act 2005;

- National Audit Act 2007;
- Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act 2003; and
- Local Government Act 1997.

The office of the Inspector General of Government (IGG) was established under the Inspectorate of Government Statute of 1988. With the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution, a new Act came into force in 2001 with provisions for special powers of the IGG to investigate and prosecute corruption, abuse of office and authority. Special courts have been specifically created to handle corruption cases. However, over the past five years, this institution has not been constitutionally functional. For the IGG to be legally constituted and able to bring cases to the courts, it must have the Inspector General in place and s/he must have a deputy. Both posts are a mandate of the President of Uganda. For the past five years, there has been no Inspector General of Government. Instead, the Deputy has been in an acting capacity. The IGG was finally appointed in 2012, however, the contract of the Deputy Inspector General has since not been renewed and this has effectively rendered the institution ineffective and not legally constituted. It is the obligation of the public to report cases of corruption and other related issues to the IGG, a job that has satisfactorily been done. However, a lot more effort is expected, especially willingness to participate as witnesses in courts of law for corruption cases.

The Leadership Code Act, 2002, lays down minimum standards of behaviour and conduct for leaders with an emphasis on transparency. The IGG set up a leadership code to implement the Leadership Code Act with a clear mechanism to request for, receive and process declarations from specified public officers. Declarations of public officers' statements of income, assets and liabilities have been regularly made and the IGG has also taken action on non-compliance according to the established procedures within the Leadership Code Act. This has gone a long way in addressing the issue of conflict of interest, both at local and central government levels where assets for public officers are declared every two years. Without an effective IGG, the leadership code and declaration of assets are not implemented and there is little if any possibility of the recalcitrant being brought to book.

The Anti-corruption Act 2009 was the result of a review of the Prevention of Corruption Act. The purpose is to make the country's primary anti-corruption law more of a deterrent and better enforceable by the law enforcement agencies. This act provides for the effectual prevention of corruption in both the public and private sector, introduces both proactive and reactive measures, repeals and replaces the prevention of Corruption Act, and consequently amends the Penal Code Act and the Leadership Code Act. It also enhances the powers of the Inspector General of Government and the Director of Public Prosecutions. New procedures and orders are provided for in the Anti-corruption Act – restraining and confiscation orders. Furthermore, the Act extends the scope of corruption offences and introduces the concept of illicit enrichment as part of Uganda's domestication of the United Nations' Convention Against Corruption. This act is a vanguard legislation demonstrating the will of the political establishment to implement a policy of zero

tolerance by closing off avenues identified as ones used in the past by perpetrators of corrupt acts. However, the Forfeiture of Assets Bill has been in parliament for well over five years, and thus effectively all corrupt offenders, once prosecuted, keep their illegally acquired assets.

The Whistle Blowers Protection Act 2010 sets the procedures through which individuals in both public and private sectors can, in the public interest, disclose information that relates to irregular, illegal or corrupt practices. Provision is also made for the protection against victimisation of persons who make disclosures regarding the conduct of one or more persons. The legislation enables civil society to effectively participate in the procuring of evidence against the corrupt, thereby improving the prosecution and adjudication of corruption cases.

The Local Government Act, 1997 is aimed at strengthening transparency and accountability in local government. The Local Governments Act was amended to respond to other demands for increased accountability. For instance, tender boards have been replaced by contract committees, which like their counterparts at central government, are managed by public servants.

In 2006, the Local Governments (Amendment) Act (No. 2) and the supporting Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Regulations (No. 39 of 2006) were brought into effect, with variations specific to local government.

The Public Finance and Accountability Act, 2003, provides financial and auditing systems, and other regulations have been amended from time to time to meet the changing demands for transparency and accountability.

The Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development streamlined its mechanisms to guide and monitor local government in their financial affairs, and continued to require and receive monthly and quarterly accountability reports.

Statutory bodies (The Local Government Public Accounts Committees and the District Service Commission) are now funded directly by the central government under the monitoring and accountability grant. This is a measure to reduce their allegiance to and influence pedalling from, local council leaders.

The Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development now imposes sanctions on local government if they delay accountability by withholding releases, a mechanism that has also helped most of them to produce their accounts timely.

The Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development continues to carry out routine inspections for compliance with stores, records and operations requirements. These can hardly be stated as routine. The Auditor-General (the most functional institution so far) uncovered well over 2 000 'ghost' teachers and over 1 000 ghost pensioners, both who continued to receive salaries and pensions while not on the list of the respective ministry. The major problem was that government had outsourced the payment of salaries and emoluments to a state-owned computer company that had limited links with the ministries and limited verification processes in place.

The National Audit Act 2008, recently passed by parliament, is designed to bring into effect the 2005 amendment of the constitution, securing greater autonomy and independence for the Office of the Auditor-General. The law empowers the Auditor-General to approve the withdrawal of funds from the consolidated fund, and audit and report on the public accounts of Uganda. These

include accounts of all public offices, universities, public institutions, corporations or other bodies established by an Act of Parliament, as well as private organisations to which public monies are disbursed. The legislation also empowers the Auditor-General to review classified expenditure.

The Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Act 2003 is a very comprehensive law regulating accountability in the public sector with regard to the procurement and disposal of public assets. The act empowers the public procurement and disposal of Public Assets Authority to make interventions to minimise corrupt practices in Public Authority (PPDA) to make interventions to minimise corrupt practices in public procurement. The PPDA is similarly empowered to monitor the compliance of procurement and disposal Entities with the provisions of the act, the regulations and any guidelines issued by the authority. The law also empowers the public to report acts of violation or non-compliance with the law.

The Access to Information Act, 2005, aims at providing tools for efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, constitutionality and empowerment in the hands of the people whereby they would be able to hold public offices to high standards by demanding information relating to matters of public interest.

### **Legal and policy framework**

The legal and policy framework in Uganda aimed at enhancing performance of the public sector in terms of accountability and transparency are the following institutions like: the Inspector General of Government (IGG), Office of the Auditor-General (OAG), the Leadership Code Act, Public Service Act, Whistle Blowers Act, Anti-corruption Court, the Directorate for Ethics and Integrity, Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Authority Act, 2003, The Ethical Code of Conduct for the Public Service, and the Uganda police. These institutions and policies are established to check the operation of the public sector and to ensure that value for money is realised for every public coin spent. As indicated above, related institutions and the legal framework is in place. The problem is that they are ineffective in combating corruption in the country. Examples include the diversion of funds donated by Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation founded by Merlinda and Bill Gates by the Minister and Deputy Minister of Health (the fund suspended all contributions to Uganda until reinstated in 2013). The Commonwealth Heads of State and government, where millions of dollars were diverted including the payment by government for a private sector hotel owner to completely refurbish his hotel with government funds, and the importation of non-existent BMW vehicle, among others transgressions. More recently (November 2012), the Auditor-General uncovered the theft of over 60 million US dollars of donor funds in the office of the Prime Minister, which was intended for the victims of the war waged by Joseph Kony and his Lord's Resistance Army. Only the accountant and two technicians from MOFPED and the Bank of Uganda have been charged, while the Permanent Secretary and accounting officer in the Office of the Prime Minister were only questioned. The concerned donors of Ireland, DFID, Germany, Sweden and Denmark have since suspended aid to Uganda that is channelled through government systems. All these scandals have been extensively reported on in the press.

### **The establishment of the National Anti-corruption Strategy (NACS)**

The National Anti-corruption Strategy is a five-year planning framework designed to make a significant impact on building the quality of accountability and reducing the levels of corruption in Uganda. It focuses on people, systems, and organisations and on building a culture where integrity is valued and corruption is rejected. It seeks to support national development that will for the future be able to sustain a better quality of life for people, support a strong competitive economy, and establish an effective and efficient public service.

### **The establishment of public service commission**

The Public Service Commission was established under the provisions of Article 165(1) of the 1995 Constitution. It was set up to advise the President in the performance of his/her functions, appoint public servants, promote and exercise disciplinary control over persons holding public office, review terms and conditions of service, standing orders, qualifications of public officers, matters connected with personnel management and development of the public service and make recommendations on them to government, guiding and coordinating the work of the District Service Commissions (DSCs), hear and determine grievances from persons appointed by the DSC, approve and appoint the chairpersons and members of DSC.

The Public Service Commission has registered the following achievements: establishment of appropriate guidelines including personnel procedures, systems and performance standards for both central ministries and districts – put in place, disseminated and adhered to; District Service Commissions – properly guided and coordinated, and uniformity in application guidelines and personnel procedures – enforced; set up standards and procedures relating to HRM processes – put in place and enforced; provide financial management of financial and other resources and providing administrative support services; preparation of budgetary estimates, quarterly reports of Revenue and Expenditure and Final Accounts; formulation of policy proposals, policy statements and annual budget performance reports, staff training, human resource management and development.

### **Establishment of the institution of the Inspector General of Government**

The Inspectorate of Government is an independent institution charged with the responsibility of eliminating corruption, the abuse of authority and of public office. It was established to promote good governance through enhancing accountability and transparency; and enforcement of the rule of law and administrative justice in public offices. The powers, as enshrined in the Constitution and IG Act, include investigating or causing investigation, arresting or causing arrest, prosecuting or causing prosecution, making orders and giving directions during investigations; accessing and searching – entering and inspecting premises or property or searching a person or bank account or safe deposit box, among others.

### **Achievements**

The body has been able to achieve the following: promoting and fostering strict adherence to the

rule of law and principles of natural justice in administration, eliminating and contributed to the elimination of corruption, abuse of authority and public office. It has also promoted fair, efficient and good governance in public offices; subject to the provision of the Constitution, to supervise the enforcement of the Leadership Code of Conduct. It has investigated any act, omission, advice, decision or recommendation by a public officer or any other authority to which this article applies; taken, made, given or done in exercise for administrative functions; and stimulated public awareness about the values of constitutionalism in general and the activities of the office, in particular, through any media and other means it considers appropriate.

### **The Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee**

The Public Accounts Committee is provided for under Rule No. 148 of the Rules of Procedure. It is mandated to examine the audited accounts, showing the appropriation of the sums granted by Parliament to meet the public expenditure of government.

### **The establishment of the Auditor-General's Office**

The Office of the Auditor-General is an institution established under the provisions of Article 163 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Its mandate, functions and powers are enshrined in the National Audit Act, 2008. The main function of the OAG is to audit and report on the public accounts of Uganda and of all public offices or bodies and/or organisations established by an Act of Parliament – a very important institution that has done commendable work in uncovering corruption. However, as it cannot itself prosecute culprits, the cases have to be brought to the attention of the IGG. Its effectiveness is therefore eroded.

### **Achievements**

Undertaking financial audit of all public accounts in respect of all public offices in accordance with laws which govern them; carrying out value-for-money audits; preparing and submitting to parliament an annual report for the financial year immediately preceding; controlling the release of funds from the consolidated fund; auditing of classified expenditure, auditing government investments, auditing the treasury memorandum; carrying out procurement audits; reporting fraud and corruption identified during audits to the appropriate authorities; assisting the parliamentary committees in carrying out their oversight functions effectively; and assessing the adequacy of responses from the auditors to audit observations.

### **Establishment of the Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Act (2003)**

The government of Uganda initiated reforms in the public procurement and disposal sector in 1997 following the enactment of the 1995 Constitution and the introduction of several reforms and structural adjustment programmes. Prior to this, public procurement was governed by the 1977 Public Finance (Tender Board) Regulations under the Public Finance Act of 1964. The system

was centralised and had been in operation for over thirty years. The size of government had grown considerably and the centralised procurement system was characterised by several shortcomings.

### **Achievements and challenges**

The PPDA has achieved the following: ensured the application of fair, competitive, transparent, non-discriminatory and value-for-money public procurement and disposal standards and practices; harmonisation of the procurement and disposal policies, systems and practices of the central government, local government and statutory bodies; set standards for the public procurement and disposal systems in Uganda; monitored compliance of procuring and disposing entities; and also building procurement and disposal capacity in Uganda.

### **Establishment of the Directorate for Ethics and Integrity**

In 1998, the Directorate for Ethics & Integrity (DEI) was formed as the policy arm in the fight against corruption with additional mandate of rebuilding ethics and integrity in the society. In the government sector-wide approach to planning, DEI is a member institution of the accountability sector. It is the Secretariat for the Anti-corruption Inter-Agency Forum (IAF) and therefore coordinates efforts to all IAF member institutions.

It was established with the mandate of setting standards for rebuilding and promoting ethics and integrity in society; spearheading the development of anti-corruption policies and legal frameworks; monitoring the implementation of ethical standards and anti-corruption legislations, and providing political representations in the fight against corruption. DEI is merely a mouthpiece of the ruling party that has been there to coordinate other agencies in the fight against corruption.

### **Establishment of the ethical code of conduct for public officers**

The code of conduct and ethics for the Ugandan public service sets out standards of behaviour for public officers in the Uganda public service. It is designed to ensure the impartiality, objectivity, transparency, integrity, efficiency and effectiveness of public officers when performing their duties. It is intended to guide public officers in their behaviour and how they relate to each other and the public. Public officers are enjoined to conform to the code of conduct and ethics and promote its observance. Likewise, customers of the public service and the general public are encouraged to access the code of conduct and ethics and report any behaviour by public officers that breach this code.

### **Establishment of independent anti-corruption agencies such as Anti-corruption Coalition Uganda (ACCU)**

Anti-corruption Coalition Uganda (ACCU) was formed in January 1999 with a mission of contributing to poverty reduction by empowering civil society to actively fight corruption in Uganda. It is composed of 70 civil society organisations, individuals, religious leaders, academicians, media practitioners and key institutions involved in the fight against corruption in Uganda. The agencies have been lobbying and advocating for appropriate anti-corruption national policies, punitive measures, research, and

exposure of corrupt activities, as well as the capacity building, coalition building and mobilisation of the Ugandan citizens to fight corruption. ACCU is a very effective body that is fighting an uphill battle with its very existence threatened and its officials constantly facing death threats.

### **Achievements**

The Anti-corruption Coalition of Uganda has been able to achieve the following: exposure of corruption cases by civil society; providing a platform for civil society to hold government responsible for improving transparency and accountability in public service delivery; equipping civil society with skills, knowledge and methods of effectively addressing corruption; increasing information accessibility to members of the general public; coordinating member activities, research and advocacy on corruption-related issues; building the capacity of civil society and facilitating information sharing and communication.

### **The National Anti-corruption Strategy (NACs)**

The National Anti-corruption Strategy (NACs) is a framework designed to make a significant impact on building the quality of accountability and reducing the levels of corruption in Uganda. Its focus is people, systems, organisations and building a culture where integrity is valued and corruption is rejected. It seeks to support national development that is sustainable in the future.

The strategy has five key objectives:

- effective political leadership in the fight against corruption;
- increased public demand for accountability and rejection of corruption;
- effective enforcement of anti-corruption agencies;
- enhanced compliance and accountability by public service organisations;
- effective and performing anti-corruption agencies.

This strategy:

- guides government ministries, departments and agencies and local government in formulating anti-corruption policies and action plans;
- promotes active and open engagement with the public and with stakeholder groups to improve access to information and the public demand for accountability;
- identifies the key linkages between policies and successful anti-corruption action;
- provides a framework for the development of the capacity of anti-corruption agencies;
- informs national strategic policy planning and decision-making.

## **Challenges in enforcing legal and policy framework**

### **Escalating corruption**

The conclusion of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) on the reach of corruption in Uganda is that “all informants, including political leaders and appointed officials, agreed that corruption is now institutionalised.” This is reinforced by a wide range of inquiries, investigations,

assessments and reports – both national and international. It is also supported by public opinion that consistently perceives high levels of corruption in political and public service institutions and believes that corruption impacts on every aspect of life in Uganda.

Uganda has gone through a turbulent history that has resulted, among other things, in breakdown of ethical values that have significantly impacted on governance and societal integrity. This has led to moral degeneration, occurrence of unethical conduct and a lack of integrity in the management of public and private affairs.

There has been a series of regime changes and political instability since independence. One of the most serious consequences of such changes has been the erosion of the moral fabric of the public with little or no regard for accountability and governance, leading to a high level of corruption.

The role of parliament as the oversight institution of the State in establishing ethics and integrity in public office and as the front-runner in demanding for accountability, open and transparent governance and in its ability to check excessive power of the State while representing the interests of the electorate, cannot be underestimated. However, its inability to fully play its role and in particular, its failure to enforce its own decisions through legally provided channels, has undermined its legitimacy and legal mandate as provided for in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. By extension, it has also undermined the ability of the people of Uganda to enforce their will through Article 1(1) of the Constitution which provides that: “All power belongs to the people who shall exercise their sovereignty in accordance with this constitution.”

### **Service delivery bottlenecks**

The mandate of the Ministry of Health (MOH) is to enact policies at the national level: policy, quality control and training (MOH, 2010). At the district level, management functions include recruitment, support supervision and remuneration. Whereas both the policy and regulatory mechanisms are well in place, Uganda’s health sector at both the MOH health and district levels, is riddled with a multiplicity of service delivery challenges that threaten to collapse the whole sector. Performance monitoring is poor. Characteristically, the following issues are of a cross cutting nature:

- regular stock outs – drugs and consumables;
- poor motivation of healthcare workers – salary and working environment. These issues remain pertinent. There is poor health staff attraction and retention;
- equipment use and misuse, for example, poor vehicle maintenance;
- there is a characteristic poor skills mix;
- there is generally a poor reward system;
- the health facilities are inadequate in number. Most clients have to walk long distances to access the facilities. Characteristically, the public system has poor infrastructure. Staff absenteeism is a big challenge and most have embedded inappropriate ethical behaviour. Inadequate equipment which is poorly maintained, low staffing levels and stock shortages remain characteristic (MOH, 2010)
- At community level, a system detached from those it is meant to serve appears to be the

norm rather than the exception. There is little or no community participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation of service delivery programmes. Monitoring seems to be mainly ad hoc rather than embedded in the management system. There is no ownership and as such, inadequate demand for service delivery.

- Service delivery in the education and health sector struggles and falls short of the expectations of those it is intended to serve.

Yet another typical example of the failed performance management measures is within Uganda’s education sector. At policy level, the mandate of the education sector seems to fall under different ministries and organs, thus creating a coordination challenge. The cross cutting challenges include the following:

- poor staff motivation: low pay;
- inadequate infrastructure;
- inadequate teaching and library materials;
- poor performance monitoring at all levels.

At primary/elementary level, staff is poorly paid; the universal primary education (UPE) programme is struggling and relegated to children of the poor. Financing is not yet standardised, and there is generally poor morale.

At secondary level, there are parallel competing systems: faith-based schools, government-funded schools and private schools, with similar challenges such as funding, infrastructure and staff mobility.

At tertiary level, the relevance of curricula to population needs is questionable, and there are funding constraints for research, staff motivation and infrastructure. Although in most of the cases the activities within tertiary institutions are generally linked to the aspirations of the population, attempts to strengthen inter-institutional collaborations are only recent.

In real terms, institutions are largely detached from employment opportunities and population needs. Typically, it is the consequences of institutionalised corruption that must concern us and in particular, the actions that are needed to bring about fundamental change. The consequences for Uganda are substantial. The most visible signs are the collapsing social services, roads and crumbling structures, inadequate facilities and poor quality of services, despite investment. The burden of this hijacking of public resources weighs most heavily on the poor and on small business and locks people into a never ending cycle of poverty.

### **Proposed strategies for enhancing performance management measures**

The authors propose number strategies that can be employed to enhance performance, accountability and transparency in public service delivery. The key strategy here is the leadership.

In Rwanda for instance corruption is curtailed through a Zero tolerance strategy will the direct involvement of the top executive. Any official accused and convicted of corruption including close friends and relatives of top authorities get imprisoned.

### **Increasing access to information**

There is need for enhancing access to information through information laws that should stipulate the right to information, records management laws and computerisation, whistle blower protection and disclosure of income and assets subject to rules. Information can be provided in the public domain through setting up web-based approvals to be posted on government websites.

### **Emphasising ethics and integrity and inculcating national values**

This can involve developing and implementing a model code of conduct for political representatives, civil service, judiciary and civil society groups. It can also be done in the following ways:

There is a need for the removal of all discretionary powers provided to officials under the law, which may lead to misappropriation in government. Public hearings and public meetings should be encouraged. Transparency in procedures and systems should also be encouraged by opening up procedures for public review and conducting peoples' estimates. A social audit could also enhance performance. Prior consultation with the public in the process of policy making in areas of participatory budgeting should be made. Transparency in budgeting is crucial and as well as conducting an independent audit. There is a vital need to establish administrative procedure legislation providing for transparent and accountable administrative action

### **Institutional reforms**

This can involve the establishment of public service agreements for delivery of public services by private companies – holding them accountable objectively and transparently. There is a need for participation of stakeholders in various decision-making processes.

Citizen committees need to be a part of the decision-making process and public participation needs to be fostered through public hearings, study circles, citizen advisory boards, government contract committees, public watchdog groups and independent anti-corruption agencies.

There is a demand for easy access of government officials to the public. This can be achieved through establishing telephone contact numbers of senior officials to be made available to the public for the purpose of registration of grievances. Departmental and ministry websites can provide telephone contact numbers, emails and other details of senior officials and establishing citizen service facilitation counters and enforcing active client charters.

### **Assessment and monitoring**

Strengthening of performance measurement and management can be achieved through gradual monitoring of departmental performances using performance indicators from which annual performance report are supposed to be produced.

### **Development and implementation of the citizens' charter in all government departments**

Institutional reforms can involve citizen charters, which can be used to give timelines of service delivery and publishing annual reports and establishing avenues of dissemination of white papers. These reports should have pre-specified framework for contents. As for corruption, there is a need to strengthen the legislative, judicial and investigative framework to combat it. Public confidence in the quality and effectiveness of anti-corruption actions is a point of focus. Compliance with international standards and obligations needs strengthening.

### **Enforcement of anti-corruption measures**

Making legal and administrative sanctions effective is a core requirement of anti-corruption policy. Currently, sanctions are seen to be ineffective in Uganda. This situation should be redressed. Corruption does not stand still; it evolves to open new avenues when the authorities improve old systems. It is therefore essential that the judicial and legislative framework continuously evolve to meet the new challenges posed by corruption. One key avenue is the Inter-Agency Anti-corruption Forum (IAF).

### **Inter-Agency Anti-corruption Forum**

The Inter-Agency Anti-corruption Forum (IAF) oversees the development of the National Anti-corruption Strategy and monitors its implementation. Membership and attendance at the IAF is voluntary and is based on a shared commitment to a more coordinated approach to their work. The membership of the IAF is as follows:

- Directorate for Ethics & Integrity
- Inspectorate of Government
- Office of the President
- Directorate of Public Prosecutions
- Office of the Auditor General
- Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Inspectorate of Courts
- Local Government Finance Commission
- Uganda Revenue Authority
- Directorate of Criminal Investigations
- Public Procurement & Disposal of Public Assets Authority
- Public Service Commission
- Ministry of Public Service
- Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
- Education Service Commission
- Ministry of Local Government
- Health Service Commission
- Judicial Service Commission.



## Conclusion

This paper discusses the performance management measures instituted in Uganda in the light of the cross cutting bottlenecks in their execution. It brings to the fore the resultant negative consequences that manifest in inequitable distribution of service delivery, most particularly within the key priority areas of public service delivery – health and education.

To a large extent, performance measurement cannot be a panacea to accountability problems. New comprehensive strategies are required to ensure equitable service delivery for the benefit of the common citizen.

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**Ndaruhutse Ruzaaza Gad** heads the Community-Based Education Research and Service (COBERS) programme at Mbarara University of Science and Technology (MUST) and holds a Masters in Education (Education for Primary Health Care) of the University of Manchester, UK, a Diploma in Medicine and Public Health, and is currently pursuing his doctoral studies in management and administration at the Uganda Management Institute. His research domain is higher education management and equitable health care. A certified champion for food security and nutrition in Uganda, Gad has participated in the design and implementation of innovative primary healthcare programmes in most parts of Uganda. One such project is the Canadian International Development Agency-financed 'Healthy Child Uganda' project that has won both local and international recognition for using cost-effective approaches in addressing under five-year-old morbidity and mortality. During 2002 to 2012, he coordinated the activities of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)-financed collaborative project between Lund University, Sweden and MUST (LUMUST Project) to enhance collaborative research, staff/student exchanges, and institutional human resource and financial management.

**Gad Ruzaaza Ndaruhutse** has made participated and presented academic papers in different international conferences and contributed to publications on management for primary healthcare and innovative education. With over 10 years of experience in participatory research and practice, he realises that relevant education and community participation are vital for mitigation of the escalating disease burden and poverty, particularly within sub-Saharan Africa.

**Maude Mugisha** is currently a PhD scholar at Uganda Management Institute in Uganda. She is a social development/gender equality specialist with more than 20 years of experience working in eastern and southern Africa with local, regional and international agencies. During her professional life, she has promoted policy advocacy and human rights through civil society organisations. Mugisha has worked as a consultant in the areas of gender mainstreaming, organisation

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**Helen Lauer** is an associate professor and currently the Head of the Department of Philosophy and Classics at the University of Ghana, Legon, where she has taught analytic philosophy and ethics full-time since 1988. Her most recent collaborative works include the two-volume anthology *Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities through African Perspectives* (co-ed. Kofi Anyidoho, Accra: Sub Saharan Publishers, 2012) and the three-volume *History and Philosophy of Science for African Undergraduates* (Ibadan: Hope Publications, 2003). Helen has compiled cross-disciplinary manuals in applied ethics and in critical thinking, designed to assist Ghanaian students and professionals in all fields to assume the voice of authority in development planning and socio-economic management. Outside academia, she formerly served as the features editor and a regular columnist for Accra's oldest independent newspaper, *The Statesman*. In 1986, she swam the butterfly stroke for 31 miles around Manhattan Island, a fundraising exercise to support the city-wide citizens' referendum which forced the removal of nuclear weapons from the U.S. Idaho, a warship that now resides as a naval museum in New York Harbour, one mile from the demolished World Trade Center. She is a member and elected Secretary of the Board for Rethinking AIDS, of the international Society of Scientists Reappraising the HIV/AIDS Hypothesis.

**Betty C Mubangizi** is an Associate Professor in the School of Management Information Technology and Governance of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. She is also a Visiting Professor at the Uganda Management Institute. Prof Mubangizi holds a Doctor of Administration her research interests straddle the areas of sustainable livelihoods, community governance, service delivery and poverty alleviation with specific regard to the rural-urban divide. To this effect she has published several journal articles and book chapters. In addition, she supervises and examines postgraduate research and is a review editor of the *African Journal of Governance and Development* as well as an editorial board member of the *Journal of Public Administration*.

**Nozipho Ngubo** is a researcher and an entrepreneur who is passionate about infrastructural

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**Christine Ondo** is a Medical Doctor and the former Minister of Health in the Government of Uganda. She is currently a senior presidential advisor in charge of public health. She has a Masters in Management with a specialisation in public administration and management.

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## Guide for authors

The *African Journal of Governance and Development* is a multidisciplinary publication that seeks to bring academic researchers from beyond territorial and regional boundaries to share scientific knowledge focused at the intersection of governance and development. The journal aims at providing space for sharing and debating issues of social, political and economic development not only for academic consumption, but also for policy consideration. The journal is published on a biannual basis and is peer reviewed.

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