

THE UGANDAN JOURNAL

OF MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY STUDIES

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Introduction

The Ugandan Journal of Management and Public Policy Studies is a multidisciplinary Journal publishing a wide range of articles relating to public administration, management, leadership and public policy, from empirical studies and theoretical orientations to practical application. The Journal reviews books, essays, and research notes that are relevant to both scholars and practitioners involved at all levels of administration and management from various organizational forms including business firms, non-governmental organizations and public institutions and individual networks.

Aim and scope

The Ugandan Journal of Management and Public Policy Studies is a scholarly Journal published to scientifically address the problems, interests and concerns of managers and intellectuals concerned with management science profession. It aims at improving the understanding and practice of management. The Journal is an essential reading, publishing articles from a wide range of authors, both well-established scholars and young scholars. Thus the Journal is an important resource for:

- Management Development Institutions
- Social Science Faculties and Research Institutions
- Graduate students, teachers and other researchers
- Civil service practitioners
- All those people interested in the practice of management and administration

The Scope of the Journal covers fields of management, administration, and public policy. Empirical and practitioners oriented papers and reviews will be welcome for the Journal.

Editor's Note

Public administration scholarship now oscillates across the public, private and the NGO environments. As a Journal of Management and public Policy Studies, the diversity of contributors from all these environments is strength of the journal issue. Our readers will have a wide range of management lessons from the best management practices as reflected in each of the articles. Secondly, as an internationally refereed Journal, contributors from different administrative contexts enables us achieve the goals of the Journal and true international scholarship. From the traditional public administration, through the New Public Management (NPM) era to governance and now to New Public Governance (NPG), public administration has rapidly seen a lot of transformations. What is vividly clear within a multitude of existing scholarship on the huge province of public administration is that service delivery functions are dispersed across a number of stakeholders'. New modes of public service delivery relying on private sector styles have emerged. Among these include outsourcing, contracting out, public-private partnership and third-sector governance. These are developments that have made substantial impact on service delivery mechanisms in all countries. At no time in the history of human kind has seen the minimalist role of the state in service delivery than it is possibly in this century. The role of government in service delivery is so dispersed in some countries that some scholars have even questioned the actual existence of government.

Amidst all the challenges of service delivery in different countries, public administration scholarship has been dominated by scholars from a number of disciplines. In its interdisciplinary nature, contributors on public administration now come from economics; business administration, statistics, education, engineering, history, political science and sociology among other disciplines to provide useful insights for our better understanding of the societies that we live in. In this regard, the current issue of the journal reflects this diversity of scholarship as the abundantly clear varied disciplinary background of contributors reflects. The contributions in this issue combine empirical and theoretical papers reflecting the need to meet the interests of our academic audiences but also the practitioners. We present a total of 10 articles written from a wide variety of contexts but all merging on one common theme on 'how citizens can access improved public services' within the framework of networked governance systems. This new issue has topics running through governance, the market systems, power and political dynamics, accountability and the role of different players like CSO, and SMEs in services delivery.

In the first article, Prof Mutahaba and Kweyamba walk us through the process of managing elections in Tanzania. Elections determine the politics, economics and social dynamics in any country. The authors discuss the management of the 2010 general elections in Tanzania with particular focus on Union elections (union between Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland). Their study focused on the independence and impartiality of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), logistics and resources capacity, new managerial inventions for improving elections management, and the role and performance of both the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and the office of Registrar of Political Parties (RPP) in managing the elections. They conclude that management of the 2010 elections was 'impressive' in comparison to the first three multiparty elections held in 1995, 2000 and 2005 in that part of the African Continent.

Article two is by Professors Ile and Mubangizi who converge their arguments on the crucial governance subject on how citizen participation can be used as an important pillar for the advancement of good governance agenda in Africa. In recent times, citizens have increasingly been considered an important constituent to demanding accountability from the elected and unelected public officials who; in the context of principal agent logic run government on behalf of citizens. Within democratic governments, citizens are real owners of governments and have a legitimate concern to demand better services from their -governments at whatever level. Adopting a comparative approach, the authors examine this important debate of citizen participation from the Uganda and South Africa contexts; an enterprise that they accomplish through highlighting the failures and successes of the citizen participation model with the failures dwarfing the successes. Pertinent policy and managerial implications that will see citizen participation being effectively nurtured for sustainable governance and resource management in Africa emerge from this article.

The role played by SMEs in any society is undoubtedly important. SMEs are important to almost all economies but especially so to the developing countries. Snaking through the existing literature on this subject confirms that the contribution of the SME sector in economic development is supported by both theoretical and empirical arguments and evidence. The third article by Kampumure, Nkote and Sserwanga is one such empirical paper that examines leasing competence, lease structure and perceived leasing performance among SMEs in Uganda within the context of deeply understanding the challenges of SMEs in their endeavor to contribute to national development. The authors educate their audiences that it is common for entrepreneurship and firm creation to be mostly related to small and micro firms, which lead us to look at them as an important development agent in any society. The cross-sectional study findings are based on a sample of 132 SMEs located in Kampala. The paper concludes that the performance of the lessee depends very much on the competence of the SME managers and the lease structure and thus recommend continued enhancement of the competence of the SME manager to manage the leased assets effectively.

Prenatal Care and Childbirth Weight in Uganda and Tanzania by Bbaale and Buyinza are indeed important topics of public administration that this issue touches upon. This paper investigates the relationship between prenatal care components and childbirth weight for children born in the five years preceding the survey. Using the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) 2006, they employed both descriptive (mainly bar charts/graphs) and the two-stage least squares (2SLS) approach to estimate the childbirth weight model. The paper suggests that key explanatory variables included prenatal visits, prenatal care delay, tetanus immunization, and prenatal care content and included a number of controls as well. The findings reveal that the average childbirth weight is 3.4 in Uganda and 3.2 in Tanzania. The average number of prenatal care visits is 3.7 and 4.1 for Uganda and Tanzania, respectively. On average, women in the two countries initiate their first prenatal visits at about 5 months of pregnancy And concluded that Tanzanian women outperformed Ugandan counterparts in the utilization of antenatal care content. The authors recommend a need to standardize the health information disseminated to women across all regions and locations in order to ensure that all receive the same reproductive knowledge and best practices.

The African manufacturing industry faces a number of problems and challenges including shortage of skills; rigid labour laws, inadequate electricity supply; cumbersome and expensive transport within the continent; low levels of productivity; political instability; corruption resulting into low profitability. Ndirangu Kungu and Zakayo Onyiego supply us, in the fifth article a report on the effects of working capital management components on profitability in manufacturing industry in Kenya. Through an empirical article, the authors confirm the effects of different variables of working capital management on profitability in manufacturing companies in Kenya using panel data analysis for the period 2006-2010. Their study concludes that the independent variables account for 31.7% of the variations in profitability among the manufacturing companies in Kenya. This suggests the existence of a number of other determinants which future studies ought to explore.

Away from the two proceeding empirical papers a number of other theoretical papers which are of utmost relevant for the theory and practice of public policy in a developing country perspective are presented. Government business is run by two major players-the elected and the unelected officials. The two players have walked side by side within the long journey of public administration; attempting at times to 'strangle' instead of 'malnourishing' each other. Classical public administration scholars attempted to have the roles of these separated along the lines of policy making and implementation. However, attempts to divorce the two have rather practically remained a myth. While the 1940s saw a sharp criticism over the possibility of separation of roles of these actors, through times, many critical activities of government have called for the segregation of roles. One area where this debate has been dominant is in the Local Government. In this regard, article six by Kiwanuka examines the interface between elected and appointed officials using Uganda's experience. The author strongly concludes that the existing conflicting interface between the two players threatens not only service delivery but it effectively suffocates public participation thereby undermining accountability, eroding public trust hence defeating the whole essence of decentralization.

Power and Politics are important variables in all Organizations. Power is often regarded as the most dirty word in the social sciences. It is so promiscuous that it defeats a clear understanding and true circumstantial application. Those who have power deny that they have and those who wish to have power behave as though they don't want it. Those who have it are ever secretive about how to get it! The use of power and politics undoubtedly determines whether the organization achieves its goals or not. Wrongly application of these two concepts into organizational life can lead to dysfunctional systems. In article seven, Basheka, theoretically examines the interplay between power and politics in organizations and their implications on Organizational Development (OD) and Change. The paper draws some useful insights from the world of practice particularly within the context of Higher Educational Institutions. The author painfully points out how negative politicking can seriously undermine any efforts for organizational change and development with attendant consequences turning to society generally.

Policy matters extend to every conceivable activity of any society. The educational landscape for students with disabilities is undergoing vast changes in many countries. The area has been subjected to numerous policy reforms but an evaluation of how effective such policy reforms have worked or not worked has been rather lacking in most countries including Uganda. In Article eight, Barifaijo and Kareija elaborate on the policy on the admission of students with disability in Ugandan Universities; raising a concern on whether such a policy is not simply a hoax. Using the experiences from Higher Educational Institutions, the authors demonstrate the inequalities experienced by disabled students in higher education in terms of access and participation. The authors build their arguments based on the Social and Medical Models by Mike Oliver (1990) to conclude that though a brilliant idea, sufficient research was not carried out to address access and participation challenges of students with disabilities. They concluded that there is dire need for a highly-regarded policy, workable monitoring and evaluation plans to address the numerous equity challenges therein.

Within the context of education still, Sripirabaa and Maheswari in an article entitled ‘SSECAT: A Tool to Enhance the Capability of Educators’ demonstrates the importance of SSECAT tool in assessing the capability of educators in varied dimensions with the concept of capacity building process as the base. The authors studied 360 educators from the engineering discipline selected at random from 18 Institutions in Coimbatore District, India. They did capacity mapping to identify the lack areas, and strategies were devised to enhance the capability of educators. Any policy of government in developing countries can only succeed if the corruption malaise is addressed. In the final article, Ramadhan outlines strategies for combating corruption in Tanzania and enumerates a number of successes in that country as well as the challenges that have continued to hamper the corruption fights. The author examines the nature of corruption in Tanzania’s public service, an effort that provides a comparative perspective in understanding this problem.

It is important to note that the content analysed in the various articles that make up this issue reveal the multiple dimensions of management and public policy. We hope that members of the academic fraternity and those in actual practice of public administration will find this issue exciting and very educative.

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Managing Elections in Africa: The Case of the 2010 General Elections in Tanzania

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Abstract

This article assesses the management of the 2010 general elections in Tanzania with particular focus on Union elections². The assessment specifically dwells on four dimensions namely the independence and impartiality of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), logistics and resources capacity, new managerial inventions for improving elections management, and the role and performance of both the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and the office of Registrar of Political Parties (RPP) in managing the elections. Overall, the article demonstrates that management of the 2010 elections was better managed and therefore impressive in comparison to the first three multiparty elections held in 1995, 2000 and 2005. In spite of the overall impressive performance, the article shows that there are a number of limitations. These include: contentious legal and institutional framework, questionable independence of the NEC, lack of the NEC's permanent staff at regional and lower levels, and logistics and infrastructure capacity limitations. The article identifies issues and areas that need further research and intervention in the context of the noted constraints in managing future elections in Tanzania.

Key words: Election management, election management bodies (EMBs), free and fair elections, Tanzania

Introduction

Elections have demonstrably become one of the seriously embattled and questioned issues in the democratization agenda in many African countries. The 2010 electoral saga in Ivory Coast serves as a good example³. That saga is an addition to the apparently growing trend in Africa following re-introduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s. Elections in many African countries are associated with a number of electoral conflicts. Some are linked to rules of the game and election results. Consequently the freeness and fairness of such elections have been questioned (Bratton and Posner 1999; Ally 2002). In some countries such as Ivory Coast and Kenya - electoral competition escalated into violence. Factors that have been unearthed as explanations for such electoral drawbacks in Africa include, but not limited to:

- 1 Gelase Mutahaba is Professor of Public Administration, University of Dar es Salaam and Audax Kweyamba is Assistant Lecturer in Public Administration at the same University.
- 2 Following the 1964 Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar which culminated in formation of Tanzania, the electoral institutional arrangement in Tanzania provides for holding of both Union and Zanzibar general elections every after five years. Each of these elections is supervised by a specific election management body. Whereas the Union elections are supervised by the National Electoral Commission (NEC); those in Zanzibar are supervised by the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC).
- 3 The African continent witnessed a scenario quite unusual and unprecedented as the candidate who was declared winner (by the National Electoral Commission) of the 2010 presidential elections in Ivory Coast was not welcome by the incumbent presidential candidate who adamantly resisted leaving the State House until when he was coerced (militarily) to vacate the State House.

mismanagement of elections as a results of poor planning and budgetary constraints (Liviga, 1997); incompetent personnel (Wunsch 1990; Hyden 1999); unfair and undue utilization of state power and resources by incumbents (Mushi 1997; Brown 2001); undue influence of donors (Brown 2001); unfair electoral laws and lack of an acceptable electoral code of conduct among the major stakeholders (Bratton and Van de Walle 1997; TEMCO 1997, 2001, 2004, 2010).

Many countries, however, dedicate the management of elections to specific bodies popularly known as 'Election Management Bodies' (EMBs). In specific terms the EMBs are referred to as National Electoral Commissions which in Tanzania are known as the National Electoral Commission (NEC) responsible for Union elections and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) responsible for Zanzibar elections. This institutional arrangement follows the 1964 Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar that resulted into two governments: the government of the United Republic of Tanzania and that of Zanzibar in the name of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar.

This article focuses on the issue of management of the 2010 general elections in Tanzania. This is because election management has demonstrated to be one of the critical issues that determine the plight of elections. Whether an election will be free and fair, and ultimately whether a young democracy is likely to be nurtured, depends to a great extent on the nature of the organization that manages and administers elections (TEMCO 2001). Management of elections, in essence, is expected to culminate in free and fair elections, usually associated with elections results being finally accepted as legitimate. Two important dimensions are important in election management. The first is the technical dimension which calls need for employing managerial principles. The second is the political dimension which means that elections cannot be isolated from politics (who gets what, when, why and how). The article begins with a theoretical framework in regard to election management. This is followed by an account on the legal and institutional framework for managing elections in Tanzania. The article then focuses on an assessment of the way the 2010 multiple elections were managed. Finally, the article concludes by identifying main issues as well as further areas and food for thought for future researchers and election management stakeholders.

Management of Elections: Theoretical Framework.

Management has become a solid field of study anchored on specific theoretical principles and codes of behavior. It is not the purpose of this section to give a comprehensive review of the various theoretical and behavioral underpinnings related to the birth, growth and development of the management field. Rather, the section seeks to isolate some key theoretical considerations and issues in management in general and electoral management in particular before embarking on the actual assessment of the management of the 2010 general elections in Tanzania.

On the one hand, there are classical management theorists such as the famous Frederick Taylor with his Scientific Management thesis, Max Weber's conception of bureaucracy, Henri Fayol's principles of administration and Urick and Gulick science on the papers of administration whose ideas converge on the fact that management has to be undertaken under

the environment that guarantees optimal rationality. What they essentially propose is having in place structures, institutions and processes that would ensure maximum productivity, efficiency, and effectiveness. These end products, according to classical management theorists, would entail management that is carried out through prescribed principles such as meritocracy, optimal rationality and management principles such as planning, organizing, staffing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting. Management theorists who emphasize about managing through prescribed principles are essentially known as principalists. However, it is important to note that in actual organizational management the application of these and related principles are dependent on such variables as type of the organization, organization culture, the manager and the management style employed.

On the other hand, there are management theorists who criticize the principalists as being rule- driven and thus do not explain actual behavior of management in organizations. The less rule-driven management theorists or rather management theorists who advocate application of some flexibility in management include those who emphasize on such aspects as socio-psychological and human relations in the management circles. Included in this category are such management theorists as Elton Mayo who is commonly regarded as the founding father of the human relations school and Abraham Maslow who is an authority in regard to the issue of motivation in management. Theorists in this category emphasis such issues as motivation, creativity, and leadership.

Given the above two managerial camps we wish to point out that successful, effective and efficient management of elections need to be embracing the core management principles such as planning, organizing, staffing, controlling, budgeting and coordinating as well as the human relations aspects such as motivation, creativity, and leadership. Embracing this combination, however, is not enough when it comes to management of issues related to politics. Given the fact that general elections cannot be separated from the political Pandora box; it is important that management of elections considers also the political environment (political considerations) under which it is executed. This, among other things, entails assessing the electoral laws and framework. Specific issues of interest would include: the constitution and electoral laws; authority, structure, scope and responsibilities of the election management bodies (EMBs); resource capacity of the EMBs (material, human, technical, financial); administration of the logistics issues; the competence and autonomy of the EMBs and related state agencies; preparations prior to the polling day, as well as monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

Legal and Institutional Framework for Managing Elections in Tanzania

The Tanzania Constitution (1977) and the amendments to it that were effected in 1992 following the adoption of a multi-party political system vests responsibility for managing elections and the electoral process in the National Electoral Commission (NEC). The specific areas of responsibility are related to demarcation and review of constituency boundaries, voter registration, and approval of candidates, setting rules and codes of conduct to be observed by key actors in the electoral process and ensuring they are observed. Other areas of responsibility are supervising the campaign process and the conduct of elections including voting, counting of votes and declarations of results. Another significant responsibility is providing information and education to voters.

In addition to the NEC, the management of the 2010 elections had other bodies and institutions which were given statutory responsibilities related to managing the electoral process. They included the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) which was charged with curbing corrupt practices in elections under the PCCB Act No 11 of 2007 and the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (RPP) which was given responsibility for controlling and regulating election expenses under the Election Expenses Act, No 6 of 2010. It is important to note that in spite of the noted additional institutions in managing the 2010 general elections in Tanzania, the NEC remained with supreme authority. Furthermore, in undertaking the noted responsibilities, the NEC is required to act independently and impartially and this is particularly more so given the fact that elections are now taking place in a multi-party democratic political dispensation. The NEC is expected to be as autonomous as possible when discharging its duties and responsibilities⁴.

However, there are suggestions that in reality the NEC has limited independence and has tended to be partial as it performed its various functions. Among the evidences on the recurrence of this criticism was made by a number of election observer teams, the media and increase of election results petitions, particularly those filed by opposition party candidates. The following statement from the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee's report on the 2005 elections serves to show the said limitation of the NEC:

"...the law that requires the use of City, Municipal, Town and District Executive Directors, as returning officers for the purposes of conducting an election in a constituency, needs to be revised because there have been recurring allegations that these officers are partisan for they are employees of the government of the ruling political party" (TEMCO 2006, p.28).

An intriguing question, however, has been: what explains the above trend of the NEC, i.e. what explains the limited independence of the NEC?. Three explanations are worth noting. The first one relates to the existing legal arrangement. The NEC's independence has been compromised by the fact that the existing legal framework provides that the NEC's Commissioners are appointed by the incumbent president who is also chairperson of the ruling

⁴ See the National Electoral Commission http://www.nec.go.tz/?modules=about&sub&op=legal_power (Retrieved 29/12/2010)

party. This scenario has been noted as one of the major drawbacks of NEC's independence. Furthermore, the existing legal infrastructure in which the NEC operates within the rubric of the Elections Act, 1985 instead of having a separate legislation reduces its independence. This shortcoming has been noted by the NEC itself in its report on the 2000 elections (TEMCO 2006, p.122). The NEC is also not legally empowered to take action against those who violate campaign procedures and this comes from the horse's mouth: "...the NEC is not yet empowered to take steps against people who violate campaign procedures (NEC 2001, p.10).

The second explanation is for the limited independence of the NEC's resource capacity. There has been concerns that the NEC was not being adequately resourced, resulting in failure to implement its planned activities and dependency syndrome. The resources here include finance, material, and staff. The NEC report on the 2000 elections points out that "funds earmarked for election preparations were released late and not in accordance with the Action Plan" (NEC 2001, p.22). In regard to human resource capacity, there has been registered concern in regard to the NEC's staff especially at regional and lower levels. The NEC has, since the 2000 elections, been employing government officials because it does not have permanent staff at such levels. These government officials have been accused of being partial and have been associated with allegations of incompetence. TEMCO (2006, p.164) demonstrates that "...in both 1995 and 2000 elections TEMCO observers came across many cases of failure to adhere to the electoral rules and procedures by inadequately trained NEC officials"

The third explanation towards the limited independence is that the powers and responsibilities given to the NEC in managing elections are compromised by having other bodies involved in managing elections. These include the PCCB powers on electoral corruption; the RPP powers on election expenses (for the 2010 elections); the requirement of the NEC to consult with the President who is also Chair of a political party as it demarcates constituency boundaries, powers of state security agencies (especially the police) and government officers such as the Regional Commissioners (RCs) and the District Commissioners (DCs), etc.

In this explanation we also include the relationship of the NEC and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) in managing the Union elections in which Article 74 (13) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 requires the NEC to consult the ZEC while discharging its functions without specifying the form and nature of such consultation. In a nutshell, presence of multiple actors in the election management without elaborate legal and power boundaries has tended to undermine the independence of the NEC. In the next section, an assessment of how the 2010 elections were managed is provided. In the course of assessing the elections, issues related to independence of the NEC will be addressed together with other selected dimensions.

Managing the 2010 Elections: An Assessment

In this section the article assesses the way the elections were managed, by focusing on four dimensions. These are: the independence and impartiality of the NEC, logistics and resources capacity of the NEC, new managerial inventions for improving elections management, and the role and performance of both the PCCB and the office of Registrar of Political Parties in managing the elections.

The first dimension is the independence and impartiality of the NEC. The NEC generally acted with commendable degree of independence, competence, credibility and impartiality. This is noted in both local and international election observer group reports. The Tanzanian Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) has traditionally been the core local election observer organization. In its interim statements released (in November 2010) and subsequently in its final reports on the 2010 general elections for the Union elections show that the 2010 were generally better managed than the previous three multiparty elections. This, however, does not suggest that TEMCO did not establish any limitations. Some specific examples and incidents showing areas of strength and weakness of the NEC noted by TEMCO are cited in this article. One of the areas of weakness isolated by TEMCO in the 2010 general elections in Tanzania relates to the NEC being blamed by political parties and other stakeholders for delaying to formulate constituency disciplinary committee as per the requirement of the electoral laws. NEC officers were also blamed for failure or delaying to reveal (make public) such important information as number of voters and voting stations in some constituencies. In Kigamboni constituency (in Dar Es Salaam region), for example, the delay to form constituency disciplinary committee and release of relevant information are reported as among the ways that might have affected political parties negatively in terms of filing complaints and in preparing party agents for the polling exercise.⁵

The second local election observer group which generally acknowledged the improved performance of the NEC is the Tanzania Civil Society Consortium for Election Observation (TACCEO) through its brief report issued in Dar Es Salaam on 3rd November 2010 (and subsequently in its final report). TACCEO report acknowledges that the introduction of the information and communication technology (ICT) system by NEC was a positive intervention that led to improved performance of the NEC. However, the same report equivocally noted that the technology was new to constituencies and many NEC officers seemed to be 'struggling' with it especially during vote counting and tallying of results. Furthermore, the ICT system was not pre-tested and it was introduced very late. The TACCEO report also noted that there were many problems related to the Permanent National Voters Register (PNVR) and the impartiality of the NEC's Returning Officers and Commissioners was compromised by their being employees of the incumbent government and appointees of the incumbent President respectively.

Another positive gesture came from The Tanganyika Law Society (TLS), also a local observer group. In its report issued on 5th November 2010, the TLS's core finding and observation on the management of the 2010 general elections was that they were generally well

5 Kigamboni Constituency TEMCO Report (2010)

managed and administered by NEC and indeed the NEC administered the general elections professionally and in compliance with the electoral laws. To cement this positive gesture, the TLS report asserts: "...under those circumstances, it is TLS's view that the elections were to a large extent, free and fair".

However, the TLS report points out certain shortcomings that were observed. These include: there were reports from TLS observers that several people could not locate their names on the voters' lists posted outside the voting stations and that the NEC Hotline did not provide the expected support; the PNVR was published only one week prior to the elections, giving voters only one week to ensure that their names were on the list; TLS observers noted that many voters came to cast their votes but were informed that they were registered in another constituency, thereby preventing them from voting; it was also observed that in certain polling stations some voters were not well versed with the methods of voting. Some were also not clear on the time for the opening of the voting stations; there were some incidents of the slow pace in handling the voters; there were reported incidents of faulty ballot papers in three (3) constituencies, which did not partake in the elections; there was delay in counting and declaration of the results (particularly for the Parliamentary and Presidential elections), which in certain cases resulted in skirmishes at the tallying stations. The TLS observed at least three incidents where 'emotional' voters were involved in skirmishes that led to the police using force, tear gas and other means to disperse crowds.

Apart from the above local election observers' reports, there were also international election observation missions for the 2010 general elections in Tanzania. These also reported their positions and observations regarding how the electoral process was managed. The first international observer group worth noting is the SADC Electoral Observation Mission (SEOM). Part of SEOM's preliminary report of the election process (issued in Dar Es Salaam on 2nd November 2010) acknowledges that "the NEC conducted its work in a transparent and professional manner, despite some challenges which were addressed as the election progressed". The SEOM report also takes stock of some challenges and limitations in the electoral process, particularly those related to election management. These include: inadequate voter education and inadequate training of the electoral staff, and thus the report strongly recommends that NEC should consider undertaking a comprehensive voter education and training of electoral staff; insufficient distribution of ballot papers in some constituencies; and inaccurate ballot papers in some constituencies.

The East African Community (EAC) also deployed (to Tanzania) an election observation mission for the Tanzania's 2010 general elections. In its report, issued in November 2010, the EAC mission observed that the general elections in Tanzania were generally peaceful and transparent and further noted that preparations and management of the 2010 electoral process were far better than the previous elections of 2005. The observer mission, however, recommended that the appointment of commissioners (which is done by the incumbent President) need to be revisited to avoid any misinterpretation based on impartiality. The EAC election observation mission further recommended that the period for voter register display should be extended to enable the National Electoral Commission to correct any material errors that may arise.

Another international observer group which lauded the generally good performance of NEC in managing the 2010 general elections in Tanzania is the Commonwealth Secretariat Observer Group. However, as it was for the other international observer groups, the Commonwealth observer group's report (2010) did not hesitate to categorically state some of the areas that need to be improved for healthier management of the elections in Tanzania. The first area that needs to be reconsidered is the use of government officials as NEC election official. It was proposed by the observer group that if it is necessary to utilize local government officials for such a purpose, then the terms of their appointment under NEC need to clearly stipulate that they are under NEC's sole authority for the period of their electoral duties.

The second recommendation echoed by the Commonwealth Secretariat Observer Group is the need for establishing timeframe for the announcement of results in a bid to ensure a suitable balance between the need for rigour and the need for transparency and a timely announcement. It was noted by the observer group that this intervention will help to diffuse tensions as political parties will know what to expect, and when, and will not lose confidence or resort to rumour and speculation.

The observer group also underlined, as a third recommendation, that it is a good practice to hold elections management bodies answerable for the conduct of elections in order to satisfy the requirements of transparency and accountability. This, therefore, calls for an urgent need for the law to be appropriately amended to ensure that election-related disputes for presidential, parliamentary and local council elections are subjected to the jurisdiction of the courts or independent election tribunals which may be established for this purpose. Such new legislation should explicitly cover all the aspects of the electoral process including its management. It is in this spirit that the Commonwealth observer mission specifically recommended that in order to enhance the independence and credibility of NEC, appointment of members should be more consultative and should not be the sole prerogative of the President. Furthermore, it was also recommended by the observer group that the process of appointment should include parliamentary scrutiny, to ensure wider political support. In this context, a fixed, non-renewable, tenure for Commission members could also help to enhance independence.

Last, but not least, another international observer group which also gave very constructive feedbacks in as far as the management of the 2010 general elections in Tanzania are concerned is the European Union Election (EU) Observation Mission (EOM). Part of the EU EOM's report on Tanzania 2010 general elections provides that

“overall, the NEC administered the elections in a professional manner and largely guaranteed the universal suffrage, notwithstanding the logistical challenges and the number of simultaneous elections”.

The EU EOM team was convinced that the election administration at local level was generally efficient, organized and well prepared. The observer mission also did not lag behind in regard to pointing out areas of weakness. The first weakness was that the NEC showed a poor degree of transparency by not authorizing the EU EOM to attend the meetings of the national

level Ethics Committee in which electoral complaints were discussed. The second weakness noted by the observer group is that the EU EOM and TEMCO observers in Kilimanjaro were not allowed to attend a regional meeting between electoral officials and political parties. It was also further noted by the observer group that the NEC demonstrated limited interest in having observers present during the distribution of materials, meetings with political parties and training of officials.

In addition to the above observations and verdicts from both local and international election observer groups, it is also important to shed some more light on the competence, credibility and impartiality of NEC's personnel, particularly its regional, district and constituency staff. Until the election season for the 2010 general elections; the NEC did not have a permanent staff of its own – especially at regional and lower levels. The situation is still so to-date although there are on-going debates in a bid to have such permanent staff. Until the time of writing of this article, the NEC does not have legal powers in regard to appointing its own choice regional and district level NEC officials. It only depends on regional and district government officials. Reliance on ad hoc and casual staff puts the question of efficiency and effectiveness as well as the competence of the EMB at stake. During the 1995 general elections NEC resorted to using advertisement in the media to get people who could be selected and engaged in election administration as Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers and Presiding Officers. According to the TEMCO (1997) and the NEC (1997) these “casual” election administration officials largely proved inefficient and incompetent.

As for the 2000 and 2005 general elections, the City, Municipal and District Executive Directors were automatically, unless otherwise, appointed as returning officers (ROs) in their constituencies. This was in according to section 7 (1) of the Elections Act No. 1 of 1985. However depending on circumstances, NEC had powers to appoint any public servant other than the aforementioned officials (Elections Act No. 1 of 1985 section 7 (3)). This has become a trend since then and thus NEC used the government officers as returning and assistant returning officers during the 2010 general elections. Although both the TEMCO Report (2001) and NEC Report (2001) indicate a somewhat improved performance of the public servants assigned to administer elections in regions and districts, their impartiality still remains questionable as employees of the incumbent government. Moreover, “the automatic” acquisition of election administration post by virtue of being a bearer of a certain public service post leaves a lot to be desired in terms of recruiting credible, impartial and competent staff for election management and administration. It is in view of these limitations that some stakeholders have been calling for reforming the manner in which these electoral officers are obtained and held accountable. Hon. Tundu Lisu, the Singida East MP via the opposition party Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) ticket was quoted in January 2011 saying the following:

.....NEC does not have legal power of appointing Returning Officers outside the Regional Administration and Local Government whose officials often do not respect the electoral body's directives, but those of their employer”....That is why the number one rival amongst candidates on opposition parties' tickets is not NEC, but rather the district, town or municipal council executive directors, who adhere to CCM directives rather than those of the electoral body based in Dar Es Salaam⁶.

6 See 'Election Platform' in *The Citizen* Newspaper of Wednesday, 5th January, 2011, p.20

Another worth noting limitation toward effective management of the elections by the NEC is the relationship between it (NEC) and ZEC. The relationship has, since the founding multiparty elections through the 2010 general elections, been in such a way that the ZEC operates in Zanzibar as an agent of NEC in Union elections in Zanzibar. This principal-agent model of relationship between the two electoral authorities (amidst blurred separation of powers between the two authorities) inhibits effective and efficient management of elections. The relationship which is binding and more clearer between the two EMBs is highly recommended. One of the limitations of the principal-agent model of relationship is that there is potential of the agent to overlook the principal's interests in pursuit of own (agent's) interests, especially when the relationship has no elaborate legal sanctions.

The second dimension used to assess the performance of the NEC is logistics and resources capacity. Focus on this dimension was precipitated by the fact that management of elections is not done in the vacuum. It needs resources which may be material, financial, communication and infrastructure. Availability of resources facilitates planning and consequently execution of the planned activities. In fact, availability of finances and their proper management constitute one of the most important aspects of the proper conduct of elections. Furthermore, lack of adequate and timely funding as requested by the electoral commission entails that the fulfillment of professional needs on the administration of elections, namely, accuracy, transparency and competence is largely restrained (Bashiru 2002). A similar observation is that lack of funds and/or improper management thereof has negative consequences to the election process as a whole (TEMCO 1997).

According to the NEC report (1997) the government and donor electoral financing for the 1995 elections was inadequate. The report indicates that NEC faced a budget deficit of 21 percent. While the government contributed to the total budget by 56.9 per cent, the share from the donor community was 22.1 per cent of the total budget. As regards the 2000 general elections, the NEC did not face financial constraints when compared with the 1995 elections. In the 2000 elections, the total budget estimate of the NEC was 42 billion (Tshs.). It received 34.1 billion from the government and 5.8 billion from donor community. So, NEC was able to get 95 per cent of its total budget estimate in the 2000 elections (NEC, 2001).

However, despite the fact that there was no severe financial constraint to NEC in 2000, there were a number of logistical problems. Among the serious logistical problems recorded include supply and transportation of election materials and instruments to the constituencies. NEC depended on government vehicles and other good Samaritans (TEMCO, 2001). The latter provided their vehicles on condition that NEC met all other expenses including fuel and allowances for the drivers. The problems of transportation, by and large, accounted for late supplies and distribution of polling materials and instruments in some constituencies, especially those in rural areas. Another logistical problem in the 2000 general elections is related to communication and coordination network. In the 2000 elections there were over 40,000 polling stations. Each was presided over by a presiding officer and two assistants. In total, NEC had a workforce of 120,000 besides the Regional Election Coordinators (RECs), Returning Officers (ROs), Principal Assistant Returning Officers (PAROs) and Assistant Returning Officers (AROs). Coordination and monitoring of such a workforce required a good communication network. Apparently, NEC did not establish a clear reporting and communication system between the centre and the field staff.

In short, NEC, during the 2000 elections, was yet to establish an adequate and reliable information network to facilitate coordination, monitoring and control of its field personnel, particularly during the election period (TEMCO, 2001). As will be noted later, the information and communication systems limitation seem to have improved at the eve of the 2010 elections although the issue of infrastructure across the country (roads and other facilities) remained a challenge during the elections.

In terms of financial capacity, the NEC generally did not operate under stressful financial constraints when managing the 2010 elections. This is because it received (from the Government of Tanzania) all the funds budgeted for the management and administration of the elections. The total budget for the 2010 Elections was Tanzanian Shillings 60.5 billion. In addition to this government support, NEC also received financial support from the UNDP via the Election Support Program (ESP). This additional support assisted the NEC in taking care of capacity building interventions such as purchasing materials to facilitate activities of NEC functionaries.

It was partly because of the generally conducive financial and logistics support that NEC was able to undertake one of its key functions namely demarcation of constituencies. The electoral laws in Tanzania, including the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 (Article 75(1) (4)) empower the NEC to periodically review constituency boundaries. Currently the review is supposed to be held at least every after ten years. The last comprehensive exercise of reviewing constituency boundaries was undertaken in 1995. The 2010 elections eve thus witnessed another main review of the constituency boundaries that culminated in elevating the number of constituency in Mainland Tanzania from 232 to 239.

However, in terms of logistics and infrastructure capacity of NEC, it is important to note that in spite of the above noted financial capacity there was a serious complaint directed to the NEC and the government which relates to paying of party agents. Although the NEC is not legally obliged (under the current electoral laws in Tanzania) to pay party agents, the blame from opposition political parties in particular was that NEC should have defended the case for them (party agents) to be paid and thus include it in its budget (Kweyamba 2010)

The third dimension relates to new managerial inventions for improving Performance of the NEC in managing the 2010 Elections. Innovation has become one of the critical issues in contemporary management circles given the increasing competitiveness and challenges of technological and communication revolutions. Given the increasingly challenging task of managing elections in Tanzania and elsewhere there is need for the NEC to be up-to-date. Innovation in the NEC very important. For example, management of the 2005 elections was, among other things, characterized by introduction of the position of Direction Clerk which helped to facilitate voters at polling stations although it was not it appeared to be new to voters at polling stations (TEMCO 2006, pp. 116-7).

In a similar spirit, the NEC up-dated the election management systems in a bid to improve its performance in managing the 2010 and future elections. Among the core updating included, but not limited to the following:

- Voter interaction system in which voter could access data from NEC about his/her registration status via texting sms message to a designated number namely 15455. This number was published. However, it was of use only for voters with mobile phones.
- Candidate management system which was used in capturing the candidates' information after nomination as well as in processing of ballot papers
- Logistics management system which was further improved
- Results management system which increased efficiency in tallying and management of results from constituencies
- Display of voters names (PNVR) at the polling stations (for voter verification). As noted elsewhere in this article, time allotted for verification was too limiting to allow possibility of making adjustments in case of errors.

In regard to coordination and communication network between NEC Headquarters and its field officers as well as between NEC and other key stakeholders; it is apparent from the above managerial innovations that there were commendable improvements when compared to the previous general elections.

However, there were a few limitations despite the above innovations and up-grading of the management and communication systems. First, the performance of NEC officials during summing up of votes through TEKNOHAMA (technology on information and communication) was mistrusted by some members of the general public. This is because the technology used for summing up votes was a new initiative that needed comprehensive national public education before its actual use. In this regard, therefore, NEC should have a long-term programme to prepare their working force and the general public on using that technology. Although there was improvement in the ICT and vote counting systems; there were a number of incidents of delays in declaration of results. In Ubungo constituency, for instance, declaration of results was marred by chaos and confrontations between Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)'s supporters and NEC officers due to delays in the announcement of results. Supporters of the CHADEMA MP candidate, John Mnyika, spent 3 nights outside the counting center pressuring the returning officer (RO) to declare the results. This episode was heavily reported by the media.⁷

Similar observation on delays in vote counting and its causes and impact is noted by TEMCO Report on the 2010 general elections in regard to Union elections in Tanzania. The report provides that there were delays in counting the votes which led to delays in declaring the results of council and parliamentary elections. This ignited confrontation between the police and party fans who demanded declaration of results. Explanation by NEC personnel that delays were due to lack of mastery of the new computerized counting system could not be accepted by anxious voters partly because it came late and voters attributed delays to politics rather than technics⁸. Unfortunately, it so happened that counting of votes took place in venues with poor lighting, further raising suspicions of vote rigging. Enough attention was

⁷ Ubungo Constituency TEMCO Report (2010)

⁸ See TEMCO Interim Statement on the 2010 Elections in Tanzania, Issued in Dar Es Salaam in November 2010

not paid to the problem of lighting in many places, which is probably a managerial slippage⁹. Furthermore, the NEC website was not regularly updated as one would have expected it to be. Some information, for example, about presidential votes results as received from the constituencies and regions were not instantly displayed and made open to the public. The regular and consistent updating of the website might have reduced some unnecessary suspicion. All in all, it can be concluded that in spite of the managerial innovations (which improved the management exercise) the innovations did not meet the expectations partly due to their being too new to be well understood by both NEC election officers and the general public.

The fourth dimension is on the Role and performance of both the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and the office of the Registrar of Political Parties (RPP) in managing the 2010 elections. As noted earlier on, the PCCB and the office of the RPP (as government agencies) were legally empowered to be involved in the management of the 2010 general elections in Tanzania. However, given the nascent stage of their involvement (refer section on the institutional framework in managing the 2010 elections); the 2010 general elections were essentially experimental ones on the part of these two government agencies. Because of this the two institutions faced a number of limitations. The RPP, for example, did not have enough personnel for hands-on- supervision of the Election Expenses Act, 2010 in the country as a whole. At times the powers of the NEC and the RPP were controversial. During the elections campaigns there was a moment the RPP uttered a statement that meant to make some adjustment to the campaign timetable (when to start and to end) but this statement was not welcome by the NEC on ground that the RPP did not have legal powers to do so.

The main challenge, however, in regard to implementation of the Election Expenses Act was that the Act was generally not well known to key stakeholders, including the general public. The Ubungo Constituency TEMCO report for the 2010 general elections partly indicates that many election candidates who were interviewed seemed to be not conversant and well informed about the implementation of the Act by their own respective parties.¹⁰ The generally unknown Election Expenses Act involving even some of those who were supposed to implement it made implementation of the Act something more ideal than practical. It was generally premature for the Act to be implemented before intensive and extensive public education was extended to the general public and key stakeholders¹¹.

The above absence of public education on the Election Expenses Act, 2010 might have accounted for the widespread corruption and unethical episodes during the elections campaigns despite presence of the specific law and institutions that were legally empowered to implement it. In other words, the RPP did not demonstrate to have commendably been able to curb electoral corruption and control violation of the Act during the election campaigns in particular. This means that there was violation of the Election Expenses Act. The incumbent CCM is reported to have violated this legislation through widespread allegations that the party gave money, T-shirts, caps, alcohol and other gifts to voters during campaigns¹². That is why it is argued that “actually so many people did not know the Election Expenses Act 2010 and for

9 Ibid

10 Ubungo Constituency TEMCO Report (2010)

11 See Mara Regional TEMCO report (2010)

12 See Singida East Constituency TEMCO Report (2010)

this reason civic/voter education need to be extended to as many stakeholders as possible”¹³. As a potential way toward implementation of the Election Expenses Act, the Commonwealth Secretariat Observer Group Report on the 2010 general elections in Tanzania suggests that the responsibility for registering political parties and supervising the Election Expenses Act should reside with an independent office or body, possibly the election management body¹⁴.

Likewise, the PCCB did not seem to have made a significant difference in terms of curbing corruption during the general elections. The anti-corruption body is accused of failing to take action when information and tips were extended to it, particularly during the actual elections campaign season. This is apparently different from the candidates’ nomination period in which there were spots of responses by the anti-corruption body when tipped on potential or actual corruption circumstances. The trend of the PCCB not ‘working’ on corruption tips was, for example, reported by ward level (council) contestants in Vijibweni and Mjimwema wards in Kigamboni Constituency.¹⁵ PCCB was rarely heard arresting the corruptors unlike during the nomination process¹⁶. The question which many people ask is why this pattern of PCCB behavior?

In a nutshell, management of the 2010 elections seems to have improved and the NEC, as the core election management body demonstrated to have performed relatively better than in the first three multiparty elections. This is because, unlike in the first multiparty elections which were, among other things, accompanied by cases of cancellation of elections and violence; the 2010 general elections witnessed very few cases of cancellation of elections and/or rerun as well as episodes of violence following release of the election results. Experience of the ‘sad’ episodes (cancellation/rerun and violence) in the general elections that preceded the 2010 ones were mainly linked to electoral mismanagement and underperformance on the part of the NEC. In other words, presence of very limited cases of cancellation of elections and violence following release of election results suggests improved performance of the NEC.

It is also important to note that in spite of the generally improved performance of the NEC in managing the 2010 elections, there were notable limitations in the electoral process. Some are inherent in the structure and institutional arrangement of related to the NEC. Other limitations are external to it (NEC. More important though, the noted limitations need to be addressed by other researchers and election stakeholders in Tanzania. It is in this context that the following section concludes the article.

Conclusion and Suggestions for future research

The foregoing review has shown that organizational and institutional arrangements are important variables in determining the successful conduct of elections in any country. This is particularly so in countries which are transitioning to multiparty democracy. The article has marshaled evidence that the 2010 elections were managed better than the three earlier multiparty elections, (1995 and 2000 and 2005). The extent to which the Tanzania 2010 elections were

13 See Gairo Constituency and Same West Constituency TEMCO Reports (2010)

14 See the Commonwealth Secretariat Observer Group’s Report on the Tanzania 2010 General Elections

15 See Kigamboni Constituency TEMCO Report (2010)

16 See Mara Regional TEMCO Report (2010)

considered to have been free and fair was to a great extent by the way the elections were efficiently and effectively managed. It was in turn a function of the legal and institutional arrangements in place, the capacity (in terms of people and equipment) of the institutions charged with responsibility for supervising the electoral process without forgetting the political environment. The positive results were made possible by the and organizational way the 2010 national elections were managed. In Tanzania article has, however, noted some strengths and weaknesses in the management of the 2010 elections. In particular, it has underlined some strides that show improvement in managing the elections when compared to the previous election management in Tanzania. One of such improvements is the communication systems for election management.

Furthermore, the article has taken stock of some of the challenges facing election management in Tanzania basing on not only the 2010 general elections but also experience from the first three multiparty general elections. Among the challenges noted include presence of contentious legal and institutional framework which compromise independence of the NEC and lack of permanent staff for NEC especially at regional and lower levels. The article has also indicated that there are logistics and resources constraints facing election management in Tanzania, including poor infrastructure development (in terms of roads in particular) in some locations of Tanzania which makes transportation of physical materials between NEC headquarters and NEC election officials during election season an uphill task.

It is on the basis of the foregoing account that the following issues and areas for further research are put forward in a bid to improve future management of elections in Tanzania and possibly beyond:

- Management of election should be perceived and practiced as a professional endeavour based on principles of management and management ethics. However, a conducive political environment is also important when managing elections.
- The relationship between NEC and ZEC in managing Union elections in Zanzibar needs to be reviewed. Here we recommend the contractual relationship (in legal context) rather than the present arrangement in which ZEC is an agent of NEC.
- Contentious electoral laws and articles of both the Constitution need to be reviewed especially those which impede free and fair elections in general and management of general elections in particular.
- It is also highly recommended that the EMB be ensured of early availability and disbursement of election management funds. This is particularly important due to the fact that the reportedly growing improvement in the capacity and management of the 2000 elections by NEC particularly in Mainland Tanzania (TEMCO 2001; NEC 2001) was due to, among other things, the government willingness and readiness to disburse more funds to the EMB, the donors' financial and material support to the EMB and adequate training of NEC's staff (Ally 2002). This call for early disbursement of funds to EMBs is not only directed to the government but also other stakeholders who financially support elections in Tanzania.
- Updating the NEC website is highly recommended so that the information it has is "up-to-date" in the strict sense of the phrase.

- There is need for the NEC coordinated voter education not only in terms of curriculum setting but also supervision. This would make the NEC perform well one of its core functions namely extending voter education to the electorate/citizenry.
- There is need for deliberate and systematic interventions that would correct the voters' information in the Permanent National Voter Register (PNVR) as well as generating viable ways of ensuring that the NPVR is regularly updated.
- Last but not least, the issue of absence of NEC's permanent staff especially at regional and lower levels needs to be discussed and consensus reached amongst key stakeholders of elections in Tanzania.

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Advancing the role of citizen participation for good governance and sustainable livelihoods in selected african countries

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Abstract

This paper examines citizen participation in governance and resource management in South Africa and Uganda. The authors argue that citizen participation remains in the policy papers and at best at local electoral processes. The paper highlights the successes and failures of citizen participation in the selected countries. It asserts that decentralisation in the two case studies has provided citizens with invited and invented spaces to carve their destiny through participation. The authors argue that citizens should be encouraged to participate and that government should not mask participation to benefit the elite but all citizens. The authors offer recommendations and lessons that could help governments to improve citizen participation for sustainable governance and resource management. The paper used South Africa and Uganda as its case study and general literature on citizen participation, governance and sustainable livelihoods as its research method.

Key Words: Citizen participation, governance, resource management and sustainable livelihoods

Introduction

It can be argued that while governments in Africa have sought to advance governance and resource management through citizenship participation, among others, but existing policies have made little or no dent in the lives of the majority people. In many sub Saharan Africa countries, poverty remains rife, voices of the poor and marginalised remain stifled and the benefits of democracy and decentralisation have either been lost in the process or captured by the local elite. This suggests poor engagement with civil society, breeding distrust and plummeting legitimacy in the relations between citizens and the executive (Wright, 1988: 43). Within this framework, building social partnerships is understood as vital for citizen engagement and as a process of trust production (Boguslaw, 2002: 47-48). Mamdani (1996:102) argues that this poor engagement is a result of the African patrimonial state which perpetuates a rule over subjects rather than a rule by citizens. This implies that the state makes arbitrary decisions with little or no inputs from the citizens, and as such does not promote a democratic participatory culture.

In this paper, the authors argue that commitment to citizen participation in governance and resource management largely remains in policy papers or at best, involvement at electoral processes, as many local forums remain ineffective and do not sufficiently shape policy directions. This however does not make for inclusivity and real democratisation hence the need to move beyond and challenge the current status quo to one that allows for greater participation that embodies the views of ordinary citizens and grassroots organisations. Thus,

the benefits of citizen participation can only be realised if political leaders and representatives engender processes that not only nurture participation and mainstream outcomes of participation mechanisms into policies but also actively promote accountability by ensuring continuous monitoring and evaluation of the *quality* of participation in governance and resource management. First, the paper provides a synopsis of the nature of participation in Africa. Second, it presents a theoretical and legislative framework that supports citizen participation in two selected countries (Republic of South Africa & Uganda). Thirdly, it reflects on the nature and benefits of citizen participation with respect to governance and resource management and the extent to which these directly impact on the sustainability of the livelihoods of ordinary citizens in the selected countries. Fourthly, it points out the failures of and challenges of citizenship participation. The authors suggest recommendations for both the political and administrative machinery of government to ensure real participation in governance and resource management given that full participation of the citizens is premised to promote long term sustainable livelihoods.

The nature of citizen participation in Africa

Citizen and Community participation in governance is not new to the African setting. Most pre-colonial African societies had governing structures and demonstrated their abilities to manage and decide their affairs. Evans-Pritchard and Meyer (1940:5-15) divided these African political systems into two categories; the first had a centralised authority, administrative machinery and judicial institution in which power corresponded with wealth and status (e.g. Bantus in Southern Africa). The other category had a more decentralised government with elements of age-grade structures, as well as chiefs and titles held by other people.

Under colonial rule; good citizens in Africa were expected to follow rules and fulfil obligations such as paying taxes (poll tax, hut tax) as well as contributing towards public works. Citizen involvement in public works has since taken the form of community involvement in the construction and maintenance of roads, soil conservation terraces and irrigation canals. In Uganda for instance the *Bulungi bwansi* (for the good of the nation) programmes, required all able-bodied men as good participating citizens to contribute one day's worth of labour every week. In this way, community participation was seen as a contribution in cash or in kind for the good of the community. In this instance contribution by civil society was not only seen in the form of opinions, ideas or views with regard to decision-making but also through action in order to effect change.

Post-colonial Africa, saw citizen participation being extended to casting a vote in presidential or parliamentary elections. However, currently, the economies of most African countries are struggling; the public service is de-motivated; leadership is not completely credible; issues of political instability are a shadow of governments; and skilled personnel continue to migrate to developed countries and causing brain drain. It is therefore crucial to put strategies in place to reform and re-energise the political and administrative systems. Wunsch and Olowu (2000:79) note that the challenge is to 'organize, learn and act with one another to construct more complex social, economic and political relationships which are necessary for development to occur. The authors thus argue that the role of the state is to set the stage rather than to write the scripts. This, the authors suggest may necessitate a system

of strong governance that is characterised by quality citizen participation which could change the situation for the better. This may however require the need to shift to higher levels of decentralization to adhere to the following:

- Devolution of real powers, responsibility and authority
- Shrinkage of the role of the centre including budget
- Encouraging greater participation in politics and government activities
- Regulating the role and power of public servants so that they are only able to execute the necessary tasks and not facilitate their own interests (Wuncsh & Olowu, 2000: 67).

Proponents of the philosophical work of Habermas (Cohen and Sabel, 1997 and Dryzek, 2000 in Gaventa 2006) argue for a more reflective democracy in which citizens, through participatory processes, address public problems by reasoning together on how best to resolve them. Gaventa (2006: 17-20) refers to this purposeful and engaging form as *deliberative democracy*, where the author advocates for community participation to focus on the “quality of public talk” where talk-centric democratic theory replaces voting-centric democratic theory. But why the need for citizen participation and what are the benefits? For one, being a citizen does not start and end with casting a vote to elect public representatives. Although this reflects equality of all who participate in the voting (one vote) it does not guarantee equal rights for all citizens. In the complex contemporary world, issues such as inequality could limit participation; however this can be counteracted by the power of collective as is the case with South Africa, where the poorest of the poor in shanty towns often times make government accountable through demonstrations. These in certain cases have highlighted citizens’ preferences and this ensures that officials (both political and administrative) work for the constituents that they are meant to serve; thereby holding public institutions accountable.

In a worldwide survey commissioned by the World Bank on the poor which culminated to *Voices of the Poor* (Narayan, Chambers, Shah and Petesch :2000), revealed that most grievances were directed at the dissatisfaction with public institutions with regard to a lack of voice by the poor and lack of accountability by government institutions. The survey established that the poor believe that by developing services such as social welfare, police protection or justice, public institutions are only accountable to the elite with the exclusion of the poor. In such situations, the poor feel powerless to effect change in terms of forcing the government to work with all citizens rather than against them.

Ake (2000:74) argues that Africa’ democracy has come a long way but there is still a very long way to achieve it. The author adds such democratic behaviour does not come naturally and that it should never be taken for granted; hence the participation of citizens in policy processes is thus critical. From an ideological viewpoint many African governments play a more developmental role. Thus, the presence and the evolution of a vocal and vibrant civil society could determine the state’s ability or inability to meet the developmental vision.

Conceptual and Theoretical framework

Governance

Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan (1997: 2) describe governance as ‘directed influence on social processes’. Although this is a workable definition, it could be argued that its limitations are in its indirect influence which may not altogether fall outside the scope of governance, thereby narrowing the concept of governance. A broader meaning of the concept could include deliberate processes (i.e. invited spaces) as well as inverted processes (demonstrations and strikes) that are associated with public policy and public interactions. This implies that the limits of governance are not clear-cut as they include several actors. In other words, ‘public management is governance but not all governance is public management’ (Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan, 1997: 2). Nevertheless, this article sets out a conceptual understanding of the term. The Webster’s dictionary defines governance as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development”. Although both definitions evoke positive benefits from the process of governance, they portray government as exercising power over the governed as though the governed were a helpless and passive lot in the development process.

The UNDP policy document on Governance for Sustainable Human Development (1997: 5-6) shifts the focus away from government and defines governance as a relationship between the state, the private sector and civil society. Kothari & Minogue (2002:119) argue that good governance can only exist when these three role players are equally represented and valued as partners in the affairs of the country.

For Africa and other developing countries, the practice of good governance has been made a pre-requisite for donor support. Thus for example, from the 1990s, the World Bank took a stance to improve governance of its borrower countries and this is now accepted as a legitimate method to bring despotic countries to book. The World Bank’s objective is to improve governance in developing countries (Williams 2008: 65-66). Similarly, the United Kingdom’s Department of International Development’s (DFID) foreign policy has increasingly incorporated an ethical dimension and the promotion of the legitimacy of recipient governments through accountability, competence and the respect for the rule of law.

It seems that governance has good intentions for the citizens so much so that donor countries have explicit intentions to enforce good governance on donor recipients by placing political conditionality. It is this enforcement through political conditions that has critics suspicious of the motives and indeed the wisdom of not only promoting but enforcing good governance. For example, Barya (1993: 16, 17) emphasises that this political conditionality is a manifestation of dominance by western countries and the Bretton Woods Institutions over recipient countries. Barya argues that such conditionalities are often times incompatible with the development of a democratic system and a strong civil society in recipient countries.

Apart from the disputed process of implementing good governance, there is a deafening silence regarding the basic concepts and assumptions that are implicit in the term. Kothari & Minogue, (2002:127-128) for instance, critique an array of disputed concepts relating to good governance. In particular, the authors question the assumptions that inspire donors’ perceptions.

They however allude to the superficial and oversimplified perception that democracy, and add that good governance, leads to development and that political stability, also leads to economic gains in all countries. Lund (1998) adds that there are variants in the concept. Kothari and Minogue, (2002: 129) draw attention to the disputed notion that that “there is a universally applicable morality, valid for all humans, in all times and places”. Given the diversity of human cultures, norms and values, this assertion is impossible to comprehend.

It is apparent that although good governance as a practice is inherently beneficial, there are contestations with regard to its process and conceptualisation. The interaction of political, economic, democracy and development is multifarious and varies not only in different cultural contexts but also in time and space. Communities and societies thus need to determine what good governance means, its benefits through the practice of good governance. To this effect, participation of citizens becomes critical both as an end in itself and as means to an end in the conceptualisation, implementation and monitoring of good governance in the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods.

Sustainable Livelihoods

A sustainable livelihood is one which people have the capacity to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of the future generation (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Ellis (1998) asserts that sustainable livelihoods entail capabilities, assets (both natural and social) and activities required for living. The Sustainable Livelihoods framework offers a way of thinking about the livelihoods of people in terms of their access to resources notably physical resources, natural resources, social resources, financial resources and human resources. The combination of both natural and social resources can yield fruitful results which in turn can assist poor households to resist external shocks (Ellis 2000). Access to and control over these resources leads to livelihood activities that in turn ensures sustainable livelihood. For instance, for people to engage in the livelihood activity of farming, they need access to land as a natural resource. They also need the human resource of farming skills as they do the financial resource to purchase such physical resources as farming implements and storage facilities. Lastly, for their farming to be of benefit, they need the social resource through which they can market their products or engage in negotiating better prices. In order for people to have access to and control over resources, there ought to be policies that are supportive, in addition, people ought to be able to engage in processes that enable them to be part of the policy-making process. It is in this respect that citizenship participation becomes crucial to sustainable livelihoods.

The concept of citizen participation has come to be loosely associated with democracy and safeguarding the will of the people. This paper clarifies the meaning by suggesting that democratic governance seeks to enable the context of participation and that it is characterised by the existence of a strong civil society that is able to monitor government performance and contribute input towards policy and processes that will enhance good governance (ISS, 2008). However, there seems to be not that many forums through which citizens could make contribution to debates on issues affecting their lives. These forums are either non-existent, and where they exist they are merely cosmetic, ineffective or have been deliberately blocked

by the tall structures which are meant to ensure that the views of citizens are incorporated in the decision-making structures of society. This has resulted into current debates based on the dire need to deepen and broaden democratic structures in various institutions to enable citizens to be involved in public affairs through a range of agencies which include NGOs, youth groups and faith based organisations.

Mc Quido-Mason et al (1994:16) state that citizen participation can take many forms such as:

- standing for/ voting at elections,
- being informed,
- debating on issues,
- attending community and civic meetings,
- being members of private organisations,
- paying taxes and
- even protesting.

At the political level people may be consulted on matters mainly affecting their political parties within their localities but to a lesser degree on issues affecting the country as a whole (particularly administrative in nature). To this end, bureaucrats (and political leaders alike) have justified lack or limited participation by arguing that participation sometimes undermines institutions of representative government, and should therefore be left to government officials to make public decisions (Lynn, 2002 in Shah (2007:59). Complaints levelled against bureaucrats suggest that only those with expertise, access to resources and well-connected to government officials are given the space and voice to make inputs in the decision-making processes. Crick (2002:65) maintains that "...to participate politically and to become full citizens, people need resources". In his Ladder of Citizen Participation, Arnstein (1969:3) noted that there are citizen participation variants that range from non-participation, tokenism and total citizen control as follows:



Source: Arnstein, 1969

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation envisages the existence of three forms of citizen participation namely; *nonparticipation*, *tokenism* and *citizen empowerment*. The first type of participation, *non-participation* Arnstein portrays a situation where government manipulates the system by implementing programmes without any input from citizens. In such cases, the government only informs the citizens of its intentions without taking or incorporating their contributions. The government officials tasked with executing such programmes hold the view that they are the representatives of the people and are therefore entitled to make decisions for and on behalf of the people. Under *tokenism*, Arnstein argues that government officials make efforts to consult the people and listen to their problems and make promises to look into the problems. It is an exercise that is meant to placate the fears and concerns of the citizens to some outstanding social problem. However the result is that the citizens' input is discarded and the problem(s) remain unresolved. The essence for tokenism is to make citizens feel that their contributions and input are being considered. Andrew (2004 in World Bank 2007: 64), maintains that "... officials claim that participation efforts are consistent with the tradition of public consultation, but are actually characterized by a bias towards groups with technical or financial backgrounds and strong connections to government".

The authors argue that government could in some cases form a joint consultative forum or partnership where it has an upper hand to dictate on one end of the continuum, and at the other end could allow for citizen power, where either government delegates decision-making powers to communities and allows them to initiate or control programmes within their localities. Arnstein also refers to this level of the citizen continuum as citizen power, implying that that by empowering citizens, the government decentralizes the decision-making process and give citizens the power to make informed decisions that benefit their communities.

Opponents of citizen participation however, suggest that political systems that have a record of poor governance may decide to foster participatory forums in order to increase the government's legitimacy (Moynihan, 2003; Olivo 1998, in World Bank 2007:59). Cook and Kothari (2001) criticise participation and see it as a tyranny as citizen participation is used as cheap labour by governments. On the other hand Golooba-Mutebi (2005) warns against romanticising participation. Citizen participation has also been used to portray citizens as ignorant and therefore not worthy consulting. Navarro (1998 in Shah 2007:59) further argues that even where participation is fostered, citizens may focus only on narrow issues that affect them directly and may be unwilling to make trade-offs and the exercise would eventually exclude some groups, particularly those at grassroots levels. In his study on the decentralisation of the health sector at Mukono District in Uganda, Goloob-Mutebi (2005) observed that the communities in the district were not interested in participating in the matters that concerned their health even though they were receiving poor quality health care. This, he argues, was the fault of the government which failed to introduce decentralisation and participation adequately.

Regardless of the multiple arguments, the concept and practice of community and citizen participation gained acclaim during the mid 1980s as a result of glitches in representative democracy as people effectively advanced the ideals of ordinary people in relevant and developmental decision-making processes. Concerned about the rural poor of developing countries, Robert Chambers was perturbed by the fact that the rural poor remained excluded

in the minds of development planners, researchers and policy makers. In advocating for a reversal of the situation, he highlighted the importance of bringing those on the margins of society into the mainstream development planning and practices, through invited paces (community forums) and invented spaces (demonstrations) (Tapscott 2009).

Participation of citizens in a variety of societal issues has since permeated development planning discourse by taking on various concepts depending on the issue at stake. Brynard (in Bekker 1996: 134) makes a distinction between public participation and community participation. The author sees public participation as a more encompassing term that refers to all the people whether or not they possess rights and obligations. Viewed this way, citizen participation holds a value aspect and invokes rights and responsibilities that come with being a citizen of a specified community. To this end, Gaventa (2004) emphasises the significance of this responsibility by pointing out that citizenship participation requires construction of a new relationship between ordinary people and the state institutions that serve them. Esau (2007: 8) concurs with this view and goes further to prescribe the premise on which such a relationship ought to be based.

In this paper, citizenship participation in the governance of resources is seen as the ability of communities and community groups and through their involvement in decision-making and implementation, nurture, develop and conserve local resources in a manner that promotes sustainable livelihoods.

Given the above, the authors' position on citizen participation in governance is that citizen participation provides an alternative approach for tackling development challenges in developing countries which have for long been typified primarily by centralised planning and the negated contribution of citizenry in the management of resources and sustainable livelihoods.

Citizen Participation Legislative framework

Citizen participation in South Africa

In recognition of the role that citizen participation played in the struggle against the apartheid regime, it appears that the post 1994 democratic government has gone to great lengths to ensure that there is an opportunity for mainstreaming citizen involvement in various legislations that impact on governance at local level. These include:

- Constitution of the Republic Of South Africa
- Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998.
- Development facilitation Act, 67 of 1995
- Local Government transition Act, 97 of 1996
- White Paper on Local Government , 1998

While legislation provides and allows for participation, on one hand, citizens still have to take advantage of the opportunities that allows them participate in decision making processes that affect their lives. The incentive for their participation is that they can shape the decisions as they are being made rather than participate through demonstrations after the decisions have been made as was the case under the apartheid regime. Currently what transpires is a weak and poor quality involvement and participation at the decision making processes. Citizens tend not to react or even participate but only react long after decisions have been made and only when they have grievances. This suggests that the quality of participation and the efficacy of existing avenues for participation remains an area of concern. This is a result of a number of factors that include:

- Civil apathy as people want to see tangible results immediately
- Low levels of literacy
- An unformed/ill formed public
- Limited resources including financial, as citizens who are economically challenged are unable to transport themselves to the sites of the meetings
- Time constraints of modern day living which impact on the time available for citizen participation

Despite a myriad of challenges, citizen participation in South Africa is benefiting from the culture of political struggle. This is a huge incentive which shows that participation is taking place in South Africa compared to a many African countries whose governments have no room for demonstrations. Citizen participation in South Africa has ensured effective implementation of existing frameworks. There are instances where citizen participation and their involvement has brought about improved resource management and quality citizen participation processes as noted by a number of writers in South Africa. According to Dauda (2006: 300) women in the coastal town of East London, through various groups were active in organising a number of development projects. They were in addition effective workers in development contracts of public works programmes. For example, women have been instrumental in ensuring the use of local labour in garbage removal and for repairing roads in their communities. Rather than use external contractors to render such services, the local community was able to benefit from employment and in this way retain the money within the community while managing and maintaining local resources.

Another success story in citizen participation is the *KwaNositha Water project* in the Hibiscus Coast Municipality of KwaZulu-natal province. Todes, Sithole and Williamson (2007) observed that community members through a water committee were able to undertake a range of responsibilities that included providing direction and support to the project. Such activities included recruiting labour, addressing difficulties as they arose while at the same time coordinating the on-going maintenance of infrastructure (Todes *et al* 2007:26). In the same province, the eThekweni Zibambele road maintenance programme is yet another example of successful citizen participation and improved resource management. Todes *et al* reported that the programme involves several marginalised women and dovetails poverty alleviation, social exclusion and the maintenance of the municipality's physical resources.

As is the case with many municipal types of council, women in East London are dominated by male councillors and generally lack the necessary skills to overcome the imbalance. Dauda (2006:302) asserts that the success of their participation and ability to influence decisions in their favour was attributed to political will on the part of the local council. Through workshops organised by supportive NGOs and higher levels of government, women leaders and councillors in the community have gained skills and built relationships between communities and councillors. In addition, the diverse fora have provided women with a space in which they can engage and build participatory skills and a stronger voice in the affairs of the local council.

Citizenship participation in Uganda

Uganda, a former British protectorate and declared independent in 1962, has had a mixed record in governance including an era of coups, counter coups, and later a stable democracy. However, the extent of citizen participation has been somewhat limited. The Mamdani Commission report (1989: 78-80) revealed that public service was characterised by no allegiance to citizenry, institutional decay, managerial ineptitude and poor service delivery.

The launch of the decentralised local government in 1992 (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2008:111), facilitated by the Local Government Act (1997) brought about an increase in the devolution of powers to local government, an anticipated increase in citizen participation, with pockets of success cases in Jinja Uganda. Dauda (2006:296) noted that local women organisations were particularly active at both social and income generating activities at local levels. Women councillors have established a women's council office as well as a cooperative bank. Through these structures, women in Jinja have gained legitimacy and the municipality has cooperated by leasing land to groups and making space and office equipment available. According to Dauda (2006:296) Jinja Municipal Council established a partnership with the parent teacher's association so as to manage and improve the delivery of primary education in the municipality. The participation of citizens through the Parents Teacher Association resulted in rational and transparent procedures in the day to day running of the School. Dauda (2006:297) attributes the uniqueness of the situation in Jinja to 'the mediating function of the lower tiers (of government), the variety of active and autonomous civil associations and the cross fertilisation taking place between the two.'

In his study Onyach-Olaa (2003: 108-109) reported that citizen participation through the local council system promoted a great sense of ownership of local (development) projects and promoted capacity of communities to participate in development projects and programmes. Apart from being supported by local councils, citizen participation in Uganda is in addition promoted by Civic Service organisations (CSOs). According to the DENIVA-CIVICUS Report (2006: 28) CSOs have mobilised community groups and helped them to acquire knowledge and skills related to an array of issues including resource conservation, community health and the use of indigenous knowledge in production and food security.

Although positive outcomes of citizen participation have been reported, in Uganda, a lot still needs to be done for all citizens to reap the full benefits of citizenship participation. Kakumba and Nsigo (2008), Chambers (1983) amongst others indicate that true participation

is not as widespread as is always reported. Kakumba and Nsingo (2008: 116) for example report that limited capacity and lack of experience on the part of both community members and elected officials serves to advantage the elite. This is not surprising, for Chambers (1983: 18) in his seminal work on rural development observed that development benefits tended to benefit the elite over the poor who are 'inconspicuous and inarticulate'. Chambers refers to 'elite bias', by pointing out that:

The elite are those rural people who are less poor and more influential. They are the most fluent informants. It is they who articulate the communities (sic) interests and wishes and it is their concerns which emerge as the community's interests. It is the elite who receive the lion's share of attention, advice and services from the extension staff.

Although Chambers was writing about the rural communities, the same could be said about the situation in the urban communities. Generally the elite, be they rural or urban based, are in a better position to articulate and influence decisions to their advantage than the poor and less articulate members of the community would. Apart from elite biases, Chambers (1983: 19) also observed that male biases advanced male farmers. He adds that men are more likely to receive information of value than would women who are generally 'shy of speaking to male visitors'.

An analysis of citizen participation in the selected countries

Literature shows that there are pockets of community participation however it needs to be broadened. The key question is how can such isolated but recorded success stories of citizen participation be broadened and deepened so that the benefits are enjoyed by a greater number of people with regard to resource management? In both Uganda and South Africa, citizen participation is seen against the formal decentralisation policies of the two countries, as policy and legal frameworks have made attempts to engender citizenship participation, improve resource management and bring about sustainable livelihoods.

In South Africa, citizen participation is a principle that permeates various sections of the Constitution. In the Bill of Rights, Chapter 2 of South Africa's Constitution, citizen participation is implicit in the right to freedom of expression (S16), freedom of assembly, access to information and administrative justice (S 33). However, it is in Chapter 7 of the constitution that citizen participation is given greater emphasis. Here the Local government institution is mandated to "encourage involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government (S152 (a)). This emphasis is given greater expression in the Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000. Chapter 4 of this Act sets out ideals, mechanisms and processes in the involvement of communities in development matters of local government.

Uganda's constitution was re-written in 1995 after a nation-wide participatory consultation processes. The Constitution of Uganda places emphasis on the sovereignty of the people. In addition it guarantees such rights as equality, freedom of speech, of press and of assembly as well as economic and social justice rights. Although citizen participation is only implicitly guaranteed in the constitution, it is rather explicit in the Local Government Act of 1997. The Act provides space for people's participation in planning developmental

programmes at local councils. In addition, the Act sets out responsibilities of the councils in relation to citizens.

While that both countries have made efforts to provide an appropriate legislative framework that should enable citizen participation, the challenges of implementation still remain. Despite these legal and policy processes being in place, constraints to citizenship participation are rife and well documented. The following section discusses micro and macro citizen participation constraints.

Micro citizen participation constraints: These refer to constraints that result from difficulties on the part of individuals and communities. These constraints may include:

- Poor attendance at meeting and apathy on the part of citizens
- Illiteracy/ill informed public
- Poverty which may lead to inability to pay for related costs (transport to venues, home labour to take care of domestic chores while one is at meeting for example etc)
- Low self esteem due to being on the margin of society (women, refugees, social standing)

Macro citizen participation constraints: These relate to elements that enable citizen participation in the environment. It also recognises that having a legislative framework is an important start but getting it to work is even more crucial. These include constraints of citizenship participation that occur as a result of policy restrictions and implementation challenges. These include:

- Language barriers
- Poor facilitation skills on the part of organisers
- Lack of political will on the part of politicians who may not want to subject themselves to scrutiny that citizenship participation inevitably entails
- A lack of resources on the part of local institutions to carry out mobilisation and publicity for participation processes.
- The fact that there are weak or ineffective mechanisms to promote accountability in policy processes and monitor citizenship participation.
- In the case of Uganda, the government is heavily dependent on donors; hence accountability is misplaced as it is more to the donors than the citizens or beneficiaries.

Improving citizen participation for sustainable governance and improved resource management—lessons for the future

The rationale to improve citizen participation is not and should not be about pleasing or being compliant (e.g. to donors) or for cosmetic purposes but to deepen democratic practices and ensure citizens hold political and administrative office bearers accountable. The former President Mbeki urged for genuine citizen participation which strengthens democracy. Mbeki (2005:1) argued that “The strengthening of the democratic system should be in a manner that involves

the people in determining their future". Ake (2000: 48) argues that this has to be defended in daily struggles, at any rate. Citizen participation will bring about involvement, which in turn gives voice to the voiceless and power to the powerless in a way that the communities can determine how their resources are deployed and government's role in responding to those demands. Genuine and quality citizen participation entails:

a. Citizen education and awareness rising -

This can be examined as follows:

- Education of citizens. Here there is a recognition that citizen participation transcends beyond the electoral process. Citizens can only truly participate in their numbers if they are empowered on these matters and are clear about the need and essence of participation as it improves decision making. Such high levels of citizen education and awareness could motivate them to be involved in the processes and bring about transparency, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness in government process as against the notion of apathy (Clapper 1996:59).
- Education for political leaders especially at local government to help promote citizen and community engagement and where possible using that as a standard yardstick to measure their success or lack of it.

b. Mainstreaming citizenship participation in policies, programmes and projects

This entails making sustained efforts to build a culture of citizen participation across policy making processes, programmes and projects in public Affairs (Ile & Mapuva 2008: 137). Under many years of apartheid rule in South Africa, what has evolved is a culture of participation of resistance and lawlessness as has been the case with several protests related to the pace of housing delivery, rather than one of partnership that sees communities as being proactive and making inputs prior to programme/project implementation.

In Uganda, a culture of limited accountability is rife due to many years of undemocratic regimes in the form of military leadership, hence efforts should clearly demonstrate that the tide is turning and that officials should adhere to policies and listen to the people they serve. This means entrenching the culture of participation in government activities as citizens should view themselves as active partners rather than passive and ill-informed recipients of government services.

c. Aggregating citizen voices

It should be understood that quality citizen participation could bring about increased vibrancy of community based organisations and Non Governmental Organisations. The public spaces created from their activities may be highly contested but this is good for democracy. These spaces could ensure that individuals in communities become more interested in issues that relate to planning processes, performance measurement and management of municipalities, the use of resources through efficient budgeting and the implementation of policies and also rendering acceptable levels of services.

d. Community development workers as vanguards of community interests and participation processes

This warrants that community development workers recognise that their role is to facilitate development when citizens and communities participate in various processes and programmes. In other words their existence rests on the fact that citizens and communities are encouraged to participate while at the same time nurturing a culture of participation. Mubangizi reports (2008: 280-282) that community development workers are uniquely placed both within communities and within government to observe, reflect and document experiences of public participation. They are trained in skills to mobilize communities, to gain the trust of communities and to articulate crucial service delivery issues in a manner that is accessible to the majority of people in the community.

e. Continuous search for alternative public spaces and avenues for citizen participation.

The ideal is for all stakeholders to seek avenues for participation beyond the invited public spaces. It is vital to search for alternative participatory approaches that ensure that the community in general feel they are key players in determining their future. In addition the process should not be hijacked by self advancing sections or individuals in the community; as this requires more than well placed individuals interacting. It should rather focus on a broad based participation that seeks the good of the entire community. In this regard, all possibilities need to be explored. The approach may evolve to be a hybrid approach that borrows from various public participation approaches; which is more integrated, coherent in nature and brings about the desired results (Ile: 2008:118).

An attempt should therefore be made to broaden the invented public spaces by focusing on:

- Current programme improvement/implementation
- Future programmes/planning/developmental needs
- Communication/Access to governing structures as having knowledge enables citizens to participate and also enhances acceptance of the outcome of decision making processes
- Grievance monitoring offices particularly at municipal levels. This can be linked to the office of the Public protectorate
- Involvement of the public in performance management of key officials through the use of e-governance tools that seek to measure quality of interface with the community
- Forums for debates

f. A return to servant leadership:

The nature and quality of leadership at community level has a direct relationship with the quality of community participation. Likewise, the quality of the context (including the quality of civil society alertness and engagement has an impact on the nature of both political and administrative leadership. A strong citizenry will ensure that leadership especially in the

political arena is not patriarchal, prescriptive and authoritarian but engages the people being led, in a mutual way that shows positive results, ensuring leadership is focused, accountable, and does not give room to administrative malpractices and fraudulent practises (Joab- Peterside 2007:15).

Other factors that could strengthen the quality of community participation are:

- Improved transparency with regards to access to information, including financial reports
- improved monitoring by the federal government of state and local governments
- Re-orientation of the service culture. Public officials and politicians alike tend not to recognise that they have an obligation to the public and to ensure that the public is involved in the running of government. In other words there has to be a shift in the way the public is viewed i.e. the public is the reason for their existence.
- Accessibility of local leadership (Political and administrative) to communities

Concluding remarks

With an increasing call for the deepening of democracy, reversal of economic stagnation, and increase in the levels of poverty in communities, the quality of citizen participation needs to be monitored if development and improvement of government services is to be actualised. There is therefore, a need for improvement in the nature and quality of citizen participation. To this end, the extent to which citizen participation can be improved through quality interactions in invited and invented spaces needs to be prioritised in quest for a responsive government that puts the interest of the people first. Although the policy and legislative framework provides a supportive environment, it alone will not ensure public participation. There ought to be concerted effort on the part of municipalities and other service providers to communicate with communities at a societal level closer to home than the local municipalities, that is, at a community level. Participation processes should be intricately linked to not only the pursuit of good governance but to good governance for sustainable livelihoods.

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Leasing competence, structure and performance of SMEs in Uganda

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Abstract

This study examines leasing competence, lease structure and perceived performance among SMEs in Uganda. We analyzed the current utilization of lease financing by SMEs as an alternative financing source for their business activities especially when the leasing competences of SME managers have been enhanced. We studied the challenge of performance of SMEs that have adopted leasing using a cross-sectional study based on a representative sample of 132 SMEs located in Kampala district and collected data that was analyzed using SPSS. Our analysis and findings are based on a response rate of 91 per cent. The factor analysis, correlational and regression results indicated that lease reviews are done usually after a long period. Further, there was a significant positive relationship between leasing competence and lease structure and perceived performance, while the prediction model showed that the lease structure was the most significant predictor of SME performance. We conclude that the performance of the lessee depends very much on the competence of the SME managers and the lease structure and thus recommend continued enhancement of the competence of the SME manager to conclude and manage the leased assets effectively.

Key words: Leasing, SME, Perceived performance and Uganda

Introduction

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) form the backbone of the private sector, making up approximately 90 per cent of Uganda's private sector and contributing two-thirds of the national income (Badagawa, 2002; Kisaame, 2002). SMEs generate employment, add value, bring in foreign exchange and investment, improve labour skills, and have linkages with large organizations (Sarapaivanich, 2003). Therefore sustainable development and employment cannot be achieved without SMEs. Access to finance tops the list of constraints faced by SMEs everywhere. Because of the high transaction costs and inability of SMEs to provide the collateral banks require, SMEs find themselves starved of funds at all stages of their development, ranging from start-up to expansion and growth (Beyene, 2002). In Uganda, it is leasing that has bridged the current financing gap experienced by SMEs by providing commercial and industrial equipment because it focuses on the lessee's ability to generate cash flow from the business operations to service the lease repayments rather than on the balance sheet or past credit history (Kisaame, 2007; International Finance Corporation, 2007).

SMEs are predominantly owner-managed and sole proprietorship in the norm, and the leasing competences of managers are cited as fundamental to the success of SMEs (Thompson, Stuart & Linday, 1997; Tylor, Thorpe & Down, 2001; Watson et al, 2004; Tany & Mahoney, 2005). In Uganda, efforts have been made to improve the leasing competences of SME managers and/or owners. Enterprise Uganda in collaboration with Uganda Investment Authority,

supported by UNDP and UNCTAD, has facilitated training programmes focusing on leasing competence development among SME managers, and within a year 3500 SMEs had benefited (United Nations, 2006). Also, through the UNIDO Master Craftsman Programme, entrepreneurs from SME associations around the country were selected and trained in an attempt to improve their leasing competence; and by 2003, 1500 entrepreneurs had benefited from the programme and the number was increasing (Luetkenhorst, 2004). In addition, Uganda Industrial Research Institute has been and continues to offer training and advisory services to SMEs to improve their competence in lease financing (Jager, 2005). In spite of all that, the annual rate at which SMEs are running out of business stands at 50 per cent up from about 35 per cent (Kiingi, 2007). This study, therefore, attempts to systematically and empirically test the impact of leasing competence and lease structure of lease agreements on the performance of SMEs.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: section two deals with the literature review, and is followed by the methodology in section three; while section four presents the results. We discuss and draw policy implications, and highlight research limitations in sections five and six respectively.

Literature Review

SMEs seem to be an accepted wisdom within the development debate. The definitions of SMEs are arbitrary and vary significantly according to different stages of economic development; economic structures and issues that authors of studies intend to address (Castel-Branco, 2003). Some analyses define them in terms of total revenue, while others use the number of employees as an indicator (World Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2007). Though SMEs' definition is individual-country specific and is based on size and level of economic development, there is not yet an agreed definition of an SME in Uganda. Attempts have been made to define an SME in a developing country. For instance, according to Elaina as cited by Albaladejo (2002), small enterprises are firms that employ between five and 19 employees, while medium enterprises are firms that employ between 20 and 99. Therefore an SME is a business that engages between five and ninety nine employees, a description that realistically fits the African SME context and that we adopt for purposes of this study.

It has to be noted that competence is not something that can be developed in isolation from its context (McKenna, 1999) but is situation specific, reflecting the culture and environment in which these particular entities find themselves (Conway, 1994; McKenna, 1999; Industry Canada, 2007). Competence, then, in the context of SMEs is not the same as competence in the large organization because ownership and control are often exercised by the same individual in the SME (Tweed & Massey, 2000). In the context of the owner-entrepreneur, the competence of a firm can be equated to the competence of the owner (McGregor & Tweed, 2001; Gibb, 2005). Munene et al (2004); as cited by Musoke (2007), assert that what third world countries desperately need are tools for the management of performance. They argue that such tools are derived from behavioural competences that aim at role clarity rather than enabling competences that generate methodological as well as ambiguity issues. For this reason, they propose an operant competence model that attempts to demonstrate through action the behavioural competences acquired to get a specific result.

Lease agreements are drafted differently from firm to firm. The terms of a given lease contract constitute a lease structure and these are: lease rentals, reviews and incentives; length of lease term, and operating costs. The factors that affect the rental amounts include: inflation, firm-specific asset, the prospective lessee, the rate of technological advances associated with the asset and the quality of maintenance of the asset(s). Rental amounts are arrived at by comparing recent market values, adjusting for distinguishing features, the perceived uncertainties associated with lease receipts and lease clauses (Metawa, 1995 and Rowland, 2000).

Leasing incentives are concessions given to lessees to entice them into signing new leases. In a competitive leasing industry, lease incentives are perceived as an important factor in luring and keeping clients. According to Jefferies (1994), lease incentives are not a temporary phenomenon nor a vogue symptom but a result of market restructuring. Lease incentives include abnormal rent-free periods and caps to rent increases on review.

Leasing contracts contain clauses that allow review of the terms at a future date, usually after five years. The decision to lease requires that the entity considers the risks of review throughout the term of the lease (Robinson, 1999). A review may be to the advantage of one party over the other. For instance, due to the rapid technological changes, the asset's susceptibility to technological obsolescence has increased (Metawa, 1995). Thus the lessee may want a review clause that will enable him to swap the old machinery with the latest model so as to safeguard his competitive advantage.

The lease term refers to the initial contract lease period (Tse, 1999). The length of a lease contract is determined by particular needs of the two parties involved. Generally, length of a lease term varies from country to country. In the USA, leases are typically for five to ten years and so are the German leases; in France, leases are usually for nine years with three-year break options, while Swedish leases are for three to five years, and in Uganda, leases range from two to five years (Hamilton, Lim and McCluskey, 2005; Baum and Turner, 2003; Kisaame, 2007). Generally, lessors are well served by longer leases and tenants argue for short leases with one or more options to renew (Rowland, 2000; Tse, 1999).

For a finance lease, the lessee uses the asset for a significant period of its useful life while in an operating lease; the contract is for a short-term use of a piece of equipment the leasing company has at hand (Deelen and Bonsu, 2002). It should be noted that even in a finance lease, the agreement may be for a short term. Over the years, there has been a significant and detectable trend towards not only shorter but also more diverse lease length with no particular standard length of term. The length of the lease affects the amount of the lease payments, with a longer lease term meaning a lower rental rate (All business, 2007).

Market rental values may be gross or net. The operating cost of an asset under a lease contract is the difference between the gross and net values (Rowland, 1996). Operating costs include; maintenance costs, insurance cost, taxes and management costs (Rowland, 1996; Deelen and Bonsu, 2002). The lease covenants reveal whether these responsibilities are borne by the lessee or lessor. The rents will presumably tell the responsibilities of the parties.

Leasing Competence and Lease Structure

It is not surprising that lessors design lease structures that favour them though they are willing to negotiate with the lessees (Bunney, Greenberg & Bondard, 2004). It is thus important that an SME manager involved in leasing understands how leasing works. According to ICSC Professional Development Opportunities (2008), understanding the leasing and how it works helps in coming up with a favourable lease structure. For instance according to Bunney et al, (2004), leasing competences help lessee managers to come up with a win-win agreement designed to meet the basic needs of both parties. However, according to Tweed and Massey (2000), from the evaluation point of view, the impact of leasing competence on a subsequent business result is a difficult construct to objectively measure. It is this unsettled debate that warranted further research.

Leasing Competence and Perceived Performance

The vast majority of SMEs are unable or unwilling to provide financial information about their performance (Griffiths, 2002). Thus only perceived firm performance is considered. Perceived firm performance can be measured by sales growth, and development of new markets and products (Taglianvini et al, 2002).

The assertion is made that managers who possess and deploy leasing competences produce superior performance in a job (Thompson, Stuart & Linday, 1997). With globalization adding to an already competitive environment, the importance of having managers with appropriate leasing competence has been recognized as fundamental to the success of a firm (Watson, McCracken & Hughes, 2004). Tan & Mahoney (2005) also assert that leasing competence contributes to growth of a firm through raising productivity and facilitating the adoption and use of new technologies, upgrading production, financial capabilities and flexibly responding to market forces. This opinion was later re-echoed by Watson et al, (2004) whose research on SMEs in Scotland revealed that businesses with leasing competence are on average more profitable. Egyptian Banking Institute (n.d) asserts that there is broad consensus on the significance of leasing competence as a driving force for SMEs to develop.

However, the relation between leasing competence and SME performance remains highly unresolved. Closer inspections of studies carried out reveal a frequent failure to distinguish between competence that is functionally relevant for organizational actions and competence that merely accompanies actions or justifies them retrospectively. Tweed & Massey (2000) say that from the evaluation point of view, the impact on leasing competence and a subsequent business result is a difficult construct to objectively measure. According to O'Connor (2006), there is no hard, convincing public evidence that developing leasing competence impacts on the bottom and top-line of a firm and those who have attempted to measure the impact of leasing competence on performance have been largely subjective and not statistically robust. This unsettled debate warranted further research.

Lease Structure and Perceived Performance of SMEs

The trade-off theory supports the opinion that leasing leads to tax allowable and thus high financial performance (Modigliani & Miller, 1958). Moreover, additional debt reduces agency cost, and frees cash flow for use in making interest payments. A research conducted by Abor (2007) on Ghanaian SMEs shows that long-term debt has a significantly positive relation to good performance. This means that long-term leasing could have a significant positive relation to the financial performance of SMEs. According to Africa Economic Outlook (2004), leasing is one of the main forms of finance in Ugandan SMEs yet their performance continues to deteriorate (Kiingi, 2007). There remains no empirical evidence on the influence of lease structure on the performance of SMEs in Uganda.

Methodology

The research adopted a cross-sectional study that was combined with a quantitative approach. The study population was composed of 202 SMEs in the sectors of agriculture, energy, medical, construction, printing, information technology, education, foods and beverages, horticulture, wood, pulp, paper and printing, and transport. The sample size was determined in accordance with the rule of the Krejcie & Morgan (1970) table which gave a sample of 132. To get the unit of inquiry, convenience sampling was used to select the lessee SME manager as respondent while the unit of analysis was a lessee SME.

The key study variables were leasing competence, lease structure and perceived performance. The study adopted the conventional measure of these variables based on leading scholars such as Munene et al (2004) for leasing competences that were captured through the use of competence profiles. The respondents were required to state whom they interacted with, the content of their discussion, decisions made, frequent problems and flexibility exhibited in their jobs. From the competence profiles, the study developed a self-administered questionnaire where the competences were measured on a four point Likert scale ranging from very untrue to very true. The variable of lease structure was measured by considering lease rental amount, reviews and incentives, length of lease term and operating costs based on the works of Roland (2000); Deelen and Bonsu (2002). Lastly, perceived performance was measured by examining the sales growth, and development of new markets and products (Taglianvini et al, 2002).

The data was collected using a questionnaire that contained close ended questions and captured information on the leasing competence of managers, lease structure and perceived performance of SMEs. The instrument for data collection was tested for validity following the conventional practice of computing the content validity index (CVI) which was found to be above 0.5. For reliability of the instrument, Cronbach's alpha tests were performed. The results of the Cronbach's alpha coefficients were 0.6316 for leasing competence, while 0.7215 was obtained for lease structure and perceived performance was 0.8797. These results indicated that the Likert scales used to measure the variables were consistent and reliable. Following successful pretesting of the questionnaires, the instrument was administered to the managers, who responded to it within a period of 21 days.

After the data had been collected, it was carefully edited, coded and checked for accuracy and relevance. Then it was analyzed using excel spread sheet and SPSS 11.0 programme. Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to determine the degree of relationship and regression analysis was used to predict the influence of leasing competence, lease structure on the performance of SMEs.

Results

We examined the relationships between leasing competence, lease structure and performance of SMEs. The Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to determine the degree of relationship between leasing competence, lease structure and perceived performance. Results of the correlation test are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Pearson's Zero Order (Bi-Variate) Correlations Matrix

	1	2	3
Leasing Competence(1)	1.000		
Lease Structure(2)	.508**	1.000	.
Perceived Performance(s3)	.632**	.689**	1.000

**correlation is significant at .01 level (2-tailed)

The results from Table 1 above show that there is a significant positive relationship between leasing competence and lease structure ($r = 0.508^{**}$, $p \leq 0.01$); leasing competence and perceived performance ($r = 0.632^{**}$, $p \leq 0.01$), and lease structure and perceived performance ($r = 0.689^{**}$, $p \leq 0.01$). The findings mean that the higher the leasing competence of a lessee manager the better the lease structure for his firm. The leasing competence of the lessee manager leads to improved performance of SMEs and that a more favourable lease structure of a lease agreement leads to improved performance of lessee SMEs.

Lastly we ran a regression analysis to determine the prediction power of the independent variables as depicted in

Table 2. Table 2: Regression

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.420	.264		-1.595	.113
	Leasing Competence	.465	.090	.320	5.178	.000
	Lease Structure	.607	.062	.605	9.775	.000

R=0.791, R Square=0.626, Adjusted R Square=0.619, F= 97.778, Sig.= .000

A Dependent Variable: Perceived Performance

Source: Primary Data

The results in Table 2 above, a combination of leasing competence and lease structure predict up to 61.9 per cent of the SME performance. The regression further shows that only the lease structure has a significant prediction on SME performance. The findings show that a unit change in lease structure brings about a 0.605 positive change in perceived performance of SMEs while a unit change in leasing competence brings 0.320 positive change in perceived performance of SMEs.

Discussion and Policy implications

The study examined leasing competence, lease structure and performance of SMEs. This is against the background that SMEs find themselves starved of funds at all stages of their development ranging from start-up to expansion and growth. SMEs have adopted leasing as an alternative and viable option to finance their activities. However, successful adoption of leasing requires leasing competencies on the side of the SMEs. The results indicate that SME managers with a high level of leasing competence are better placed to negotiate a favourable lease structure for their firm. In addition, leasing competence positively impacts on the bottom and top-line of a firm, thus improved perceived performance of SMEs. The significant positive relationship between the leasing competence and lease structure means that higher leasing competence of a lessee manager leads to a good lease structure. This is in line with Bunney et al, (2004) who assert that leasing competence is an important ingredient in lease structure negotiation. In a competitive environment that characterizes this industry (Metawa, 1995; Rowland 2000), the lessors have limited freedom in raising their lease rate and therefore offer lease incentives as important factors in luring and achieving customer loyalty as argued by Jefferies (1994).

The significant positive relationship between leasing competence and perceived performance of SMEs means that the leasing competence of a lessee manager leads to improved performance of SMEs. This is convincing empirical evidence that developing leasing competence impacts on the bottom and top-line of a firm which leads to improved performance of SMEs. This view is consistent with Watson et al's (2004) findings which suggest that leasing competence has been recognized as fundamental to the success of a firm. It is also consistent with findings of Watson et al (2004) and the experience in Egypt, where the Egyptian Banking Institute (n.d) asserts that there is broad consensus on the significance of leasing competence as a driving force for SMEs to develop.

The results from the study further indicated that there was a positive significant relationship between the two: lease structure and perceived performance of SMEs. This goes to explain that when the lease structure of a lease agreement is favourable to the lessee firm, the same firm will perform better, which is in total agreement with the trade-off theory which supports the opinion that debt (leasing) leads to tax allowable and thus high financial performance (Modigliani & Miller, 1958). Additionally, debt reduces agency cost, frees cash flow for use in making interest payments. In the same vein, a recent research conducted by Abor (2007) on Ghanaian SMEs shows that long-term leasing has a significantly positive relation to good performance.

In conclusion the study pointed out the importance of leasing competences in achieving the appropriate lease structure that leads to good performance of the firm. Therefore efforts to improve the competences are key to a successful lease financing. In light of the above, it is important to aggressively improve the leasing competences of SME managers. Enterprise Uganda and the Private Sector Foundation should invest more in improving the leasing competence of SME managers. This will lead to better customized lease contracts/structure and improved SME performance.

We therefore proposed that lessee managers should not be blurred by the need to have their firm's financing needs met; rather care should be taken that all the terms involved in the lease contract are favourable to their firms. This is because the length of the lease term, the operating costs, and lease rentals, reviews and incentives are not mutually exclusive.

Research limitations

There are limitations associated with this research. The first relates to the research sample which was drawn from one region of Kampala district which may not completely represent the entire country. The selected sample may not give a complete representation of the population: for instance, there is a substantial size of lessee SMEs in eastern Uganda - Mbale and Soroti (Kisaame, 2002) - whose business behaviour may be different from the one in Kampala. Thus the findings of this study may not be entirely representative of lessee SMEs in the entire country and therefore it raises an issue of generalizability of the study results.

Second, the cross-sectional research method used may limit the accuracy of the results that this study has shown. This is because leasing competence is not only useful at the time of making the lease agreement but more so afterwards as the contract is executed. There might have been an effect on the results had the study used a longitudinal approach.

In addition, most of the studies previously carried out on the same were in developed countries from which research instruments and measurements were adopted with modification. Thus the results of this study should be cautiously used.

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Prenatal Care and Childbirth Weight in Uganda and Tanzania

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Abstract

About 20 million (17%) children, 95% of which are in less developed countries, are born with low birth weight. Prenatal care is widely accepted as a channel for reducing the hazard of delivering preterm or a low birth weight baby. This study set out to investigate the relationship between prenatal care components and childbirth weight for children born in the five years preceding the survey. Using the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) 2006, we employed both descriptive (mainly bar charts/graphs) and the two-stage least squares (2SLS) approach to estimate the childbirth weight model. The greatest virtue of the 2SLS is its potential to control for the endogeneity and selectivity problems. The key explanatory variables included prenatal visits, prenatal care delay, tetanus immunization, and prenatal care content and we included a number of controls. The descriptive findings reveal that the average childbirth weight is 3.4 in Uganda and 3.2 in Tanzania. The average number of prenatal care visits is 3.7 and 4.1 for Uganda and Tanzania, respectively. On average, women in the two countries initiate their first prenatal visits at about 5 months of pregnancy. On average, Tanzanian women outperformed Ugandan counterparts in the utilization of antenatal care content. The quantitative findings reveal that tetanus immunization, antenatal visits, antenatal care delay, and antenatal care content are significantly associated with childbirth weight. The size and/or significance of the coefficients depends on the estimation method; hence an inappropriate estimation method may yield misleading policy conclusions. Mass dissemination of health information would close any knowledge gaps existing amongst prospective mothers concerning the importance of prenatal visits, timing and content. There is need to standardize the health information disseminated to women across all regions and locations in order to ensure that all receive the same reproductive knowledge and best practices. Establishment of village outreach clinics with qualified staff would help to attract the hard-to-reach women.

Key words: Prenatal care, birth weight, Uganda, Tanzania

Introduction

Prenatal care is widely regarded as a channel for reducing the hazard of mothers delivering preterm or low-birth-weight babies by providing an array of medical, nutritional, and educational interventions intended to enhance mother and foetal health. It is also used to avert other adverse pregnancy conditions and outcomes such as maternal mortality and defective births (Alexander et al., 2000 and Rutecki, 2010). Birth weight is widely endorsed as the most paramount indicator of infant health and underpins the prospects for its future survival (Donaldson et al., 2010 and Mwabu, 2009). The chances of having a low-birth-weight baby are substantially higher for women who do not receive prenatal care. Studies have found that even after adjusting for other differences like socioeconomic status and maternal age, infants born to mothers who received no prenatal care weighed considerably less, on average, than those whose mothers received prenatal care.¹ During antenatal sessions mothers undertake ‘classes’ where

¹ <http://www.stanford.edu/group/virus/herpes/2000/primaryf.htm>

they are educated about danger signs during pregnancy, preventive and curative treatment, appropriate nutrition, breastfeeding, and contraceptive use for family planning (Bbaale, 2011). Prenatal care programmes with a focus on preventing premature delivery have been shown to lower the incidence of low birth weight among women of all ages.² Indeed, earlier studies in industrialized countries (Taffel, 1978 and Eisner et al., 1979) indicated that the utilization of prenatal care is associated with high birth weight. Undoubtedly, it is clear that there are important linkages between prenatal care and child and maternal health at birth and beyond. There is little wonder then that many countries are taking deliberate and purposive efforts to ensure provision and use of timely and adequate antenatal care. Indeed, antenatal care is one of the critical interventions that can enhance the attainment of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 4 (reducing child mortality by two-thirds) and 5 (reducing the maternal mortality ratio by three-quarters) by the year 2015.

However, recent global statistics reveal very poor reproductive health indicators (World Health Organization, 2005). According to the Report, every year 3 million babies are stillborn and almost one quarter of these die during birth. Among the 133 million babies who are born alive each year, 2.8 million die in the first week of life and slightly less than 1 million in the following three weeks. About 20 million (17%) are born with low birth weight, 95% of which are in less developed countries. In Uganda, among children born in the five years before the survey, 11% weighed less than 2.5kgs at birth (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc., 2007). Neonatal tetanus, which can be avoided by appropriate antenatal care, is still killing 100,000 babies a year (WHO, 2005). In Uganda, the under-five and infant mortality rates are still high at 137 and 78 per 1,000 live births respectively (USAID, 2006). The estimated maternal mortality ratio from the UDHS is 435 deaths per 100,000 live births (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc., 2007). Generally, the maternal mortality ratio in developing countries is 450 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births compared to only 9 in developed countries (World Health Organization, 2005). On average, only 17% and 47% of mothers initiate the first antenatal visit in the first trimester and attain at least four antenatal visits, respectively. About 50% attained at least two tetanus injections (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc., 2007). On average, only 16% of women utilized the full content of antenatal care (Bbaale, 2011). These poor health outcomes threaten the attainment of the MDGs 4 and 5 by 2015.

Given these circumstances, understanding the relationship between antenatal care and child health (measured by childbirth weight) is a matter of great concern to the government and stakeholders (especially donors, MDG activists and global health actors). Specifically, this study attempts to answer the following pertinent question: Does the frequency, timing, tetanus toxoid injection, and other antenatal care content improve childbirth weight? The central argument is not that tetanus vaccination or any other antenatal care component directly increases birth weight, but that prenatal care is strongly correlated with health care consumption and behaviours that increase birth weight (Ajakaiye et al., 2007). By implication, the adoption of a specific behaviour or the uptake of a specific input improves health, creates incentives to engage in other health-augmenting behaviours or consumption that improve birth weight (Ajakaiye et al., 2007). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first article to attempt to address these questions concerning antenatal care and childbirth weight in Uganda with such

² <http://www.stanford.edu/group/virus/herpes/2000/primaryf.htm>

a comprehensive focus; hence it represents a real value added. In the analysis of childbirth weight, the majority of the papers (Bategeka et al., 2009) have overly concentrated on a single component of antenatal care especially tetanus injection, ignoring timing, frequency and other content.

Whereas there is extensive literature on prenatal care across the globe, there is surprisingly scanty literature on its impact on childbirth weight. The components of antenatal care found significantly associated with childbirth weight include: tetanus immunization (Bategeka et al., 2009, Mwabu, 2009; Ajakaiye et al., 2007; Dow et al., 1999), prenatal visits (Donaldson et al., 2010; Raatikainen et al., 2007; Alexander et al., 2000), prenatal care delay (Liu, 1998), prenatal care content (Kogan et al., 1994; Peabody et al., 1998; Villar et al., 2003), and prenatal care quality (Barber et al., 2007). Other factors include age of the mother, child's sex, birth order, location, place of birth (Mwabu, 2009), education level (Bategeka et al., 2009), mother's smoking (Rosezweig et al., 1983; Bategeka et al., 2009, World Health Organization, 2005), placental malaria, and congenital diseases (Bategeka et al., 2009, Rosezweig et al., 1983, World Health Organization, 2005). Other earlier works have also addressed the issue of prenatal care in relation to childbirth weight (Corman et al., 1987; Brown, 1989).

Theoretically, we use a modified version of the model first proposed by Rosenzweig and Schultz (1983). This model is in line with earlier models (Grossman, 1972). The model forms the basis of the analysis of health production and demand in the contemporary literature (see for example, Ajakaiye et al., 2007 and Mwabu, 2009). Within this framework, a mother is assumed to maximize a utility function comprising the health good (childbirth weight), food consumption, and non-food consumption. The utility function takes the following shape:

$$(1) U=U(bw, fc, nf)$$

Where bw , fc , and nf refer to childbirth weight, food consumption, and non-food consumption. Just as in the standard microeconomics, a mother is faced with a constrained utility maximization. There are various constraints to the utility maximization behaviour of a mother; health production constraint, time constraint, and budget constraint. The health production function relates health outcomes (birth weight) to health inputs. The health inputs may include purchased market inputs (antenatal care services and other medical requirements), time of the mother, education of the mother, education of the spouse, and the genetic healthiness of the mother. The health inputs do not directly enter the utility function except through its effect on the health outcome (bw).

$$(2) bw=bw(anc, t_m, m_e, f_e, \alpha)$$

Where anc , t_m , m_e , f_e and α refer to the antenatal care services, time of the mother devoted to producing appropriate childbirth weight, education of the mother, education of the husband, and the unobserved genetic healthiness or endowment of the mother.

The utility maximization behaviour of the mother is also constrained by time. Seeking reproductive healthcare services requires time to commute from home or office to the health facility and back. In addition, antenatal sessions also require time used during counselling, check-ups and treatment. It is a common practice in a developing country like Uganda for

mothers to queue for long hours waiting to be attended to by a health personnel for cases requiring one-on-one attention. This time may be considered in relation to the time a mother requires for childcare, household chores, farm production, and working outside the home for a wage. The time constraint is thus;

$$(3) \mu_t = h_t + l_t + anc_t$$

Where h_t , l_t , and anc_t refer to time allocated for work, leisure, and to seeking antenatal healthcare services. In this context, leisure may refer to all the unpaid household activities performed by a mother.

The mother also faces a budget constraint that separates the attainable from unattainable combinations of goods and services. The total amount of budget available to the household comprises the wage earnings of the mother and her husband, and an exogenous amount of money or assets owned by the household (non-labour income). The household spends money on the antenatal care, food consumption, and non-food consumption.

$$(4) w_t h_t + \omega = B = P_{anc} anc + P_{fc} fc + P_{nf} nf$$

Where $w_t h_t$, ω , B , $P_{anc} ac$, $P_{fc} fc$ and $P_{nf} nf$ refer to the wage income of the mother and her husband, non-labour income, total budget; household spending on antenatal care, food, and non-food consumption.

Maximizing the utility function (equation 1) subject to the health production constraint (equation 2), time constraint (equation 3), and the budget constraint (equation 4) yields the reduced form household demand functions for health inputs:

$$(5) D_{anc} = D_{anc}(P_{anc}, P_{fc}, P_{nf}, B, m_e, f_e, \alpha)$$

$$D_{fc} = D_{fc}(P_{anc}, P_{fc}, P_{nf}, B, m_e, f_e, \alpha)$$

$$D_{fn} = D_{fn}(P_{anc}, P_{fc}, P_{nf}, B, m_e, f_e, \alpha)$$

The reduced-form demand function for health outcome may be written in a similar way with an extension to include the physical environment (p_e) and the social environment (s_e). The physical environment may include air and water quality, occupational exposure, availability of health and other infrastructure. Yet the social environment may include ethic and religious affiliations or beliefs and social support.

$$(6) bw = bw(P_{anc}, P_{fc}, P_{nf}, B, m_e, f_e, \alpha)$$

Rosenzweig and Schultz (20) suggest a hybrid health production function that allows estimating the impact of health inputs to changes in the health status. Thus equation (6) can be rewritten as:

$$(7) bw = bw(anc, P_{anc}, P_{fc}, P_{nf}, B, m_e, f_e, p_e, s_e, \alpha)$$

It is noteworthy that there is self-selection problem as the demand for prenatal care (anc) is likely to be correlated with or indicative of pregnant women's behaviour or health status

(Liu, 1998). As a result, it is very difficult to determine the extent to which the observed difference in birth weights can be attributed legitimately and rigorously to the effectiveness of prenatal care. For example, if women who receive more prenatal care are also healthier and have better health behaviour (favourable selection), the effectiveness of prenatal care may be overestimated (Liu, 1998). Conversely, if women receive more prenatal care because of poor health conditions during pregnancy (adverse selection), then the effectiveness of prenatal care may be underestimated (Liu, 1998). Therefore, solving for this selection bias during estimations is a matter of great concern for valid conclusions and policy advice. We also face a problem of a censored sample of children where some children are born outside clinics or hospitals and hence their birth weights are not recorded. We control for these problems during our estimations and generate unbiased and consistent coefficients.

Method

The data was obtained from the Demographic and Health Surveys for Uganda (2006) and Tanzania (2004/05). These are nationally representative surveys of women aged 15-49 and men aged 15-54. The sample was designed to allow separate estimates at the national level and for rural and urban areas of the countries. Three questionnaires were used, namely: household questionnaire, women's questionnaire, and men's questionnaire. The DHS provides a rich source of information on antenatal care services. Mothers were asked: the number of times they visited a health facility for antenatal care; the gestational period of pregnancy the first visit was initiated; and, whether they were given or bought iron and folic supplements and intestinal parasite drugs. Further, it includes information on whether mothers were measured for blood pressure, weight, and height; and whether they were informed of any danger signs during pregnancy and where to go in case of emergency. Mothers were also asked whether urine and blood samples were taken to check for syphilis and anemia and other sexually transmitted diseases. It also includes health outcomes that can be related to antenatal care services especially childbirth weight. Birth weight in grammes was derived from maternal reports which were corroborated with birth certificates and maternal health cards, if available. Mothers were also asked whether they were examined by trained health personnel and whether they received tetanus toxoid injection. They were also asked whether they obtained care from home, government, or private facility. The DHS provides information on the demographic characteristics of the country. It contains information on household size, age and sex distribution, region, location, religious affiliation, occupation of household members, the number of children ever born by a woman, marital status, and educational attainment of women and men. The wealth index showing the economic status of the household is also provided.

Our dependent variable of interest is childbirth weight. According to WHO, the cut-off point for normal birth weight is 2500g (2.5kg). We construct a continuous variable for childbirth weight in kilogrammes and seek to understand its relationship with prenatal care. Birth weight is an appropriate measure of the impact of the quality and quantity of antenatal care consumed by the mother during pregnancy since it is measured immediately after birth. We avoided differences in birth weight emerging from multiple and preterm births by considering only children from singleton live births and whose pregnancies reached

the end of the normal gestation period. We also define dependent variables that were used in the first-stage analysis that provided fitted values which appeared in the second-stage regressions (childbirth weight model). (a) Tetanus toxoid injection (TT): this is defined as a binary discrete variable equal to one if a woman received at least two tetanus injections before childbirth for the most recent pregnancy preceding the survey. (b) Number of times of antenatal visit: According to WHO, at the minimum, a mother should make four antenatal visits (in case of a normal pregnancy). We construct a continuous variable showing the number of professional antenatal visits during pregnancy. (c) Timing of the first visit: According to the WHO guidelines, to ensure safe motherhood, mothers should initiate the first visit in the first trimester (≤ 12 weeks of pregnancy). We construct a variable of the number of months of pregnancy at which the first visit was initiated. (d) Antenatal care content: According to the WHO guidelines, at the minimum, mothers should receive iron supplements, intestinal parasite drugs, tetanus toxoid injection; measurement for blood pressure, and weight; and have samples for blood and urine taken. Following Barber et al., 2007, we construct a seven item composite index from maternal reports of the services they received in line with the WHO guidelines. Our index ranges from 1 to 7, where 1 represents all women that received 1 item out of the seven items in the care content and seven representing all women that received all items in the care content.

The literature survey guided our choice of the most important covariates influencing antenatal care utilization and its relationship with birth outcomes. Therefore, we controlled for various socioeconomic, demographic and behavioural factors. The first and most important factor exposed in literature is female education which we code into 4 different levels of attainment; 0=no education, 1=primary education, 2=secondary education (includes Ordinary and Advanced levels), 3=postsecondary education (includes tertiary and university education). No education category is used as the reference in all our regressions. Education of the partner is also coded in the same way. In order to capture the behavioural change of women contingent upon years of life, we controlled for age. This is based on the body of literature that asserts that older mothers may be less likely to utilize maternal healthcare services due to experience accumulated over time especially if she already has many children (see for example Magadi et al., 2000). Maternal age was divided into five-year cohorts; 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, and 45-49. In all our regressions the 15-19 age cohort was used as a reference category. The most direct household characteristic that influences maternal healthcare utilization is the wealth or economic status. The UDHS, 2006 constructed a wealth index by combining information on household assets, such as ownership of consumer items, type of dwelling, source of water, and availability of electricity into a single asset index. The wealth status of the household was divided into five equal groups (quintiles) coded as: 1=poorest, 2=poor, 3=middle, 4=rich, 5=richest. In all our regressions the poorest category served as the reference group. To capture the traits and traditions of individuals, we included the four different religious groups coded as; 1=Catholics, 2=Protestants, 3=Muslims, and 4="Others" which include evangelicals, Adventists, Orthodox and traditionalists. In all our regressions, the Catholics served as the reference group. We captured location and regional differences in the utilization of antenatal care by constructing dummy variables for location and regions. These variables are used to control for the community peculiarities relating to availability and accessibility to health care facilities. For location, we constructed a dummy variable equal to

1 if a mother dwells in the rural area and zero if she lives in the urban area. We constructed region dummies variables. We created dummy variables of whether the ownership of the health facility is by government or privately owned. It is noteworthy that we obtain fitted values from first-stage regressions and use them as explanatory variables in the childbirth weight model.

Estimating the effect of antenatal inputs on birth weight encounters the problem of unobservability of the mother's and the child's genetic healthiness before the care is demanded. Consequently, it is difficult to distinguish a true casual effect from the possibility of self-selection or sample selection. We therefore employ two-stage least squares (2SLS) in order to obtain more consistent and unbiased estimates. The 2SLS approach is the most common technique employed in the contemporary literature to solve the endogeneity and/or selectivity problem (see Mwabu, 2009). Endogeneity and selectivity problems are possible if the portion of mothers who demanded antenatal care did so because of their own health status or health preferences. OLS technique is inconsistent and biased if we pooled together the self-selected antenatal care users and their non-user counterparts in the same analysis. However, the 2SLS distinguishes the self-selection effects from the effects of antenatal care on health outcomes (see Mwabu, 2009).

Following Halim et al., 2010, we use parental education as an instrument in order to identify the consistent effects of antenatal care on child health. They advanced two plausible arguments supporting parental education as a superior instrument over others that have originally been used in the literature. They argue that paternal education is closely related to antenatal care use, yet is uncorrelated with child health as children of uneducated fathers are as healthy as those of educated fathers when maternal education is accounted for in the equation. Additionally, at the observable and empirical level, maternal education is more directly correlated with healthcare utilization than with child health in that the strong relationship between maternal education and child health is often diminished by a substantial margin when health care utilization is taken into account (Halim et al., 2010). Halim et al., 2010 find that using this approach eliminates many (but not all) sources of endogeneity in antenatal care utilization, and its effect on child health is as consistent as possible given the constraints in the data from DHS.

Procedurally, we first estimate the potentially endogenous variable (tetanus immunization, timing of care, number of visits, and content of care) on all exogenous variables to generate the predicted values. The predicted values serve as the control for unobservable variables that are correlated with the endogenous variable. If the unobserved variable is linear in the predicted values, it is only the intercept that is affected by the unobservable, making IV estimates consistent and unbiased (Ajakaiye et al., 2007).

Results

Our findings are in three different categories: descriptive findings (Figures 1-7), first-stage regressions (Tables 1-4) and the second-stage findings (main findings in tables 6 and 7). We interpret the descriptive findings and the second-stage findings but not the first-stage regressions. Figure 1 shows the average childbirth weight in Uganda and Tanzania. The average childbirth weight is 3.4 in Uganda and 3.2 in Tanzania. In both countries, however,

rural children are heavier than urban children. Figure 2 shows the average number of prenatal care visits in the two countries. The average number of prenatal care visits is 3.7 and 4.1 for Uganda and Tanzania, respectively. In both countries, urban women visit more times than rural women. Figure 3 show the average number of months of pregnancy by which the first prenatal care visit is initiated. On average, women in the two countries initiate their first visits at about five months of pregnancy. Figure 4 shows the average percentage of women utilizing the individual items of the prenatal care content. On average, 78% of women in Uganda were weighed compared to 94% in Tanzania; 53% of women in Uganda measured blood pressure compared to 68% in Tanzania; 13% of women in Uganda checked a urine sample compared to 46% in Tanzania. Additionally, 28% of women in Uganda checked a blood sample compared to 53% of women in Tanzania; 51% of women in Uganda received at least two tetanus injections compared to 53% in Tanzania; 35% of women in Uganda were told about pregnancy complications and danger signs compared to 44% in Tanzania. It is only in the uptake of iron supplements that Ugandan women (65%) outperformed Tanzanian women (62%).

Figure 5 shows the relationship between prenatal visits and childbirth weight in Tanzania. It is revealed that childbirth weight increases with prenatal visits up to a maximum of 8 visits beyond which diminishing returns seem to set in. Figures 6 and 7 show a relationship between maternal age and childbirth weight in Tanzania and Uganda, respectively. It is revealed that childbirth weight increases with a mother's age up to around 37 years of age beyond which it falls. However, the relationship is more significant for Tanzania than for Uganda.

Tables 6 and 7 present results of estimating the effect of antenatal care components on child birth weight using both the OLS and 2SLS for the two countries considered in this paper. Aforementioned is the fact that antenatal packages are behavioural inputs to the childbirth weight model, hence they are potentially endogenous. Consequently, we utilize the predicted values of antenatal care models to obtain consistent second-stage estimates of childbirth weight parameters. The first-stage estimates are reported in Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4. As noted earlier, we utilize parent's education as an instrument for the different antenatal care inputs in the childbirth weight model. Parent's education is jointly statistically significant in each of our first stage regressions of interest (Table 5). Our results reveal that the frequency of antenatal visits, tetanus toxoid injection, and antenatal care content are positively and significantly associated with childbirth weight in Uganda and Tanzania. The timing or delay in the antenatal care utilization is significant in the Tanzania model only. If a mother increases the frequency of antenatal visits by one round, childbirth weight increases by 0.2kgs ($p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$) in Uganda and Tanzania respectively (Tables 6 and 7).

Additionally, tetanus toxoid injection is significantly associated with childbirth weight. Seeking one additional injection increases childbirth weight by 0.3kgs ($p < 0.05$) and 0.5kgs ($p < 0.05$) in Uganda and Tanzania respectively (Tables 6 and 7). Furthermore, the utilization of antenatal care content is associated significantly with childbirth weight in Uganda and Tanzania. An increase in the utilization of antenatal care content by one item increases childbirth weight by .06kgs ($p < 0.01$) in Uganda and Tanzania (Table 6 and 7). For the case of Tanzania, an increase in the delay to seek antenatal care by one month reduces childbirth weight by .08kgs ($p < 0.01$). However, the timing of antenatal care is insignificant in influencing childbirth weight in both OLS and 2SLS regressions in the case of Uganda.

Gender matters for childbirth weight in the two countries considered in this paper. Our results reveal that being a male baby, compared to a female, increases childbirth weight by 0.07kgs ($p < 0.01$) and .03kgs ($p < 0.01$) in Uganda and Tanzania, respectively (Tables 6 and 7). Mother's age cohort matters for childbirth weight. Compared to mothers in the 15-19 age cohort, mothers in the 25-39 age cohort, increase childbirth weight by 0.06 to 0.09kgs ($p < 0.01$ to $p < 0.1$) in Uganda (Table 6). This finding is also robust in the OLS and 2SLS (Table 6). Compared to mothers in the 15-19 age cohort, mothers in the 20-49 age cohort increase childbirth weight by .05 to 0.3kgs ($p < 0.01$) in Tanzania (Table 7). The effect of age cohort is noted to be more important in Tanzania compared to Uganda.

Discussion

This study set out to investigate the relationship between prenatal care and childbirth weight. Using the UDHS 2006 data set, we employed both descriptive and instrumental variable two-stage least squares during the analysis. The average childbirth weight is higher in Uganda compared to Tanzania meaning that, on average, Ugandan children are at birth healthier than their Tanzanian counterparts. It is, however, surprising to note that in both countries rural children are heavier compared to their urban counterparts despite the advanced health systems in the urban areas. This could probably be attributed to usually free nutritious foodstuffs available to mothers in the rural areas compared to counterparts in urban areas. Whereas Tanzanian women made more prenatal visits compared to Ugandan women; in both countries, urban women made more prenatal visits compared to their rural counterparts. This can be attributed to ease of access to information and to health centres by urban women compared to their rural counterparts. It is noteworthy that Tanzanian women attained the 4 antenatal visits recommended by WHO while their Ugandan counterparts did not. It is revealed that both Ugandan and Tanzanian women initiate their first visits way after the first trimester recommended by WHO. This is the period when chance may elapse for early diagnosis of pregnancy complications for timely treatment or referral. On average, Tanzanian women outperformed Ugandan counterparts in the utilization of antenatal care content. This is astonishing since the superior utilization of antenatal care content in Tanzania co-exists with relatively lower childbirth weight compared to Uganda.

In the previous section we observe that there is an optimum number of prenatal visits that are significant for childbirth weight. In the case of Tanzania, any additional visits beyond 8 do not seem to contribute positively to childbirth weight. This probably implies that at the optimal number of visits, the mother has consumed the antenatal care content necessary for the attainment of appropriate childbirth weight. We also observe that 37 years of age for a mother is associated with an optimum childbirth weight beyond which it falls. This implies that whereas younger and older mothers are associated with low birth weight, there is a lower and an upper limit for mother's age that can give birth to a healthier baby.

The finding that prenatal visits are associated with high childbirth weight implies that routine antenatal visits help a mother to maximize the amount of care, hence resulting into favourable health outcomes. Previous authors have also underlined the importance of prenatal visits (Donaldson et al., 2010; Raatikaine et al., 2007; Alexander et al., 1995). Sensitization campaigns are called for to educate mothers about the importance of routine prenatal visits.

Just as in the previous literature, tetanus immunization (see Bategeka et al., 2009; Mwabu, 2009; Ajakaiye et al., 2007 and Dow et al., 1999), delay of antenatal care booking (see Liu, 1998), and antenatal care content (see Kogan et al., 1994; Peaboy et al., 1998; Villar et al., 2003) are importantly associated with childbirth weight. It is worth noting that, just as in Ajakaiye et al., 2007, the size of the effect of antenatal care inputs on childbirth weight depends on estimation method. Our results reveal that the total effect of prenatal care is underestimated using the OLS method as compared to the 2SLS approach. Thus, it is important to use an appropriate estimation method to avoid misleading policy conclusions (Ajakaiye et al., 2007).

The 2SLS estimated the effect of frequency of antenatal visits on childbirth weight is 7 and 6 times bigger than the OLS estimate in Uganda and Tanzania respectively. Additionally, the 2SLS estimated effects of tetanus toxoid injection and antenatal care content are highly statistically significantly associated with childbirth weight; yet, the OLS estimates are not statistically significant and are comparatively smaller coefficients in Uganda. Almost a similar picture is observed for Tanzania. Overall, antenatal care components considered in this study are important in enhancing childbirth weight. Therefore, there is need for government effort to make the utilization of antenatal care universal through subsidizing the services and extending them to the lowest person in the remote areas. In addition, the government should strengthen provider qualifications through continuing education and certification. Professionally trained midwives could play an important role in the upcountry stations where medical doctors are less willing to be posted.

The finding that gender matters for childbirth weight is robust in the OLS and 2SLS. This is corroborated by a finding in Ajakaiye et al (2007) and Liu (1998) who find that male babies are generally heavier than their female counterparts. Unlike Liu (1998), mother age cohorts are imperative for childbirth weight. This means that the level of development/readiness of the maternal body influences child health. Campaigns advocating for late marriages at least beyond the teenage period are therefore called for in order to realize favourable child health outcomes.

Conclusion

This study set out to investigate the impact of antenatal care utilization on childbirth weight in Uganda and Tanzania. We estimated the childbirth weight model by employing the instrumental variable two-stage least squares (2SLS) approach in order to control for endogeneity and selectivity bias. Our findings reveal that tetanus immunization, antenatal visits, antenatal care delay, and antenatal care content are significantly associated with childbirth weight. We provide various policy recommendations that can help to enhance the utilization of appropriate antenatal care.

There is need to enhance the medical or clinical skills in the country in order to ensure that antenatal care is up to the required standard. This will eliminate heterogeneity in the quality of care owing to the heterogeneity in the qualifications of the care providers. The rural areas are always at an extreme disadvantage in the availability of antenatal care services and professional care providers. In this case the government should appoint professional midwives to such areas where medical doctors are scarcely deployed. In some way, professionalism in the

provision of antenatal care should be standardized across the country in order to eliminate spatial disadvantages. Continuing education or refresher courses in the medical field and certification and subsequent appointment to different stations is therefore called for. The inequality of utilization of antenatal care owing to differences in the wealth status of households should be eliminated. Additionally, the location and regional disparities cited in our analysis can be overcome by establishing an outreach programme that is intended to establish community or village level antenatal facilities or clinics. This policy has great synergies with standardizing the provision of care across the country by appointing professional village providers capable of offering the same services as those offered elsewhere in the urban setting.

The information that mothers access concerning health-enhancing strategies plays a pivotal role in influencing their choices. Unless mothers receive information concerning the best practices during pregnancy and childbirth, they may be less willing to change from the traditional ways of life. Therefore, mass dissemination of health information would close any knowledge gaps existing amongst prospective mothers. Heterogeneity in access to health information partly explains heterogeneity observed in the birth outcomes amongst women. There is need to standardize the health information disseminated to women across all regions and locations in order to ensure that all receive the same reproductive knowledge and best practices.

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Figure 1: Average childbirth weight in Uganda and Tanzania

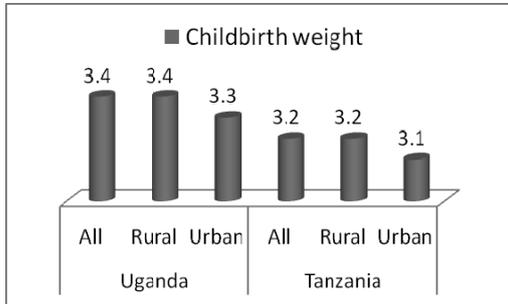


Figure 2: Average prenatal care visits in Uganda and Tanzania

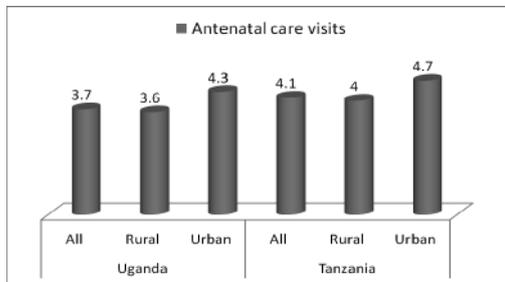


Figure 3: Average months of Prenatal care delay

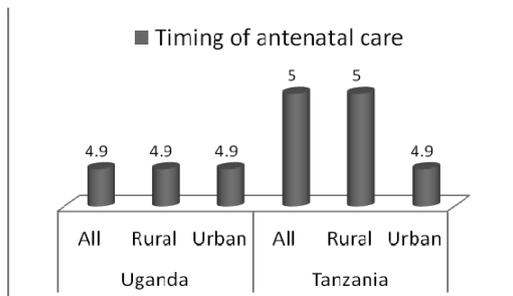


Figure 4: Average percentage of mothers utilizing antenatal care content

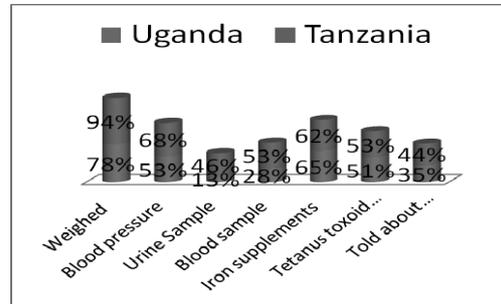


Figure 5: Relationship between prenatal visits and childbirth weight in Tanzania

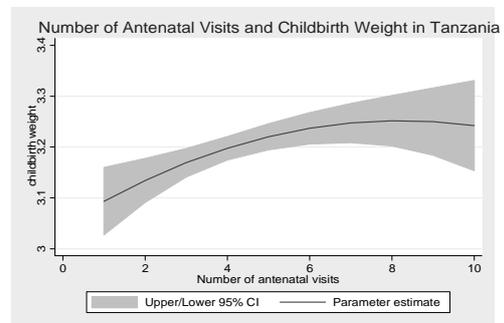


Figure 6: Relationship between maternal age and childbirth weight in Tanzania

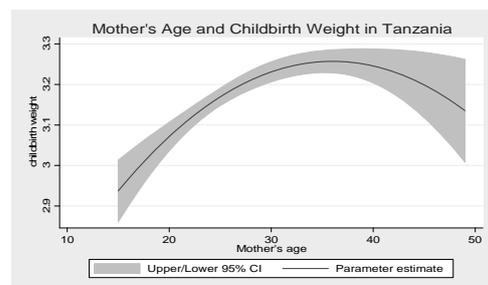


Figure 7: Relationship between prenatal maternal age and childbirth weight in Uganda

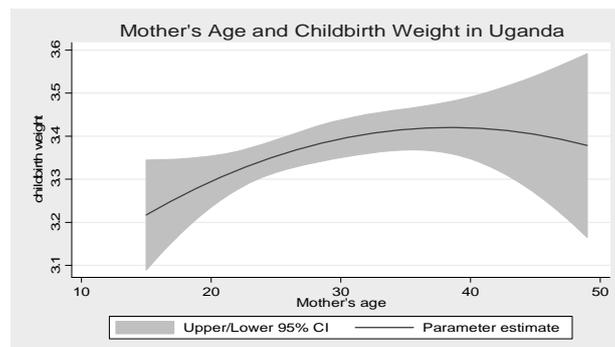


Table 1: Factors influencing the utilization of tetanus toxoid injection (Marginal effects after probit analysis)

Variables	(1)	(2)
	Uganda	Tanzania
Mother's Education: primary	0.0178 (0.263)	0.00654 (0.723)
Secondary	0.0476* (0.0586)	0.0516 (0.130)
Postsecondary	0.124*** (0.00640)	0.0871 (0.191)
Partner's education: primary	0.00593 (0.752)	-0.00672 (0.744)
Secondary	0.0458** (0.0387)	-0.0296 (0.366)
Postsecondary	0.0565* (0.0804)	0.0109 (0.824)
Age cohorts: 20-24	-0.0176 (0.548)	-0.104*** (0.00211)
25-29	-0.0309 (0.294)	-0.205*** (7.07e-10)
30-34	-0.0854*** (0.00559)	-0.260*** (0)
35-39	-0.120*** (0.000338)	-0.258*** (0)
40-44	-0.0928** (0.0132)	-0.251*** (6.85e-11)
45-49	-0.0921* (0.0602)	-0.179*** (0.000554)
Location: Rural	-0.0393* (0.0942)	-0.0483** (0.0375)
Exposure to media: < once a week	-0.0190 (0.425)	-0.0164 (0.514)
At least once a week	0.00919 (0.641)	-0.0157 (0.495)
Every day	0.0190 (0.285)	-0.00405 (0.846)
Wealth quintiles: poor	-0.0340* (0.0836)	-0.00422 (0.855)
Middle	-0.00665 (0.760)	-0.0394 (0.100)
Rich	-0.0415* (0.0797)	-0.0282 (0.269)
Richest	0.0120	-0.000866

	(0.674)	(0.979)
Religion: Protestant	-0.0244*	-0.0440*
	(0.0966)	(0.0694)
Muslim	-0.0329	-0.0320
	(0.136)	(0.196)
Other	-0.0652***	-0.0880***
	(0.00351)	(0.00789)
Previous birth by caesarean section	0.0380	0.00115
	(0.275)	(0.977)
Observations	4,740	5,312
Regional dummies: Joint significance	Chi2(3)=63.82	Chi2(8)=47.03
	Prob>chi2=0.0000	Prob>chi2=0.0000

Table 2: Factors influencing the timing/delay of antenatal care utilization (OLS analysis)

Variables	(1)	(2)
	Uganda	Tanzania
Mother's Education: primary	0.0357**	0.0177
	(0.0236)	(0.101)
Secondary	0.0374	-0.0483**
	(0.150)	(0.0120)
Postsecondary	-0.0193	-0.0739*
	(0.679)	(0.0520)
Partner's education: primary	0.0402**	-0.00306
	(0.0328)	(0.793)
Secondary	0.00427	-0.0156
	(0.850)	(0.389)
Postsecondary	0.00464	-0.0493*
	(0.882)	(0.0743)
Age cohorts: 20-24	0.0656**	0.0334*
	(0.0130)	(0.0769)
25-29	0.116***	0.0503***
	(1.22e-05)	(0.00731)
30-34	0.121***	0.0673***
	(8.80e-06)	(0.000455)
35-39	0.138***	0.0483**
	(1.96e-06)	(0.0169)
40-44	0.131***	0.0348
	(7.19e-05)	(0.117)
45-49	0.0895**	0.0566*
	(0.0424)	(0.0544)
Location: Rural	-0.0557**	-0.0384***
	(0.0150)	(0.00338)

Taking health decision: respondent+ partner	0.00459	-0.0107
	(0.769)	(0.388)
Partner alone	0.0375**	-0.0174*
	(0.0202)	(0.0603)
Exposure to media: < once a week	-0.00164	-0.0247**
	(0.943)	(0.0322)
At least once a week	-0.0349	-0.0289**
	(0.207)	(0.0357)
Every day	-0.0804*	-0.0311
	(0.0648)	(0.261)
Wealth quintiles: poor	0.0329*	-0.0176
	(0.0711)	(0.168)
Middle	0.0279	-0.0119
	(0.172)	(0.366)
Rich	-0.0247	-0.0171
	(0.251)	(0.217)
Richest	-0.0168	-0.0313*
	(0.535)	(0.0825)
Religion: Protestant	0.0137	0.0130
	(0.327)	(0.336)
Muslim	-0.0478**	-0.00971
	(0.0174)	(0.481)
Other	0.0183	0.0109
	(0.370)	(0.564)
Previous birth by caesarean section	-0.115***	-0.0873***
	(0.000400)	(9.54e-05)
Constant	1.422***	1.502***
	(0)	(0)
Observations	3,931	4,994
R-squared	0.050	0.082
Regional dummies: Joint significance	F(3, 3901)=23.60	F(25, 4942)=12.00
	Prob>F=0.0000	Prob>F=0.0000

Table 3: Factors influencing the frequency of Antenatal care utilization (OLS analysis)

Variables	(1)	(2)
	Uganda	Tanzania
Mother's Education: primary	0.0224	0.0181
	(0.282)	(0.198)
Secondary	0.0783**	0.132***
	(0.0187)	(3.32e-07)
Postsecondary	0.122**	0.125**
	(0.0381)	(0.0153)
Partner's education: primary	0.0273	0.0283*
	(0.278)	(0.0741)
Secondary	0.125***	0.0660***
	(3.50e-05)	(0.00741)
Postsecondary	0.182***	0.124***
	(1.27e-05)	(0.000992)
Age cohorts: 20-24	-0.000179	-0.0498*
	(0.996)	(0.0522)
25-29	-0.00281	-0.0331
	(0.936)	(0.194)
30-34	0.0499	-0.0561**
	(0.162)	(0.0315)
35-39	0.0307	-0.0339
	(0.421)	(0.217)
40-44	0.0997**	-0.0138
	(0.0220)	(0.648)
45-49	0.151***	-0.00604
	(0.00978)	(0.880)
Location: Rural	0.0730**	0.00220
	(0.0161)	(0.901)
Taking health decision: respondent+ partner	0.0228	0.00149
	(0.273)	(0.930)
Partner alone	0.00176	0.0148
	(0.935)	(0.241)
Exposure to media: < once a week	0.0198	-0.0180
	(0.518)	(0.348)
At least once a week	0.0541**	0.0138
	(0.0358)	(0.435)
Every day	0.0783***	0.00936
	(0.000695)	(0.554)
Wealth quintiles: poor	-0.0114	0.0498***
	(0.643)	(0.00507)
Middle	-0.0221	0.0480***

	(0.426)	(0.00901)
Rich	-0.0169	0.0762***
	(0.571)	(9.65e-05)
Richest	0.0916**	0.0727***
	(0.0129)	(0.00363)
Religion: Protestant	0.00476	-0.0319*
	(0.798)	(0.0821)
Muslim	0.0616**	-0.0221
	(0.0206)	(0.236)
Other	-0.0482*	-0.0618**
	(0.0755)	(0.0165)
Previous birth by caesarean section	0.187***	0.0612**
	(1.22e-05)	(0.0445)
Constant	1.045***	1.405***
	(0)	(0)
Observations	3,913	4,972
R-squared	0.067	0.136
Regional dummies: Joint significance	F(3, 3883)=14.31	F(25, 4920)=17.10
	Prob>F=0.0000	Prob>F=0.0000

Table 4: Factors influencing the utilization of antenatal care content (community fixed effects)

Variables	(1)	(2)
	Uganda	Tanzania
Mother's Education: primary	-0.0322	0.287***
	(0.603)	(2.75e-07)
Secondary	0.392***	0.510***
	(6.74e-05)	(5.53e-07)
Postsecondary	0.824***	0.639***
	(1.52e-06)	(0.00155)
Partner's education: primary	0.111	0.115*
	(0.133)	(0.0678)
Secondary	0.365***	0.233**
	(4.22e-05)	(0.0169)
Postsecondary	0.403***	0.343**
	(0.000985)	(0.0204)
Insurance		
Age cohorts: 20-24	-0.0834	-0.247**
	(0.422)	(0.0146)
25-29	-0.0504	-0.404***
	(0.628)	(5.87e-05)
30-34	-0.0642	-0.468***
	(0.546)	(5.45e-06)
35-39	0.0259	-0.376***

	(0.819)	(0.000533)
40-44	-0.0126	-0.249**
	(0.922)	(0.0364)
45-49	0.323*	-0.141
	(0.0687)	(0.374)
Location: Rural	-0.368***	-0.592***
	(3.19e-05)	(0)
Taking health decision: respondent+ partner	0.0462	0.0610
	(0.455)	(0.363)
Partner alone	-0.0116	-0.0862*
	(0.855)	(0.0832)
Exposure to media:< once a week	0.0748	0.0556
	(0.411)	(0.464)
At least once a week	0.0246	-0.0206
	(0.748)	(0.768)
Every day	0.100	0.276***
	(0.146)	(1.03e-05)
Wealth quintiles: poor	-0.0818	0.0862
	(0.267)	(0.220)
Middle	0.0472	-0.00546
	(0.569)	(0.940)
Rich	0.145	0.172**
	(0.100)	(0.0260)
Richest	0.570***	0.525***
	(2.39e-07)	(9.74e-08)
Religion: Protestant	-0.0343	-0.00979
	(0.533)	(0.893)
Muslim	0.0532	-0.130*
	(0.499)	(0.0777)
Other	-0.175**	-0.395***
	(0.0315)	(0.000111)
Previous birth by caesarean section	0.311**	0.438***
	(0.0128)	(0.000254)
Constant	3.223***	4.455***
	(0)	(0)
Observations	3,823	4,979
R-squared	0.102	0.113
Number of regions	4	26

Table 5: Joint significance of Parent's education in the antenatal care models

Model	Uganda	Tanzania
Antenatal care utilization	Chi(17)=99.42, Prob>chi=0.000	Chi(20)=156.43, Prob>chi=0.000
Tetanus toxoid injection	Chi(17)=121.26, Prob>chi=0.000	Chi(20)=70.08, Prob>chi=0.000
Antenatal care delay	F(17, 3550)=7.88, prob>F=0.000	F(22, 4942)=3.62, prob>F=0.000
Antenatal care visits	F(17, 4106)=8.09, prob>F=0.000	F(22, 4920)=10.65, prob>F=0.000
Content of care	F(14, 3428)=8.68, prob>F=0.000	F(14, 4927)=30.05, prob>F=0.000

Table 6 Antenatal Care and childbirth weight in Uganda

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	OLS	2SLS	OLS	2SLS	OLS	2SLS	OLS	2SLS
Tetanus injection	0.0223	0.292**						
	(0.107)	(0.0133)						
Prenatal care visits			0.0260	0.185**				
			(0.357)	(0.0386)				
Prenatal care delay					-0.00740	0.00916		
					(0.839)	(0.966)		
Prenatal care content							0.00687	0.0580***
							(0.131)	(0.000476)
Child sex: Male	0.0659***	0.0650***	0.0602**	0.0655***	0.0559**	0.0643***	0.0650***	0.0581***
	(1.67e-06)	(2.14e-06)	(0.0169)	(1.82e-06)	(0.0252)	(2.83e-06)	(2.28e-06)	(3.95e-05)
Location: Rural	0.0375*	0.0341*	0.0201	0.0274	0.0225	0.0386*	0.0394*	0.0708***
	(0.0624)	(0.0893)	(0.588)	(0.185)	(0.542)	(0.0835)	(0.0504)	(0.00135)
Wealth status: poor	0.0224	0.0430*	0.0291	0.0247	0.0321	0.0280	0.0230	0.0246
	(0.349)	(0.0801)	(0.506)	(0.303)	(0.458)	(0.276)	(0.336)	(0.309)
Middle	0.0177	0.0207	0.0691	0.0140	0.0734	0.0187	0.0178	0.00672
	(0.494)	(0.421)	(0.129)	(0.587)	(0.105)	(0.499)	(0.490)	(0.798)
Rich	-0.00184	0.000727	-0.00376	-0.0164	-4.22e-05	-0.00205	-0.00396	-0.0268
	(0.941)	(0.977)	(0.933)	(0.522)	(0.999)	(0.934)	(0.873)	(0.294)
Richest	0.00483	-0.00886	-0.0190	-0.0339	-0.0215	0.00721	0.00113	-0.0304
	(0.862)	(0.755)	(0.697)	(0.320)	(0.658)	(0.804)	(0.968)	(0.318)
Age cohort: 20-24	0.0428	0.0486*	0.00238	0.0366	0.00348	0.0418	0.0415	0.0514*
	(0.131)	(0.0861)	(0.967)	(0.196)	(0.952)	(0.148)	(0.142)	(0.0720)
25-29	0.0608**	0.0693**	0.0558	0.0577**	0.0537	0.0607*	0.0598**	0.0712**
	(0.0318)	(0.0144)	(0.344)	(0.0407)	(0.363)	(0.0546)	(0.0348)	(0.0128)
30-34	0.0718**	0.0915***	0.0608	0.0577*	0.0577	0.0683**	0.0701**	0.0804***
	(0.0144)	(0.00274)	(0.318)	(0.0515)	(0.348)	(0.0376)	(0.0167)	(0.00679)
35-39	0.0402	0.0638*	0.0421	0.0375	0.0379	0.0435	0.0383	0.0690**
	(0.218)	(0.0556)	(0.516)	(0.250)	(0.562)	(0.233)	(0.240)	(0.0381)
40-44	0.0514	0.0674*	0.0306	0.0284	0.0316	0.0482	0.0488	0.0560

	(0.191)	(0.0901)	(0.695)	(0.481)	(0.687)	(0.246)	(0.215)	(0.157)
45-49	-0.0456	-0.0474	0.184	-0.0680	0.188	-0.0476	-0.0488	-0.00955
	(0.436)	(0.415)	(0.131)	(0.250)	(0.123)	(0.416)	(0.404)	(0.872)
Constant	1.045***	0.882***	-2.532	0.843***	-2.717	1.044***	1.037***	0.877***
	(0)	(0)	(0.158)	(0)	(0.135)	(0.00113)	(0)	(0)
Regional controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	1,559	1,554	1,554	1,554	1,554	1,554	1,561	1,442
R-squared	0.030	0.032	0.058	0.031	0.055	0.028	0.030	0.034
<i>The dependent variable is childbirth weight in Kgs; pval in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1</i>								

Analyzing capital management and profitability in Kenyan industrial firms

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Abstract

This study looked at eight manufacturing companies listed on the Nairobi Securities Exchange for five years from 2006-2010. The purpose of the study was to determine the effects of working capital management components on profitability in the manufacturing industry in Kenya. A descriptive research design was used. Effects of different variables of working capital management on profitability in manufacturing companies in Kenya were studied. Panel data analysis for the period 2006-2010 was used. Minimum, Maximum, Mean, Median and Standard Deviation as well as Karl Pearson's correlation and regression analysis were used. The results showed that there exists a direct relationship between profitability and liquidity in the manufacturing companies in Kenya. A negative relationship exists between average correlation period and cash conversion cycle ($r=-0.308$ and $r=-0.343$ respectively) on profitability while average payment period and inventory turnover ($r=0.513$ and $r=0.188$) in days showed a positive relationship on profitability. The independent variables explain only 31.7% of the profitability in the manufacturing companies in Kenya.

Key words: Liquidity, Manufacturing companies, Profitability, Working capital

Introduction

The manufacturing sector is the second most important sector after agriculture in the Kenyan economy. It leads in foreign exchange earnings, accounting for thirty-four per cent of the total earnings (KAM, 2006). The sector contributes about 10 per cent to the gross domestic product. This is quite below what advanced countries in the east and west contribute to their GDP. In Pakistan the manufacturing sector contributes 19.1% to her GDP (Raheman, Afza, Qayyum & Bodla, 2010) and in Singapore, the manufacturing sector contributes 25% to her GDP (GON, 2007). In Ireland the manufacturing sector contributes 46% to the country's GDP (GON, 2007). The sector employs about 20 per cent of the total workers in the Kenyan economy (GOK, 2007). The manufacturing sector is expected to remain a vibrant and strong contributor to the sustained recovery and growth of the Kenyan economy. It is expected to pick up and grow at a better rate after the post-election violence of 2007/08, the global financial crisis of 2008 and 2009, and the shrinking of the Kenyan shilling against the major hard currencies in 2011. Further, the sector shall largely continue to be the leading employer into the future.

Working capital management efficiency is vital for manufacturing firms, where a major part of the assets is composed of current assets (Horne and Wachowitz, 2000). Current assets for a typical manufacturing concern constitute a great investment and accounts for over half of its total assets (Raheman & Nasr, 2007). With the advent of rising capital cost and scarce funds, the importance of working capital needs special emphasis. It has been widely accepted that

the profitability of a business concern most likely depends upon the manner in which working capital is managed (Kaur, 2010). Both excessive and inadequate working capital positions are dangerous from the firm's point of view (Islam & Mili, 2012).

Excessive working capital leads to unproductive use of scarce funds. Excessive working capital means holding costs and idle funds which earn no profits for the firm (Islam & Mili, 2012). This leads to reduced profits although it guarantees a low liquidity risk. The inefficient management of working capital impairs profitability and interrupts normal operations of a business as well (Kaur, 2010). This may ultimately lead to a financial crisis and bankruptcy. On the other hand, proper management of working capital leads to material savings and ensures financial return at the optimum level even on the minimum level of capital employed (Kaur, 2010). Just as circulation of blood is very necessary in the human body to maintain life, the flow of funds is very necessary to maintain business (Padachi, 2006). If it becomes weak, the business can hardly survive. Therefore, ignoring proper management of working capital can be potentially perilous to the very survival of the firm.

This study is therefore hinged on the foregoing viewpoints with an aim of establishing a connection between working capital management and viability of the manufacturing company's operations. The salient idea is to empirically determine the elements of working capital that influence profitability and how these can be used as tentacles of a good working capital control framework among manufacturing concerns.

Research questions

- (i) What is the nature of the relationship between efficient working capital management and profitability in Kenyan manufacturing companies?
- (ii) To what extent does liquidity influence profitability in the Kenyan manufacturing companies?

Literature Review

Many researchers have studied working capital management from different perspectives and in different environments. Mousavi and Jari (2012) investigated the relationship between working capital management and corporate performance of selected companies listed on the Tehran Stock Exchange. They used factors such as return on total assets, return on equity and market value to book value ratio to evaluate corporate performance and net liquidity balance as criteria for evaluating working capital management. Data from financial statements of 56 listed companies was used. Both regression and correlation models were used to test the hypothesis. The research results show that there is a positive relationship between working capital management and corporate performance.

Ahmad, Arasi and Garajafary (2012) studied the relationship between working capital management and profitability of companies trading on the Tehran Stock Exchange. They selected 33 companies in the food industry for a period of five years from 2006 to 2011. They investigated the effects of various variables of working capital management including average collection period, average payment period, and inventory turnover and cash conversion cycle

on operational net profit. The result of the study showed that there is a reverse relationship between variables of working capital management and profitability. The study further found that increasing debt payment period, inventory turnover and cash conversion cycle leads to decreasing profitability in the companies.

Kaddumi and Ramadan (2012) investigated the effects of working capital management on profitability on Jordan industrial firms listed on the Amman Stock Exchange for the period 2005-2009 through correlation and regression models. They found that Working Capital had a significant effect on the firm's performance and had a basic role in maximizing the wealth of the shareholders by making the firm more profitable through shortening the Cash Conversion Cycle and Net Trading Cycle. They found that there was a negative relationship between Average Collection Period and Average age of Inventory and profitability. However, they found that there was a positive relationship between Average Payment Period and profitability, and a significant positive effect of Current Assets / Total Assets ratio on profitability.

Nyabwanga, Ojera, Lumumba, Odondo and Otieno (2012) studied the effects of working capital management practices on financial performance of small enterprises in Kisii South District in Kenya. They found that efficient working capital management practices had a significant influence on the financial performance of SMEs and recommended that SMEs embrace efficient working capital management practices as a strategy to improve their financial performance and gain competitive advantage over other competitors.

Karaduman, Halil, Arzu and Salih (2011) studied the relationship between efficiency of working capital management and corporate profitability of selected companies on the Istanbul Stock exchange for the period 2005-2009. The panel data method was employed to analyze the mentioned relationship. The cash conversion cycle was used as a measure of working capital management efficiency, and return on assets (ROA) was used as a measure of profitability. In line with other studies, the findings showed that reducing cash conversion cycle positively affected ROA.

Mohammad (2011) undertook a study on working capital management and profitability in Iran. The result of the study showed that in the studied companies, there was a significant relation between working capital management and profitability and that working capital management had a great effect on profitability of the companies. The managers could create value for shareholders by means of reducing receivable accounts and inventory.

Ikram, Mohamad, Khalid and Zaheer (2011) undertook a study to investigate the relationship between working capital management and profitability in the cement industry in Pakistan. The result of their study concluded that there was a moderate relationship between working capital management and profitability in the specific context of the cement industry in Pakistan. Dong and Su (2010) investigated the relationship existing between profitability, cash conversion cycle and its components for listed firms on the Vietnam Stock Exchange market. They found that there was a strong negative relationship between profitability measured through gross operating profit and cash conversion cycle.

Muchina and Kiano (2011) undertook a study between June 2009 and March 2010 in Kenya. A total of 250 firms were sampled using multi-stage cluster sampling method.

The results were similar to those found in large firms (Shin & Soenen, 1998; Wang, 2002; Deloop, 2003) and SMEs (Garcia-Teruel and Martinez, 2007) and which confirmed that there was a significant negative relationship between SMEs' profitability and the number of days account receivable and days inventory. They did not, however, pin down the direction of the relationship between profitability and cash conversion cycle. This calls for further research.

Mathuva (2010) examined the influence of working capital management components on corporate profit by using a sample of 30 firms listed on the Nairobi Securities Exchange for the period 1993-2008. He used Pearson and Spearman's correlations, the pooled ordinary least square (OLS), and the fixed effects regression models to conduct data analysis. There were three key findings of this research. First, there exists a highly significant negative relationship between the time it takes for firms to collect cash from their customers (average collection period) and profitability. Secondly, there exists a highly significant positive relationship between the period taken to convert inventory into sales (the inventory conversion period) and profitability; and finally, there exists a highly significant positive relationship between the time it takes to pay its creditors (Average Payment Period) and profitability.

Methodology

Data collection

Data in this study was acquired from the Nairobi Securities Exchange (NSE), the internet and websites of different manufacturing companies. There were 15 manufacturing companies trading on the Nairobi Securities Exchange out of which only eight companies had data with complete information for the purpose of the study. The study covered a period of five years (2006 - 2010) for eight manufacturing companies.

The dependent variable in this study was Net Operating Income (NOI). Net Operating Income is defined as Net Operating Income before Taxation divided by Total Net Assets. The independent variables were: Average Collection Period, which was calculated by dividing accounts receivable by sales and multiplying the result by 365 days. Inventory turnover in days (ITID) was calculated by dividing inventory by cost of sales sold and multiplying the result by 365 days; Average payment period was calculated by dividing accounts payable by cost of sales and multiplying the results by 365 days; Cash conversion cycle (CCC) was calculated by adding average collection period to inventory turnover in days and deducting average payment period. Current ratio was calculated by dividing current assets by current liabilities.

Study findings

Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 below presents descriptive statistics for eighty Kenyan manufacturing companies for a period of five years from 2006 to 2010 for a total of forty-company year observation. The mean value of net operating income is 19.66% of the total net assets and a standard deviation of 14.3%. This implies that profitability can deviate from mean to both sides by 14.3%. The maximum and minimum values for the net operating income are 51% and 0 % respectively. The median value of net operating income is 15.65% which is close to the mean. This means that the data closely approach normal distribution.

Table 1: Data display for 40-company year annual observations

Descriptive Statistics						
8 Kenya Manufacturing Companies (2006-2010) 40 Companies-Year observations						
Ratio	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Std Deviation
NOI	40	0.00	0.51	0.1966	0.1565	0.14295
ACP	40	22.6	131.5	69.205	65.2	31.5329
APP	40	17.00	213.9	74.4875	61.15	52.85933
ITID	40	7.6	193.10	101.2	93.55	55.76457
CCC	40	-76.6	242.8	91.4975	72.65	77.31016
CR	40	1.1	3.5	1.6633	1.45	0.5761

Source: Calculations from annual reports of manufacturing companies from 2006-2010

On average, companies collect cash from debtors after 69 days with a standard deviation of 32 days. Minimum time taken by companies to collect cash from receivables is 23 days, while the maximum time taken is 132 days. It takes 74 days on average for companies to pay suppliers with a standard deviation of 53 days. The minimum time it takes the companies to pay their suppliers is 17 days and a maximum of 214 days. It takes 101 days on average to sell the stock with a standard deviation of 58 days. The minimum time it takes companies to sell stock is 8 days and a maximum of 193 days. The average cash conversion cycle is 91 days with a standard deviation of 77 days. This implies that companies in the manufacturing industry sector turn over their stocks on an average of 4 times a year. In order to assess the liquidity of these companies, the current ratio was used. On average the current ratio of Kenyan manufacturing companies is 1.66 with a standard deviation of 0.58. The minimum current ratio of these companies is 1.0 and a maximum ratio of 3.5.

Quantitative Analysis

In quantitative analysis, Pearson’s correlation model was used to measure the degree of association between different variables under consideration and regression analysis was used to estimate causal relationships between profitability, liquidity and the other chosen variables.

Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient Analysis

Pearson’s correlation analysis was used to show the relationship between the working capital management components and profitability. There should be a negative relationship between the individual working capital management components and profitability. The higher the working capital, the lower the profitability and vice versa.

Table 2: Pearson’s correlation coefficient output

		Pearson’s Correlation Co-efficient					
		8 Kenyan Manufacturing Companies,2006-2010,40 Companies-year observations					
		NOI	ACP	APP	ITID	CCC	CR
NOI	Pearson’s correlation	1					
	Significant (2 Tailed)	-					
ACP	Pearson’s Correlation	-0.308	1				
	Significant (2 Tailed)	0.513	-				
APP	Pearson’s correlation	0.53**	0.069	1			
	Significant (2 Tailed)	0.000	0.671	-			
ITID	Pearson’s correlation	0.188	0.301	0.293	1		
	Significant (2 Tailed)	0.244	0.059	0.067	-		
CCC	Pearson’s correlation	-0.343*	0.580**	-0.444**	0.638**	1	
	Significant (2 Tailed)	0.030	0.000	0.004	0.000	-	
CR	Pearson’s correlation	0.150	0.056	0.147	0.429**	0.299	1
	Significant (2 Tailed)	0.354	0.731	0.366	0.006	0.156	-

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 Level (2- Tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 Level (2 Tailed)

Source: Research data analysis (2012)

Table 2 above shows that Average Correlation Period (ACP) and Net Operating Income (NOI) have a negative correlation of -0.308 with a p-value of (0.053). This shows that if the average collection period is increased, profitability reduces. There is a positive correlation between the Average Payment Period (APP) and profitability of 0.513 with a p-value of 0.001, and it is highly significant at 1%. This shows that companies that take longer period to settle their debts are more profitable.

The results show a positive correlation between inventory and turnover in days and (ITID) and the Net Operating Income. The correlation between them is 0.188 with a p-value of (0.244). This implies that if the company takes a long time to sell inventory, it becomes more profitable. This may be so during the period of inflation where price of inventory increases rapidly. Thus, the profit margin is widened. Cash Conversion Cycle (CCC) has a positive correlation with the Net Operating Income. The correlation between them is -0.343 with a p-value of (0.030) which is significant at 5%. This implies that when cash conversion cycle is high, the net operating income is low. This is in line with Shin & Soenen (1998) and Eljelly (2004).

Current Ratio (CR) was used to assess liquidity of the firm. In this study, the relationship between current ratio and net operating income is negative. The correlation between current ratio and net operating income is 0.15 with a p-value of 0.354 although it's not significant. This shows that there is a positive relationship between liquidity and profitability. This means that a company facing liquidity problems may also be experiencing low profits and a company that is highly liquid may also be experiencing high profits. This is in contradiction with the view of Eljelly (2004) who found that there is a positive correlation between profitability and liquidity as measured by indicators such as current ratio and cash gap.

Regression Analysis

In regression analysis the factors that determine the dependent variable were analyzed. Panel data regression was done. This is where time series and cross-sectional data observations over a period of time are combined and estimated. The researcher used regression analysis to investigate the impact of working capital management on profitability. The determinants of profitability were estimated using pooled least squares method.

The Regression Model

The determinants of Net Operating Income (NOI) were investigated for all 40 company year observations. The analysis was done in accordance with the objectives of the study. The first regression was run using Average Collection Period (ACP) and the Current Ratio (CR) as the independent variables and the Net Operating Income (NOI) as the dependent variable. The model is given by the equation 1 below:

$$NOI_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (ACP_{it}) + \beta_2 (CR_{it}) + \varepsilon \dots\dots\dots \text{Equation 1}$$

Where subscript i denotes companies (Cross-section dimension) ranging from 1 to 40 and t denotes years (time- dimension) ranging from 1-5.

The results of this regression indicate that the co-efficient of accounts receivable is negative and is highly significant at $\alpha = 1\%$. It implies that the increase or decrease in accounts receivables will significantly affect profitability of the company. The current ratio also has a significant negative relationship with profitability which confirms the hypothesis that liquidity and profitability have an inverse relationship.

The adjusted R squared=7.6% is the co-efficient of the determination and defined as the percentage of the variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables. C=0.22681 and is significant. The F-statistic was used to test the significance of the overall model. Overall, the model is significant as F- statistic is 2.598.

A second regression was run using the average payment period replacing the average collection period as an independent variable. Current ratio remained as the other independent variable as in the first regression. The model used is as shown in equation 2 below:

$$NOI_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (APP_{it}) + \beta_2 (CR_{it}) + \varepsilon \dots\dots\dots \text{Equation 2}$$

In this equation C=0.05706 and it is not important. The results indicate that the co-efficient of average payment period is positive and it is highly significant at $\alpha = 1\%$. This implies that the increase or decrease in the average payment period significantly affects the profitability of the firm. The positive relationship indicates that more profitable firms wait for a longer time before they pay their

bills. The current ratio as in the first case indicates a positive impact on profitability. The adjusted R square is 22.9% and F statistic is 6.808 which do not reflect a high significance of the model.

The third regression was run using the inventory turnover in days as the independent variable replacing the average payment period. The current ratio remains as the other independent variable. The model is as shown in equation below:

$$NOI_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (ITID_{it}) + \beta_2 (CR_{it}) + \epsilon \dots\dots\dots \text{Equation 3}$$

The C = 0.122 and it is significant. The coefficient of inventory turnover in days, is 0.039 and highly significant at $\alpha=1\%$. This implies that the increase or decrease in the inventory turnover in days significantly affects profitability of the company. It implies that if inventory takes more time to sell, it will positively affect profitability. Current ratio significantly affects profitability positively as in the case of the two. The adjusted R square is - 1%. This shows that there is an element of multi-co-linearity between inventory turnover in days and the current ratio. This means as inventory in days is negative and current ratio is positive and, therefore, when taken together, there is a tendency of the two variables to pull each other in the opposite direction. The F-statistic has a value equal to 0.800 that reflects high significance of the model.

In the fourth regression, cash conversion cycle is used as an independent variable replacing inventory turnover in days. This is a comprehensive measure of checking the efficiency of working capital management. The current ratio remains as the other independent variable. The model is shown by the following equation:

$$NOI_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (CCC_{it}) + \beta_2 (CR_{it}) + \epsilon \dots\dots\dots \text{Equation 4}$$

The results indicate that the cash conversion cycle is negative and significant at $\alpha =1\%$ and this implies that the increase or decrease in the cash conversion cycle significantly affects profitability of the firm. Current ratio affects profitability positively but it is not significant. The adjusted R-Square is 12.8%. The value F – statistic is 3.87 and this reflects a high significance of the overall model.

In the last regression, the five independent variables were all taken together. The purpose was to show the impact of the variables on the profitability when taken collectively. The overall model is given by the following equation:

$$NOI_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (ACP_{it}) + \beta_2 (APP_{it}) + \beta_3 (ITID_{it}) + \beta_4 (CCC_{it}) + \beta_5 (CR_{it}) + \epsilon \dots \text{Equation 5}$$

The results indicate that ACP is (0.000), APP is (0.001), ITID is (0.001), CCC is (0.000) and CR is (0.009) and all are important at $\alpha =1\%$. All of them show that they affect profit significantly. The adjusted R Square is 31.7%. This implies that all the five independent variables explain only 31.7% of the profitability. The other 68.3% is explained by other variables not considered in the study. The value of F – statistic is 4.628 and this is not significant.

Conclusion and Managerial Implications

The individual analysis of working capital components has shown that there is a relationship between working capital management and profitability. The analysis shows that there is a direct relationship between profitability and liquidity. This means that high liquidity will result into increased profitability and low liquidity will result into decreased profitability. Therefore, a company needs to ensure that liquidity is maintained at a high level, but not forgetting that fixed assets must also be maintained at an appropriate level. This contradicts the conclusion of (Eljelly, 2004) that shows there is an inverse relationship between liquidity and profitability. The results are in line with the conclusions of Raheman and Nasr (2007), Eljelly (2004), Deloof (2003), Ahmad, Arasi and Garajafary (2012) and Kaddumi and Ramadan (2012) who found a strong negative relationship between average collection period and cash conversion cycle with profitability. However, the study shows there is a positive relationship between average payment period and inventory turnover in days with profitability, though not significant. The five independent variables can only explain 31.7% of profitability.

Managers can increase shareholder wealth by being committed to the following:

- Developing and implementing an effective and efficient control system to manage cash, accounts receivable, accounts payable and inventory;
- Reducing the number of days accounts receivable – as well as increasing the number of days accounts payable timeframe in order to maximize the shareholders' wealth;

Increasing inventory with an aim of increasing net operating profit and thus increasing shareholders' wealth.

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Service delivery: The clash between elected and appointed public officials

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Abstract

Developing countries, especially in Africa, have in the last two decades enhanced decentralization as an administrative- political reform strategy believed to accelerate effective public service delivery and thus salvage the states' credibility. Uganda has since 1993, been implementing an ambitious devolution form of decentralization through which planning and decision-making power, administrative authority, and a sizable amount of resources were devolved to local governments. One of the biggest challenges of Uganda's decentralization system is the conflicting interface between the elected and appointed public officials in local governments. This paper adopts a documentary review approach to explore the interface between the elected and appointed officials in local governments in Uganda. It then analyses the implications of this conflicting interaction for service delivery in local governments of Uganda. The paper concludes that this conflicting interface threatens service delivery by suffocating public participation, undermining accountability, eroding public trust and, consequently, defeating the whole essence of decentralization. The paper recommends that the interface be strengthened through operationalizing the legal and institutional structures and the nurturing of centre- periphery relationships.

Key words: Interface, appointed officials, elected officials, service delivery, local governments.

Introduction

Since the late 1980s, Uganda, like many other governments in sub-Saharan Africa, has been undertaking various structural reforms, both politically and socio-economically. One of the pillars of these reforms considered to be essential in creating a collaborative mechanism between the state and the people has been decentralization (Saito, 2006). Uganda has, therefore, been implementing an ambitious devolution form of decentralization since 1993 through which planning and decision-making power, administrative authority, and a sizable amount of resources have been devolved to local governments (The Local Governments Act, 1997). Unfortunately, Uganda is now at a critical juncture of decentralization. While the institutional mechanisms for decentralization are in place, the constraints faced in implementation of the policy are enormous.

While the country has been praised as one with the most far-reaching local government reform programmes in the developing world in terms of the scope and scale of power devolved, the actual administration of this power has degenerated into a negative interface between the two power centres. This theoretical study explores the interface between the elected and appointed officials and analyses the implication for service delivery in local governments of Uganda.

Background

Many African countries have historically experienced fused, personalized and at best highly centralized governance systems and practices. In the pre-colonial times, kings / traditional leaders ultimately represented all authority. During the colonial and immediate post-colonial period, governance was structured and practiced in a highly centralized manner. During the military dictatorships which in many African countries replaced the post-colonial governments, governance was personalized, to say the least (Kauza, 2007). Since the 1960s, Africa's economic development has been characterized by negative trends with almost all economies on the continent not performing as expected. Under development in Africa has also been explained in terms of a faulty state-people relationship in the management of public affairs.

The argument is that Africa has experienced a slump in development because people mattered little in governance (Mathur, 1986). The search for inclusive, involving and participatory governance has taken the path of decentralization. Hence many developing countries, including those in Africa, have in the last two decades enhanced decentralization as an administrative-political reform strategy to break from the past, and as the most suitable mode of governance through which poverty reduction interventions can be conceived, planned, implemented, monitored and evaluated.

This article was guided by both Oate's decentralization theory and the systems theory. Systems theory is a philosophical doctrine of describing systems as abstract organizations independent of substance, type, time and space. Systems theories are connected to both ontological and epistemological views. The ontological view implies that the world consists of systems or integrative levels. The epistemological view of systems theory implies a holistic perspective emphasizing the interplay between the systems and their elements in determining their respective functions (Laszlo, 1995a). Effective administration of devolved powers and the subsequent service delivery in Uganda's decentralization system calls for a system approach for both the administrative (appointed officials) and political (elected officials). Neither body is independent of the other. The elected officials are supposed to formulate policies and the appointed ones are mandated to implement lawful council policies. Any dysfunction from either body, fails the operation of the other. Oate's (1972) decentralization theory posits that each public service should be provided by that jurisdiction with control over the minimum geographical area that would internalize benefits and costs of such provision. In practice, the theory argues that, by controlling a minimum geographical area, local governments are better placed to respond to the needs of the local communities. On the other hand, the Principle of Subsidiary, which equally derives grounding in decentralization theory, contends that there is limited justification for the central or higher levels of government to exercise certain functions unless it is inevitable (Jain, 2005). It posits that any spending or regulatory function is more effective if exercised by the lowest level(s) of government unless there is a more convincing case for the same to be assigned to the highest levels.

It is theoretically believed that decentralization will facilitate greater participation of communities in problem analysis, project/programme identification, planning, implementation and oversight, which will in turn increase ownership and therefore salvage the state's credibility. Decentralization is not a monolithic concept (Smoke, 2003). It is often used in a

loose way to refer to different forms of local governance, driven either by state or non-state actors. Examples of such loosely-defined decentralization practices would include: locally elected councils, traditional authorities, decentralized committees, local representatives of central government, among others. Decentralization is thus a kind of vertical power-sharing within the political system, whereby competences and responsibilities are distributed across different tiers of government.

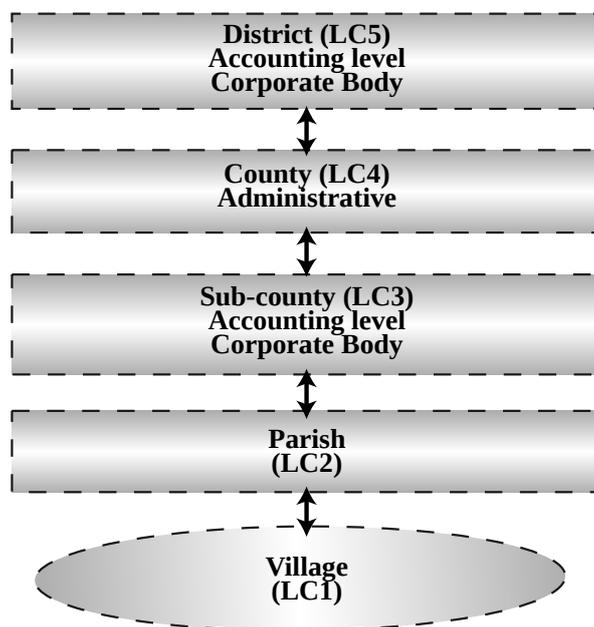
Decentralization can take a variety of forms depending on the degree of distribution of powers and the nature of accountability. There is a crucial distinction between deconcentration and devolution. Deconcentration, also referred to as administrative decentralization, consists of the transfer of administrative responsibilities or functions to subordinate units of government, often on some geographical basis (Cabral, 2011). Deconcentration entails the mere relocation of execution to the local level with decision-making power remaining at the centre. Devolution is a more far-reaching form of decentralization which involves the transfer of governance powers and responsibilities to sub-national levels that are largely outside the direct control of the central government, often through an electoral process which makes local governments directly accountable to local people. A related concept is that of delegation, which entails the transfer of responsibilities for public functions to parastatals or semi-autonomous government agencies, which implement programmes on behalf of the central government. It has also been argued that deconcentration and delegation are not true forms of decentralization (World Bank, 2000).

The intended service delivery relates to the level of responsiveness, reliability and quality of service. Responsiveness relates to the extent to which citizens' or the electorate's aspirations, expectations and needs of the community served are met; while reliability extends to aspects/consistence/dependability of the service being performed right all the time. The organization keeps its promises or mandate by performing the services at the designated time (Parasuraman et al, 1985). Quality on the other hand refers to the fitness of the service or product to fulfill the intended purpose or conformance to established standards (Dean & Bowen, 1994; Carmen, Enrique & Maria, 2005). According to the Local Government Act (1997), the objectives of Uganda's decentralization include:

1. To transfer real power to the districts (including functions, power, responsibilities, and services and reduce the workload of government officials working in central government.
2. Bring political and administrative control over services to the point where they are actually delivered.
3. Free local managers from central government constraints and enable them to develop effective and sustainable organizational structures that are tailored to local circumstances.
4. To improve financial accountability by establishing a clear link between payment of taxes and provision of services and to provide for the election of local councils.
5. To improve the capacity of local councils to plan, finance and manage the delivery of services to their constituents.

Decentralization in Uganda has meant conferring authority on local councils, converting them from appointed to popularly elected bodies and mobilizing the resources necessary for public services and administration of the councils. State power was devolved in stages with the resistance councils (RCs) formalized in 1987 and strengthened by the 1993 Decentralisation Act. The decentralization of the recurrent budget (fiscal decentralization) was phased in from 1993 to 1997, with the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 setting forth a general framework for decentralization, which was further concretized by the 1997 Local Government Act.

Figure 1. Decentralized Governance structure of Uganda;



Source: The Local Government Act (1997)

As illustrated in Figure 1, there are five levels of government (Village --LC 1; Parish - LC 2; Sub-county - LC 3; County - LC 4; and District - LC 5), but political authority and significant resources are only vested with the LC 3 and LC 5 units of decentralisation.

The Mandate of appointed (Public) Officials in Local Governments

Public servants, responsible for the day-to-day management of local government are servants of the people and are therefore accountable to the relevant councils. They are supposed to operate as a team under the direction of a Chief Administrative Officer (CAO)/Town Clerk/ Sub-county Chief (The Local Government Act [LGA], 1997).

The major roles of public servants in the decentralization policy include: implementing lawful council decisions; assisting councils in policy formulation; suggesting strategies for dealing with problems raised; ensuring that systems in local governments operate well; and, ensuring proper management and delivery of councils under the chief executive.

Public servants are appointed by the District Service Commissions (DSCs) as experts in their fields of operation and work under the accounting officers within the National Decentralization policy framework, Public Service regulations and time-to-time central government guidance (LGA, 1997). In particular, the CAOs are mandated to head the implementation of lawful council decisions and to give administrative guidance to local governments. As accounting officers, CAOs are also responsible for developing the capacity of public servants and advising the district chairpersons in accordance with the relevant statutory and other instruments.

Mandate of Elected (Political) Officials in Local Governments

Elected officials assume office in sub-national governments by succeeding in electoral competition. The conglomeration of all elected officials within a local government takes place within a council. A council is the highest political authority within the area of jurisdiction of a local government which has legal legislative and executive powers (LGA, 1997).

The council is the legislature of the local government and its mandate includes: exercising all political and executive powers and functions; providing services as it deems fit with the exception of functions, powers and services specified for central government; and, ensuring the implementation and compliance with government policy.

The councils are headed by chairpersons and presided over by the speakers. The Chairperson, among other things, is mandated with: being the political head of the local government; presiding over meetings of the Local Government Executive Committee; monitoring the general administration of the Local Government; co-ordinating the activities of Local Government and Administrative Units; monitoring the provision of Central Government services or implementation of projects in the Local Government; co-ordinating and monitoring Central Government functions; is answerable to the Local Government Council in the performance of his/her functions; and, monitors performance and appraises accounting officers.

Chairpersons and their respective local government executive committees also: initiate and formulate policies for approval by Council; oversee the implementation of the Government and Council's policies; monitor and co-ordinate activities of NGOs in local government; monitor the implementation of Council programmes and take remedial actions where necessary; and, recommend to Council appointment of members of District Service Commission (DSC), Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC), and the Local government Land Board or any Boards, Commissions or Committees that may be created (The Local Government Act, 1997).

The appointed and elected local officials are meant to give local authorities greater autonomy and play complementary relationships in managing their affairs, and a number of institutions are supposed to monitor and ensure this compliance and co-existence including: the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee; the Auditor General; relevant Central Government ministries generally, and Ministry of Local Government in particular; the Inspector General of Government; the Police; Local Government Public Accounts Committee and Civil Society.

Reality of the Interface in Uganda's Decentralization System

Uganda adopted one of the most extreme forms of decentralization, involving divestment of functions by the central government, and the creation of new independent levels and units of government outside the direct control of the central authority with real powers and authority. Although the policy clearly defined the roles of the political and technical bodies in exercising these powers and authority, there has always been a tendency for either party to overlap and sidestep its mandate for individual/group social, political and economic interests, at the expense of service delivery and the common good.

The country's political and moral history notwithstanding, power and authority are always bound to be misused for selfish individual/group interests. Conflicts have erupted in local governments where one body has attempted to influence the decisions made towards its own interest, and usually at the expense of good governance.

On the one hand there is a constitutionally very strong council or council member charged with provision of services which he/she deems fit and using public resources which are at his/her disposal. The temptation for individual(s) interest and survival (political or not) has always been very high and unavoidable.

On the other hand is the technical team, constitutionally subordinate to the political group, but charged with guiding, and in many cases checking, the excesses (blocking some interests) of the political body which employs, disciplines and exits them (through the DSCs). This has manifested considerable tensions between the two bodies in planning, priority-setting, staffing, resource allocation, among others.

The most common sources of conflict for the two bodies have included, but not been limited to: public procurement (contract awarding) - in many cases either one or both bodies have developed parallel interest for winning or influencing the award of contract; high demand for resources other than what is budgeted; determination of Councilors' emoluments; allocation of funds; recruitment and disciplining staff - owing to high employment promises made during election campaigns and rewards/penalties for loyalty/disloyalty; location of projects/programmes; timeliness/information flow - where technical officials conceal some information; mismatch in priorities; misinterpretation of laws, policies and regulations for example: "The Chief Administrative Officer shall be responsible to and subject to the general directions of the Chairperson and the District Council" (LGA, 1997; 51). Some district chairpersons have interpreted (misinterpreted) this to give them overwhelming control over the CAOs, including issuing directives which may not be in line with decentralization instruments, and scrambling for local influence and power. Technical officials in many sub-national governments have conflicted with their political counterparts after hesitating and in some cases out rightly resisting politicians' underhand influences and directives to compromise prescribed procedures in local governance. Such guidance, therefore, has in many cases been misinterpreted by politicians as insubordination, degenerating into aggravated conflicts between the two bodies which has in many cases led to disruption of programmes, temporary/ permanent loss of employment(civil servants), financial losses (litigation/damages/compensation) and sometimes threat to and loss of life.

Trends and Implications

The decentralization policy in Uganda specifies mandates for the elected and appointed local government officials. The mandates are not only intended to empower the local officials, but also control the excesses of these local officials' selfish interests, by binding them to their respective roles and responsibilities. Unfortunately, many sub-national governments in the country are increasingly side-stepping the boundaries of their mandates with adverse effects to service delivery. Some local councils have resorted (with reasonable degree of success) to political counter attacks aimed at circumventing and defeating the technical conditionalities / procedures intended to regulate the administration of devolved powers in local governments.

This dangerous precedent of using politics to side-step and overlap mandates has degenerated into conflicts between the two power centres. The conflicts between the appointed and elected officials in roles and interests in local governance in Uganda today are so pronounced that they threaten to defeat the strong case made for the decentralization of governance.

Sub-national government political leaders have at times used these conflicts to overlap their powers and oust appointed officials from office. In many instances, political leaders, mostly coming from sitting party governments, have always appealed to the president to invoke his powers and have "uncooperative" appointed officials removed/transferred for purportedly derailing government programmes, and therefore discredit the ruling party.

The statutory boards meant to facilitate council operations have also been widely abused by politicians for selfish interests. These organs are recommended and approved by politicians to help councils: provide quality service; improve the service delivery system; be more accountable and transparent; and, provide checks and balances to avoid abuse of powers. The Local Government Act of 1977, for example, provides district councils with power to recruit their own staff as they deem fit through the respective District service commissions. These boards although not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority (LGA 60, 1997 and Constitution 166, 1995), have been grossly misused by elected officials to persecute "uncooperative" appointed officials. The same boards have also increasingly been used to unjustly reward "cooperative" appointed officials through irregularly selecting, recruiting and promoting former political supporters into public offices.

Oversight institutions like the Police and Inspectorate of Government have been often reportedly used to arrest, suspend and at worst dismiss "uncooperative" technical officers. About 80% of the cases filed by the Police and IGG against civil servants in local governments between 2000 and 2006 had been dismissed by courts as unfounded and malicious (Robinson, 2008).

Newspapers are awash with cases where the Public Service Commission has had to instruct District Service Commissions to rescind irregular appointments made out of political pressures (Kakande, 2010). According to the National Integrity survey by the Inspector General of Government in Uganda, district service commissions are among the most corrupt and poor performers among local government boards and commission (The National Integrity Survey, 2008).

Even for CAOs recently recentralized, councils have also blocked transfers and deployments of some of these accounting officers from and to their local governments basing on information gathered or experience concerning the types of accounting officers (“cooperative or conservative”) in relation to the interest (mostly selfish) of the local politicians. These conflicts have in some cases polarized councils, with different council members taking sides/camps which become distinctly irreconcilable and determined to block/support any idea(s) generating from a rival/allied party/camp whether meaningful or not, respectively.

In 2007, realizing that CAOs could no longer sustainably resist the excesses of their local political bosses, central government decided to recentralize their appointment, discipline and exit (Republic of Uganda, 2006).

Devolution of powers which the country adopted presupposes real power transfer - including human resources. Recentralizing CAOs is likely to change the reporting, decision-making and accountability (including allegiance and loyalty) patterns from local governments to central government. In the final analysis, this may limit the local government’s control on local governance by gradually perpetuating central government control through “their” CAOs (re-centralization). This trend is setting a precedence that will be extrapolated to other local governance issues with dark implications on the future of decentralization and consequently good governance. The proposed policy reform in the Ministry of Agriculture (production and extension services), for example, that is aimed at recentralizing regulatory and enforcement services, although justified and following the precedence of recentralization of CAOs, is in practice another blow to effective good governance. The Integrated Financial Management System (IFMS) being piloted by central government in local governments to enforce budget compliance is another example of this trend of recentralizing local governance.

Efforts and resources meant for service delivery have in many such cases been diverted to facilitate litigation and consequently (as is the case in many districts) pay compensation and damages granted by courts for loss of cases against civil servants. Sub-national governments’ assets have been impounded through court orders and at times accounts garnished.

Sub-national governments that have had relative harmony have performed comparatively better in terms of good governance and consequently service delivery. Whereas Bushenyi District, for example, has been winning bonus in local government annual performance, districts like Sembabule and Mayuge (which have been torn apart by the said conflicts) have been penalized for the consequent poor performance (JARD, 2007). In the final analysis, people will start questioning the whole essence of decentralization, and thereby lose interest and faith in participation and accountability. This is already culminating into negative perceptions of the local services, scandals associated with decentralized services, and **increasing public** concern with local officials’ public infighting and hence declining **public trust in local** governance. **Declining trust in** local governance may **in** turn lead to reduced public interest in sub-national government action to address a range of local policy concerns.

Conclusion and Implications

Decentralization has come to stay in Uganda and it seems to have the support of civil society. The objectives of the Local Governments Act of 1997 have, to some reasonable degree, been achieved in most parts of the country. However, these conflicts of interface are happening at the expense of the intended service delivery. The conflicts are negatively affecting planning, priority setting, disrupting programmes, suffocating accountability, causing financial losses, undermining popular public interest and consequently eroding public trust. Despite the clear roles and mandates of either party, together with the instruments and policy in place, in practice these have turned parallel and unfortunately there seems to be very little political goodwill to ‘walk the talk’. While the relationship between political officials and civil servants is theoretically very clearly reinforcing and mutually beneficial to both parties and the development of the respective sub-national governments, in practice the emergent conflicts have brought a lot of complexities /ambiguities/ paradoxes to effective local governance. The erratic behaviour of leaders, especially politicians, their appetite for power and economic resources makes them superintend over sub-national governments which serve group interests rather than the general public. The present interface does not facilitate holding public officials and their representatives to standards of conduct that are clearly in the public interest. This trend clearly undermines the noble ideals of good governance, threatens to fail poverty eradication interventions, and may defeat the whole purpose and essence of decentralized governance.

There is need to strengthen the interface through operationalizing legal and institutional structures. This will not only offer a platform for conflict resolution, but will also defuse such conflicts, create environment for harmony and more autonomy in exercising decentralized powers. There is also need to rejuvenate governments’ commitments to all the elements of good governance through: reviewing the existing governance arrangements and stepping up monitoring and enforcement; developing and maintaining an up-to-date local code of governance, including arrangements for ensuring its ongoing application and effectiveness; preparing a governance statement in order to report publicly on the extent to which sub-national governments comply; and, identifying the issues that have not been addressed adequately in the local government and considering how they should be addressed.

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Power and Politics in society: Implications to Organizational Development and Change

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to examine the interplay between power and politics in organizations and their implications on Organizational Development (OD) and Change. The paper is theoretically oriented although it draws some useful insights from the world of practice particularly within the context of higher educational institutions in Uganda. Organizational politics (OP) continues to enjoy popularity in academic research and the discourse on the practice of management (Drory & Vigoda-Gadot, 2010). However, its understanding and manifestations in the higher education context and its effects on organizational change are always taken for granted. Debates on the influence of power and politics on organizational development and change in academic institutions have not been given much attention. Yet, it remains critical to understand how this interplay especially given the negative effects that can emanate from the dominant use of political tactics intended to destroy organizations. Negative politicking can seriously undermine any efforts for organizational change and development whose outcomes affect society generally. While the article acknowledges that, in the world of practice, power and politics are inescapable and intrinsic realities that manifest themselves through struggle for resources, personal conflicts, competition for power and leadership positions as well as tactical influence executed by individuals and groups to attain power, building personal stature, controlling access to information though not revealing real intentions, and building coalitions (Ram & Prabhakar, 2010), if wrongly used, it can affect the realization of organizational goals. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether some behaviour is self-serving or not by employing an objective criterion as research on organizational politics mainly depends on people's perceptions (Harris et al, 2007). The article first gives the context for understanding power and politics in organizations. This is followed by a conceptual framework of the key concepts of power and politics, before approaches for playing politics and the power dynamics are discussed. In the next part, the article gives areas within higher educational institutions where power and politics are widely played and their true manifestations. The article then draws policy and managerial implications before concluding remarks are given.

Key words: Power, politics, Organizational Development, Change, Higher education Institutions

Introduction

Power and politics are necessary features of any organization; and without them, much of what gets done in organizations would not be accomplished. Power can do wonderful things to organizations, if well used; but it can undermine the survival of organizations if misused. However, power can be seriously abused, and personal or political goals of individuals sometimes overshadow organizational goals due to the individuals' desire to gain or control power. Of course, power is always a limited resource in all organizations. As such, organizational members either try to hold on to the power they have acquired while others will skillfully or

unskillfully try to wrestle it from those who have it. To seek power, even for sincere and honourable reasons, often puts the seeker in a value contradiction. This invokes the need to play some politics. Politics in organizations is simply a fact of life (Medison, Allen, Renwick, and Mayes, 1980; Gandz and Murray, 1980). Research on organizational politics (OP) treats politics as an important component in the workplace (Mayes and Allen, 1977; DuBrin, 1978) and must be appreciated; although as Vigoda (2002) reminds us, organizational politics has always been a controversial concept.

In his analysis, Bacharach (2005) praises politics as an essential skill for all managers who wish to get things done. The art of how to get people on your side is crucial at any rank and has human resource implications. In my view politics is likely to be beneficial to managers who know how to use and play it effectively (positively to benefit organizations). However, it will be disastrous for those who misuse and play it in a wrong negative way. Managers therefore need to switch the right button to ignite the right organizational political flame. Organizational politics is the unique domain of interpersonal relations in the workplace (Vigoda, 2003). The main characteristics are the readiness of people to use power in their efforts to influence others and secure personal or collective interests or, alternatively, to avoid negative outcomes within the organization (Bozeman, Perrewe, Kacmar, Hochwarter, & Brymer, 1996). Two areas of contention associated with exercising power in an organizational context, relate to its distribution, and the form that the power should take.

Hofstede cited in Channon (1997) has stated that contemporary organizations have two main problems: one is concerned with power and its distribution, and the other is concerned with managing uncertainty. Power is usually distributed among different stakeholders and no meaningful discussion of organizational change and development can be complete without an understanding of stakeholders in organizations. Power dynamics are invisible and almost unconscious when people's perceptions, cognitions, and preferences are shaped in such a way that they identify with the change objectives and unconsciously accept the new organizational structures and systems while their own objectives are less realized than those of other groups (Lukes, 1974). Organizational politics is often used with both positive and negative connotations. However, the common perception is that in the workplace it is a necessary evil, unfair and irrational and thus harms the organization and its members. This perception often leads to definitions of politics which are negative (Drory & Beaty, 1991; Ferris & King, 1991).

While recent scholarship suggests that organizational politics is in transition and under continuous debate (Vigoda-Gadot & Drory, 2006), Buchanan and Badham (2008) maintain that organizational politics are often side-stepped in management education; seen as a negative force rather than one that might help us understand more effectively the realities of managing in a complex world. This article first examines the context in which organizations operate both internally and externally. This effort creates a foundational understanding of the stakeholder groups that constitute organizations; among whom the dynamics of power and politics intermingle. The article then delves into some conceptual issues relating to power and politics as the independent variables that are likely to have implications for organizational change and development. The article then discusses the forms and types of power in organizations as well as the most dominant political behaviours and tactics that are likely to have implications on

organizational development and change. This section uses some case study examples of the major areas or hot spots in a higher educational institutional context where power and politics seem to dominate. The article finally draws important implications for organizational change and development based on the understanding of the dynamic interplay between power and politics. A treatment of both the positive and negative influences to each of the OD and change processes drawing significant implications for managers is examined.

The contextual background

Organizations keep changing given the 'chaotic' environment in which they operate. Indeed, recent social changes challenge scholars to re-examine the work environments with new lenses (Gatta, Boushey & Appelbaum, 2009). On this same subject, Michela and Burke (2000) have suggested that to change any organization, one must first understand that particular organization. This constitutes organizational diagnosis in the vocabulary of organizational development. Literature is also replete with explanations as to how and why organizational change processes are influenced by the institutionalization of power and the behaviour of interest groups in and around organizations (Mintzberg, 1983; Pfeffer, 1992). Organizational politics is built upon intra-organizational influence tactics used by organizational members to promote self-interests or organizational goals in different ways. Power struggles and conflicts over the sources of power, influence, and planned and directed attempts to actualize warring interests in the workplace as elaborated for us by Vigoda (2003) then come into the equation. This usually involves a number of stakeholders both internal and external to the organizations.

Notwithstanding its critics like Ambler and Wilson (1995) and Argenti (1997), the stakeholder concept has found widespread and enthusiastic application across a range of subjects. Organizational development and change is therefore an important consummate beneficiary of this conception. Stakeholder issues offer the most promising basis for a normatively acceptable model for understanding organizations, as well as having descriptive, instrumental and managerial capabilities (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). In this regard, we contend that the interplay between power and politics and their influence on organizational development and change can be effectively understood without focusing on the stakeholders that constitute the particular organization. To put the debate into perspective, organizations are social entities oriented to certain goals. They have individuals who come to achieve their goals. Organizations are characterized by a designed structure and coordinated activities. As social entities, organizations involve a struggle for resources, feature personal conflicts, and a variety of influence tactics executed by individuals and groups to obtain benefits and goals in different ways (Molm, 1997). Estimating the political climate of a work unit in such an environment is most often a complex task.

Organizational politics is usually defined as behaviour strategically designed to maximize self-interests (Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989) and therefore contradicts the collective organizational goals or the interests of other individuals. However, in a functional organization, processes and activities should be determined in order to execute tasks, which enable organizations to continuously realize their goals (Fabac, 2010). There is an apparent soundness of logic to the assumption that the more an organization engages with its stakeholders, the

more accountable and responsible that organization becomes. This responsibility presumes that the act of stakeholder engagement itself delivers some benefit towards stakeholders and is, therefore, an act of responsibility towards them. This view is, however, not without challenges. Organizational practices that purport to be 'responsible' or stakeholder-friendly (Greenwood, 2007) can sometimes be contentious. In his book, *Your organization: what is it for?* Argenti (1993) attacks the stakeholder approach, arguing that the theory does not tell us who qualifies as a stakeholder, nor what the qualifications should be for one to be a stakeholder. Donaldson and Preston (1995) question whether being recognized as a stakeholder is a guarantee for influence. On the same subject, Ambler and Wilson (1995) suggest that being a stakeholder is not a guarantee for receiving a fair share in the benefits that are generated. This debate has therefore left a sharp contradiction in our midst, which has continuously challenged the use of stakeholder approaches. Despite this technical hitch, stakeholder conception continues to provide a strong corner for launching any scholarly attack on matters to do with organizations as they do not exist in a vacuum.

For the past decade or so, both the power embedded in formal organizational structures as well as the processes and the existing organizational arrangements have been changing dramatically. The pressures of global competition and deregulation have led many companies and institutions to search for new forms of organization and different models for managing people (Boonstra and Gravenhorst, 1998). Change is something that organizations cannot avoid. However, organizations have a choice in the manner in which they deal with change. Some choose to be passive, waiting, as it were, for change to happen to them. In so doing they run the risk of finding themselves hopelessly out of tune with their environment. In the long term, this can only lead to failure. Others attempt to master change instead of being mastered by it. They initiate change, believing that by being proactive they will not only survive in newer realities; they will actually thrive (Khandelwal and Joshi, 2002). Let us now turn to some conceptual issues in the next two sections.

Conceptual framework

The concepts of power and politics have always presented conceptual challenges. Freeis and Kacmar (1992) inform us that anecdotal evidence for years has supported a general belief that behaviour in organizations is often political in nature. Power becomes a loaded word that often evokes a negative response in people who work in organizations (Scott & van de Herik, 2008). People come to work situations with many goals, not just one unified goal. These goals invoke conflict and competition among workers for the expenditure of usually scarce resources. This competition, in turn, affects the use of power and politics (Robbins, 1997). Organizational politics are plans, tactics and strategies for seizing, holding, extracting and excising power in organizations. However, its manipulative styles and emphasis on achievement of goals through improper ways makes it a very unhealthy behaviour (Gandz & Murray, 1980). Power is like fire. It can do useful things; it can be fun to play with and to watch, but it must be constantly guarded and trimmed back lest it burns and destroys. The proper attitude toward power is respect tinged with some suspicion (Winter, 1973). Robbins (1997) equates power in social sciences to energy in physics; cautioning his readers that power is heavily controversial and appears among the last dirty words. To prove his case, he reports that it is easier for people

to talk about money or even sex than about power because of its three contradictions. First, people who have it deny that they have; second, people who want power try not to appear to be seeking it; and third, those who are good at getting it are secretive about how they got it. This now brings real confusion on what power is, how it comes about and how it changes people.

Attempts to suggest a definition of “power” are always surrounded with a lot of confusion (Hardy, 1995). As a result, studies on power have still not resolved the problem of conceptual ambiguities. Power is generally considered to be interlocked with its sister concepts like authority, influence, control, social context. Power is one of those things, like gravity and electricity, which makes its existence apparent to us through its effects, and hence it has always been found much easier to describe its consequences than to identify its nature and its basis (Barnes, 1988). A broad conception sees power as a dynamic social process affecting opinions, emotions and behavior of interest groups in which inequalities are involved with respect to the realization of wishes and interests. That is why, in studying power dynamics there are many divergent approaches (Hardy & Clegg, 1996). Many of the definitions of power include the *ability* or *capacity* to achieve desired outcomes. For example, Quinn, Faerman, Thompson and McGrath (2003) defined power at group and personal levels.

Power at the group level is the “ability to influence your peers through strength of expertise and experience, and the ability to build coalitions of those who share your views and goals” (p. 263). This conception, however, may only cover one form of power - expert power - yet there are other forms of power. At the personal level, “power can be seen as person A’s capacity to influence person B’s behavior so that B does something he or she would not do otherwise” (McGrath’s, 2003). Other definitions of power describe it not only as one’s ability to get the other to do something he or she would not otherwise do, but also include the ability to prevent others from doing something they otherwise would do (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962).

“Organizational politics” is another concept that needs clarification. Robins (1983) suggested that all behaviours in organizations are political as people consciously or unconsciously show behaviours to serve or at least protect their self-interests. Many definitions of organizational politics have been proposed in the literature (Drory & Romm, 1990) as the concept has been the subject of much academic writing and research for more than three decades. Literature suggests more than 200 studies that explore the mystery of political actions in the workplace which have been published in professional academic forums (Drory & Vigoda-Gadot, 2010). Most of these studies suggest that organizational politics is highly charged with negative connotations (Vigoda, 2003). One of the earliest descriptions of organizational politics is from Mintzberg (1983) who defined Organizational Politics as, “individual or group behavior that is informal, ostensibly parochial, typically divisive, and illegitimate—sanctioned neither by formal authority, accepted ideology, nor certified expertise (although it may exploit any one of these)”. All these features suggest the negativity of the concept and in effect regard it as destructive. However, some studies suggest that the concept is in transition and under continuous debate (Vigoda-Gadot & Drory, 2006).

Theoretically, the foundations of this phenomenon were set down by studies in the 1970s and early 1980s (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Mayes and Allen, 1977; and Mintzberg, 1983). As interest in organizational politics grew, so did the variety of approaches to its study (Vigoda, 2003). Some other scholars have developed more specific definitions, which emphasize the

characteristics of political behaviours. For example, Mayes and Allen (1977, p.675) defined it as “the management of influence to obtain ends not sanctioned by the organization or to obtain sanctioned ends through no sanctioned influence means”. The importance of organizational politics (OP) lies in its potential consequences and effect on work outcomes. Examples of political behaviours that constitute politics include bypassing the chain of command to gain approval, going through improper channels to obtain special equipment, and lobbying high-level managers just prior to promotion decisions (Andrews & Kacmar, 2001). OP is recognized as part of a general set of social behaviours used as tools that can contribute to the basic functioning of the organization (Pfeffer, 1981).

Theoretical arguments further suggest that politics often interferes with normal organizational processes such as decision making, promotion, and rewards; and damages productivity and performance on individual and organizational levels. In this regard, empirical attempts to support this notion have proved equivocal (Vigoda, 2000). In their study, for example, Parker et al (1995) found that organizational politics was not related to job satisfaction, loyalty, senior management effectiveness, and endorsements of positive organization values. They found out that respondents who perceived more politics in the organization also tended to see the organization as less supportive of innovation. On their part, Ferris et al (1989) mentioned three potential responses: increased job anxiety, decreased job satisfaction, and withdrawal from the organization. Later studies confirmed some of these relationships and the most salient was between perceptions of organizational politics and job attitudes (Vigoda, 2000). It is within this context that different approaches have been suggested on the application of power and politics in organizations. Our efforts now turn to this debate.

Approaches to using power and politics

Different people use power differently in organizations. Some use power to destroy others while some use it to build a team of people. Some use it for the benefit of the organization while others use it to attain personal benefits. The latter appears more dominant in modern organizations. In such context, different conceptions of its application emerge. Josefowitz (1980) describes women’s use of power as “effectiveness” while Block (1987) discusses how “partnership” equalizes the balance of power. Meanwhile, Bradford and Cohen (1998) describe “power-up” where everyone is a leader; yet Sprier, Fontaine and Malloy (2006) concede that those leaders who use styles characteristic of socialized power create strong and energizing work climates. The exercise of power generally goes far beyond the mere directing of specialized personal work efforts toward an organizational purpose. Power and politics in higher education context will take a variety of approaches depending on the quality and hidden interests of the players involved.

Sussman et al (2002) are of the view that political behaviours or tactics can vary from the relatively innocuous flattery and ingratiation exhibited towards superiors, to the Machiavellian attempts to influence outcomes through sabotage, deception and character assassination. Accordingly, some of the organizational political tactics can be considered within the context of bullying, when they are applied systematically. Some political tactics are so damaging to individual members and organizations that those who watch them unfold never wish to associate organizational politics with any benefits. Group theory holds that group cohesion and, hence,

potency can be enhanced by among other things exacting demands on members for conformity and support. Groups enforce these demands by administering sanctions to members who fail to follow group norms (Hackman, 1976). In their classical study, French and Raven (1959) identified five types of power, namely: coercive power based on fear; reward power based on money; legitimate power and its synonym authority; expert power; and lastly, referent power, based on identification with a person who has resources or favours to bestow, and the influence of a strong and attractive personality. Several approaches from both the academic and practical fields have continued this debate. For example,

- (1) Studies on influence tactics, conflict, and actual political behaviour in organizations (Brass, 1984; Burns, 1961; Cheng, 1983; Putnam, 1995);
- (2) Studies on the perceptions of organization politics (Ferris, Fedor, & King, 1994; Ferris, Frink, Bhawuk, & Zhou, 1996; Ferris, Harrell-Cook, & Dulebohn, 1998); and
- (3) Studies on political skills and political capacities of the self within the workplace (Ferris et al, 2005).

The third approach extends the view of the first approach by dealing with tactics as aggregated “skills” that can be improved over time, mainly with experience and training. It also fits a Machiavellian analysis of a “prince” who must demonstrate good political skills in order to implement rules and policies. Whereas the first two aspects are traditional and well documented in the literature, concern with an interest in political skills has only recently emerged as a worthy addition to knowledge to this field. In this respect, we need to appreciate that in studying power dynamics there are many divergent approaches as rightly suggested by Hardy and Clegg (1996). This is partly because power is exercised through the use of various behavioural strategies or methods. In organizational change, power is used by CEOs, top managers, change managers, consultants, trade unions, employees, government, professional associations and other interest groups differently. The goal of each of these groups is to manage and influence the change process by using power and influence tactics.

In traditional management views, actions taken to challenge or influence organizational change processes by other groups than management are seen as resistance to change since those actions fall outside the legitimate activities of the change programme (Hardy & Clegg, 1996). There are certain areas within organizations which form a playground for organizational political games. These constitute what some authors call the ‘domains’ of organizational politics. Zaleznik (1970) long noted that organizations are politically structured. Scarcity of the resources and competition over these resources become the bases of organizational politics. At the same time, organizations provide opportunities for people to develop their career by exercising power and politics. Thus the leaders who have political skill can excel at a higher pace than leaders who do not have this “right stuff”. It also suggests that leaders can enjoy psychological and tangible benefits when they deploy them simultaneously to manage change in organizations. They can also yield the same benefits for employees and organizations as a result of positive change. Pfeffer (1992) is of the view that power, influence and politics are the certain part of organizational life. By ignoring these issues we may miss the opportunity to understand these critical social processes and may lose the chance to train managers to cope with them.

Organizational politics has its ambivalence, but people can exploit its good aspects by developing its proper understanding and political skill among leaders. This can be used for decision making and implementation, to bring a good and positive change. Indeed, Drory (1993) is of the view that 10 decision domains are mostly subjected to organizational politics. These domains include: promotion, task assignments, allocation of personal benefits, operational budget allocations, recruiting and dismissal, sharing information, performance appraisal, allocation of equipment and operational means, and organizational structure. To influence these fundamental decision areas, and in turn, achieving their personal gains, people show different behaviours which are directed towards serving the self interest of employees and managers at all levels. These perfectly qualify to be organizational politics (Allen et al, 1979; Gandz & Murray, 1980; Madison et al, 1980).

Turning to higher academic institutions, there are 'hot spots' for power dynamics and organizational politics and some of these directly fit in the 10 domains suggested by Drory (1993) above. The most dominant hot spots for organizational politics in academic institutions revolve around: (1) elective positions like heads of department and deans/principals, (2) design and introduction of new programmes, (3) Workload distribution among staff especially if it has monetary benefits, (4) promotion of staff, especially to senior ranks, (5) long-term staff development opportunities, (6) sponsorship opportunities for international conferences, (7) research funding, (8) management of donor-funded projects within academic institutions, (9) payment of allowances, and (10) staff appraisal, especially for senior staff who are perceived to be threats to those holding power. These hot spots are not suggestive of any order nor do they indicate that every institution has the same problems. In some institutions, particular problems may be more pronounced than others.

Political games within academic environments will take different forms and the complexity and intensity depends on the issue at hand. The games are often played by both those who want power and influence and those who already have power and influence. Each group tends to marshal a team of supporters who champion the cause of those involved in the acquisition or control of power. The politics sometimes becomes nasty within academic institutions and, in extreme cases, some have lost lives through dangerous manipulative schemes as some are determined to hold on to power or as the only way of getting power. Friends are turned into enemies by those who wish to play the power - which is one of the political games. Objectivity and rational thinking is sometimes replaced with mob logic based on some unknown criteria. Attempts to malign other colleagues become rampant in such circumstances. Some cliques develop to ensure that their enemies do not get closer to resources. Some people fed up with such manipulations may resign and get out of the organizations while others will get benefits including promotions to offices where they do not merit even when their performance is questionable. Some employees remain spectators wandering in the organizational 'wildernesses. Some are even held 'hostages against their full conscience' for they stand to lose or gain in one way or another should they 'abandon' their mentors.

In academic institutions, politics is played around a number of variables. Quite predominantly, tribal and religious connections dominate the resource allocation systems of academic units, or tribal grouping will emerge during resources and power distribution processes. Rewards may tend to be based on regional blocks, gender connections as a strategy

to appease or displease a particular marginalized group. Age now becomes a key issue and political game plan when it comes to certain elective positions, for example. Staff of a particular age group may create their own power cliques or 'build empires' only that they have no installed organizational kings. For example, the young (who incidentally seem to now take a big number in most academic institutions) may feel they need space from the dominating old group and in some cases where they qualify, they need power. But their old colleagues will accuse them of being too 'young' to create any impact; a situation that generates conflict. Young scholars have sometimes won elective offices against their old senior colleagues as an indication of power struggle between these two groups. This has some exceptions and may not invoke generalizations in all situations.

Staff ranks also play a significant role in institutional politics. In this context, the group of say senior professors may be against other staff categories. In some instances, political ideology takes part in organizational power cliques. Academic staff members who have studied at say American institutions may dominate the political games. Those who study PhD by coursework may despise those whose scholarship was by thesis and, by extension, from other universities and countries. Quite often, they are regarded as inferior. It is these and many other differences that generate politics in academic institutions. Within each academic unit, there develop informal groups against those officially established based on the above differences. One group may favour the status quo especially where they anticipate some loss of power precipitated by organizational changes. Their natural response is to resist all attempts. Yet, another group wants to wrestle power from those who have it. Those holding power want to retain it. Those who want sometimes appear as if they do not want it. Elections to headship and deanship are usually from senior members of academic staff (usually from senior lecturer in most institutions) and this has to be done by all academic members constituting that unit. Each competing candidate usually has his or her group based on network cliques earlier identified.

There are possibly very limited cases in most institutions where elections to offices have been devoid of politics. Today's organizational environment has made this activity highly polarized; in most universities merit is hardly given a top priority. The policies which are put in place to enable these elections are equally an outcome of internal political dynamics. They are designed to either (1) favour or (2) lock out and (3) maintain some individuals in positions of influence. All these have implications for organizational change and development.

Miller (2003) who reviewed structural power in organizations and society is helpful to put our debate in context. In her scholarship, she describes to us how one group has more resources and privileges and thus, has more capacity to *control* others. Those with fewer resources include demographic groups divided by race, class, gender, sexual preference and the like. The dominant group often holds more resources and thus greater power in the economic, social, political and cultural realms. She argues that structural power is hidden in our society. Those who have the most power almost never talk about it and thus induce the rest of us not to recognize it either. For the use of power to be authentic, the structural or organizational resources of power need to be made explicit and named. In organizations, power is used in two ways, namely initiative and responsive ways (Scott and van den Herik, 2008). Initiative power is expressed when one takes initiative to meet one's own goals and needs or overcome hurdles. It is a force against inertia; it is the call to action. Responsive power is, on the other

hand, expressed when one responds or refuses to respond to the needs of others. The initiative expression of power involves influence, negotiating deals, utilizing persuasion and authority. The responsive expression of power focuses on offering support, providing resources, building relationships and empowering others. Literature gives us some examples to illustrate each of these two types of uses of power.

Table 1 Examples of activities for initiative power

Influencing Example:	Using reason, arguments, true data and the relationship with others to direct the course of action. <i>Utilizing factual information and analysis to obtain client's agreement to proceed on a new project or initiative.</i> <i>When influence is distorted and not authentic, the expression moves toward "spin". . .</i>
Using spin Example:	Supplementing truth with self-serving distortions. <i>Using incomplete information or data slanted to give a biased or self-serving picture to support your proposed recommendation.</i>
Negotiating Example	Seeking a deal between relative equals which levels the playing field for each person's perceived benefit. <i>Proposing processes to involve all relevant stakeholders in the decision process.</i> <i>When negotiating is distorted and inauthentic, action becomes "exploitative". . .</i>
Exploitation Example	Deceiving others and taking more than one gives. <i>Gaining a client's agreement for an intervention by promising positive outcomes when your data suggests otherwise.</i>
Insistence/ Requiring Example	Utilizing recognized and legitimate authority to persuade others to act in accordance with your position. <i>Insisting that a client addresses a sensitive moral or legal issue as a basis for continuing your consulting contract.</i> <i>When requiring or demanding is exercised with inauthentic or illegitimate means, it becomes "tyranny". . .</i>
Tyranny Example	Demanding which is arbitrary, capricious, unfair or without legitimate authority. <i>Threatening a client with exposing sensitive or personal confidential information unless the client acts on your demands.</i>

Source: Beverly Scott and Pien van den Herik (2008) *OD practitioner*, vol. 40, Number 1 available online at: <http://bevscott.com/OD%20Practitioner%20-%20Jan%202008.pdf>

The application of this model of power offers OD consultants an opportunity to assess the working theory of power in the client system: is power used to control and dominate or is it used to empower? Is the expression of power authentic or not authentic? In many of our client systems, power is controlling, political and not authentic. We often speak of our role as consultants, as those who bring a presence that is missing in the organization or who model the values and behaviours we believe will build more effective and rewarding work environments. Our modeling of authentic expressions of power as either internal or external consultants places us in the role of confronting, by our presence, the traditional hierarchical

and controlling exercise of power. It also demonstrates what the alternative looks like and offers an attractive future possibility to the current state.

Table 2. Examples of activities for responsive power

Offering Example	Creating and exploring options and providing resources for others to implement their ideas. <i>Offering processes and interventions which allow employees to express and implement their concerns and ideas.</i> <i>When offering is distorted and not authentic, it becomes “manipulative”.</i> ..
Manipulation Example	Rigging options by playing to the needs of others dishonestly. <i>Offering processes and interventions which you know will undermine the credibility of certain individuals/managers.</i>
Negotiation Example	Supporting and being responsive to a proposal between relative equals to each person’s perceived benefit. <i>Responding to a co-facilitator’s proposal on how you will both manage the responsibility of the intervention.</i> <i>When negotiating is distorted and inauthentic, it becomes “using”.</i> . .
Using Example	Taking advantage of others in a pseudo deal which may look real but is not. <i>Taking advantage of someone’s mistaken credit for a successful intervention result that was not your own.</i>
Resistance Example	Refusing to participate or giving advice against a course of action that would violate authenticity. <i>Refusing to share confidential information about an employee when pressured by a senior manager.</i> <i>When resistance becomes distorted or not authentic, it becomes “revenge”.</i> ..
Revenge or betrayal Example	Transforming refusal into sabotage or deviously and unfairly punishing others. <i>Refusing to share your information which contradicts a negative assessment of a difficult client whom you do not like.</i>

Block (1987) used the term entrepreneurial contract or spirit to describe positive political behaviour or action taken in the name of service, contribution and creation. It encourages expression of our own positions and to take actions that will have a positive impact on others, and, to take these actions with authenticity (p. 71). OD consultants both external and internal are expected to bring more than their presence, process and observation skills. They also bring technical competence, knowledge of theory, intervention methodology and expertise in individual and organizational change. Their exercise of this expertise is often expressed as initiative power (Scot & van den Herik, 2008). In our last leg of the discussion, we need to carefully draw the implications of the interplay between power and politics on organizational development and change. So we now turn to this below.

Conclusion and implications

This article has been about the interplay between power and politics and how it is likely to influence organizational development and change. Through literature review, the article confirms that power and politics are indeed part of any organizational process and are a natural phenomenon. In similar currency, power and politics can be played to positively benefit organizations or badly used to generate damaging effects to the well-being of an organization. In this connection, the article has examined the various approaches and tactics recommended to carefully use power and politics for organizational change and development in the context of our discussion. The heart of this argument rests on the use of political tactics and power well knowing the consequences it can have on the organization but also on individuals upon whom it is exercised. Once applied in the right mix and with a degree of care and analysis, power and politics can generate handsome benefits by consultants wishing to introduce organizational behaviour-oriented change processes for the betterment of the organizations. The article has suggested areas within academic context upon which power and politics appear to be commonly applied. These areas have been suggested by the author only through experience and are not based on empirical analysis. These need to be dressed up with further scholarly ingredients. This calls for further scholarly studies. In the same vein, they have the capacity to inhibit any interventions once approached wrongly.

Research on how change agents gain influence in change processes suggest the use of the common six important power bases identified above. As a predictive model, Greiner and Schein (1988) recommended an effective combination of the use of power and organizational development as a strategy to realize organizational improvements through educational processes. This should encourage people to work together in making decisions that affect their own destiny. This approach means that all potential participants have the same opportunity to initiate and maintain a dialogue on all issues of organizing and effecting change. The wise counsel by French and Bell (1995) that power should in ideal circumstances be used to enable others reach their goals, together with letting the person exercising power reach his or her own goals, is of particular relevance in our debate. However, challenges usually stand on the way of this approach. Block's perspective which suggests that individuals tend to be blind to their own political manoeuvring, which he defines as acting in their own interest (since nobody else is going to do it) comes into equation. It entails protecting oneself based on the assumption that there are only limited resources and each member wants to have part of the organizational cake.

Studies that have focused on the organizational politics construct have considered it as an antecedent or motive for different organizational outcomes like satisfaction, organization citizenship behaviour, organizational commitment and turnover among others (Byrne, Kacmar, Stoner, & Howchwarter, 2005; Randall, Cropanzano, Borman, & Birjulin, 1999; Vigoda, 2002). This paper concedes that the same logic can apply to organizational change and development. Effective organizational change and development requires employee and client satisfaction, and total commitment of all stakeholders interested in the success of the organization. Managers implement policies, take decisions, reward people and motivate employees for goal attainment through different types of strategies. Power and positive political tactics in this regard are part

of these strategies. Previous discussions have centred on showing how in earnest managers at all levels behave in different ways while dealing with their subordinates, peers and bosses and how they apply power and influence in their management games. Their strategies differ depending on who the target is, and what the goal of influence attempt is as supplied to us by Tripathi and Tripathi (2001).

The strategies for exercising power discussed above and the political tactics used by managers can therefore be applied to positively contribute to OD and change initiatives in different organizational contexts. Literature informs us further that power, organizational change, and resistance are closely related concepts and during the change processes, various actors try to influence each other. However, since power is exercised over another person, the use of power can easily lead to resistance (Clegg, 1994) which OD interventionists need to carefully diagnose and apply the right prescriptions. Not all influence attempts result in resistance. In change processes power and influence can equally well lead to compliance or even a commitment to the change efforts (Falbe & Yukl, 1992). To effectively benefit from this requires management to exclude certain issues from decision making during the change process which may constrain full and equal participation during the change process (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). By all logic, power should be used to create legitimacy for outcomes, decisions, values and demands (Pettigrew, 1977).

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Admission Policy of Students with Disability in Uganda: Is it a Hoax?

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Abstract

This article attempts to discuss the inequalities disabled students grapple with in higher education in terms of access and participation. This comes in the wake of Government's Policy in 2005 that granted 64 slots to persons with disabilities in public universities. This is also supported by numerous laws that have attempted to guard against discrimination of disabled or prospective students in accessing university education. The article first appreciates government's efforts and also critiques its failure to vigorously investigate challenges faced by these students at a lower level to be able to address issues of equity and equality. It also challenges Government's reluctance to make follow-ups to establish challenges faced by these students in their participation. The article builds on the Social and Medical Models by Mike Oliver (1990) and highlights specific challenges in Uganda. The author concludes that though a brilliant idea, sufficient research was not carried out to address access and participation challenges of students with disabilities. The article recommends that for such a highly-regarded policy, workable monitoring and evaluation plans should be in place to address the numerous equity challenges therein.

Key words: access, disability, medical model, participation, social model

Introduction

Higher Education has seen an upward spiral in the number of disabled students applying for and studying a wide range of courses in the past decade. Although students with disability in most African universities represent a small percentage of the total enrolment (UNESCO, 1997), it is important that they receive equitable participation. This article is not particularly concerned with the number of disabled students enrolled in institutions of higher learning, but rather, with equity issues in terms of access and participation (Fuller, Healey, Bradley & Hall, 2005). There are various types of disabilities that possibly affect people's learning, and these include: hearing, seeing, speech, mobility, agility, pain, learning, memory, developmental, psychological and the unknowns (NCHE, 2003). A study by Valiulis (2002) found disabilities to include: physical, intellectual, psychiatric, sensoric, learning, neurological, disfigurement and the presence in the body of disease-causing organisms. This indicates that disabilities are various and diverse, and some are known while others are yet to be known.

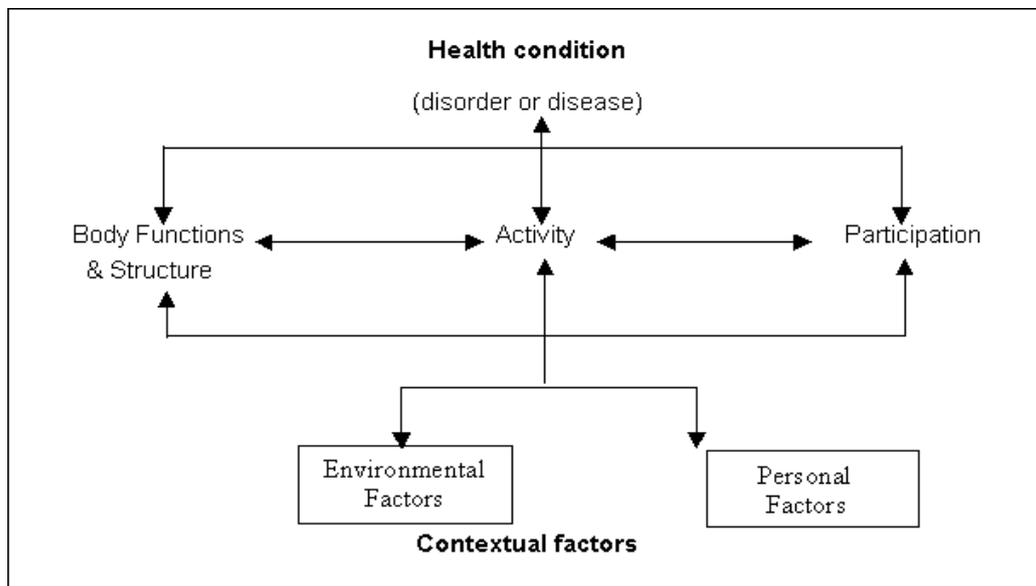
It should be noted that much as students with disability face numerous challenges such as gaining physical access to buildings, availability of equipment, they as well pose a dilemma to higher education institutions (HEIs) in relation to government funding (Tinklin, Riddell & Wison, 2004), curriculum alignment, teaching, learning and assessments. For this matter, HEIs are at 'cross-roads' in trying to find the best way to include a diverse range of learners, in light of the recent emphasis on initiatives aimed at widening access to higher education for the underrepresented groups. Hence, HEIs have been under pressure through the publication of performance indicators, the conditional ties of donor agencies (tagged on the number of

students from under-represented groups, including people with disabilities and to develop policy and provision for students with disabilities (HEFCE/HEFCW, 1999).

The Concept of Disability

It might appear surprising that something apparently as obvious as the meaning of disability should spur controversy. Nevertheless, for many years, this question has been the subject of passionate debate. The confusion and conflict (Osterholm, Nash, & Kritsonis, 2005) surrounding definition, diagnosis, and their impact on equity issues are scantily documented and sometimes anecdotal. All the same, debate over the definition of disability is common and surprisingly heated. In general terms, disabilities are characteristics of the body, mind, or senses that affect a person’s ability to engage independently in some or all aspects of day-to-day life (Riddell & Banks, 2001). Disability is the lack of ability relative to a personal or group standard or spectrum (Kochi, 2001). Disability may involve physical impairment, sensory impairment, cognitive or intellectual impairment, mental disorder (psychiatric disability), or various types of chronic disease. A disability may occur during a person’s lifetime or may be present from birth. Disability may be seen as resulting directly from individuals, in which case the focus is typically on aspects of those individuals, and how they could function better. This view is associated with what is generally termed as the medical model of disability, and Figure 1 conceptualizes both models.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework showing the Medical and Social Models of Disability



Source: *The International Classification of Functioning (ICF)*, (2001)

As the diagram indicates, in ICF disability and functioning are viewed as outcomes of interactions between *health conditions* (diseases, disorders and injuries) and *contextual factors*.

In the conceptual framework above, the first concern is the health condition perspective. It views the issue of disability as an impairment which leads to a disorder or disease because one who is considered disabled cannot have the body functions and structures perform as well as one who is not considered disabled. Among contextual factors are external environmental factors (for example, social attitudes, architectural characteristics, legal and social structures, as well as climate, terrain and so forth); and internal personal factors, which include gender, age, coping styles, social background, education, profession, past and current experience, overall behaviour pattern, character and other factors that influence how disability is experienced by the individual (Fuller et al, 2005).

The diagram identifies the three levels of human functioning classified by ICF: functioning at the level of body or body part, the whole person, and the whole person in a social context. Disability therefore involves dysfunctioning at one or more of these same levels: impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions. The formal definitions of these components of ICF are provided in Figure 1 above. Body functions are physiological functions of body systems (including psychological functions).

The ICF puts the notions of 'health' and 'disability' in a new light. It acknowledges that every human being can experience a decline in health and thereby experience some degree of disability. It should be noted, however, that disability is not something that only happens to a minority of people. The ICF thus 'mainstreams' the experience of disability and recognizes it as a universal human experience. By shifting the focus from cause to impact, it places all health conditions on an equal footing allowing them to be compared using a common metric – the ruler of health and disability. Furthermore, ICF takes into account the social aspects of disability and does not see disability only as a <medical> or <biological> dysfunction. By including Contextual Factors, in which environmental factors are listed, ICF allows to record the impact of the environment on the person's functioning.

Literature Review

Much as the enactment of various disability laws has contributed to the increasing enrolment of students with disabilities in higher educational institutions, Paul (2000: 209) suggests that 'these students constantly face various *barriers* in their educational environment.' Surprisingly, little research has examined the nature of these barriers (Baron et al, 1996). Two decades ago, Hurst (1996) pointed out that what had been missing from previous studies was the lived experience of students with disabilities. Despite the publication in recent years of guides to support university and college staff teaching students with disabilities (Doyle & Robson, 2002; & Healey, 2001; Teachability, 2000), little research has been initiated in response to Hurst's call. And, virtually, it seems none has systematically analysed the experience of learning in higher education of a large sample of students with disabilities. UK research on the experiences in higher education of students with disabilities has only recently come to include studies which focus exclusively on teaching, learning and assessment (Freewood & Spriggs, 2003; Fuller et al, 2004a, 2004b; Hall et al, 2002; Healey, 2003).

The emergent sociology of disability in the UK grappled with notions of structure and agency. Oliver (1990) and Barnes (1991), the ‘founding fathers’ of UK disability studies, developed the social model of disability, described as the ‘big idea’ of the disability movement (Shakespeare and Watson, 1997). Within this theory, disability is seen as a product of economic, social and cultural oppression rather than an inevitable consequence of impairment. Abberley (1987) and Oliver (1990) emphasized the marxist underpinning of the social model. Disability should be seen as the product of material oppression and commentators such as Barnes have been critical of those approaching disability studies from a cultural studies perspective, describing them as ‘a particular breed of academic luvvie who write mainly for themselves and other academics rather than for a wider audience’ (Barnes, 1999: 580).

Recently, there have been a number of calls, not for an abandonment, but for a more nuanced reading of the social model of disability (Shakespeare and Watson, 1997; Crow, 1996). Thomas (1999) depicts the social model of disability as a counter-narrative. One defines oneself as with disability, she suggests, because ‘one set of strands in one’s web of identity – or one chapter in one’s ontological narrative – has been subjectively acted upon, rewoven and retold in the light of counter-narratives (Thomas, 1999: 120). However, she continues, disability is unlikely to be the sole defining element in an individual’s identity and should be seen as one of a number of counter-narratives challenging public narratives of gender, ‘race’, sexuality and age. These do not exist in separate compartments and therefore cannot be seen in isolation from disability politics. Just as classical social science theories identify education as a major site for the reproduction of social inequality, so too disability commentators have argued that the exclusion of children with disabilities from mainstream schools and the under-representation of students with disabilities in higher education is a cause, not simply an effect, of the social marginalisation of people with disabilities (Barnes, 1991; Riddell and Banks, 2001).

Medical Understanding of “disability” (Medical Model)

What usually passes for “common sense” understanding of disability is that it is what is “wrong” with someone. So, ‘disabilities’ would include blindness, deafness, the various conditions that make it difficult or impossible to walk or to speak, mental illnesses and such things as chronic diseases and epilepsy. Many view disability through this medical lens and they concede that it is unfortunate that many people with disabilities face social exclusion or poverty but these are seen as the result of the natural functional limitations imposed by their ‘disabilities’. As the problems are primarily medical, the remedy is usually seeking treatment from various professionals, either to cure, rehabilitate or to protect the individual with a disability. Usually, these processes take place within a charitable context. Hence, the medical model is presented as viewing disability as a problem directly caused by disease, trauma, or other health condition which therefore requires sustained medical care provided in the form of individual treatment by professionals. In the medical model, management of disability is aimed at “cure”, or the individual’s adjustment and behavioural change that would lead to an “almost-cure” or effective cure. In the medical model, medical care is viewed as the main issue, and at the political level, the principal response is that of modifying or reforming the healthcare policy.

In a broader frame, the physical disability/social difference debate reflects a growing dialogue about definitions of humanness and personhood. The medical model assumes that autonomy and self-sufficiency are defining elements of the “normal” human condition. It is the standard against which the lives of those with limiting conditions are typically measured. People whose physical or cognitive make-ups limit autonomy and self-sufficiency are assumed to face “a limitation within the individual” (Harris, 2000: 26, 95-100) that prevents them from enjoying pleasures or undertaking tasks available to the average individual. Those lives are assumed to be less happy, their quality of life therefore less full, and their continuation, as a consequence, less desirable. Alternatively, the interaction between people and their environment/society may be emphasized. The focus may be on the role of society in labelling some people as having a disability relative to others, while causing or maintaining disability in those people through attitudes and standards of accessibility that favour the majority. This view is commonly associated with a human rights or social model of disability.

Social Understanding of “disability” (Social Model)

The International Disability Movement (as presented by disabled people’s organisations – DPOs) has offered a radical alternative to the medical conception of disability by asserting that people are disadvantaged not by their impairment, but as a result of the limitations imposed on them by attitudinal, social, cultural, economic, and environmental barriers to their participation in society. Rejecting the idea of abnormality, although not the importance of medical intervention or impairment prevention, this ‘social model’ understanding points to the normality of impairment within any population. What is not normal, it is argued, is being discriminated against and socially excluded because of having impairment. This is what is disabling. Hence, disability is just as much or more about how society puts up barriers that exclude and disadvantage people with impairments by not recognising their rights and needs. Authors arguing a social definition of disability insist the importance of a physical difference lay solely in discriminatory social reaction to or ignorance of the effects of the difference (Koch, 2001). In this model, disability is not an attribute of an individual, but rather a complex collection of conditions, many of which are created by the social environment. Hence, in this model, the management of the problem requires social action, and thus, it is the collective responsibility of society at large to make the environmental modifications necessary for the full participation of people with disabilities in all areas of social life. The issue is both cultural and ideological, requiring individual, community, and large-scale social change.

In this article, the authors believe that those advancing a clinical (medical) perspective are correct – this does not mean the physical difference is meaningless. It does not necessarily follow from this, however, that the prospect of physically differentiating conditions can be used easily in defining physical difference as a wholly disadvantaged state. It is one thing to acknowledge the reality of a physical condition, and it is another to argue its harm is so great as to diminish the affected life. Physical limits may change a life without necessarily resulting in an insupportable life quality. What to outsiders may seem to be an unacceptably restricted life is often, for those who live it, filled with meaning (Fuller & Healey, 2005).

Alternatively, what seems easy and simple for outsiders poses real challenges to those who live it. So then, the question remains, when does a physically acceptable difference become a disability for purposes of selection at HEIs? This is because there are visible critical disabilities, visible moderate or mild and then unknown or invisible disability (Koch, 2001). And this is where the assessors of levels of disability at admission level go wrong.

On December 13 2006, the United Nations formally agreed to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the first human rights treaty of the 21st century, to protect and enhance the rights and opportunities of the world's estimated 650 million people with disabilities. Countries that sign up to the convention were required to adopt national laws, and remove old ones, so that persons with disabilities would, for example, have equal rights to education, employment, and cultural life, the right to own and inherit property, not be discriminated against in marriage, children, etc., not be unwilling subjects in medical experiments.

‘Nothing about us without us’ Notion

Under this notion, it is argued that by seeing impairment as an ordinary part of life, and disability as the result of discrimination and exclusion, the social model underpins efforts to move disability from the medicalized, ‘special needs’ category and into the mainstream of development policies and practices. The social model has also promoted the idea that people with disabilities should be actors in their own lives rather than passive recipients of care or charity. This equates almost exactly to the current thinking on a human rights-based approach to development, increasingly adopted by government and international development agencies throughout the world. The model is so powerful because it illuminates the fact that the roots of poverty and powerlessness do not reside in biology but in society. The former is, for most people with disabilities, immutable, the latter, through collective action, can be transformed. Hence, policies to address disability issues should be formulated in consultation with those they are to benefit (persons with disabilities).

Methodology

This article was generated from a qualitative approach. Methods employed included documentary review, interviews and observation. The Government's policy on disability, admission list, and minutes of the Assessors' Committee were reviewed. Examination results to check the performance were accessed and analysed. Further, visits to public universities were conducted to observe the situation. The authors also observed the situation by the roadside in urban areas to establish the persons with disabilities on the streets.

Findings and discussions

Government Policies and Support to people with disabilities in Uganda

Before 1997, Makerere University, Uganda, used to admit students with disabilities on merit into the courses of BA, BA(SS), BA(SWSA), Commerce, Education and Statistics. In 1997 the government of Uganda came up with a directive on Affirmative Action to admit all

the qualifying students into higher education institutions. However, there were no proper guidelines, and this led to some applicants abusing the system. For example, some applicants had been admitted on false claims after compromising those responsible for ascertaining their disability conditions. In 2005, with the beneficiaries of Universal Primary Education (UPE) the public universities could no longer accommodate all the applicants with disabilities into the public universities, therefore, a policy was put in place and the Public Universities Joint Admissions Board (PUJAB) was asked to develop guidelines for the admission of people with disabilities into public universities (i.e., Makerere University, Makerere University Business School at Nakawa, Kyambogo University, Mbarara University of Science & Technology and Gulu University). Out of 4,000 students the government sponsors, 64 (0.6%) were the slots for Persons with Disabilities.

Selection and Admission to higher education on affirmative action for the disabled

While it is easier to approach other types of affirmative action such as gender, race, age, and religion, it is more cumbersome to come up with a concrete policy or guidelines for that matter, on disability given its diverse nature. There are a number of controversies and unresolved questions with regard to disability. For instance, what works for one type of disability does not necessarily work for the other. Indeed, no disability situation, for example, is similar to the other. There is no precise agreement on what constitutes the level of disability; as such, a criterion that is used for selection in Uganda leaves a lot to be desired. In some instances, what the assessors may consider as 'mild' may be very severe when it comes to other areas of participation. Indeed, there is no disability that is insignificant and no similar situation in people with disabilities. For that matter, the term 'disability' is used in its broadest context in describing all types of disabilities, such as physical and sensory impairments, psychological and neurological difficulties, and chronic diseases. In a study by UNICEF on 'Disabled Students at Universities in Africa', 1997, disabilities were grouped as follows:

- a) Visual Impairment (blind, partially sighted, low vision)
- b) Hearing Impairment (deaf, hearing-impaired)
- c) Speaking impairment (dumb, difficulty in speech)
- d) Physical disability (polio, amputation, paraplegics, cerebral palsy, genetic, accidents etc)
- e) Mental (psychiatric problem, tension, depression)
- f) Others (chronic, e.g. asthma, sickle cells, epilepsy, albino etc).

It is important to recognise that, although this kind of grouping gives an overview of impairments that university students have and may help universities to estimate the need of specific assistance, every student is unique in their needs. The needs of two blind students are more probably different than similar. It should be noted as well that problems that could be categorised under groups (e) and (f) are usually hidden and may be ignored in terms of providing assistance for these students.

Procedures for application

Most universities have the same entrance requirements for disabled students as for those without disabilities. In the Ugandan case, only four universities (Makerere, Kyambogo,

Mbarara University of Science and Technology and Gulu) admitted students with disabilities by a principle of affirmative action through relaxing admission conditions. For example, all those with two principle passes qualified for the scheme. Public Universities Joint Admissions Board (PUJAB) forms are designed with a section on disability which the student must fill and the school authority confirms and stamps. The forms are then taken to the Local Councils (I, II & III) for further verification). In Uganda, there is a Committee for the admission of Students with Disabilities comprising the following: three Medical professionals from the University Medical School, the Director of the University Hospital, the Dean of Students, the University Librarian, the University Counsellor, the Director, Makerere University Institute of Psychology, the Dean of Law and the Academic Registrar as the secretary. Since there are more applicants than the slots, admission of the students with disabilities is on the basis of the level of Disability as follows:

- a) Very Severe Disability
- b) Severe Disability
- c) Moderate Disability
- d) Mild Disability.

Considering the limitations of students with disabilities in participating in the various academic programmes, the following conditions are put in place:

- a) they are able to cope with academic requirements;
- b) must be realistic to complete course and attend all lecturers;
- c) depending on inclination and capability;
- d) depending on degree of impairment for certain studies;
- e) orthopaedic disabled students are not encouraged to take courses which demand active outdoor activities;
- f) The student can complete the course despite the disability.

While it is understood that all the above conditions are relevant for the efficiency of universities, the question arises whether they are taken into account when students without disabilities in programmes are under discussion.

Equality with reservation?

Disabled students are admitted with the minimum requirement (2 principle passes -- 2Es) and have to compete with students admitted on merit (4As). Sometimes they have done sciences but cannot do courses that have practical or research components. They are usually placed where they can cope but not necessarily where they fit and have interest. Much as this may help them realise their dream of getting a university degree, it may also affect them psychologically since they cannot necessarily be able to aspire and become what they have always wished to become. However, programmes offered in this category include: Arts, Social Sciences, Education and sometimes Law. This is because, programmes that require eye sight and other physical ability such as: Medicine, Engineering, Computing, Accounting and Auditing may not be accessible by such students. In Africa, an estimated 80 million people are living with disabilities. Every day in Africa many people are disabled by malnutrition and disease, environmental hazards,

natural disasters, traffic and industrial accidents, civil conflict and war (USAID, 1998). Due to the difficulty in the definition of who a person with disabilities is, many impaired people in Uganda still remain unattended to or even considered for the special schemes in an attempt to provide disability equality in public universities. Each country has a fraction of the population who face some obstacles in entering, participating, gaining, completing or continuing education, and Uganda is no exception. Although states and individual institutions have policies in place, procedure and practice are often inconsistent when considered within and between departments and faculties or schools.

Whereas the challenge remains with the states to provide funding for the disabled students in higher education, the onus is on the institutions to address the validity of the current practice and to take a more inclusive approach to the teaching, learning and assessment of students with disabilities whilst maintaining academic and professionally prescribed standards. Otherwise, it will remain as just empty rhetoric, short of the capacity to transform and improve the livelihood of people with disabilities. Analysis of student experience indicated that many students with disabilities were isolated and lacked the social networks in which much informal learning takes place. Students struggled but most staff were reluctant to make reasonable adjustments. The culture of some institutions and subject areas was particularly hostile, with staff expressing fears over the erosion of standards as a result of the requirement to accommodate disabled students.

Facts about disability

Around 10% (650 million people) of the world's population live with a disability (the world's largest minority), 80% of persons with disabilities live in developing countries, according to the UN Development Programme. Further, only 1-2% of children with disabilities in developing countries receive a formal education. Worse still, 80% of people with disabilities are unemployed and only 2% of people with disabilities in developing countries have access to rehabilitation and appropriate basic services. For every child killed during conflict, three more are permanently disabled; yet, mortality of children with disabilities can be as high as 80%. To make matters worse, 20 million women are disabled as a consequence of pregnancy and childbirth per year (Christian Blind Mission International, 2003). A great deal of work from basic physical accessibility through education to self-empowerment and self-supporting employment is seriously needed. Due to the difficulty in the definition of who a person with disability is as elaborated in the previous sections, many impaired people in Uganda still remain unattended to or even considered for the special schemes in an attempt to provide disability equality in public universities.

According to the UNICEF report of 1997, out of the thirty eight (English-speaking African countries, only a few had a written policy regarding students with disabilities, and the policies differed from one another, although the aim is more or less the same: that is, to integrate all students who meet the academic requirements. Two major approaches are envisaged here, the adjusting approach and the equal opportunities approach. The "adjusting approach" recognizes the specific needs of students with disabilities and emphasises the importance of addressing them but, on the other hand, make restrictions like "*without restricting or prejudicing the rights of other students*" or "*where it is practicable and affordable*". This approach accommodates students well in the university but expects them to adjust into the mainstream. The other approach

could be called “equal opportunities” which emphasises the need to adjust the environment so that all students have the same opportunities for education. Environment does not mean only the physical environment but also mental environment (attitudes), teaching and supervising methods, and equipment (Disability Rights Commission, 2002).

Although disabled persons in the whole world account for over 650 million, those enrolled in universities are a very small percentage. And yet, according to UN (WHO report) 1983, the prevalence of disability is about 7-10% of any given population. The question remains, what happens to the other population of people with disabilities? It seems the majority of youths with disabilities never proceed to higher-level education, assuming they received any education at all. This is because many children with disabilities from poor socio-economic backgrounds do not proceed beyond primary education and, at worst, others do not go to school at all (World Education Report, 1995). Thus, the concern of the authors is that a fraction of the Ugandan population faces obstacles in entering, participating, gaining, completing or continuing education. In the next section, we examine affirmative action for University entry, a way of widening the possibility of people with disabilities gaining access and participation in higher education institutions.

Issues to do with accessibility

Accessible environments for people with disabilities include consistent linkages between communications, transport, buildings, struts and public areas to provide access to employment, education and other areas and facilities. In Uganda particularly, the existing buildings, inadequate financial support –equipment, Braille textbooks, sign language interpreters and competent instructors are the biggest hindrance to a conducive learning environment. Most lecture halls and halls of residence have no elevators or lifts, so the students encounter problems. A survey of all public universities indicates that there is a huge deficit in terms of physical infrastructure to contain those with disabilities as well as trained instructors in disability-related skills.

Access and Participation

Whereas, it is true the policy (Affirmative Action) made a breakthrough to the otherwise would-be disadvantaged people, many did not have any knowledge about the scheme; yet others never accessed any kind of education at all. It was also established that the challenges these students faced at a lower level, were found to affect them even at university level. Further, although many would have wished to pursue market-driven programmes such as Engineering, Medicine, Veterinary Medicine and many others, because of such limitations – both physical and academic – they miss the chances. On the other hand, a number of these students were found to have challenges in learning, accessing the library, keeping time and using other facilities. The authors did not find any arrangement to transport these students from their halls of residence to their learning destinations and back. Whereas a good number of students offering LLB, Statistics, Commerce, Economics, had progression and completion challenges, similar cases were found with the normal students. It was also found that use of special devices for learning disrupted other students.

Higher education has been through a period of great change, with reductions in funding, increased workloads brought about through huge expansion in the student population and greater accountability. The demography of disability is difficult and therefore coming up with estimates of individuals with disabilities is problematic. The varying approaches taken to define disability notwithstanding, demographers agree that there are as many as 650 million persons with disabilities in the world. Students with disabilities had been written into policies on admissions, assessments, estates and buildings and into some strategic plans. Most institutions had definite written plans for further development. There is also widespread agreement among experts in the field that disability is more common in developing than in developed nations. It is crucial to note that the issue of disability is not a periphery one, but rather a central concern for the nations at large and institutions of higher education in particular, that require special strategies and attention. We are labouring to address this concern, because of the diverse nature of individual impairments that are peculiar and require diverse efforts and strategies to ensure accessibility, successful participation and completion. While all these signs of progress are encouraging, there are many areas that still need further development. Areas needing particular attention are teaching and learning, monitoring and evaluation and staff development. Teaching and learning remains an area of particular concern, with respondents stating that the kind of cultural change required to really make a difference in this area will take a long time. Governments need to include in their budgets sufficient funds to facilitate students with disabilities. Policies on disability should involve stakeholders (e.g. parents, teachers and students at a lower level). Campaigns should be launched to create awareness for those who never get a chance to get information and for students with disability at a lower level and there is need for Disability Mainstreaming Sections to be established in higher education institutions to deal with the day-to-day disability issues.

We are currently in the position where widening participation for people with disabilities into Higher Education focuses on recruitment and support provision rather than institutional change, fitting students into what already exists. Recent research has shown gaps between policy and practice and that students with disabilities are encountering barriers to choice of institution, subject and access to the physical environment. What we need is to re-examine our practice and our values so that universities can accommodate a diverse student body. This is confirmed by Barton (2003) when he asserts that “inclusion is not about assimilation or accommodation of individuals into an essentially unchanged system of educational practice... Instead it is about the transformation of those deep structural barriers to change.

Policy and managerial implications

We need to reflect upon our own attitudes and correct what had been considered as a “burden” and consider “disability” our collective responsibility. Many instructors need to be oriented to have a positive and caring attitude towards those with disabilities. They need to be equipped not only with general pedagogical skills, but at least each teacher from primary to a university professor should be equipped with skills to enable them handle the disabled, or at least to

be sensitive to their condition. While alternative modes of teaching and assessment would provide a solution to the disabled students, embedding alternative teaching and assessments into course structures would pose real challenges such as: assessing core learning outcomes, fitting in with existing assessment strategies, resource implications, staff training, institutional/departmental strategies, and plagiarism, among other things. However, attempts should be made to ensure that the special needs of people with disabilities are taken care of without compromising standards and quality of education

While the government of Uganda has done its best in achieving disability equality with these encouraging signs, there are significant gaps between policy and practice as visible barriers remain to the accessibility, participation and completion of students with disabilities. This means therefore, that higher education institutions still have a challenge to ably accommodate students with disabilities. There are areas that require to be addressed for these students to study and participate in an equitable environment. More innovative and creative resource mobilisation skills need to be employed in order to have funding for infrastructure to support students with disabilities. Such innovative vehicles may include private public partnerships, and increased state funding.

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SSECAT: A Tool to Enhance the Capability of Educators

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Abstract

The global education system has undergone a multi-fold transformation due to the change in expectations of the stakeholders. Educational institutions focus on designing the curriculum in par with the industry requirements, devising and implementing new pedagogical tools for enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of the teaching-learning process, augmenting the capability of educators through a plethora of development programmes, and effective utilization of their resources to compete in the current globalized scenario. This necessitates the assessment of the capability of educators so as to achieve excellence in imparting the desired knowledge, skills and abilities to the students. Hence a tool, SSECAT, was developed to assess the capability of educators in varied dimensions with the concept of Capacity Building Process as the base. The variables for the study were derived from literature reviews. The study subjects were 360 educators from the engineering discipline selected at random from 18 institutions in Coimbatore District, India. Capacity mapping was done by plotting the scaled scores on the GRID to identify the lack areas, and strategies were devised to enhance the capability of educators. The research described here provides a new methodology for assessing and consequently enhancing the capability of educators through a perception-based, consensus-oriented assessment.

Keywords: Educators, Capability Enhancement, Capacity Building, Capacity Mapping, SSECAT, GRID

Introduction

*“Upon the education of the people of this country, the fate of this country depends”
Benjamin Disraeli (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,1878)*

The definition of education in common usage; that education is merely the delivery of knowledge, skills and information from teachers to students, is inadequate to capture what is really important about being and becoming educated. Education in its broadest, general sense is the means through which the aims and habits of a group of people lives on from one generation to the next. Education occurs through any experience that has a formative effect on the way one thinks, feels, or acts and is the formal process by which society deliberately transmits its accumulated knowledge, skills, customs and values from one generation to another. Education has taken an important role in the development of a developing country like India. As a developing country, India needs to increase the economic level of the country, which can be achieved only through a good education system, since a good education system will lead to creation of brilliant citizens for the nation.

History of Indian education

India has a long history of organized education. The Gurukul system of education is one of the oldest on earth but before that was the Guru-Shishya system in which students were taught orally and the knowledge and skills would be passed from one generation to the next. Gurukuls were the traditional Hindu residential schools of learning; typically the teacher's house or a monastery. Education was free (and often limited to the higher castes), but students from well-to-do families paid Gurudakshina, a voluntary contribution after the completion of their studies. At the Gurukuls, the teacher imparted knowledge of Religion, Scriptures, Philosophy, Literature, Warfare, Statecraft, Medicine Astrology and "History". The first millennium and the few centuries preceding it saw the flourishing of higher education at Nalanda, Takshashila University, Ujjain, and Vikramshila universities. Art, Architecture, Painting, Logic, Grammar, Philosophy, Astronomy, Literature, Buddhism, Hinduism, Arthashastra (Economics and Politics), Law and Medicine were among the subjects taught and each university specialized in a particular field of study. Takshila specialized in the study of medicine, while Ujjain laid emphasis on astronomy. Nalanda, being the biggest centre, handled all branches of knowledge, and housed up to 10,000 students at its peak.

Education under British Rule: British records show that education was widespread in the 18th century, with a school for every temple, mosque or village in most regions of the country and students of all classes of society enrolled. The subjects taught included Reading, Writing Arithmetic, Theology, Law, Astronomy, Metaphysics, Ethics, Medical Science and Religion. During the 19th and 20th centuries most of the Indian princely states fell under the British Raj. The British established schools to teach English and the Sciences (Kuppusamy, 2009). In 1857, three federal examining universities on the pattern of London University were established in the three main British-controlled cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The existing colleges were affiliated to these universities. Over the next ten decades, more universities were founded and by 1947 there were 20 universities in the country.

After Independence: After independence, education became the responsibility of the states. The Central Government specified standards for technical and higher education and from 1976, education became a joint responsibility of the State and the Centre through a constitutional amendment and initiated the task of providing free and compulsory education to all children up to 14 years of age. Government of India made a commitment that by 2000, 6% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) would be spent on education, out of which half would be spent on Primary education.

Engineering education in India

The word "engineering" derived from the Latin word "ingeniare" means "to design" or "to create". The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1999) defines "engineering" as "the branch of science and technology concerned with the design, building, and use of engines, machines and structures" and "technology" as the "application of scientific knowledge for practical purpose, especially in industry".

Indian Engineering Education represents one of the largest educational systems in the world. India has emerged as a major player in the world in the field of Engineering education, and Indian Engineers have contributed significantly to the economic and technological development of many foreign lands (Biswas et al, 2010). India has the potential to be a global technology leader. The Indian economy has been growing at the rate of 9% per year. The Indian industry has also become globally competitive in several sectors and can increase its global market share.

Engineering education in India started during the British era and focused mainly on Civil Engineering. Engineering education in India has a long tradition, the beginning of which goes back to the year 1847, when Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee was established which became the Roorkee University in 1949, the first Engineering University in the country. This was followed by the establishment of the College of Engineering in Pune in 1854. The Civil Engineering College in Howrah was started in 1856 to impart training to the Engineering personnel of the PWD. The first degree examination in Civil Engineering was held in 1864. In 1921, it was renamed as the Bengal Engineering College, which was accorded the deemed university status in 1992. In Mumbai, Victoria Jubilee Technological Institute (now Veermata Jijabai Technological Institute) was set up in 1887 (Biswas et al, 2010).

Another landmark in the history of Engineering Education was the establishment of the National Council of Education at Calcutta in 1908 in the wake of nationalist movement of 1905-06. It established the nucleus of an institution for imparting education in engineering and technology which in 1919, developed into the College of Engineering and Technology. In 1909 the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore was established which owes its existence to the vision and munificence of the late J.N.Tata. It offers only postgraduate and research programmes. In 1958, it was accorded the deemed university status.

It was only after Independence that Engineering and Technological education got a great boost. The development of Technical education has been one of the major achievements of the post-independence period. The creation of the All India Council for Technical Education in 1945 and the Report of the Scientific Manpower Committee (1947) has a far reaching influence in this development. The reports of the Engineering Personnel Committee (1956) and the Committee for Postgraduate Engineering Education and Research (1961) gave an impetus to higher level technical education. Studies of Varshney (2006) and Biswas et al, (2010) indicate that Engineering Education in India has seen tremendous growth over the past decade, both in the number of students and number of colleges.

Literature review

Extensive reviews were carried out in areas of Capacity Building and the changing roles and responsibilities of educators.

Capacity Building: Among the handful of tools available for capability assessment, Capacity Building (CB) is a tool that helps to enhance the country's human, scientific, technological, organizational, institutional and resource capabilities. The concept of CB was first applied by UNDP in the early 1990s to assist developing countries in issues of

primary concern focusing on community development. Shortly non-profit organizations, non-government organizations, community development agencies and other funding agencies, were inspired by this concept and started applying it to determine the effectiveness of the programmes taken up by them. Later they adopted the concept to evaluate the extent of service rendered to their clients, to devise customized programmes to serve them better.

CB refers to activities that improve an organization's ability to achieve its mission. *World Bank (1996)* viewed CB as "The combination of people, institutions and practices that permits countries to achieve their development goals", while UNDP (1997) defined it as 'The process by which individuals, organizations, institutions, and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives'. Hailey and James (2003), in their article have studied the works of Sahley (1994), Eade (1997), James (1998), Lewis (2001), Smillie and Hailey (2001), James (2002) and stated that "there is no one universally accepted definition of capacity building". Various definitions have evolved for Capacity Building (Kaplan and Soal, 1995; Eade, 1997; Taschereau, 1997; Makumbe, 1998) over the years with the increase in its contextual application.

Hence, irrespective of the nature of the organization, CB could be viewed as a concept that helps assessment of the performance of a programme or an organization and formulate action plans to achieve the set goals consistently with the effective utilization of all its resources. Reviews on CB activities carried out by Sripirabaa and Krishnaveni (2007) indicate that the CB process is pervasive in nature and has gained acceptance and prominence in the last two decades, both in the international and Indian scenario because of the demonstrable benefits derived from its use. Krishnaveni and Sripirabaa (2008a) have established that the CB concept could be utilized by organizations to bring about sustainable organizational growth and achieve human resource (HR) excellence (Krishnaveni and Sripirabaa, 2008b). Among the tools used for capacity assessment, Participatory Organizational Evaluation Tool (POET) appears to be pervasive and repeatedly used tool (Krishnaveni and Sripirabaa, 2007). Review of the tools used for CB indicated that organizations used a range of areas for capacity assessment depending on their requirement and criticality (Krishnaveni and Sripirabaa 2007). Hence we aspired to apply the prevalent concept of CB Process to assess and enhance the capability of educators.

Significance of Educators: Researchers have perceived educators in different dimensions and their roles have expanded manifold.

Table 1: Views regarding educators

Researcher	Definition
Gnanasekaran (2010)	The destiny of the nation can be shaped only in the classrooms. A good teacher can bring the entire world to the classroom.
Rowan and Zinaich (2003)	Educator is a person who teaches, evaluates and advises students collaborates with other professionals.
Hopkins and Sullivan (1996)	Efficient lecturing is a fine art. Lecturers are answerable for the message they put out and collision that it has.

Roles and responsibilities of educators: Educators have varied roles and responsibilities namely: facilitator, knowledge provider, mentor, guide, researcher and role model. Murugavel (2009) quotes Ravindranath Tagore’s statement that, “A teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself.” The quality of education depends upon the quality of the teachers. Thus the role of the teachers is very important in the making of the nation. If the teachers are excellent, the nation will have excellent citizens (Parvez, 2009). The roles and responsibilities of the educators have many dimensions. Boud (1988) stated that an educator’s intellectual development goals, students’ maturity levels and cognitive orientations influence the role of the educators. The review indicated the extensive research carried out elucidating the roles and responsibilities of educators.

Table 2: Views regarding roles and responsibilities of educators

Researcher	Roles and responsibilities
Dolly (2011)	Honest in student appraisal and avoid favouritism, ready to adjust teaching styles to meet individual needs of students, actively involving in all staff meetings, educational conferences and college programmes
Geeta (2010)	Updater with the latest developments in his/her subject, shift between a formal and an informal method of teaching like debates, discussions, practical activities, experiments and projects, plan, set and evaluate grade test, exams and assignments
Leena (2010)	Imparting knowledge and skills, guiding students, supervising, always open to learn new things consistently
Mulford and Silins (2011)	Student facilitator, student developer, student advisor, student role model and student motivator
Murugavel (2009)	Information provider, role model, facilitator, mentor, assessor, planner and resource developer
Meenakshi Raman and Kumar Neeraj Sanchdev (2009)	Maintain a healthy relationship with all teaching and non-teaching staff members, voluntarily participate in organizing sporting events and other excursions like camping trips, picnics, industrial visits, educational tours, etc.
Karan Magro (2003)	Instructor, expert, mentor, co-learner, reformer, facilitator, information provider, researcher and assessor
Minondo et al (2001)	Facilitator, monitor, researcher, motivator, role model and liaison role
Diana Carroll (2001)	Teaching curriculum, facilitating social interactions between students, managing small as well as large groups and teaching good common behaviours and communication skills
Harden and Crosby (2000)	Student assessor, curriculum assessor, curriculum planner, course planner, resource material creator and study guide producer
Attwell (1999)	Knowledge provider, expertise, self-reflector, planner and assessor
Barrow and Milburn (1986)	Teaching involves a wide range of more specific activities such as lecturing, instructing, drilling, encouraging, asking questions and eliciting responses, conduction seminars, testing, and providing information

Raviya (2009) in his article has defined the good characteristics of educators as: being good human beings and lifelong learners, punctual, honest to their profession and to their learners, should not allow any of their personal biases or prejudices to colour their perceptions and behaviour pattern as teachers, treat all students equally and impartially, good communicator, ability to write with ease and grace on any topic, being role models to students, self-reliant and self-confident, willing to take head-on the challenges that need attention both on the personal and the professional front, being excellent in oral and writing, adequate fluency in speech and appropriate diction, great sense of moral values, open mindedness, agility of mind, constantly developing a reflective and analytical mind, never feeling distracted and disturbed, free from muddy thoughts, kind and respectful towards others, modesty, kindness and humbleness, attaining the final goal while teaching, checking assignments, completing courses, helping students overcome problems, identifying weak and strong students and guiding them.

Role of management in making good educators: To become/being a good teacher, he/she should possess all those good characteristics. At the same time, management also has the responsibility towards making them good educators. Management should always support and motivate their educators to improve their capabilities. O'Connor (2004) has elucidated the responsibilities of management towards developing the capability of educators and highlighted the important responsibilities of management as providing a safe environment for teaching and learning; spending quality time in the classroom; providing adequate materials and supplies and providing more planning time; providing academic freedom to conduct their individual research and teach their own courses; encourage or motivate the educator to recognize the efforts of unit-wide achievements in teaching and curricular improvement; providing adequate funding for the enhancement of faculty teaching skills; recognizing achievements in teaching; periodically reviewing the reward system so that it reflects unit and individual contributions to the institution's overall mission of teaching, research and service (The University of Michigan Academic Affairs Advisory Committee, 2003).

Reasons for capability building for educators

Education system and the roles of educators are undergoing continued changes in the process of globalization. Institutions must be adaptive, constantly changing and using world-class strategies, regularly updating their courses, curriculum and methods of teaching. Subhashini (2011) established that there is a paradigm shift in teaching learning pedagogy. Educators have to change their way of teaching and give case studies, team projects, and interaction with leaders from different walks of life and many more depending upon their creativity and skills and have the capability to handle crossborder education. It is seen as a way to provide a more diversified, flexible education (Marginson and Wende, 2007). In order to welcome the international students, the infrastructure in academic institutions should be strengthened and, at the same time, educators' capability should also be enhanced.

Kiran (2006) in his article stated that Indian business is exposed to many challenges like global competition, technological upgradation, quality upgradation, cost consciousness, new combination of means of production etc. To face these challenges the students' capability should be increased, which could only be achieved through capable educators.

An unprecedented explosion of scientific and technological knowledge in current panorama has turned the world into a global village. Technology is changing day by day and in the context of education; it has taken an influencing role. Technological change provides new opportunities as well as challenges in the education sector as well as in the teacher career. The education system is turned to a modern classroom. To compete with this change the educators have to build their own capability (Sudhakar Babu, 2007). Globalization of teaching methodology has turned from traditional method to modern method. Hangaraji (2009) highlights the paradigm shift from the traditional teaching pedagogy - "Chalk and talk" method, teacher-centric approach in a conditional environment, more theoretical oriented, spoon-feeding to the a modern teaching environment - a participative, interactive method, learner-centric method with flexibility in the setting a separate setup for passive and less interactive learners, more of application oriented, self-paced learning and providing immediate feedback. To survive in this situation, educators need to adapt themselves to the changes.

Educators' knowledge of teaching and learning is considered as a valuable factor in connecting the students to their society in a number of powerful ways. Educational goals cannot be achieved without quality educators. Sarat Kumar Sahoo and Pratima Pradhan (2009) believe that for creating a high-level of reflective learning students, highly skilled and intellectually able educators are needed. These reasons demand the assessment of the capability of educators and building their capability to compete with the changes. Consequently, we aspired to apply the concept of Capacity Building process and POET the pervasive perception-based, consensus-oriented assessment tool to assess the capabilities of educators in five significant dimensions derived from literature reviews namely: qualities that are to be possessed by educators, ability in adopting contemporary teaching tools and methods, willingness and ability to take up academic and administrative responsibilities, aspiration for professional development activities and support rendered by the management.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the research were:

- to measure the capability of engineering educators;
- to map the capability of the educators and identify the low capacity - low consensus areas;
- to develop strategies for improving the capability in the lag areas identified.

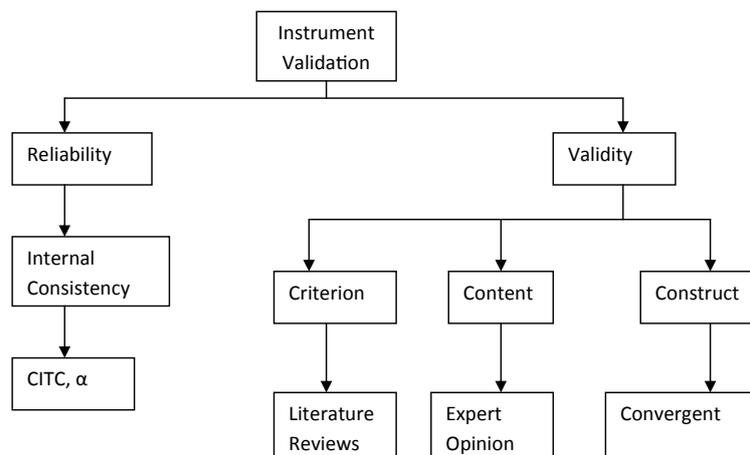
Methodology

A questionnaire survey method was used to seek responses from educators teaching undergraduate and post-graduate courses in the engineering discipline in Coimbatore, India. The variables included in the study tend to assess the capabilities of engineering educators in five critical dimensions. Each response was measured using a five-point Likert scale, ranging from five 'strongly agree' to one 'strongly disagree'. Data were collected from eighteen educational institutions offering undergraduate and post graduate courses in the engineering discipline. The study adopted purposive sampling in the first phase for the selection of institutions and

later adopted random sampling for the selection of educators in each of the institutions. A total of 360 educators were included for the study. The data were collected during the months of June and August 2011 and all questionnaires were usable.

Using a preliminary draft questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted with 60 educators from five institutions; these responses were excluded from the final study. The conduct of the study ensured criterion-oriented validity through literature reviews (Yabroff et al, 1996 in Guellimin, 1995) and content validity through expert opinion (Hambleton and Rogers, 1991). Refinement of variables was achieved by examining the corrected-item total calculation (CITC) scores and deleting those items which had a score of less than zero and items that produced a substantial or sudden drop in CITC scores (Cronbach, 1951). Reliability of the variables was ensured by examining the Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient with an alpha value of >0.7 considered to be acceptable (Nunnally, 1978). All the variables had an α value of >0.7 , ensuring reliability of variables. Convergent validity was ensured using the partial least square (PLS) technique (Bagozzi and Fornell, 1982). Convergent validity was assessed by checking that the AVE values of each variable was greater than 50 per cent and the composite reliability greater than 70 per cent (Diamantopoulos and Winklhofer, 2001).

Figure 1: Validation of SSECAT



The questionnaire was revised using feedback gained during the pilot study. The tool used to assess the capability of educators was named as SSECAT (Sripirabaa Sudha Educators Capability Assessment Tool). The apportionment of questions in each dimension in SSECAT is as follows:

Dimensions	Number of questions
Qualities of educators (QE)	16
Ability in adapting contemporary teaching methods and tools (TMT)	11
Ability and willingness to take up academic and administrative responsibilities (AAR)	6
Professional development activities taken up by educators (PDA)	20
Support provided by the management (SPM)	11

Table 3: Reliability and validity scores of SSECAT

Construct	Composite reliability	AVE	Cronbach's alpha
Qualities of educators	0.922079	0.530289	0.907066
Teaching methods and tools	0.850280	0.490980	0.799880
Academic and administrative responsibilities	0.868375	0.525143	0.817036
Professional development activities	0.911665	0.545634	0.889748
Support provided by the management	0.907082	0.486245	0.891346

POET methodology was adopted to calculate the Raw, Standardized and Scaled Capacity and Consensus scores. The modus operandi for calculating these scores are:

1. The average of the respondent's total score for a section gives the Raw Capacity Score for that section.
2. The Raw Capacity score multiplied by 100 and divided by the maximum points for the area gives the Standardized Capacity Score.
3. The standard deviation as a percentage of the range of scores for that area gives the Raw Consensus Score for that area.
4. Raw Consensus Score multiplied by 2 and subtracted from 100 gives the Standardized Consensus Score.
5. Standardized Scores are converted to Scaled Scores using the key given below

Standardized Score	0 - 22	23 - 32	33 - 39	40 - 45	46 - 50	51 - 55	56 - 59
Scaled Score	5	10	15	20	25	30	35
Standardized Score	60 - 63	64 - 67	68 - 71	72 - 74	75 - 78	79 - 81	82 - 84
Scaled Score	40	45	50	55	60	65	70
Standardized Score	85 - 87	88 - 89	90 - 92	93 - 95	96 - 98	99 - 100	
Scaled Score	75	80	85	90	95	100	

The GRID was plotted with the scaled capacity score on the x-axis and the scaled consensus score on the y-axis. The plot shows the various capacity areas that fall into the quadrants indicating high/low capacity/consensus. The GRID shows the extent to which the educators possess the required capabilities in the five dimensions and the degree of agreement among the educators (consensus score). A dimension in which the educators possessed the required capabilities along with the consensus of their peers obtains a high capacity score and high consensus score. A dimension in which educators lack the required capabilities receives a low capacity score, and any dimension where agreement is lacking among the educators receives a low consensus score. After mapping the dimensions on the GRID, the final step is to enhance the capability in those dimensions that have either low capacity or low consensus; i.e., moving all the capacity areas to the high capacity–high consensus (HC–HC) quadrant. This was accomplished through brainstorming sessions conducted with academicians.

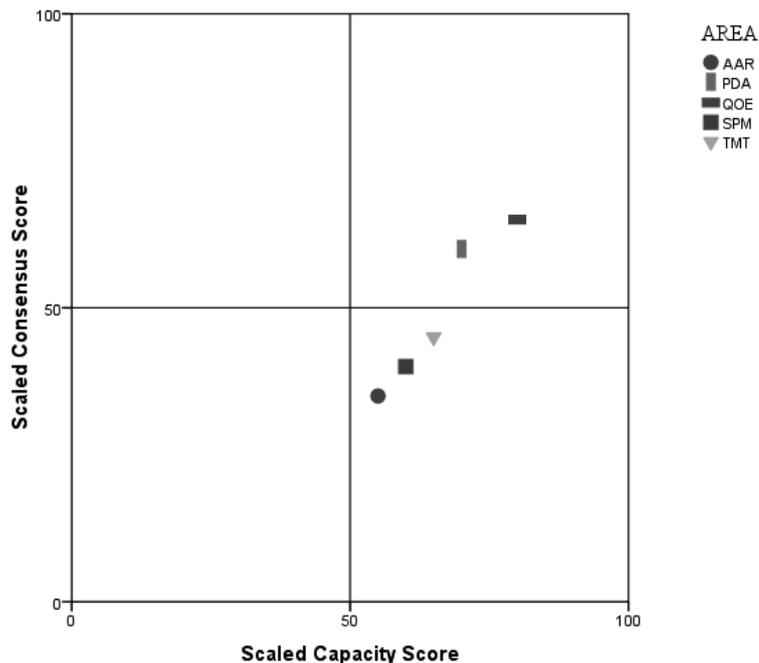
Analysis and discussion

Using the data collected from the educators the Raw, Standardized and Scaled capacity and consensus scores were calculated and GRID was plotted. Plot on the GRID portrayed the assessment dimensions that fell in the four quadrants. Table 4 gives the capacity and consensus scores of the educators and figure 2, the GRID.

Table 4: Capacity and Consensus Scores of educators

Dimension	Scaled Capacity Score	Scaled Consensus Score
Qualities of educators	80	65
Teaching methods and tools	60	50
Academic and administrative responsibilities	55	35
Professional development activities	65	55
Support provided by the management	45	30

Figure 2: GRID for Engineering Educators



Among the capability assessment dimension of engineering educators' dimensions- Qualities of educators and Professional developmental activities had scored a high capacity-high consensus quadrant. Therefore, it was inferred that engineering educators had a high degree of agreement and high capability in the two dimensions. Remaining three dimensions -- namely Teaching methods and tools, Support provided by the management and Ability to take up academic and administrative responsibilities -- fell in the high capacity-low consensus quadrant, implying low agreement level among the engineering educators with respect to the three dimensions.

Having identified a high capacity and three low consensus dimensions, we sought to identify the reasons for the low capacity/consensus profile. We identified the reasons for the low capacity and consensus profile through discussions conducted with the principal and faculty of engineering colleges. We contacted 10 principals and 40 faculties. Discussions with the principals and faculty revealed that not all the management of the institutions rendered financial assistance for their faculty of all designations for upgrading their qualifications, for their professional development activities and participating in conferences and seminars both in India and abroad. Preference was given to faculties that had been in the institution for at least six years and that had established consistence performance. In few institutions faculty in higher designations enjoyed these privileges irrespective of their tenure in the institution. Though it is a matter of concern for faculties that were in the initial stages of their career, the principal and management could chart out action plans to resolve the concern.

The discussion for the low consensus profile of the dimension willingness and ability to take up academic and administrative responsibilities revealed that only few institutions adopted a decentralized approach in delegating the academic and administrative responsibilities among the faculties and it was accomplished on a rotational basis. The heads of the institutions viewed that this approach would make their faculties gain exposure and expertise in the different areas of academic and administrative responsibilities, namely: joint projects with industry, placements, admissions, industry-institute interface, curriculum design and delivery, programme administration, conducting value-added programmes to students, organizing faculty development programmes and conducting management development programmes. Faculties were given the privilege to decide and choose the areas of academic and administrative responsibilities and it was on a rotational basis changes once a year/three years/five years, depending on the institution and the prevailing situation. The heads of the institutions believed that such an approach would facilitate their faculties set goals and accomplish their targets in their respective areas of academic and administrative responsibilities and the institution would achieve excellence in the above areas, since responsibilities were shared among colleagues and faculties normally work in teams. On the other hand, discussion with faculties revealed that though the majority of them appreciated the approach, they still strongly believed that it was the prime responsibility of the heads of the institutions to take care of these activities, which was a concern to be resolved.

Another low consensus profile found among engineering educators was teaching method and tools. Discussion with the faculties revealed their willingness to adopt to new developments in teaching methods and tools, provided they underwent training to gain the competencies.

Conclusion

This research provides a new dimension for assessing the capability of educators through a perception-based consensus-oriented approach. The CB exercise paved the way for assessing the low capacity/consensus areas in five critical dimensions and the reasons thereof. This CB exercise paved the way for identifying the areas for enhancing the capabilities of engineering educators in line with the requirement of the stakeholders.

The discussions initiated with the principals and faculties provided thought-provoking insights which could be adopted by the institutions. Individual engineering colleges could take up such capability assessment and enhancement activities to explore the areas for capability enhancement for their faculties which would pave the way for achieving excellence in the education offered by them. Achieving excellence in engineering education implies imparting the desired knowledge, skills and abilities among young engineering graduates who therefore gain competence in the engineering field with a global outlook. The above methodology of capability assessment could be applied to educators of Arts and Science, Management and Medicine streams.

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Fight against corruption in Tanzania: The positives and challenges

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Abstract

Combating and overcoming corruption in public service is one of the most important challenges facing 21st century public services in most countries. Tanzania is not an exception. This article is about the successes and challenges pertaining to Tanzania's efforts in combating the malaise of corruption in its public service. The article is based on a review of existing literature and is thus theoretical. It examines the nature of corruption in Tanzania's public service, and re-visits the measures that have been put in place to fight corruption. The article then looks at the success attained and challenges faced in the fight against corruption. It concludes that corruption cannot be completely defeated, but efforts to minimize it are possible if there is the necessary political will and commitment. However, the article suggests that any measure to combat corruption must take a holistic and unified approach and it must be implemented parallel at all levels of government based on the principles of legality, transparency, political neutrality, morality and psychological convincing.

Key words: Combating corruption, Tanzania

Introduction

Corruption is not a new phenomenon; it has existed as long as there have been people in power and money to influence them (Kantor, 1996). It is characterized by widespread bribery. A bribe is the sum of money or something valuable that is given or offered to somebody to persuade them to help you, especially by doing something dishonest (Njunwa, 2008:6). In the Old Testament of the Bible, God warned Moses, "Neither shall thou take bribe which blind the wise and prevent the word of just" (Isaiah 1:23). In other Old Testament admonitions we are further reminded that the effect of bribe is to "make the sinners" (Psalms 26:10), it "corrupts conscience" (Exodus 23:8), which "brings chaos" (Amos 5:12), and therefore "merits punishment" (Amos 2:6).

Noonan, Jr (1984) contended that corruption has a history, divisible into discernable epochs. He availed us with the four epochs. The first epoch started from 3000 BC to 1000 AD, where the idea of non-reciprocity struggles against the norms of reciprocation which cement societies whose rulers are both judges and recipients of "offerings". The second epoch started from 1000 AD to 1500 AD, where "the anti-bribery ideal was dominant in religious, legal and literal expressions". The third epoch started from 16th century, where there was the domestication of bribe in the English bible, English plays and English law and culminated in the 18th century with the proclamation as the norm for the English empire. And the fourth epoch was termed as the American ere, where the heirs of the English tradition began to apply and expand its influence until it was asserted as an "American norm around the earth". Noonan eventually concluded his scholarly intellectual history of corruption by observing that the expansion of bribes as the moral wrong to the rest of the world was not merely the result of the American influence but because of the general expansion of western moral

tradition.¹ Corruption occurs as the form of behaviour violating the official ethics of the public service (Park & Blenkinsopp, 2011). It can occur in the private or public sector and often occurs simultaneously in both (Klitgaard, 1988, cited in Park & Blenkonsopp, 2011). Nye (1967/2002:284) offered one of the most cited definitions of corruption as, “behavior which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of the private - regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violate rules against the exercise of certain types of private regarding influences”. Barker and Carter (1994) broadly define corruption as acts containing three elements: violation of law, rules, regulations, or ethical standards; misuse of an officer’s position; and acceptance of some actual or expected material reward or gain. Corruption, regardless of its forms, undermines the performance of the public services and decreases satisfaction with them (ibid). As Rose-Ackerman (1999:9) aptly put it, corruption is “a symptom that something has gone wrong in the management of the state”. Perceived corruption erodes public respect for the government of the day as the service provider, disappoints citizens, and eventually fosters cynicism about the government.

The Government of Tanzania has committed itself to fighting corruption in all spheres of the economy. This commitment has come from both past presidents and the current one. Evidently, during the inauguration of the first parliament of the fourth phase Government, President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, made it very clear that in strengthening good governance, the problem of corruption would be dealt with relentlessly:

“Serekali ya Awamu ya Nne itaimarisha utendaji serekalini na kupambana na maovu katika jamii bila woga wala kuoneana muhali” (The fourth phase Government will strengthen the public service and fight social ills without fear or favour).²

Globally from Chile, Brazil to South Korea and India, corruption is rampant in public service. In 2001 alone, for example, one in four journalists was killed while investigating corruption; and in 2002 the proportion of journalists slain while reporting corruption was even higher (Eigen, 2002). In 2001, Georgy Gongadze of Ukraine was posthumously awarded the Transparent International Integrity Award for exposing corruption, Gongadze was brutally decapitated and burnt with acid in autumn 2000. In Mozambique, Carlos Alberto Cardoso was assassinated in November 2000 while investigating the largest banking fraud in the country’s history (ibid). The killings did not stop. On 13 May 2002, Edgar Demalerio a staunch critic of corruption targeting local politicians and police in Philippines was shot dead, Valery Ivory was killed on 29 April 2002 for reporting the organized crime and corruption of public officials in Russia.

In Africa, corruption has become an endemic cancer that is severely devastating the continent. It diverts resources from social and capital development to private use and in some cases returning the funds to the northern hemisphere were they initially came from (Kariuki & Awasom, 2008). A survey by Transparent International (2002) on the attitude, expectations on corruption in over 40 countries, including some African countries, revealed that: in Ghana 75 per cent of the households reported corruption as a serious problem, with

1 Ryan, V.L. (2000). Combating Corruption: the 21st century ethical challenges, *Business Ethics Quarterly*, Volume 10, pp. 331-338.

2 Speech by H.E. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete to the Tanzanian Parliament on 30th December, 2005 as cited in Afro barometer briefing paper of 33rd April, 2006

a majority of 66 per cent paying 10 per cent of their income as bribes; in Kenya it was reported that 67 per cent of ordinary Kenyans encounter corruption daily when interacting with public institutions. It was further established that the average Kenyan pays 16 bribes to both public and private institutions in a month (TI-Kenya, 2008). In Uganda, 81 per cent of the respondents reported to have been involved in bribe-paying. They report spending an average of 7.9 per cent of their total costs on corruption payments. In Tanzania, the East African Bribery Index 2011 report reveals that there is an increase in corruption perception from 28.6 per cent in 2010 to 31.6 per cent in 2011, ranking the country the third most corrupt country in East Africa after Burundi and Uganda.

A report by the African Union estimated that corruption costs African economies more than 148 billion US Dollars a year, about 25 per cent of GDP, and increases the costs of goods by 20 per cent (AU Report September, 2002). The examples cited above clearly show that corruption in the public sector is pervasive and an obstacle to the promotion of good governance. Tanzania has not been spared this ever-growing vice. Corruption in Tanzania is ever-bulging despite the various measures the government has taken so far to fight the malady (Njunwa, 2008). Using a documentary review approach this article tries to examine the success registered and challenges faced by the Government of Tanzania in combating corruption in the public service. The article is divided into six sections: (i) the introduction, outlining the global picture of corruption in the public service, (ii) conceptual/theoretical issues relating to corruption in the public service, (iii) discussion of the factors that have led to the emergence of corruption in the Tanzania Public Service, (iv) presentation of the measures that have been taken to fight corruption in the Tanzanian Public service, (v) examination of success attained and challenges faced, and (vi) conclusion

Conceptual issues

A common definition of public corruption is the misuse of public office for private gain. Defined in this way, corruption would capture, for example, the illegal sale of government property by government officials, kickbacks in public procurements, bribery and embezzlements of government funds (Svensson, 2005). Corruption is an outcome - a reflection of a country's legal, economic, cultural and political institutions. A number of parallels have been proposed to think about corruption. Although each of the parallels can be illuminating in certain ways, none of them capture the phenomenon perfectly. Corruption can be regarded as "as a criminal process of diverting public resources from their intended use to private hands for private benefit and depriving the public of the use of these resources" (Kariuki & Awasom, 2008). Hornby (2000) broadly defined corruption as dishonest or illegal behaviour, especially of people in authority. To date corruption has grown into a global vice of disturbing proportions. Individual cases of corruption in both the public and private sectors have been reported in the United States of America, Asia, Europe and several African countries (Njunwa, 2008). Corruption takes many forms and the extent of each type may differ from society to society. Some societies may have a combination of all forms of corruption. Shah (2006) categorized corruption into four major forms. First, there is petty, administrative or bureaucratic corruption done by individual public officials who abuse their office, for example, by demanding bribes and kickbacks, diverting public funds, or awarding favours in return for personal considerations. He suggests that

such acts are often referred to as petty corruption even though, in the aggregate, a substantial amount of public resources may be involved. Secondly, there is grand corruption which is theft or misuse of vast amounts of public resources by state officials—usually members of, or associated with, the political or administrative elite. The third form is State or regulatory capture and influence peddling where there is collusion by private actors with public officials or politicians for their mutual, private benefit. In this form, the private sector “captures” the state legislative, executive and judicial apparatus for its own purposes. State capture coexists with the conventional (and opposite) view of corruption, in which public officials extort or otherwise exploit the private sector for private ends. Finally, he suggests that there is also patronage/paternalism and being a “team player”. Using official position to provide assistance to clients having the same geographic, ethnic and cultural origin so that they receive preferential treatment in their dealings with the public sector including public sector employment is part of this form. It also involves providing the same assistance on a *quid pro quo* basis to colleagues belonging to an informal network of friends and allies. All these forms of corruptions occur in the public service.

The Public Service

The term “Public Service” refers to an agglomeration of all organizations that exist as part of government machinery for the delivery of the services. It is the administrative machinery of the government for implementing policies and programmes impacting meaningfully on the lives of the citizenry.³ Peters (1989) defines Public Service as a system of governmental departments, agencies and employees in the public sector. The public service has the responsibility of ensuring that all the citizens, irrespective of their physical, biological or social differences receive government attention, access their human and social needs, receive protection for their life and property, and enjoy their freedom of movement, association and expression (Njunwa, 2008:8). But public service provision in many developing countries is rife with corruption (Bertrand et al, 2007). A basic question most scholars ask about such corruption is whether it merely represents re-distribution between the citizens and bureaucrats or results in important distortions in how bureaucrats allocate services (*ibid*). Yet since it is the public service that is vested with the responsibility of holding the state together, a corrupt public service will lead the country towards social and economic anarchy. Despite the diminishing role of the public service caused by the adoption of the New Public Management models in the management of the public services (Osborne and Gabbler, 1992), the public service is still very central in determining the destiny of the nation. It should therefore be corruption-free. This situation can only be reached by embracing the ideals of good governance.

Governance and Good Governance

Governance is a contested concept and yet it is a fundamental factor for any form of development (Nambalirwa & Sindawe, 2011). The concept, governance, gained world prominence during the 20th century, out of the belief that it was a rejoinder to the way forward in solving social issues (such as corruption) by unraveling the relationships between the government and the people whilst painting a picture of what government should be (*ibid*).

³ ⁴“A new Dawn” selected speeches by Oluegun Obasanjo, President of Federal Republic of Nigeria, Presidential Communications Unit, 2000, pp. 52-55.

In Africa the concept of governance was the brainchild of the international conference on popular participation in the recovery and development process in Africa held in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania from 12 -16 February,1990.The conference was a clarion call to citizen participation.

Kaufman and Kraay (2008:4 as cited in Nambalirwa and Sindane, 2011) define governance as the traditions and the institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which government comes into power, monitored and replaced, the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement policies; and the respect of the citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social institutions among them. In this article we are using the definition given by the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) as the working definition as it includes all levels of the government. "Governance is defined as the exercise of the economic, political and administrative authority to manage the country's affairs at all levels, and the means by which states promote social cohesion and integration to ensure the wellbeing of their population." (UNDP, 2007).Weak governance implies a breakdown in one or more parts of the structure created by the complex relationships between a country's institutions and traditions (Francisco & Pontara,2007). One of the most harmful symptoms of such a breakdown is widespread corruption. Fighting corruption has therefore become one of the key elements in efforts to promote governance. This is because there is a close relationship between corruption and economic development. Literature avails us with enormous evidence that governance and corruption have been associated with low level of economic development (ibid). The higher the perception of corruption, the lower the pace of development (Tanzi & Davooda, 2000). Governance as a concept can be abused; for it to bear the anticipated fruits it must be exercised in good manner.

Good Governance

Good Governance has been referred to as the ideal type of governance to correct societal ills founded on the structural attributes such as the rule of law, transparency, citizen participation, efficiency, effectiveness and accountability especially in a manner that is free from corruption (Nambalirwa and Sindane, 2011). Kakumba (2009) defined good governance as a country aiming to achieve various objectives such as enhancing the welfare of its citizens, promoting economic growth, political stability of its citizens, ensuring democracy prevails, ensuring overall accountability for actions, and monitoring the impact of government actions on the society.

Good governance will therefore ensure that the poor and other disadvantaged groups are included in decision-making about providing services that affect their lives. Their inclusion and involvement also empowers them to become agents of their own development. And the adoption of the rights-based approach to development by governments can help to ensure inclusiveness and equity (ibid), and hence reduce the chances for corrupt practices in the public service. When the principles of governance and good governance disappear, then bad governance ensues (Njunwa, 2008:9).

The corruption problem in Tanzania

The causes of corruption are many and complex. They include simple human greed, immoral and unethical social behaviour, and lack of human and political integrity (TI, 2003:12). Like in many other countries, corruption is rampant in all sectors of the economy and public service in Tanzania to the extent that it has become part and parcel of daily life (SIKIKI, 2010). Thus a thorough examination of corruption must address the factors that have created extant conditions sustaining corruption, that is considering the particular and cultural-specific forms that corruption takes, assessing the damaging effect of corruption on economic, political and social development.

In Tanzania various social, economic and legal factors have over time contributed to the entrenchment of corruption. First, economic factors, five years after the country's independence in 1965 (Tanzania gained her independence in 1961):the public administration was characterized by the nationalist desire to build a capitalist economy by depending on foreign aid and grants, which was not as forthcoming as anticipated by the new government. Consequently, the desire to accumulate wealth and property became increasingly conspicuous. Since as all the nationalist leaders and bureaucrats did not have their own sources from which to accumulate wealth, they resorted to public sources to quench their needs (Njunwa, 2008:11). Exacerbated by their desire to step in the shoes of the departing colonial capitalists, these tendencies became the ample source of corruption in the public service. Moreover, the economic policies promulgated in the late 1970s and early 1980s intensified the malady because centralization of the economy through nationalization produced a few powerful elites who had the monopoly on the allocation of the natural resources. In this situation the fledgling corruption started to thrive. The enactment of the Economic and Organized Crimes Control Act of 1984, which replaced the 1983 Economic Sabotage Act, has its background in the said actions, because the rigid restrictions on trade became subject of abuse (TI, 2003:12).

Second, corruption is also said to have been caused by the bureaucratic acts, red tape and rigid rules imposed by the central and the local governments. This rigidity has forced public officials to subvert these rules or being forced to subvert by powerful individual or groups. A good example is the mushrooming of sexual corruption in employment circles, whereby employing officials (males and females) have been reported to have demanded sexual favours in exchange for offering opportunities for jobs or services. The enactment of the Sexual Harassment Act in 1998 was based on this background. Third, corruption is further caused by the nature of the families, strong extended families or tribal ties, which increases opportunity and pressure for nepotism and favouritism, forcing the public official to engage in corrupt practices to support extended family members with basic needs.

Fourth, is the institutional (legal, regulatory and compliance frameworks) which are not strong enough to fight corruption in the country, and as the result those who engage in corruption practices become more and more subtle and sophisticated in their ways. Thus, sometimes it becomes very difficult to obtain enough concrete evidence to prosecute the alleged culprits, because of the nature of corrupt acts which are extremely secretive. The resignation of the Prime Minister and other two cabinet ministers (former ministers for Minerals and

Energy and for East African Cooperation) who were forced to resign due to serious corruption allegations leveled against them in February 2008, and that of a former minister in charge for infrastructure development, who also happened to be the former Attorney General of Tanzania, is the best example of the weak institutions. However, it is disappointing that two of them are still members of parliament and one is on the parliamentary defense and security committee.

Fifth, the linkage between levels of corruption and quality of political life in Tanzania is also another source of corruption. Politicians are said to live extremely posh lives to the extent that politics has become a green pasture to people of all cadres and calling. Tanzania has witnessed the majority of highly trained people leaving their professions to join politics. With a nascent civil society and private sector, fifty years after independence, it is only recent that civil society and the private sector have started to voice their concern about corruption in the public service, which shows the extent to which the development could go unchecked (TI,2003).

Sixth, natural resource endowments have turned a resource-rich Tanzania into a resource-cursed nation. The scramble to plunder resources such as precious minerals, oil, wildlife and forestry have contributed immensely to the increase in corruption both domestically and internationally. For example, in 2010 alone about 130 wild animals from Tanzania National Parks were illegally exported to Doha aboard a Qatari military plane (*Raia Mwema*, No.186 & *The East African*, No.864 of May 23-29, 2011).

Seventh, a materialistic conception of success, in which power, money and status play a leading role in society, especially in a poor society like that of Tanzania is a major contributing factor to the escalation of corruption. The corrupt officials who after retirement live much better lives than their retirement package could allow them to, become the role models and entice other clean and strictly professional staff to grease their palms because of the fear of becoming beggars after retirement; and this increases the level of corruption in the public service.

Forms and Extent of Corruption in Tanzania Public Service

Tanzania continues to perform extremely poorly on the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) as revealed by the 2011 report which ranked the country 100th out of 183 countries globally with the score of 3.0. ⁴ In the region (sub-Saharan Africa) Tanzania is ranked 14th and maintains the same score of 3.0. The East African Bribery Index report of 2011 reveals that bribery prevalence in Tanzania has increased from 28.6 per cent in 2010 to 31.6 per cent in 2011, and as a result the country is ranked the third most corrupt country in East Africa after Burundi and Uganda. But the 2011 Ibrahim Index of African Governance, released on 10 October 2011 by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, ranks Tanzania as 13th out of 53 countries with a score 58 on a scale of 100 for governance quality in Africa. According to the Ibrahim index, by scoring 58, Tanzania performed better than the East African average which is 46,

4 5 The Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) measures the perceived level of public sector corruption in 183 countries and their territories around the world. The Corruption Perception Index ranks a country based on how its public sector is perceived to be. A country is ranked on a scale range of 0-10, where 0 means a country is perceived to be very corrupt and 10 means a country is perceived as very clean.

and higher than that of the continental average of 50. The mixed results portrayed by the above reports are indicators that corruption is endemic in the public service. Let us now turn to the forms of corruption in Tanzanian public service,

Bureaucratic corruption

This is manifested by the key people employed in the bodies of the ruling authority acting as the agents of corrupt dealings, turning themselves into the bribe giver, bribe taker and middlemen. In this regard, the bureaucracy in Tanzania is stinking with corruption. The East African Bribery index ranks Tanzania's Police force 6th, scoring a total of 62.1 Combined EABI, ⁵ while the judiciary scored 57.1 combined EABI and ranked 26th in the most corrupt public institutions in the region. The land ministry scored 37.8 and ranked 26th and Tanzania Revenue Authority scored 34.0 and ranked 29th. These scores very much reflect the recently widely reported corruption scandal in the country, which involved the payment of more than USD 120 million from the Central Bank to fictitious private companies.

Political corruption

This form of corruption is nothing new. It was exacerbated by the Election Act of 1985 as amended from time to time. The Act has the hospitality clause (*Takrima*) which was defined by the Act as a gift ostensibly given in good faith. Until 2006, one could invoke this clause and offer clothes, food and, cash during campaigns in exchange for votes. This is evidently reflected in the submission made by Dr. Edward Hosea, the director general of PCCB, when he admitted that there is a growth of about 31 per cent in corruption and bribery cases involving members of political parties connected to elections. Whereas in 2005 only five cases were investigated and prosecuted, in 2010 more than 135 cases were reported, representing an increase of about 100 per cent (Integrity Report, 2011). With the enactment of the Election Expenses Act No.6 of 2010, over 40 political party aspirants running for councillorship or parliamentary positions were quizzed for corruption (ibid).

What we have done in the preceding section is to analyze some causes of corruption in the Tanzania Public Service. Most crucially, let us now evaluate appropriate measures for eliminating the causes of corruption or at least mitigating its corrosive effects.

Anti-corruption initiatives and measures to combat corruption in Tanzania

The situation is complex because corruption has become systemic in Tanzania. It is no longer a side effect but rather an organic component of the state political, administrative and economic system, which places a lot of hurdles on the path towards the fight against it. The complexity of effectively combating corruption makes an appropriate anti-corruption strategy essential. Let us see what is happening in Tanzania.

The first phase government, soon after independence in 1961, put in place appropriate policy and legal framework to address corruption, by adopting the Prevention of Corruption Ordinance Caption Number 400, and establishing the office of Permanent Commission of

5 ⁶EABI prevalence is calculated using the following formula .Prevalence=Total number of players in institution

Total number of interactions recorded

Inquiry (Ombudsman) in 1966, which was the first of its kind in Africa, with the aim of checking the abuse of power by agencies and officials of government. This was followed by the establishment of the Anti-corruption Squad in 1975 after the Legislature had enacted Act No.16 of 1971, the Prevention of Corruption Act (NACSAP I 2000-2005). As far as the fight against corruption was concerned, the first phase government went an extra mile by issuing the ten pledges of the then ruling party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), as the guiding principles or conduct in the service. The pledges propagated self-dedication to the service of the community instead of oneself. For instance, pledge number four identified corruption as an enemy of justice, while pledge number five prohibited the use of one's official position or that of any other person for personal gain (Kaduma, 2003).

From 1971 to 1984, the government made substantial changes in the anti-corruption legal framework and related institutions. For example in 1971 the prevention of corruption law was repealed by the Prevention of Corruption Act. In 1973 the Leadership Code was installed to prohibit public leaders from engaging in capitalist activities including owning houses for rent, holding directorship in private business, and receiving more than one salary (Kaduma, 2003). In 1983, the government enacted the Economic Sabotage Act which treated corruption as an economic offence, this Act was short-lived and replaced by the Economic and Organized Crime Act in 1984 which recognized the offences under the then 1971 Prevention of Corruption Act as an economic offence punishable by law (TI, 2003).

The second-phase government came into office in 1985. The then president Ali Hassan Mwinyi issued the Presidential Circular No.1 as the guidelines for the deterrence of corruption. The government also re-christened the Anti-corruption Squad to become the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) and enacted the Public Leadership Code of Ethics in 1995 through Act Number 13 of 1995. The Leadership Code was intended to curb improper conduct of public leaders in high echelons. The Ethics Secretariat, headed by a senior High Court judge and falling under the ambit of the Office of the President, was established to implement the Act. The Secretariat has since then continued to raise the level of awareness on the Code of Ethics.

The third-phase government took office in 1995, and in 1996 guided by its motto of 'zero tolerance to corruption' took a bold decision in the fight against corruption by establishing the "Presidential Commission against Corruption" popularly known as the "Warioba Commission". The commission carried out a diagnostic study of why corruption has been endemic in the Tanzanian society. It was a significant demonstration by the government of its will to deal with the scourge of corruption in the country in such magnitude. Ten months later the commission published its report which was hailed as one of the most respected and commended analyses of corruption in an African state. The report highlighted the public discussions on corruption in Tanzania and paved the way for public sector reforms, intended to enhance good governance and combat corruption in the country (PCCB, 2009). From 1996 the government continued to put in place various frameworks to fight corruption, it formulated the National Framework for Good Governance (NFGG) to facilitate the coordination of the reforms designed to foster good governance and improve public service delivery. In the same vein the government formulated the National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan I (NACSAP I) as the component of National Framework for Good Governance (NFGG) and the country's key management

instruments to combat corruption (PCCB, 2009). Moreover, borrowing from the Warioba Report, then President Benjamin William Mkapa created a ministerial post responsible for good governance and the ministry was placed under the Office of the President. In 2001, the government finalized the National Anti-corruption strategy and sector-specific Action Plan for all ministries and independent government departments for the periods between 2001 and 2005. The action plans provided a systematic framework in which corruption could be fought in each ministry or department.

When the fourth-phase government came into power in 2005, it renewed the country's commitment to fight corruption, in December 2006 it launched Tanzania's second-phase of the National Anti-corruption Strategy and Action plan (NACSAPA II) which has expanded its scope beyond the national ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) to include Local Government Authorities (LGAs), civil society, and the private sector which were left out in the first phase. Under this plan the LGAs are now responsible for planning and implementing plans against corruption under their jurisdiction (URT 2011). In tandem, integrity committees have been established in every ministry, independent departments and executive agencies to combat corruption at the sector level. On 16 April 2007 the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania passed the Prevention and Combating of Corruption bill, which was assented to by the President on 11 June 2007 to make it an Act of Parliament (PCCA No.11 of 2007) which came into force on July 2007, and gave more power to the bureau in the promotion and enhancement of good governance and eradication of corruption in the country.⁶ These were some of the initiatives undertaken by the government in curbing corruption in the public service. We now turn to the success and challenges of these interventions.

Examination of success attained and challenges faced

As we have seen above, numerous measures have been undertaken to combat corruption in the public service in Tanzania. The question now is: how much success has been registered and what challenges are still faced? In waging the fight against corruption in Tanzania, the following success has been registered.

First, the government has managed to put in place the legal framework in which laws and institutions have been created (PCCB and Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance). The National Anti-corruption Strategy and the action plans are also in place. The government has further managed to forge a coalition with different stakeholders, and the society at large, in the fight against corruption (see NACSAP II, 20010).

Second, the political will has been enhanced by developing mechanisms of forcing public leaders to show openly that they are involved in anti-corruption campaign through the enactment of the Public Leadership Code of Ethics (2001). The code has encouraged public leaders to disclose their assets as demanded by section 9(1)c of the Act no.13 of 1995. In 2008 a total of 5,053 public leaders, out of 7485 which is about 67.5 per cent, submitted their declarations. In 2009, a total of 7,819 were issued with the forms and 3,664 leaders, about 46.86 per cent, submitted their declarations. The above figures show that even the top echelons participate in the fight against corruption.

⁶ ⁷<http://www.pccb.go.tz/index.php.aboutpccb>, accessed on 28 December 200 at 10.00 am

Third, change in the mindset of the public has been attained, due to the massive public education and civic rights campaigns by various stakeholders.

Fourth, the watchdog agencies have been empowered, particularly the Public Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB), and the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHGG). PCCB powers have been strengthened by the new Act of Parliament Number 11 of 2007 and by increasing the human and material resources.

Fifth, the ongoing process of structural, institutional and legal reforms has been enhanced aiming at mainstreaming anti-corruption strategies in the entire process of the country's development. However there is still more to be done.

The above efforts face a number of challenges demanding more serious attention. First, the institutional framework needs continuous improvements, especially between the agencies mandated to fight corruption. The litany of conflicts between the PCCB and the Office of the Director of Public Prosecution is a sign of the institutional problems which should be addressed urgently for the fight against corruption to bear fruits.

Second, a lot still needs to be done in reforms and legal amendments to build a conducive environment to combat corruption more effectively. This may include the need to encourage the civil society and the private sector to take the leading role in combating corruption and making the government more accountable.

Third, persistent poverty not only induces but compounds corruption in the public service. The government should look for alternative sources and means of improving the meagre income of public servants.

Fourth, checks and balances in the governance frameworks at all levels should be enhanced all the time.

Fifth, in efforts to combat corruption, a free press is crucially important, in particular journalistic investigations. The media should therefore be allowed to exercise professional judgement without the due influence of those who want to protect their interests. The recent events in which journalists have been taken to courts are the signal that the media are not free in Tanzania (read the Jerry Muro saga and Absalom Kubanda in Tanzanian newspapers, vis *The Guardian* of 5 February 2010 and *Tanzania Daima*, Tuesday, 5 November 2011).

Conclusion

While it is an uphill task to eliminate corruption completely especially in the Third World, it is possible and within the powers of governments to reduce it to minimum levels. In this regard, any measure to combat corruption should take a unified and holistic approach and not just a set of pinpointing surgical strikes. We believe the focus has to be on a model of comprehensive action in the form of a parallel implementation of the measures that include: the preventive, coercive and punitive, based on the principles of legality, transparency and civic control. These measures can only be effective if, and only if, they are legally, politically, morally and psychologically convincing. As Confucius said, only when virtue and rigor begin to rule in society will "people be respectful, dedicated and inspired" (Okhotskii, 2011).

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