ADDRESSING CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE: A VIRTUE ETHICAL CRITIQUE OF UGANDA’S INTEGRITY SYSTEM

BY

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2016/HD03/1956U

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, MAKERERE UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN APPLIED ETHICS

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DECLARATION

This research dissertation is an original piece that has never been submitted anywhere as a requirement for the award of any academic credential but it is the first of its kind that I submit to the College of Humanities and Social Sciences in partial fulfilment of the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Applied Ethics of Makerere University Kampala.

Sign: ........................................... Date: 19th 12 2018

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2016/HD03/1956U
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[Signature]

Date: 2018

DR. JIMMY SPIRE SSENTONGO

SUPERVISOR
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear mother Mrs. Jane Opono Akiiki.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With a heartfelt gratitude, I acknowledge the selfless assistance, guidance, inspiration, and patience extended to me by my dear supervisor Dr. Jimmy Spire Ssentongo that enabled me to complete this dissertation. I am also thankful to Dr. Gervase Tusabe for the encouragement, motivation, and professional guidance that he always extends to me. Also not forgetting the staff of the Department of Philosophy of Makerere University.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCU</td>
<td>Anti-Corruption Coalition Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARVs</td>
<td>Anti-Retroviral</td>
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<tr>
<td>CESCR</td>
<td>Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights</td>
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<td>CHOGM</td>
<td>Common Wealth Heads of Government Meeting</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEI</td>
<td>Directorate for Ethics and Integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPF</td>
<td>District Integrity Promotion Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPP</td>
<td>Directorate for Public Prosecutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAVI</td>
<td>Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immune Virus</td>
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<td>HSSP</td>
<td>Health Sector Strategic Plan</td>
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<td>IAF</td>
<td>Inter-Agency Forum</td>
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<td>IG</td>
<td>Inspectorate of Government</td>
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<td>IGG</td>
<td>Inspector General of Government</td>
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<td>IGP</td>
<td>Inspector General of Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>LC</td>
<td>Local Council</td>
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<td>MoES</td>
<td>Ministry of Education and Sports</td>
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<td>MoH</td>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NACS</td>
<td>National Anti-Corruption Strategy</td>
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<td>NCDC</td>
<td>National Curriculum Development Centre</td>
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<td>NDA</td>
<td>National Drug Authority</td>
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<td>OAG</td>
<td>Office of the Auditor General</td>
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<td>OPM</td>
<td>Office of the Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Public Accounts Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPDA</td>
<td>Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPU</td>
<td>Presidential Press Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>Transparency International</td>
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<td>UBOS</td>
<td>Uganda Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<td>UGX</td>
<td>Uganda shillings</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNEB</td>
<td>Uganda National Examination Board</td>
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<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
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<td>URA</td>
<td>Uganda Revenue Authority</td>
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<td>USE</td>
<td>Universal Secondary Education</td>
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ABSTRACT

In most of Uganda’s public service and the general society, corruption has remained a big challenge that particularly undermines the provision of the public good. The persistence of corruption in the public service has been followed by poor service delivery which frustrates the ethical ideals of realising the good life and the good society. Amidst such persistence, the government of Uganda has a set of institutions, laws, and policies which form an integrity system established to fight corruption. The elements of this system that are discussed in the study include anti-corruption institutions like the DEI and IG, and the legal framework with laws such as Anti-Corruption Act 2009, and its Amendment of 2015. But even with this integrity system in place which is ideally expected to fight and alleviate corruption, this problem has nonetheless persisted in Uganda’s public service.

This study, therefore, attempted to address this problem by providing a long-term and lasting solution. Four specific objectives were addressed which included ascertaining the basic cause of corruption, describing the phenomenon of this vice, examining Uganda’s integrity system vis-à-vis the fight against corruption, and identifying the necessary interventions that can lead to an effective integrity system to ably fight the vice. The analysis and discussion was based on three theories which include virtue ethics which was used as the major theoretical framework for the study, Kwame Gyekye’s moral revolution theory that also inclines more towards virtue but from an African perspective and specifically targets corruption, and Lawrence Kohlberg’s moral development theory that complement the virtue ethical theories especially in suggesting strategies of promoting an effective integrity system that can help contain the vice.

As a step towards addressing this vice, an explanation of the genesis of the problem was done by pointing out that it all starts with the wrong theorisation of the basic cause of corruption. Consequently, efforts to ascertain the basic cause of corruption in Uganda were undertaken following virtue ethics parameters. The concept of corruption was clarified through scrutinising the commonly advanced definitions of corruption. And as a result, the study comes up with a definition of corruption as ‘a vicious act involving public officers who clandestinely use their official positions to unethically satisfy their private interests at the expense of the public interest.’ Further efforts were made to scrutinise the commonly advanced causes of corruption like the poor economic conditions, weak laws, and African traditional cultural values, among others. An observation was made that these factors mentioned are not basic but rather secondary causes. Therefore, the basic cause of corruption according to the study is the vicious character of many public officers and other members of the society.

In light of the above, it was revealed that Uganda’s integrity system does not seek to address the basic cause of corruption, something that explains the persistence of corruption despite the various interventions in place. And if the problem is to be contained, then a strategy has to be developed to deal with this basic cause through the cultivation of a virtuous citizenry. Consequently, I suggested an integrational approach with three possible options of cultivation of virtuous citizens through virtue/character education, developing a mechanism of identifying virtuous role models, and strict enforcement of the laws on corruption as a realistic remedy to the problem.
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The study aimed at addressing the vicious behaviour of corruption in Uganda’s public service by providing a critique of the integrity system using a virtue ethical framework. It was motivated by the persistence of corruption in the public service, yet we have in place an integrity system with a number of laws, and institutions that are charged with a responsibility of fighting this vice. This chapter, therefore, lays down a general outlook of the study by showing its basis/rationale and the direction it takes to achieve the above aim. It is subdivided into ten sections, which include the background of the study, statement of the problem, the scope of the study, definition of key terms used in the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and justification of the study, the significance of the study, methodology, and conclusion.

1.1 Background of the Study

The world continues to grapple with the unethical behaviour of corruption that is experienced in the public service. This experience is often reported by a number of institutions among which is Transparency International (TI). According to TI’s Corruption Perception Index\(^1\) - CPI (2016), it is reported that out of 176 countries ranked, 120 (69 percent) of these countries scored below 50 out of 100, implying that they are immensely corrupt. The other remaining countries also suffer from the vice though it is on a minimal level. With such an experience, the reason for the existence of the public service is undermined. Whereas it is known that the reason for the existence of government is to provide public goods and services to its citizens and ensuring that the common good is realised (Anomaly, 2013), this effort is, nonetheless, sabotaged by unethical tendencies of corruption. The persistence of corruption in society is known to subvert the ethical ideals of the realisation of the good life and the good society. To realize the good life and the good society, there are certain conditions that ought to be availed to the citizens. These, among others, include healthcare, education, and fair judicial services. But this is often undermined by corruption as the

\(^1\) CPI is a criterion that is used by TI to measure the level of perceived corruption in a given country. According to this CPI, the score of a given country ranges from zero to 100, with zero indicating high levels of corruption and 100 indicating low levels.
citizens are made to make unofficial payments for services which are otherwise supposed to be free (Anderson, Kaufmann, & Recanatini, 2004).

The vice of corruption is known to be experienced in all societies. Its effects are, however, more severe in some societies than in others (Gyekye, 1997). Even within a society, corruption tends to affect some categories of people more than others. In fact, the worst hit victims of corruption in the public service are the vulnerable categories of people in society (Gebeye, 2012).

Notwithstanding the fact that all societies in the world experience corruption, Africa registers the highest level of corruption in the public service (Otaluka, 2017). The CPI (2016) show that out of the 30 most corrupt countries 18 of them are from Africa. It is also indicated that in the whole world, Somalia and South Sudan are the most corrupt countries which are African countries. Considering the proposition above, it is worth noting that Uganda is not an isolated case. The country is also caught up in this impasse. As a result, the Ugandan society continues to succumb to the corollaries of the vice. Corruption is known for engendering undesirable outcomes in society. And since this is the case, it is of no doubt that Uganda continues to suffer the woes of corruption as evinced by substandard education and healthcare services, poor road networks, weak justice systems and the profound favouritism in the country among others (Actionaid Uganda, 2014). Following some of the adverse effects of the vice to the Ugandan society, it would be right to hold that corruption in Uganda’s public service serves to undermine the economic, social, and political development of the country.

Amidst such undesirable consequences emanating from the experience of corruption, a number of factors have been advanced to explain the causes of high levels of corruption in the public service. Many scholars (Asiimwe, 2013; Gray & Kaufmann, 1998; Mashal, 2011) have premised this persistence of corruption on factors like the poor economic conditions of the public servants, inadequate legal and institutional frameworks, public apathy towards corruption, and a lack of political will to fight the vice.

In respect to the above, various efforts have been undertaken by the government of Uganda to address the vice of corruption in the public service. The government has set up an integrity system with an institutional, legal and policy framework that would indeed serve to counter the vice. Institutions such as the government Ombudsman which is locally known as the Inspectorate of
Government (IG), the Directorate for Ethics and Integrity (DEI), the Office of the Auditor General, Directorate for Public Prosecution (DPP), The Anti-Corruption Court, among other institutions have been put in place. Besides the institutional framework, a number of laws are also in place, like Leadership Code Act, 2002; the Inspectorate of Government Act, 2002; Public Finance and Accountability Act, 2003; Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Act, 2003; Access to Information Act, 2005; Audit Act, 2008; Anti-Corruption Act, 2009; Whistle Blowers Protection Act, 2010; among others.

Even with the above efforts that have been put in place, the vice of corruption still persists and in fact on escalation. Reports from Transparency International (TI) show that corruption in Uganda is on the increase. Following the corruption trends by the TI Corruption Perception Index, it shows that Uganda was ranked at the position of 142 out of 174 corrupt countries in 2014, 139 out of 167 in 2015, and 151 out of 176 in 2016 (TI, 2017a). This trend shows an increase over years. The Inspectorate of Government (IG) also continues to portray the same picture as that of TI. The IG, a body responsible for fighting corruption in Uganda, for instance, registered many corruption scandals which included 167 of abuse of office, 50 for forgeries, 57 for embezzlement, 15 for bribery, 23 for misappropriation, 16 audit queries among other corruption complaints just in a period of January to June 2016. In fact, the report shows that in just a period of six months (January to June 2016), the registered complaints totalled to 923 (IG, 2016). This shows the gravity of corruption in the country.

With such daunting statistics that portray the persistence of corruption in the public service amidst the efforts put in place to curb the vice, there seems to be a mismatch between the majorly explained causes of corruption and the mechanism put in place to counter the vice. Different studies have been conducted to ascertain the rationale behind this persistence despite the efforts put in place to fight the vice. A case in point is the study that was made by the Human Rights Watch, an international organization that authored a report entitled Letting the Big Fish Swim: Failures toProsecute High-Level Corruption in Uganda. The findings from this study show that the persistence of corruption in Uganda is due to the politics of patronage and the lack of political will. This political system makes the executive arm of government to undermine and interfere with the activities of anti-corruption institutions like the IG (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The study by the Human Rights Watch is in agreement with the study of Asiimwe (2013) who notes in his
analysis that corruption in Uganda is persisting because the regime is sustained by patronage where there are some corrupt officials from the “inner circle” who are protected by the ‘patron’ from any corruption proceedings hence rendering the anti-corruption efforts futile (Asiimwe, 2013). Asiimwe notes that this class of people is well connected in a way that they can manoeuvre and undermine the anti-corruption laws and institutions. In view of the studies highlighted above, one important gap to note as emphasized by virtue theories is that, whereas there is a close link between the character of human persons and vicious tendencies often seen in society, this dimension has been ignored in explaining the persistence of corruption in Uganda’s public service. With this critical omission, analyses of the persistence of the vice in public service, unfortunately, end up putting more attention on secondary drivers and, as such, fail to meaningfully inform initiatives to address the vice.

It is therefore dependent on the above background that this study seeks to ascertain the basic cause of corruption and the attendant shortfalls in the integrity system that are responsible for its persistence in Uganda’s public service. In order to come up with viable inference, in the first place, a scrutiny of the commonly advanced causes of corruption is done in view of highlighting their explanatory shortcomings and then, through theoretical lenses of virtue ethics, the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service is ascertained. Arising from the above scrutiny and establishment of the basic cause, the study thereafter examines whether the integrity system established can, in real terms, successfully contain corruption in Uganda’s public service, and also suggest normative recommendations to strengthen Uganda’s integrity system for it to address corruption in the public service using a virtue ethics framework.

The virtue ethics framework is inclined more towards the human person who is the principal agent or actor in the vice of corruption. It is essentially concerned with cultivating virtues among the actors and enforcing good conduct from within the person. Because Virtue ethics underscores the need of cultivating a sense of internal commitment to doing right through nurturing a virtuous character among the public officers, in the opinion of the researcher, it is, therefore, more dependable than merely following rules that mostly promote external commitment to doing right. This makes it a suitable choice over others for this study.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

Whereas Uganda possesses an integrity system with various anti-corruption laws and institutions that are ideally expected to address corruption, its efforts have, nonetheless, done little in curbing this vice, ultimately resulting into its persistence in the country. The escalation of corruption in the public service alongside the integrity system impliedly suggests that there is a bigger problem underlying the trend. In as much as there are different explanations advanced by different scholars to explain the persistence of corruption, on the other hand, their accounts seem insufficient to explain the trend since they concentrate on secondary causes. Such a wrong diagnosis has subsequently led to misdirected interventions. In light of the above observation, employing a virtue ethical framework, the study takes on a philosophical task of ascertaining the basic problem underlying corruption in Uganda’s public service, bringing to light the shortfalls in the integrity system and designing mechanisms necessary to improve it to contain the corruption vice.

1.3 Scope of the Study

The study is conducted on corruption in Uganda’s public service. Whereas corruption is a very broad term that encompasses many offences, this study is delimited to four vices; bribery, embezzlement, extortion, and nepotism. It lies within the domain of Applied Ethics. However, since ethics as a discipline does not stand in isolation, and since it is a response to the “is”, this study borrows some ideas from other disciplines like Psychology, Sociology, and Law.

As far as the time scope is concerned, the study based its analysis mainly from the year 1995 to the present. The year 1995 was selected as a landmark when the current Constitution of the Republic of Uganda was promulgated that lays a basis for the current formal integrity system under study. But even concerning the integrity system itself, it is a very broad term that encompasses major sectors and institutions that help in realising an ethical public service. But for purposes of having deeper analysis, the scope of the integrity system is also delimited to two institutions; DEI and IG, but also looks at the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, and its Amendment Act of 2015.

1.4 Definition of Key Terms

Corruption

Corruption has prominently been defined as the abuse of public power or office for private gain. This concept is elaborately clarified under Chapter Four of the study.
Grand corruption

This is the type of corruption that takes place at the policy formulation level. It involves amassment of large amounts of money by highly placed officers in government like ministers and chief executives of government entities. This type of corruption is also called political corruption.

Petty corruption

This is the type of corruption that is carried out at the implementation level of policies. In this type of corruption, small amounts of money are involved. It is common in administrative levels and service provision points like in schools, health centers, police, to mention but a few. This type of corruption is also known as bureaucratic corruption.

Bribery

The act or practice of giving or taking anything of value such as money with an intention of making the other party act in one’s favour, or to favour the other party that made the offer respectively.

Embezzlement

The practice that involves public officers acting alone or in a group to appropriate public funds or diverts their use to suit their selfish needs.

Nepotism

Offering unmerited favours by a holder of a public office to any person on the basis of bloodlines between the parties.

Extortion

The unlawful use of one's position or office to obtain money or other benefits through coercion or threats.

Public service

Any service that is rendered by both the political and non-political officers whose payment is directly drawn from consolidated funds and money that is directly provided by parliament.
Public Good

Public goods are those goods that is provided to all the citizens by the state. They are considered to be non-exclusive and non-rivalry. They are enjoyed by everybody. They include things like public infrastructure such as roads, national defence, public health services, among others.

Culture

Culture is a comprehensive term that is commonly used to express the way of life of a people. It constitutes in the beliefs, values, behaviours and the material objects that express the people’s way of life. Dalfovo (1990) attempts to explain the concept of culture by stressing two aspects of the culture which are the out aspect also known as the “body” of culture and the inner aspect also referred to as the “soul” or “mind” of culture. The outer aspect refers to the social heritage which is the most readily perceived. It includes the material artefact such as tools, weapons, works of arts, houses among others. The inner aspect (“soul” or “mind”) of culture is given by “collective mental and spiritual heritage such as systems of value, ideas, beliefs, aesthetic perceptions, values etc.” This inner aspect of the soul is also described as the “mentality” or the “world view” (Dalfovo, 1990, p.54). This study mainly focused on the inners aspect of culture.

Integrity System

An ethical framework that is in place to support and enhance the integrity of public officers. It is also referred to as an ethics infrastructure. It constitutes regulatory frameworks such as Codes of Ethics and conduct, and anti-corruption laws, policies, and strategies, and also institutions like audit bodies, ombudsman agencies, anticorruption courts, among others.
1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 General Objective

To assess through a virtue ethical framework, the effectiveness of Uganda’s integrity system in containing corruption in the public service.

1.5.2 Specific objectives

1. To describe the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda’s public service
2. To ascertain the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service
3. To Examine Uganda’s integrity system vis-à-vis the fight against corruption in Uganda’s public service
4. To identify the necessary interventions that can lead to having an effective integrity system that can better address corruption in Uganda’s public service than it is today.

1.6 Research Questions

This study was spurred by four major questions that include:

1. How has corruption manifested itself in Uganda?
2. What is the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service?
3. How effective has the integrity system been in containing corruption in Uganda?
4. What are the possible interventions necessary to strengthen the integrity system and minimise corruption in Uganda’s public service?

1.7 Justification of the Study

There has been a challenge in explaining the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service. Attempts that have been made to explain the persistence of this vice, in my opinion, do not render satisfactory answers to the problem. Causes such as poor economic conditions, weak anti-corruption laws and institutions, among others, prominently feature in the explanation of the persistence of this vice. Some scholars (Mwenda & Tangri, 2006; Asiimwe, 2013) emphasize a lack of political will to fight the vice. These, in my opinion, are not the basic cause, but rather secondary causes, and because of that, they tend to result in misdirected interventions to fight the
vice. This wrong theorisation of the problem has led to the development of ineffective strategies to fight corruption in Uganda’s public service which has yielded minimal outcomes as evidenced by the persistence of the vice (TI, 2016).

The importunate corruption in Uganda’s public service shows that the integrity system in place still suffers a number of flaws that need to be addressed. A close look at Uganda’s integrity system reveals the fact that it emphasizes following rules that are enforced on human persons from without. Simply following the rules may not be sufficient in the fight against corruption. George (1993) underscores this view when he observed that;

> Laws cannot make men (and women) moral. Only men (and women) can do that, and they can do it only by freely choosing to do the morally right thing for the right reason. Laws can command outward conformity to moral rules, but cannot compel the internal acts of reason and will which makes an act of external conformity to the requirements of morality a moral act (George, 1993, p.1).

In light of the above observation, therefore, there is a need to change the approach of fighting corruption in Uganda’s public service. Firstly, there is a need for a philosophical inquiry into the prime cause of the problem as a basis for ascertaining what the right strategy for dealing with the problem would be. Thereafter, the focus ought to be put on cultivating a moral attitude among the citizens from whom the public servants do emerge. And if this is to be achieved, a virtue ethical approach comes in handy, since it underscores the need to cultivate virtue that in turn becomes a character of the citizens. Having people who possess a virtuous character guarantees them to act rightly out of a conviction that it is the right thing to do. It is such an attitude that can help neutralize corruption tendencies. It is from that raison d’être, therefore, that the study is conducted to cover up the knowledge gap identified above.

**1.8 Significance of the Study**

The study renders a twofold significance, which is the theoretical/academic significance and the practical significance. On the theoretical/academic level, the study serves to contribute to the body of knowledge on corruption. Since the study falls in the domain of applied ethics, it scrutinises the
mainly explained causes of corruption while bringing to light the flaws embedded in them, with a view of ascertaining the basic cause of the problem. The study, therefore, presents a new way of understanding the evil of corruption in Uganda’s public service.

The practical aspect of this significance is that the study extends the necessary knowledge and information that the policymakers on corruption need for purpose of designing appropriate mechanisms to deal with this unethical behaviour. It is in my best knowledge and belief that if the recommendations that are provided for in this study are adopted by policymakers, this evil of corruption would be alleviated in the public service.

1.9 Methodology

This study is entirely qualitative in nature. But since it falls in the domain of Applied Ethics, the methodology is structured in tandem with the three major approaches in the study of ethics, which are, the analytic, descriptive, and the normative dimensions. Following the analytic approach, the major concepts used in the study are clarified beyond mere definition. These concepts among others included corruption and integrity system. The rationale behind the clarification of these concepts is to aid clear apprehension and appreciation of the concepts being used, in order to pave way for effective analysis and worthwhile inferences based on cognisance of the subject matter (Frankena, 1973).

In response to the “is”, the study also incorporates the descriptive approach. The descriptive approach calls for giving empirical information without being evaluative. This approach is a basis upon which scholars rise above to carry out an evaluation of the phenomenon and consequently make value judgment (Foot, 2002). In light of the above, therefore, a description of the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda’s public service and the integrity system is made. The rationale behind this description is to ascertain the empirical facts revolving around the problem of corruption in Uganda’s public service.

Consequent upon the analytic and the descriptive, the study takes on the normative dimension. This approach is largely action-guiding as it raises the ‘ought’. The normative ethical approach is aimed at playing two major roles which are the judgmental and the prescriptive role (Singer, 1993). The judgmental function aims at pronouncing a stand on the rightness or wrongness of some
positions or views held by different thinkers pertaining corruption in the public service and also a judgment on the effectiveness of the integrity system that is designed to contain the vice. The judgment made is backed-up with reasoned arguments. Consequent upon the value judgment made, I saw it prudent to suggest normative recommendations that can help in building an effective integrity system that can solve the unethical behaviour of corruption that is deeply rooted in the public service.

In ascertaining the information that aided the description of the phenomenon of corruption, conceptual clarifications, and suggestion of the normative recommendations, a single method of data collection of document analysis was used. An extensive search into written literature from books, journals, newspaper articles, legal documents, and reports from different institutions was conducted. Much emphasis was put on various literature on corruption, the nature of the human person and society that may be responsible for corruption, legal documents on corruption, reports by domestic and international institutions on corruption in Uganda among other literature. The choice of selection of this method of data collection was spurred by the need to gather more detailed information in a more accessible way. Due to the fact that many scholars have written about this phenomenon commonly, it was easier, therefore, to get all the information needed through document analysis.

1.10 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have presented a general outlook of the study by highlighting the background, statement of the problem, the objectives and the major research questions that this study attempted to answer. I also suggested a delimitation of the study into something manageable. The methodology, justification and the significance of the study were also discussed in this chapter. Important to note is that I also highlighted the fact that many scholars and institutions have written widely about corruption. Therefore, in the next chapter, the focus is put on reviewing the literature of others and the theoretical framework upon which this study is conducted.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature which are germane to the study. In reviewing the literature, I took efforts in identifying the gaps in them and also showing how I intend to cover-up the identified gaps. The chapter also entails a section on the theoretical framework upon which the study is based. The study is based on virtue ethics in general and also makes particular reference to Kwame Gyekye’s moral revolution theory, which is as well inclined towards virtue ethics but in an African context. Lawrence Kohlberg’s theory of moral development was also used in the study especially on the part of designing a mechanism through which virtue can be cultivated in all citizens.

2.1 Literature Review

This section entails a review of the literature related to the study. It is subdivided into three parts, that is, ethics in public service, corruption in Uganda, and the nature of the African society. In this review, I highlighted the significances of this literature to this study. But also, attempts were made to show the gaps embedded in them and thereafter showing how this study comes in to bridge these gaps.

2.1.1 Ethics in the Public Service

It has been observed that serving the public interest stands at the core of public service ethics (Ayee, 1998; Lewis, 2006; Amundsen & Andrande, 2009). Citizens entrust public servants with public resources for which they are expected to only act as stewards. It is on this basis that public servants are expected to uphold public trust and to also ensure that they build confidence among the citizens they serve. Ethics in the public service demands that public servants put public interest over and above self-interest (United Nations, 2000). Amundsen and Andrande (2009) underscore this view by noting that public servants hold discretionary power and often make decisions that affect the populace. And because of that, they ought to base their decisions on some form of ethics
that disregards pursuance of “narrow private, personal or group interests” (Amundsen & Andrande, 2009, p.11).

This study is in agreement with the ideas above concerning ethics in the public service. But the only shortfall noticeable with the above observations is that they do not explain the underlying ethical framework that ought to shape public service ethics. In light of this observation, therefore, the study renders a contribution by advancing the ethical framework that ought to guide the development of an ethical public service.

Kinchin (2007) affirms the view held above, that ethics in the public service demands public servants to serve the public interest. He renders a tremendous contribution to this discussion by noting that if an ethical public service that is open to the legitimate interest of the public is to be realised, then this service ought to be based on five fundamental virtues. These virtues include; fairness, responsibility, transparency, efficiency, and absence of conflict of interest. Whereas it is true that the realisation of an ethical public service ought to be based on some virtues like Kinchin holds, he, however, gives a very narrow scope of virtues. Other virtues like integrity, justice, self-control, and commitment to duty among others are equally important and require due consideration. Therefore, this study extends the scope of the virtues beyond the five fundamental virtues advanced by Kinchin.

In “what Constrains a Transformed Public Service in Uganda?” Basheka (2014) underscores the need for the government to provide public goods and services to its citizens in an efficient way. He, however, observes that realising a transformed public service in Uganda that is dedicated to serving the public interest remains problematic. He opines that efforts of realising such a public service in Uganda are undermined by a score of factors, among which include the unethical behaviour of corruption (Basheka, 2014). Basheka’s point of view is in agreement with Ayee who also looks at corruption as a major challenge of the public service (Ayee, 1998). The views explained by Basheka and Ayee provide a greater insight into the study. However, they do not render an elaborate explanation of what corruption is. This study, therefore, goes beyond looking at corruption as just a challenge to the public service but also attempts to clarify the concept and even advancing the basic cause of its persistence in Uganda’s public service.
2.1.2 Corruption in Uganda’s Public Service

There have been attempts by different scholars and institutions to explain the rationale for the persistence of corruption in Uganda. The World Bank, for instance, ascribed the problem of corruption in Uganda to inadequacy of resources and capacity as well as lack of political will and a ‘high-level political support’. It admonishes that for corruption to be successfully combated, the above factors have to be streamlined to ensure that resources are in place and the capacity strengthened to effectively fight the vice while the polity is supportive of anti-corruption efforts (World Bank, 1998). Coldham (1995) also holds the same position as that of the World Bank. He observes that political factors are at the core of explaining the cause of the failure of the integrity system designed to combat corruption. He notes that anti-corruption mechanisms lack the independence of the executive, and consequently succumb to ‘improper’ pressure from the government that serves to undermine their efforts (Coldham, 1995).

Tangri and Mwenda (2006) affirm the above position by noting that Uganda’s anti-corruption institutions have failed to realize their objectives because of the interference of political leadership. They note that “top political leaders have influenced, manipulated and pressured anti-corruption institutions in ways that have constrained their effectiveness in checking high-level state wrongdoing” (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006, p.103). They continue to explain that Uganda has a score of mechanism like the IG, Parliamentary committees, and the leadership code among others which are in place to fight corruption, but all these mechanisms are rendered ineffective by political interference. To elaborate on their view, they observe that;

Political loyalty as well as occasional political pressure has prevented the IG from exercising fully its powers of investigation and prosecution, especially at the highest levels of government. The same has been the case with parliamentary committees, which have been susceptible to much political interference. Moreover, the recommendations of committees and the IGG, as well as those of judicial commissions, have not led to prosecutions and convictions

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2 Whereas Government is a broader term that is often used to refer to the body with the power to make and/or enforce laws to control a country, land area, people or organization, in this context it is used in its strictest sense to mean the executive arm of government.
of cabinet ministers, senior public officials or army officers (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006, p.122).

Besides the political interference, Tangri and Mwenda also attribute the importunate corruption in Uganda to the reluctance of the international donors. They note that international donors have placed too much trust in the commitment of Uganda’s political leadership in fighting corruption. “They (donors) accepted president Museveni’s oft-repeated statements that top ministers would not be protected and would have to ‘face the music’ if accusations were proven against them” (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006, p.119). Because of such reluctance, Tangri and Mwenda observed that their failure to attend to governance and political issues makes donors “unwitting accomplices of corrupt Ugandan leaders, as well as subverting initiatives to control state corruption” (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006, p.122).

Tangri and Mwenda present passable explanations of the vice of corruption in Uganda. They provide the study with a lens through which one can look at corruption. Their ideas lay a basis for a deeper investigation into this vice. Tenable as their ideas may be, however, they are, nonetheless, limited in two major ways; firstly, they seem to focus only on the corruptive tendencies or behaviours of the ‘state elites’3 while disregarding petty corruption, which is also a concern for the study. Secondly, they do not attempt to explain the basic reason behind political interference. This study, therefore, bridges the gap by contextualizing the ideas to understand corruption in the public service and also to bring to light the basic cause of political interference that is said to undermine the integrity system in Uganda.

Tusabe (2013) also presents a dimension upon which corruption in Uganda can be looked at. He explains the mental disposition that underlies the vicious tendencies like corruption which is witnessed in Uganda today. According to him, blatant greed is at the core of this vice in the country which is often manifested through what he terms as “in-group egoism” (Tusabe, 2013, p.45). He notes that this happens when different people in the political sphere deliberately conspire to work together for the sake of promoting their own selfish interest without considering the interests of other people outside their group. According to him, such immoral tendencies are jacketed in public

3 State elites refer to corporate, beauracric, intellectual, military and government individuals or groups of people who control lead institutions and whose action and opinions influence the decision of policy makers. These state elites determine the existence and survival of political regimes.
institutions that have no concern for the basic standards of good governance. He opines that such institutions portray a public image of the concern for good governance, which to him are just “mere window dressing, arrangements that are simply ornamental to camouflage” their viciousness (Tusabe, 2013, p.46).

Tusabe goes ahead to explain how the political system in Uganda is built on patronage which serves to enrich a specific group of people in power. Resultantly, he notes a number of scandals where the “in-group egoists” have involved themselves in corruption and have walked scot-free without being ‘touched’ by the law. Among the scandals that he highlights is the 2007 CHOGM scandal, the 2008 Global fund saga, the 2008 NSSF – Temangalo saga, the 2010 ID scandal, and the 2011 Bicycle scandal (Tusabe, 2013).

Like other scholars, Tusabe observes a lack of political will to fight the vice. In fact, he notes a pseudo-commitment to fight corruption in the country. Whereas Uganda’s integrity system encompasses institutions like DEI, he observes that this institution was established for propaganda purposes to make “citizens believe that their political leadership is on high moral ground” (Tusabe, 2013, p.52). He observes that DEI is known for diverting public attention from the deep-seated corruption in the country through “hypocritical religiosity and moralizing” (Tusabe, 2013, p.46).

The ideas advanced by Tusabe are of great importance to this study. He emphasizes a lack of political will in the fight against vicious acts like corruption in the public service. He even goes ahead to show the basis for the lack of will which he attributes to blatant greed. This study is in agreement with his opinion. However, two limitations are noticeable in his views. Firstly, he does not provide for an ethical framework through which to explain the ideas that he expounds; secondly, he is not suggestive of the possible recommendations to overcome this vice of corruption in Uganda. This study, therefore, seeks to bridge the identified gaps by first of all placing the ideas of Tusabe into a virtue ethical framework, since the notion of blatant greed that Tusabe champions is a vice that can be best explained by virtue ethics. Thereafter, the study rises above to suggest solutions to overcome the problem – solutions that are based on virtue ethics.

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4 “In-group egoist” is a phrase that was developed by Tusabe to mean an arrangement where people come in a group and front their selfish interest without due regard of other members outside that circle. These people conspire to satisfy their private interest and protect each other against the pressures from those outside their circle.
In “Letting the Big Fish Swim”: Failures to Prosecute High-Level Corruption in Uganda, a report that was written by the Human Rights Watch in 2013, an attempt is made to explain the persistence of corruption in Uganda. This report holds a view that corruption in Uganda results from a lack of political will to fight it. Just like Tusabe and other scholars, the Human Rights Watch affirms that corruption in Uganda’s public service results from a political system that is based on patronage (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The report indicates that there is selective justice in the manner in which corruption cases are handled. It is argued that there are big figures who are referred to as the “big fish” who are left free while the anti-corruption courts deal with the “small fish” who are mainly technocrats. The report further indicates that the reason for the persistence of corruption is because of the political interference in the affairs of the judiciary. Therefore “the government’s deep-rooted lack of political will to address corruption at the highest levels” explains its persistence (Human Right Watch, 2013, p.2).

The findings presented by the Human Rights Watch portray a lack of commitment which is all a problem of the mindset. It explains how the integrity system may not help when the public servants are weak-willed. However, like other literature, it is limited in a sense that it only explains the secondary cause of corruption in Uganda concerning corruption. It does not attempt to explain the basic problem underlying corruption in Uganda’s public service. This study based on such a view to advance the basic cause of this phenomenon by scrutinizing even the reason behind the lack of political will.

Asiimwe (2013) also makes an attempt to explain the prevalence of corruption in Uganda’s public service. He attributes this problem to having corruption “situated within the framework of “neo”-clientelism and skewed power relations… which endorses private extraction and skewed redistribution of wealth” (Asiimwe, 2013, p.130). He elaborates his position by pointing out that the efforts that are put in place to fight this vice have been rendered ineffective because of the interference and the manipulation of the “inner-circle” political actors. In fact, he points out that, an ‘elitist’ ruling class that is “politically known and well connected” tend to involve in grand corruption, taking large amounts of money. This category of people manoeuvres the legal and institutional system and goes scot-free (Asiimwe, 2013). It is because of this that he makes an observation that Uganda’s integrity system is only successful in overcoming petty corruption that is not by the ‘inner-class’.
The ideas that Asiimwe presents are in tandem with those of Tusabe. They all attempt to explain an “in-group” setting that serves a narrow interest for self-aggrandisement at the expense of the interest of a bigger Uganda. However, it is also important to note that Asiimwe is in disagreement with the ideas that are advanced by some scholars such as Gyekye (1997) and Wamala (2008), who hold a view that the persistence of corruption is deeply ingrained in our cultural practice of group solidarity, gift giving, and predatory authority. According to him, this claim is faulty. In fact, he notes that,

Corruption and African traditions of “obligation,” in which leaders give donations and gifts in order to maintain legitimacy and reciprocity, is a distortion. Such cultural norms, in fact, were underwritten by principles of rational distribution, equity, legitimacy, and mutual responsibility. Greed, selfishness, fraudulent accumulation, and unfair manoeuvring represented unacceptable and contestable deviance in African traditional systems, and most societies had formal and informal mechanisms of dissent, checks, and redress. (2013, p.131)

In light of the above, therefore, Asiimwe recommends that the fight against corruption need to be “accompanied by deeper democratization within institutions and strong checks and balances, as well as an improved livelihood for all citizens, fair remuneration, and job satisfaction to reduce their vulnerability to corruption” (2013, p.130).

The ideas presented by Asiimwe are indeed plausible. They attempt to explain the prevalence of corruption in Uganda which seems not to have been dealt with. However, he does not go into details to explain the basic cause of the vice. Even the recommendations that he presents may not finally address this vice of corruption in Uganda’s public service. His recommendation such as having a fair remuneration and job satisfaction may not make a bigger impact given the fact that some of the officials who steal big sums of money are actually well-off financially, an indicator that he is attempting to provide solutions for the secondary cause of the problem. Therefore, this study attempts to address this gap by identifying and addressing the prime cause of the vice.
Kizito (2010) attempts to explain the reason why corruption persists in Uganda by attributing the problem to neoliberal globalisation. He observes that this movement

Not only renders the state virtually impotent to pursue accountability, but also incredibly reconfigures corruption cartographies from a territorial to social trajectory. Any attempts to understand corruption using a state matrix is increasingly self-defeating because the state is immensely intertwined with deteriorised social entities or groups that are subtly difficult to hold accountable (Kizito, 2010, p.247).

Kizito opines that the neoliberal reforms through the IMF conditionality are responsible for the corruption that is experienced in Uganda. In elaborating on his view, he gives instances like the conditionality of privatisation and downsizing of the public service. He observes that Uganda is considered to be a “model implementer of IMF reforms” (Kizito, 2010, p.254). He elaborates this by giving an example of the privatisation process that started in 1992 and was halted in 1998 due to immense corruption manifested through non-transparency, insider dealings, and undervaluing of assets (Kizito, 2010). Kizito further exemplifies his argument by discussing the IMF and the World Bank’s Structural Adjustment Program of reducing the civil service to one-sixth of its original size. He observes that due to the downsized public service, “it is virtually impossible to get a job in the public service without political or ethnic connection” (Kizito, 2010, p.255). By implication, corruption vices like favouritism and nepotism are indirectly promoted.

Kizito renders a tremendous contribution to explaining the cause of corruption that we experience in Uganda’s public service. There is some truth that the process of privatisation has a lot of corruption embedded in it. It is also true that the small size of the public service as dictated by the IMF and World Bank creates too much competition for slots in the service that may, in the end, result into some unethical tendencies like nepotism. Much as these ideas may have an indispensable element of truth in them, what is provided does not explain the basic cause. This is just a secondary factor. This study, therefore, goes beyond Kizito’s ideas to ascertain the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service.
2.1.3 The Nature of an African Society

African societies have a peculiar way of life that has made some scholars to conclude that the nature of the African culture has largely contributed to high levels of corruption in the region. And since this study deals with corruption in an African country where such allegations are fronted, it is worthwhile to develop an understanding of the nature of African societies in order to lay a basis for an informed discussion on the causes of corruption in the subsequent chapter.

In light of the above, Kwasi Wiredu attempts to explain the major hindrances to the development of African Societies. He notes three main challenges which are anachronism, authoritarianism, and superstition. He holds a view that in African societies, people are indoctrinated and made to accept the societal values including authoritarianism and supernaturalism (Wiredu, 1980). The above tendencies have a lot of negative impacts on the mental attitude of the people in the society. Looking at authoritarianism, for example, Wiredu notes that firstly it undermines individual autonomy and will, instilling into people an attitude of not questioning authority and obedience to superiors who often are elders. Because of this, independence of thought is undermined. Furthermore, Wiredu notes that authoritarianism is intertwined with the African value of communitarianism that is highly appreciated by people in African societies. This communitarian tendency is highly associated with values that have been known to sustain corruption in African societies (Wiredu, 1980).

The ideas presented by Wiredu are indeed handy in this study. First of all, they aid a proper understanding of the African society and values and how these sustain vicious acts like corruption. Besides, Wiredu’s ideas are also important in suggesting the normative recommendations. Wiredu also advocates for a cultural revolution that is done through education. He recommends a formal and informal education in logic that cultivates a sense of rational thinking to break such cultural values and beliefs often held by many people that could serve to sustain corruption in the society.

Whereas I acknowledge the plausibility of Wiredu’s ideas, I notice that he does not directly link anachronism, supernaturalism, and authoritarianism to corruption in the public service. This study, therefore, bridges this gap by attempting to relate them to corruption and show how these have contributed to the persistence of corruption in Uganda.

In “The problem of Africa”, O’Donohue (1989) explains the major challenge that Africa faces, which he terms as the intellectual and moral categories that are inherited from the traditional past.
He observes that the traditional worldview of Africans which is inherited to the present is that “the human universe is under the control of spiritual powers, and man’s primary task is to win over those powers to help him in the struggle for health, wealth and fertility or, more briefly, for “prosperity” (1989, p.136). He observes that this spiritual world is above the concept of reality that Africans continue to evoke. In his explanation, he opines that although this traditional belief in the spirits maybe waning away, new beliefs like the Christian faith that have come in to replace the traditional belief in the spirits and has continued to nurture the above attitude.

O’Donohue further notes that this worldview of the human universe being under the control of the spirits generates laziness among people as it destroys their willingness to work hard to improve their own lives and world. They adopt a belief in ‘instant’ solutions to the magical conception of reality as they often pursue instant health, wealth and success. He elaborates this view when he notes that,

The ‘instant’ mentality of magical systems… makes it very difficult for a man to persevere in long and arduous undertakings, to tolerate frustration and discouragement, to build, in short, a house that will last. If you want it all and you want it now, you will clearly be tempted, if you are running a business, for example, to pocket the ready cash and let the future look after itself. ‘live now, pay later’, is a formula which fits the improvidence and fecklessness which is striking the characteristic of modern Africa (O’Donohue, 1989, p.139).

O’Donohue’s account is very relevant in this undertaking as it provides the study with a sense of why public officers end up in unethical behaviours of corruption. Some of the explanations given by him are even witnessed in the society; people have been taken up by the need to get rich quick and live a ‘posh’ life even when their salary may not adequately support it. Ostensible as his ideas maybe I also find it lacking in one sense or the other. Firstly, if we unwittingly followed his ideas, we risk being ‘drowned’ in the fallacy of appeal to hasty generalisations that can be blamed on the scholar. This attitude, although maybe a case for some people, there are also many people in the society that are not taken up by the said attitude. Furthermore, the way these ideas are presented does not directly explain the corruption problem in Africa (Uganda in particular). Therefore, his
ideas are exploited in this study especially in understanding the cultural context in which corruption thrives.

From the literature reviewed above, a number of gaps have been identified that the study attempts to cover. These gaps are summarised below;

Firstly, most of the literature reviewed do not elaborately clarify the concepts of corruption and integrity system. They simply advance ideas on the subject matter without making a clarification. Therefore, this study covers this shortfall by giving an elaborate clarification of these concepts.

Secondly, it is also a common feature that most of the literature reviewed above do not attempt to discuss the basic causes of corruption in Uganda. It is worth noting that dealing with any problem requires understanding the basic cause and not just the secondary causes. This study also bridges this gap by ascertaining the underlying cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service with a view of advancing the normative recommendations.

Thirdly, most reviewed literature does not attempt to situate their ideas in an ethical framework. This study attempts to explain the problem of the persistence of corruption in Uganda from a virtue ethical framework.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In order to explain the underlying cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service, assess the integrity system and also to give recommendations necessary to build an effective integrity system, the study derived theoretical insight from Virtue ethics in general that is augmented with a more specific virtue ethical frame that fits in the African context. This specific virtue ethical framework is known as Kwame Gyekye’s moral revolution theory. The study also borrows a leaf from the moral development theory of the Psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg in order to provide a practical procedure on how virtue can be cultivated among the citizens if corruption is to be contained in the Ugandan society.

2.2.1 Virtue Ethics

Virtue ethics is a theoretical perspective that is traceable from the works of ancient Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, explained further by medieval philosophers like Thomas
Aquinas. In the contemporary era, this theory has been expounded further by thinkers like Elizabeth Anscombe, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Michael Slote among others. It is a theory that premises its judgment of rightness or wrongness not on the actions of the individual but rather on the character of the actor. This theory emphasizes making an ethical evaluation of agents, their motivation for action and also their character traits (Slote, 1992). Virtue ethics attempts to address questions like, what kind of person should I be? Or how should I live my life? (McKinnon, 1999). It puts emphasis on cultivating virtues like integrity, honesty, fairness, self-control, and commitment to fulfilling duty among others, which after continued practice becomes one’s character. The above virtues are not cultivated just for their own sake. There has to be an underlying reason for their cultivation. As Aristotle contends, at the core of virtue ethics is the notion of eudaimonia, which in other words may be referred to as human flourishing. To him, the reason for being virtuous therefore is to promote human wellbeing (Ross, 2009). This Aristotelian perspective is further substantiated by McKinnon (1999) when he observed that;

Virtues have to do with tendencies to act and with motivation. To possess a virtue is to be inclined or to be disposed to act in a particular way, given certain conditions, but it is to be disposed for reasons. It is to find … certain ends more attractive than others (McKinnon, 1999, p. 29).

From the above, one can observe thus that virtue ethics underscores the idea of the character of the actor - a character that is developed through the continuous practice of virtue over time. For one to be regarded as an ethical human person, he or she should exercise good character traits. His/her action should be born out of a disposition that it is the right thing to do (McKinnon, 1999). MacIntyre (1983) explains this view further when he described virtue as,

An acquired human quality, the possession of and exercise of which tends to enable us to achieve those goods which are internal to practices and the lack of which effectively prevents us from achieving any such goods (MacIntyre, 1983, p. 191).

In light of our understanding virtue ethics as clarified above, one can deduce then that being ethical is about living a life of exercising values born out of the very being of the actor other than following rules that are enforced from without. In this regard, therefore, any attempt at fighting corruption,
in light of virtue ethics, requires going beyond simply following rules set by the social authority. It calls for cultivating human persons into developing a sense of virtue in such a way that they develop a character of living a morally justifiable life without being coerced from without. Virtue ethics thus requires that those concerned about fighting corruption developed an integrity system that focuses on cultivating virtue among citizens from whom public servants would emerge, specifically emphasizing virtues such as integrity, fairness, honesty, self-control, and commitment to performing duty – virtues that are vital to neutralising corruption tendencies.

Following the above, therefore, virtue ethics provides this study with a general framework with which it unearths the roots of the persistence of corruption in Uganda’s public service and also to develop an appropriate mechanism that can help in establishing an effective integrity system to confront the vice of corruption in the public domain. This theory, therefore, provides the study with major virtues that, if cultivated among citizens, can serve to address the problem. In line with virtue ethics explicated above, I presented a critique on the mainly advanced causes of the vice of corruption, bringing to light, the basic cause of the vice, explain the limitations of the integrity system and thereafter advance solutions to improve the integrity system and fight the vice of corruption in Uganda’s public service.

This theory fits well in this study’s choice because it puts its focus on human persons who are principal agents or actors in the vice of corruption, as it calls for cultivating virtue among these people. It is relevant in a sense that it contributes to creating a virtuous society that is committed to doing right and avoiding tendencies of corruption that undermine its flourishing.

However, plausible as the above explanation of virtue ethics may be in attempting to explain the persistence of corruption in Uganda and rendering attempts to overcome this vice, nonetheless what has so far been given has some limitations that if left the way it is, it may not help in aptly explaining the specificities of corruption in the Ugandan context. Although this general virtue ethics is vital in explaining the basic cause of corruption and providing practical steps in overcoming the problem of corruption through habituation, it may not effectively explain the underlying cause of corruption in the Ugandan context. It provides a boundless view that may necessitate it to be knit with a more specific virtue ethical explanation of the Ugandan context. Besides, virtue ethics has been further challenged as not being an action guiding theory. Ethics is concerned with practical challenges that are faced in society and that any theory that is to be
applied to it should give practical action guiding steps in form of rules or principles that ought to be followed. Following this criticism, one may hold that this theory cannot be helpful in containing corruption in the public service. Because of these shortfalls, this general virtue ethical position needs to be reinforced with a more specific moral theory that provides practical aspects of explaining the basic cause of corruption and dealing with the problem. This specific moral theory was provided by Kwame Gyekye in what he refers to as the theory of moral revolution. But even besides, in cultivation of the virtues that are handy in containing corruption, there is need to have some rules in society that ought to be followed. These rules are aimed at playing a duo function of first of all compelling people to conform to the acceptable standards of behaviour, and secondly habituating people to develop a virtuous character.

2.2.2 Kwame Gyekye’s Theory of Moral Revolution

Kwame Gyekye presents a theory that explains the problem of corruption in Africa and how it can be dealt with. In attempts to explain the persistence of corruption in Africa, Gyekye notes that this problem is attributed to the failure to correctly theorise and ascertain the basic cause of the vice. This, to him, leads to misdirected intervention which in real terms cannot remedy the problem. He notes that most of the reasons that are advanced to explain the occurrence and persistence of corruption in Africa are not fundamental but rather secondary - they are just auxiliary explanations of the fundamental cause of corruption which is the moral character of the public officers and the wider society. In elaborating this view, Gyekye notes that;

Inadequate laws governing corrupt behaviour, inadequate institutional checks, ineffective law enforcement agencies, inadequate legal sanctions against culprits, weak civil service regulations that make it difficult to remove corrupt officials: these factors may explain the proliferation of political corruption, since they seem to make it possible for some public officials to feel that they can commit corrupt acts with impunity. The assumption here is that, if the appropriate sanctions and controls are instituted and the powers and activities of the law enforcement agencies are expanded, corruption… will be considerably reduced, if not eradicated. This
assumption, however, may be only partially true. (Gyekye, 1997, p.197)

In light of the above, Gyekye notes that corruption is a moral problem, and since this is so, he suggests that if it is to be dealt with, then a binary moral revolution approach is inevitable. To him, this moral revolution should take both the substantive and the commitmental approach (Gyekye, 1997).

Gyekye observes that the substantive moral revolution involves a change in the moral values and beliefs of the society. “It involves a fundamental shift in the existing moral paradigm or moral conceptual schemes and the adoption of new ones” (Gyekye, 1997, p.206). To him, the old moral order or scheme should be broken to pave way for a new order if it is realised that the old moral order encompasses values and beliefs that serve to sustain corruption. In line with the commitmental moral revolution, Gyekye notes that this involves a change in the individual members’ response and attitude towards the society’s moral values, beliefs, and principles. He emphasizes that “it involves making a new and positive commitment to known and accepted moral rules and principles” (1997, p.209).

Resulting from the ideas elaborated above concerning Gyekye’s moral revolution, a successful fight against corruption in Uganda’s public service calls for integrating it with the general virtue ethical theory. From the previous theory, it was noted that the emphasis of rules against corruption that are enforced on the human person from without could largely be responsible for the failure of Uganda’s integrity system in countering the vice of corruption in the public domain. In managing the above crisis, therefore, emphasis ought to be put on cultivating citizens to develop a virtuous character that is committed to doing the right thing. In achieving this goal, Kwame Gyekye’s moral revolutionary approach plays an important role in cultivating these virtues. Gyekye opines that virtue cultivation can be “effected by augmenting the amount of moral knowledge we possess or by giving our moral knowledge a more precise and coherent formulation” (1997, p.210). He notes that if a moral or virtuous society is to be realised, there is “the need for cultivation of civic virtues and for moral education” (1997, p.204). Such steps if taken would successfully help in cultivating virtues that are underscored by virtue ethics. In light of the above, therefore, virtue ethics, both general and the specific one of Gyekye, provides the study with a great insight through which to understand the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service and how it can be dealt with.
Plausible as the above theories may be, they are lacking in a sense that they don’t explain how virtue can be cultivated at every stage of life. This makes them insufficient to attend to all the concerns of the study. In light of this shortcoming, there is a need to reinforce them with a theory that can provide practical steps on how virtue can be cultivated at different stages of life. This theory is provided by the psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg.

2.2.3 Lawrence Kohlberg’s Theory of Moral Development

The moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg explains the path that people follow as their morality levels advance. This theory explains that development of morality starts from the early childhood years. According to the theory, “moral development proceeds in a linear, step-wise fashion … gradually from one stage to the next, in a predictable, ordered sequence” (Oswalt, 2010, p.1). This theory explains the motivating factors of behaviour at every level and stages of moral development. Kohlberg identifies three levels of moral development with each having two stages.

The first level of moral development that the theory explains is the pre-conventional level. Kohlberg observes that at this stage, moral judgement of any person is based on an individualist perspective. He identifies two stages at this level which include the obedience and punishment and the instrumental relativist orientation. Kohlberg holds a view that, for the first stage of the obedience and punishment, moral decisions and judgement are based on the physical consequences of an action. At this stage, rules are seen as absolute and therefore obeying them implies avoiding the stick of punishment. Kohlberg observes that this is a stage of the very young people although there are some old people whose actions tend towards this orientation.

The second stage of the theory is the instrumental relativist orientation. At this stage, moral judgement is based on the interest of the self. What is right is what satisfies one’s own interest. At this stage, the concern for the needs of others is only realised after the individual weighs the benefits of attending to the others’ needs. The general rule at this stage when attending to the needs of others is ‘you scratch my back I scratch yours too’.

The second level in the theory is the conventional morality level. At this stage of morality, the individuals step above the individualistic attitudes and start to get concerned about the opinions of others. At this level, Kohlberg observes that morality is determined by the social norms that are implicitly or explicitly agreed upon by people in that social setting. Two stages are identified at
this level which includes stage three called the interpersonal concordance, also known as the “good boy-nice girl” stage, and the fourth stage of the law and order orientation. At the third stage of the interpersonal concordance, morality is measured by what pleases others, therefore, one does the right thing to get the approval of others. In this third stage, Kohlberg observes that behaviour of an individual is based on anticipation of the judgement of others. The fourth stage of the law and order orientation, Kohlberg observes that this is a stage whereby people show commitment to fulfilling their respective duties, obedience to the laws and authorities and also promoting social order. In this stage, the societies’ moral standards are followed because they are believed to be in place to serve the best interest of everyone in the community (Fleming, 2005).

Kohlberg’s last level of morality is the post-conventional level. This is a level where morality is looked at to be over the rules set by the social authority. People start to behave not in tandem with the moral standards of society but rather in abstract terms. Kohlberg identifies two stages at this level which include the social contract stage and the universal ethical principle stage. For the former, Kohlberg observes people appreciate that laws and other moral standards are in place for mutual benefit and they should be followed if harmony is to prevail in society. At this stage, people become critical of the laws that govern society. Just laws are kept while the unjust one ought to be changed. And for the last stage (six) of the universal ethical principle, the rightness or wrongness of an action or a decision is not determined by the laws or rules that govern the society but rather by the individual’s reflection on what amounts to proper behaviour. This last stage of morality an individual is said to be above the laws and rules designed by society (Fleming, 2005).

This theory fits well in the study as it aptly augments the virtue ethical perspective. As already observed in the previous theories on virtue, the fight against corruption requires cultivating certain virtues among the citizens. And as Gyekye also observes that if virtuous character is to be cultivated among the members of a society, then there is a need to focus on moral and civic education. This is the point at which this theory comes in handy to reinforce virtue ethics. Cultivating virtuous character is a process that starts with the very young, up to the later stages of life. This theory helps in understanding the path that people follow in growing morally, and therefore, it aids the study by providing an understanding of how best virtue education program can be designed.
In light of the above theories, four major elements that are handy in the study are identified. Firstly, is the moral nature of corruption as explained by Kwame Gyekye. Because of this, the necessary steps of dealing with moral problems are designed. Secondly, is the need to establish the basic cause. Gyekye cautions us that most of the reasons that are given to explain the occurrence of corruption are only partly true. They are secondary to the basic problem and, therefore, only dealing with these secondary causes may not viably solve the problem of corruption. Because of this, the study ventures into ascertaining the underlying problem. Thirdly is the need to build a virtuous character of the citizens by cultivating virtues such as honesty, integrity, respect for humanity, and commitment to duty among citizens in order to contain the problem of corruption in the country. Lastly are the procedures to follow in cultivations of the above virtues. In this case, Gyekye renders us with a practical approach of cultivating of civic virtues and moral education as a step to realising a virtuous Ugandan society that is sensitive and ready to detest this moral evil. This is effectively achieved with the aid of the moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg.

2.3 Conclusion

The foregoing Chapter has dealt with the review of the literature and the theoretical framework upon which the study is based. The literature review section was selected and arranged to fit into three major subsections which included, ethics in the public service, corruption in Uganda, and the nature of an African society. Shortfalls have been established in the reviewed literature that is addressed in the following chapters of the study. As far as the theoretical framework is concerned, the study is largely based on virtue ethics as a general ethical position, and also another dimension of virtue ethics that fits in the African context given by Kwame Gyekye. Besides the above two theoretical positions, I also augmented them with the moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg that can help especially on the section that requires developing strategies through which virtue can be cultivated among the citizens in order to ensure that corruption is contained in the public service. The next chapter, therefore, is tasked with describing the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda’s public service.
CHAPTER THREE

THE PHENOMENON OF CORRUPTION IN UGANDA’S PUBLIC SERVICE

3.0 Introduction

As already noted in Chapter One, the vice of corruption is a reality that is deeply rooted in Uganda’s public service. There is a score of evidence to prove this phenomenon, as many public servants have developed a malevolent habit of corruption that undermines the efforts of realising the good life of citizens and, ultimately, the good society. And since this is the case, it follows then that this experience is brought to light to aid further investigation into the study. This chapter, therefore, aims at describing the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda's public service but focusing on four major vices of bribery, embezzlement, extortion, and nepotism in the major sectors and entities of Uganda's public service. But, it is also important to note that the public service is too broad to be studied in this small undertaking. Due to its broadness, this description is delimited to four major sectors of Uganda's public service, which include the health sector, education sector, police, and judiciary. These sectors selected above provide basic services that are necessary for living decent lives and are important for the realisation of the good life and the good society. Without the above services, especially health, and security as guaranteed by police, life itself would be at stake. However, the delimitation to the four sectors does not mean that other areas are not relevant if the realisation of the good society is to be achieved. In light of the above, therefore, this chapter is subdivided into six major sections. These sections include, a brief highlight about Uganda, an overview of corruption in Uganda, corruption in the health sector, education sector, Uganda Police, and Judiciary.

3.1 About Uganda

Uganda is an East African country bordered by Kenya in the East, South Sudan in the North, Democratic Republic of Congo in the West, and Rwanda and Tanzania in the South. It has a fast-growing population that is estimated at 34.6 Million people (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Socio-economically, Uganda is considered to be among the poorest countries in the world. Poverty in this country has gone to despicable levels that it has a Human Development Index (HDI)\(^5\) that

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\(^5\) Human Development Index is a criterion that is used to measure human development in a given society. According to the first UNDP Report of 1990, measuring human development takes into considerations aspects such as the longevity or life expectancy at birth which puts into consideration the quality of health care, adequate food and
is measured at 0.483 as well as having up to 19.7% of its people living in contemptible poverty (UNDP, 2015). World Bank (2016), shows the pathetic levels of poverty in Uganda by noting that many citizens are not in a position to access certain vital services like health care and quality education, electricity, and better sanitation.

With such poverty levels, ideally, the government is expected to help its citizens access certain essential services that they may not be in a position to get on their own; services such as health, education, legal, and other basic infrastructure. These services are necessary if people are to live decent lives and to ensure that the common good is realised. This is a mandate of government given the fact that they are given the public trust to avail the public goods to the people. In light of its responsibility, the government of Uganda has made attempts to put in place some of the above services like public healthcare and education. Much as they are in place, they have not fully realised the end for which they were established. This failure to realise their end is attributed to a number of factors among which is corruption.

3.2 Overview of Corruption in Uganda

Across the globe, the phenomenon of corruption remains one of the major challenges that have continued to frustrate the world’s effort of attaining the fundamental achievements that would make their citizens not only live happy lives but also make it possible for them to realise the major purpose of human existence as living good lives, effective management and running of society and most importantly preservation and propagation of human life (Guorong, 2012). Corruption is experienced in all societies though its magnitude varies from one society to another. In light of this, therefore, it is believed that the vice of corruption is more pronounced in transitional democracies especially African countries (Asamoah, Assiamah & Osei-Kojo, 2014).

Undeniably, most governments globally have not escaped the woes of corruption, exposing their citizens to a deprivation of quality services necessary for living decent lives, distorting development efforts and creating a limping civilisation. On the African continent, the situation is so wanting that, most countries have never scored above 50 out of 100 on the Corruption Perception Index according to TI Report of 2017. Uganda, in particular, scored 26 out of 100 in the year 2017 according to the same report holding its 151st position among the 180 countries that

nutrition, the quality of housing among others; knowledge or literacy levels and the quality of education; and the command over resources that are necessary for people to live decent lives.
were ranked in the whole world. The country has continuously registered an increase in the level of corruption since 2008 to date with a few exceptions of 2010 and 2012 where it dropped slightly (TI, 2017). But the bottom line remains that, the situation in Uganda pertaining to corruption is so dire. A wider range of public sectors and entities, including health, education, Uganda Police Force, judiciary, works, and local government to mention but a few, have continuously been affected by corruption despite having in place an integrity system.

Even with the integrity system that is in place to fight this vice, its efforts have been rendered futile by a number of factors like political interference. The vice is so entrenched in Uganda that no officer of a very high status, for instance, a minister, a member of the military or any other officer in any category equivalent to those mentioned above was brought to book, prosecuted and punished by the year 2013 (Human Rights Watch, 2013). All this is a result of interference in the activities of the anti-corruption institutions by the executive. This interference is so profound in Uganda that even the former head of the Anti-Corruption Court, Justice John Bosco Katutsi lamented during a court ruling convicting an Engineer in the Common Wealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGM) Scandal on June 29, 2010, that, “this court is tired of trying tilapias when crocodiles are left swimming.” (Human Rights Watch, 2013, p.1). Such comments made by high ranking officers in the fight against the vice prove the intensity of the matter.

Corruption in Uganda’s public service has become so rampant that the country continuously receives threats of losing aid from development partners. In 2012 for instance, leading donor agencies such as the British and the Irish governments threatened to suspend aid to Uganda following highly publicised corruption scandals (TI, 2012). TI (2012) revealed that €12 million in aid from Scandinavian countries and Ireland were allegedly channelled into private bank accounts of officials from the OPM. However, none of the main culprits in this scandal was reprimanded and prosecuted apart from minor individuals who simply aided the embezzlement of this money.

Resulting from the experience of this vice in Uganda’s public service, different institutions (both local and international) continue to report an increasing state of corruption in Uganda. Amidst such reports concerning the high levels of corruption in the country especially by international Organisations like TI, one would expect the government of Uganda to respond by tightening the nuts to create a discomfort zone for the corrupt. But on the contrary, unfortunately, the government has instead gone to the defensive side, depicting an unfairness on the side of the institutions that
report the corruption trends in Uganda. In various statements made by several heads of anti-corruption government institutions, it becomes clear that most of them have not critically attended to the concerns raised about corruption in many reports, both local and international, but continued to query these reports as being biased. A case in point is the State Minister for Ethics and Integrity, Fr. Simon Lokodo, who is the political head of the Directorate for Ethics and Integrity, an institution that coordinates national efforts in the fight against corruption, refuted claims from TI Report 2017, which placed Uganda in the 151st position scoring 26 percent. To Minister Lokodo, TI’s report was biased. In his reaction to the ranking in the TI report, the minister observed that;

Every year they come up with a report, I always question what parameters they use to determine the position of Uganda worldwide in corruption indices and the progress that they are giving us is not what I want to believe is genuine, because we have made heavy strides, very long strides in the fight against corruption... I can tell you every day there is something always happening and we are reducing the comfort of being corrupt, we are managing the corrupt and we are breaking up all their strings, ties, and setups. So, to say we are always increasing in corruption instead of decreasing is a little bit of unfair (Draku, 2018).

Amidst such circumstances, the IG presents further findings portraying an increase in the levels of corruption in the country, something which is contradictory to the perception held by the Hon. Minister of State for Ethics and Integrity. The IG observes an increase in corruption in the year 2017 by 69 percent, with cases reported rising from 925 in 2016 to 1560 in 2017. This report further reported the most corrupt sector in Uganda being Local Government.

The government of Uganda under President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni continues to express commitment to fight this vice. This is evidenced through the creation of an anti-corruption institutional framework, with institutions like the IG, DEI, DPP, OAG, among other. In addition, other strategies have been put to defeat corruption like instituting the Inter-Agency Forum (IAF)\(^6\) and developing the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS). On several occasions, President

\(^6\) Inter-Agency Forum is an assembly that brings together different institutions that are charged with a responsibility of fighting corruption. Some of the members of the forum include, DEI, IG, CID, DPP, Office of the Auditor General, Uganda Police, Ministry of Public Service, Service Commissions, Inspectorate Courts among others.
Yoweri Museveni has often sounded his commitment in the fight against corruption by underscoring how he intends to deal with those who will be caught in this vice. In the State of Nation Address (June 6th, 2018), the president with intentions of creating a stronger anti-corruption mechanism created a three-members’ anti-corruption unit headed by Mr. James Tweheyo, on grounds that the IG has failed to manage corruption in Uganda. While addressing masses, statements such as, “Now we have started to open a war against them, those who have been arrested are ndozo... okuloza... jaribu .... (A taste of what is to come), you will see what comes next. All those involved in corruption will be arrested,” characterise his speech on corruption (Lutaaya, 2017).

Although this commitment is often times pronounced, to some scholars, this is a pseudo-commitment that is only aimed at showing different stakeholders that the regime is on a high moral ground and is not tolerant to corruption practices (Tusabe, 2013, Asiimwe, 2013). Phrases such as ‘zero tolerance to corruption’ and “Kisanja Hakuna Mchezo”\(^7\) that was launched after the presidential elections of 2011 and 2016 respectively, promising to deal with corruption has however done little or almost nothing to that effect as corruption reportedly continues to increase.

In light of the above, this chapter focuses on describing the experience of corruption in Uganda’s public service, specifically looking at sectors and entities of health, education, judiciary, and police. This study is as well limited to four major kinds of corruption, which are bribery, embezzlement, extortion, and nepotism.

### 3.3 Corruption in Uganda’s Health Sector

Uganda's Ministry of Health is one of the most strategic ministries where the state and other partners both local and international continue to work tirelessly to ensure that Ugandans enjoy the highest attainable standard of health, both mental and physical. According to Health Sector Strategic Plan III, it was established that there should at least be a minimum health care package that will be accessible to all people in Uganda due to the fact of the country being challenged by

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\(^7\)“Kisanja Hakuna Mchezo” is a Swahili phrase that literary means a presidential term that will not tolerate games. It was launched by the president of Uganda, His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni after the 2016 general election showing how the current presidential term (2016-2021) will be focused on development and that anyone who sabotages these efforts will be dealt with accordingly.
limited resources. According to the Uganda National Minimum Health Care Package, health care is clustered into four, that is, Health promotion; Disease prevention and community health initiatives; maternal and child health; Prevention and control of non-communicable diseases. All these initiatives aim at effectively reducing morbidity and mortality of the citizens, with the primary purpose of achieving a good standard of health for all people in Uganda, in order to promote a healthy and productive population that contributes to economic growth and national development. These set targets rest in the ministry’s mission of providing the highest possible level of health to all people in Uganda through promotion, prevention, curative and rehabilitative health services at all levels, and not also forgetting its prioritization in sexual and reproductive health, child health care, health education and promotion, control and prevention of HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis among others (HSSP III, 2010/2011 - 2014-15).

Undeniably, all these initiatives by the MoH when observed critically portray a beautiful image of what a well-functioning healthcare system should be in any society if the population is to lead a happy and healthy life. Tremendous achievements have been made in line with the initiative according to the Annual Health Sector Performance Report 2 (2007/2008). The achievements include but are not limited to: improved services under Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission, environmental health nutrition, occupational health and safety programs, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria as well as sexual Reproductive Health and Rights without forgetting child health, specifically immunization against Polio. These benefits that have been accorded to the citizens through the MoH are praiseworthy.

It is, however, important to note that, despite all those initiatives put in place by the MoH, the achievements met are lower than the set targets. This failure is attributed to a number of challenges among which include corruption in the sector. The health sector has continuously been gnawed by the evil practice of corruption, making it impossible for the little resources gathered to be put under effective utilisation. Corrupt practices such as embezzlement of funds, bribery, and extortion have served to distort many programs of the sector, frustrating its efforts of improving the health standards of all Ugandans. In line with the universal health requirements of accessibility,
affordability, availability, acceptability, and quality of the healthcare\textsuperscript{8}, most Ugandans whose poverty levels are high have faced remarkable challenges in accessing health services due to corrupt practices that characterise this sector. Because of this vice and its attendant effect of failure to access quality health care, many citizens have suffered worrying physical and mental health standards, permanent impairments and illnesses, and worst of all, some have succumbed to death caused by treatable and manageable diseases and conditions like malaria and giving birth.

In light of the above, a number of corruption scandals have been reported in this sector by different anti-corruption bodies. To begin with, the government’s ombudsman recently revealed in its report of 2017 titled, "\textit{Bi-annual Inspectorate of Government Performance}" that corruption is still a big threat to the sector. The IG reports a number of complaints that were lodged against the health sector in relation to corruption by whistle-blowers. These complaints in total were 27 and happened in hospitals and health centres (IG, 2017). Although this may seem to be small number reported in the country to the IG, it is important to note that, there is a myriad of such occurrences that take place in the sector but often go unreported. Most Ugandans have been frustrated by the state of affairs in the health sector where the services that are meant to be free, are instead sold and if they cannot afford, the lives of their dear ones remain at risk. For instance, massive extortion of money from patients have been reported from the Uganda Cancer Institute. Besides the breakdown of the radiotherapy machine at the Institute, cancer patients have continued to suffer in the hands of unscrupulous and corrupt medical workers. It is reported that in order to access medical attention from the institute, patients are charged money ranging from UGX 300,000 to 500,000 but surprisingly given receipts for only UGX 50,000 or 70,000 (Namagembe & Atukunda, 2018). This is outright corruption in form of extortion that is witnessed in the Uganda Cancer Institute.

Another very touching story to this effect was reported in Daily Monitor 2011 of John Emugu who carried his expectant wife on a bicycle and peddled furiously for 11 miles but on reaching Soroti Regional Referral Hospital, his relief turned to despair as he was asked by the nurse to buy a maternity kit at UGX 20,000 and also asked to pay UGX 100,000 to convince an intern doctor to attend to his wife when 12 hours had passed (Among, 2011). Cases of this nature happen in many

\textsuperscript{8} The General Comment 14 of Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) provides for the meaning of the right to the highest attainable standard of health that all human persons are entitled to. This General Comment highlights the above elements as accessibility, availability, acceptability and quality health care.
health facilities across the country. One may wonder why the health care system in this country would remain in crisis when billions of shillings of mostly donor money flow in every year. However, the answer is also clear to many Ugandans that corruption is a major problem hampering the healthcare delivery. According to the Auditor General’s report in 2009, it was revealed that UGX 310 million meant for drugs went missing that year. In the same report, many drugs are also reported to have gone missing in various health centres. Some of the drugs missing included ARVs, Coartem, condoms and oral rehydration salts.

Corruption in Uganda’s health sector continues to manifest itself through the creation of non-existent health facilities and workers. This is what is popularly described as ghost health centres and ghost workers. These are often created as avenues of viciously tapping public resource into the purses of selfish private parties. In light of this, National Drug Authority (NDA) reported an ‘ugly’ picture of the state of corruption in November 2010, on the issue of having more than 100 ghost health centres created by corrupt officials that had been receiving medical supplies and equipment. These were created on paper as a conduit for siphoning the resources that come in the health sector for their own private gain (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Whereas ghost health centres continue to receive medical supplies and equipment, surprisingly, genuine health centres lack these basic supplies and equipment, and the citizens continue to suffer a deprivation of these services.

Relatedly, theft of drugs and other equipment is another major way through which corruption manifests its self in Uganda’s health sector. The medical workers have continuously seen it as an additional source of their incomes to steal drugs and sell them to patients under private arrangements. Public health centres of Uganda are known for having cheap and less effective drugs. Anyone who is in need of more effective drugs has to get them in private facilities. The ‘powerful’ drugs that are supplied in public health centres are often stolen and sold expensively in private clinics and pharmacies. It is almost becoming predictable that there are common drugs like Panadol that are always found in most public health facilities. But other most effective and ‘powerful’ drugs are only accessible from nearby private pharmacies and clinics that have a connection to the medics recommending at the public health facility. Such medicines are stolen from the public health centres and sold in private health facilities (Jitta et al., 2003). It is on this basis that the patients who go to such health facilities are expected to buy some drugs and certain equipment like gloves, and syringes. But as the patients are required to buy such, it does not mean
that they were not supplied in the public health facilities, but rather the medical staff channelled them into their own clinics or drug shops to which they recommend or direct the patients to go and access those services. To some uncouth and shameless medics, they even sell these drugs and equipment like gloves and syringes from the very public health centres. There are many cases of theft of drugs that have been reported in the dailies. For instance, *The Observer* (November, 20th 2017) reports a case of Dr. Bedah Ssenkwale, a surgeon at Itojo district hospital who was caught by the State House Health Monitoring Unit team led by Dr. Julian Nabatanzi for stealing government drugs that were discovered in his private, Family Doctor’s Clinic located in Ntungamo (URN, 2017). This is not an isolated case, many cases of this kind are often reported whereas many others even go unreported.

Uganda's health sector also continues to be chocked by grand cases of embezzlement of funds meant to cater for the health needs of the citizens. With its meagre budgetary allocations, every other day, cases of massive embezzlement of funds are often reported, something that does not only deprive the citizens of quality services but equally tarnishes the image of the country. In 2008, Uganda lost its reputation as one of the best African countries in the fight against HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria when cases of mismanagement of funds of Global Fund project worth US$ 367 Million were reported (Guyson, 2014). The scandal resulted in the sacking of former health minister Jim Muhwezi and his then deputies Mike Mukula and Dr. Alex Kamugisha. Earlier in the same year, it was also reported of the embezzlement of Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation (GAVI) to a tune of UGX 1.6 Billion (Angumya, 2013). These cited examples are just a few reported cases of embezzlement of funds meant for health care. But as already noted above, a myriad of corruption practices goes unnoticed and unreported.

The vicious practice of bribery in the health sector remains the order of the day. To get proper and quality health care from the public health facilities requires one to grease the hands of the medical worker. It is common practice for health workers to receive money from patients in order to give them better medicine or to assist them to get swift attention. Without bribing the medical worker, most patients are bound to suffer in long queues without urgent attention even when it is clearly seen that the medics are not that busy. Hunt (2010), conducted a study in Uganda concerning the state of corruption in the health sector. From the study, it was revealed that 37% of the total bribes in Uganda are paid to the health sector. Comparing this with the number of sectors in the country,
this figure is too high for a single sector. Recently, there was a bribery scandal that shocked the nation at Naguru-China Friendship Hospital where two health workers (Andrew Kalule, a laboratory technologist, and Christine Namanda) were arrested for soliciting a bribe of UGX 155,000 from the State Minister for Health, Mrs. Sarah Opendi, who had disguised herself in a hijab as a patient. This bribe was being asked in order to facilitate a laboratory test, a service which is supposed to be provided free of charge (Mugisha, 2017; Ainebyoona, 2017). This scandal portrays a picture of what happens in many health centres especially in rural areas. The situation is indeed dire.

3.4 Corruption in Uganda’s Education Sector

Uganda's education sector is one of the major sectors that are in place to extend the public good that is essential for the development of this country. This sector is important in a sense that it aids the production of an efficient workforce and also helps in nurturing responsible citizenry. It has a structured system with different levels that include pre-primary, primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education. The services provided at all these levels are administered and managed by the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). The MoES operates under a mission of providing for, supporting, guiding, regulating and promoting quality education and sports to all persons in Uganda for national integrations, individual and national development. This mission is aimed at realising a vision of quality education and sports for all (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2017).

Autonomous institutions such as UNEB, National Council for Sports, National Curriculum Development Centre, and National Council for High Education all conduct their activities jointly to achieve the objectives of this education sector; ensuring universal and equitable access to quality education. The Education Act, Article 5, stipulates the responsibilities of stakeholders in education and training. Among the stakeholders include government whose responsibilities among others are provision of learning and instructional materials, structural development and teachers’ welfare, and setting policy for all matters concerning education and training.

In light of the above responsibility of government, Uganda's Education sector is credited for making strides towards promoting access to education at all levels through the provision of various facilities necessary for effective education and training. There has also been a registered achievement in providing free education from primary, post-primary and now tertiary institutions.
This effort is progressively realised. However, it is important to note that like all other sectors in the Ugandan society, the education sector has not survived the ‘cancer’ of corruption. Corruption in the education sectors just like the health sector is witnessed at all levels, ranging from the political, administrative and even classroom level (CHR Michelsen Institute, 2006).

The vice of corruption in the education sector continues to raise much worrying concern given the fact that education is a very key requirement for the progress of any society. Because of the numerous corruption cases that were often reported in the sector, this prompted president Museveni in 2009 to institute a judicial commission of inquiry into the mismanagement of UPE and USE funds in MoES chaired by Justice Ezekiel Muhanguzi. In their report, the Commission revealed almost 1000 cases of alleged inflated funds, ghost teachers, and schools, incomplete and shoddy constructions among others. In the commission's report to the president, it was noted that trillions of shillings were lost since the inception of UPE and USE programs. But surprisingly, despite all these findings by the commission of inquiry, none of the culprits was brought to book and prosecuted (Nsimomwe, 2011). In light of the above, a number of corruption scandals, both grand and petty have been registered. Some of these are described in what follows.

To begin with, like in the health sector, the education sector has also had corruption manifesting itself through the creation of non-existent (ghost) schools, teacher, and even learner. Through such vicious arrangements, huge amounts of public resources have been lost to public officers who manage the education sector. They often create a database for ‘ghosts' on paper in order to continue receiving money and other equipment to facilitate the running, remuneration and teaching of these ghost schools, teachers and learners respectively, and all the money received ends in the ‘pockets' of a few individuals. Numerous cases have been reported concerning this challenge of the ‘ghosts' in the education sector. A case in point was in Amuru district where ghost teachers were unearthed on the payroll of the Amuru District Local Government together with health workers (Ocowum, 2010). The complexity of this matter even worsens when findings continue to reveal that many teachers who abandoned their jobs continued receiving their salaries. From this, a conspiracy between the teachers and the office responsible for their welfare and remuneration is suspected. It is important to note that these issues are not only experienced in Amuru, such corruption vices are deeply entrenched and spread all over the entire country. In Wakiso District, for instance, the head teacher and a teacher of Bussi Modern P/S were arrested by police on allegations of drawing a
salary for two years without teaching at the school. For a period of 2 years, these teachers were
getting a monthly salary, money which would be used to take care of other facilities that would
make a better education system (Kiggundu, 2016).

Besides the creation of ghost schools, teachers, and students, corruption has also manifested itself
through embezzlement where funds that are supposed to provide the education services have
outrightly been stolen by corrupt officials, depriving citizens of quality education. A case in point
of embezzlement of funds in the education sector is reported where funds amounting to US$ 375
million (approximately UGX 950 billion) meant to support the Uganda Post-Primary Education
and Training Program (UPPET) for over a period of 10 years could not be traced hence a number
of losses were discovered. This huge amount of money was meant to build schools, buy furniture
and training school management committees, but went missing under unclear circumstances
(Nyanzi, 2012). Whereas the case mentioned above maybe grand, embezzlement of funds in the
education sector in some cases is also petty in nature. Other cases to show the prevalence of the
vice of embezzlement include the suspension of the head teacher of Putuke Primary School in
Kitgum for embezzling of funds amounting to UGX 7.6 Million (Kaguta & Apunyo, 2017). These
and many other cases can be cited concerning corruption in this sector.

Misuse of funds meant to facilitate UPE and USE programmes in schools has become a common
practice among many schools as these funds are often channelled into private accounts of school
administrators. In Bundibugyo district for instance, Rwenzori Anti-Corruption Coalition (RAC)
reported a case of a primary school that had been built to serve hard to reach areas and enabling
children to access lower primary education (Bundiwelume P/S) that had a total of 177 pupils (101
boys and 76 girls) was disserted after poor structures had been constructed at the site. It was
reported that this deserted (non-existent) school for the next three terms continued to receive UPE
funds amounting to 1,384,000 UGX according to the records that were availed by the District
Education Officer. This money was continuously withdrawn by the former head teacher which
then would be given to the newly appointed head teacher for his personal use. A case, Ref. No SD
41/18/10/2016 was opened against these two by RAC where criminal sermons that were issued to
the new head teacher who pleaded guilty of the offense of embezzling public funds and refunded
the money. This brings us to a fact, that in rural areas, especially those hard to reach, the education
sector performs poorly as most money allocated is embezzled by the school authorities due to lack of monitoring mechanism (Democratic Governance Facility, 2018).

3.5 Corruption in Uganda Police

Uganda Police is constitutionally established under Article 211(i) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 (Amended 2005). Its functions are outlined under Article 212, including; protecting life and property, preserving law and order, protecting and detecting crime, and cooperating with the civilian authority and other security organs. The Uganda Police is a very important entity for any civilised society that treasures sanity. It is also important to note that for purposes of ensuring the realisation of certain inalienable rights like life, liberty, and property as underscored by the Philosopher John Locke, we need to have the institution effectively functioning.

With its vision of "a crime-free society", Uganda Police has made remarkable achievements in line with its mandate to the public and within its members. These achievements range from curbing crime, protecting life and property, the disciplined conduct of officers, and professionalism. Although the Uganda Police realised a number of achievements as noted above, it has nonetheless continued to face some challenges that have undermined the realisation of its existential goal. One of the major challenges that the Uganda Police faces is the vicious behaviour of corruption. Corruption in this entity is too deeply entrenched, attracting different institutions and individuals to castigate it as one of the most unethical institutions. In various reports that are authored by governmental bodies, CSOs, and international agencies, Uganda Police has not escaped being mentioned as one of the most corrupt institutions. In fact, in the 4th National Service Delivery Survey 2015 by UBOS, the Uganda police was ranked as the most corrupt government institution. This alarming situation has been reported by institutions like TI, Human Rights Watch, and IG among others. Some of the major corruption vices and their manifestations in this institution are described below.

One of the most notable manifestations of corruption in Uganda Police is bribery. This bribery in the Uganda Police Force has been locally referred to as ‘kitu kidogo.’\textsuperscript{9} In other cases, it is

\textsuperscript{9} ‘Kitu Kidogo’ is a Swahili word that literally means something small. It is used to mean a bribe
synonymous with words such as ‘soda’, ‘chai’\textsuperscript{10}, ‘water’ among others. For one to access police services like arresting suspects, getting police bond, or even when caught breaking the law, one needs to ‘grease’ the hand of the police officer in order to be assisted or to be set free. Although bribery is known for being all over the police, it is deeper in some sections, especially in the traffic. In Uganda, it is almost a normal thing to hear of bribery by the police. Due to this \textit{kitu Kidogo} being at the peak especially in the traffic department, many passengers' lives are put at stake as the police would tolerate the breaking of the traffic rule provided the officer gets the bribe. A number of cases have often been reported concerning bribery in the Police, especially in the traffic department. In light of this, it is so alarming that from the year 2014 to 2017, over 700 traffic officers were fired on crimes of bribery and redeployed in other departments like the general duties (Bagala, 2017).

Bribery in Uganda Police is, sadly, not news to the majority of Ugandans. It is known by almost everyone that it is openly practiced. Even the head of state is aware that it is a way of survival for these police officers. During the commissioning of Busia one-stop border post, the President expressed the need to install scanners at major boarders as the Police could no longer be trusted to do the work with honesty. He observed that "We cannot depend on police officers who are sometimes looking for 'kitu kidogo" (Corps, 2018).

What sometimes makes the situation more worrying is that this corruption in the police has even led to the rise of a conspiracy between the Uganda Police force and a gang of criminals just to terrorise the citizens (Sematimba, 2014). Many Ugandans have suffered the consequences of bribery in the force as some police officers connive with criminal gangs to terrorise and brutalise Ugandans. For example, information leaked of how the police work hand in hand with organised criminal groups like the infamous "Kifesi", a group of criminals who operate in the city. To the surprise of many, the Kifesi have, on many occasions, testified before the public through media, that the police are aware of their operation and they work together on daily basis. Paddy Sseronjogi (popularly known as Ssobi) in an interview with NBS television narrated his close relationship with the police as they conducted their ‘criminal' activities (NBS TV Uganda, Jan 15, 2018). By the police involving in such criminal activities is a contravention of their mandate of protecting

\textsuperscript{10} ‘Chai’ is a word that cuts across most ethnic groups in Uganda and refers to tea. It is commonly used in bribery just like Kitu Kidogo.
the lives and property of the citizens and ensuring a crime-free society. If the police aid the
operation of the criminal gangs, one is left in a vulnerable position on where to run to for protection
when he/she is caught up in the evil trap of these gangs.

Besides bribery that is seen above, it would also sound incomplete to describe corruption in the
force without mentioning extortion. Shame has gone off the eyes of many police officers as they
on several occasions forcefully demanded money or any other favour, with a threat of ‘dealing’
with a person who does not comply to their demands. Extortion involves some form of coercion.
Here, victims are forced to bring money (or any other tangible valuables) and hand it over to
whoever has held them at ransom. Under these practices, threats are highly used by police officers
alongside torture to make it clear to the victims that without surrendering and presenting any
amount asked for, the situation will be worsened. A number of cases have been reported
concerning extortion involving both senior and junior officers. The most current one is that of
Assistant Commissioner of Police Siraj Bakaleke formerly the commander of Kampala south
region with his colleagues, Isaac Munezero, Officer in Charge Crime intelligence Katwe Police
Station, George Kayongo, Keneth Zirintuusa and Patrick Ochan. With Bakaleke who is alleged to
have been a key player in the extortion, and his fellows extorted money amounting to UGX 1.4
billion (USD 400,000) from two Korean nationals who had come for gold (Daily Monitor, 14
February 2018). Although this may be a very prominent case of extortion, it is, nonetheless, not
an isolated one. Many other cases of extortion are reported while others even go unreported.
Another interesting case of extortion that is worth noting involved a one, Okuonzi, Officer in
Charge Koboko Police Station who allegedly extorted money from crime preventers to enable
them to join the Uganda Police Force. According to police, the officer was demanding an
unspecified amount of money from crime preventers threatening not to recruit them if they did not
pay (Bartre, 2012).

The magnitude of the evils of corruption, especially extortion, has attracted the attention of major
International Human Rights bodies like the Human Rights Watch. The Human Rights Watch
Report of 2011 expressed concern on cases of torture and extortion, and killing by police units,
calling upon investigations against the Rapid Response Unit and prosecution of officers who were
responsible for such abuses. The report alleges that during the operations of this unit, cases of
extortion on the basis of high threats were at the peak.
The evil of corruption (especially extortion), in addition to being widely reported in the police force, is often done in a trickery and deceitful manner. A lot of artifices has been used by various police officers to extort money from ignorant citizens. For instance, some police officers delay sanctioning files to court, and prosecution of cases with intent to extort from desperate citizens. The former IGP Kale Kayihura revealed that he received reports on the conduct of some police officers hiding police form III mainly used for examination of defilement and rape victims until the complainant gives money yet the forms are for free. He further noted that some officers ask for not less than 50,000 from victims of sexual assault to process the form III which they hide and pretend not to be having. The IGP raised these concerns in a speech read for him by Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr. Joseph Obwona, during the handover of case management materials to police officers - Busoga regions during a function in Jinja district (ACCU, 2014).

Furthermore, nepotism can never go unmentioned if we are to talk about corruption in the Ugandan Police. Like in other institutions, nepotism is also at its peak in this institution. A section of Ugandans has always shown mixed feelings when it comes to the way ranks are awarded in the force pointing at officers who are normally promoted to the high ranks as those from one region of western Uganda. This, however, does not only apply in promotion but even in the recruitment (especially at the cadet level), training and even posting (Khisa, 2017). This kind of arrangement is contrary to the establishment and requirements of institutions such as Equal Opportunities Commission which is charged to ensure that all Ugandans have equal access to opportunities and to promoting affirmative action. In a leaked report, the Parliamentary Committee on Equal Opportunities revealed widespread regional imbalance when it comes to the appointment to public offices. To be specific, according to the report, in the police force, the examination mode, of the top leaders of the police, indicated that out of the 23 high ranking police officials 14 (61%) hail from western region, concerning regional police commanders, out of 27, 12 (44%) hail from western (Nile post, December 14th, 2017). Following the statistics provided above, one would be left wondering if it is true that most elites hail from one region to take up such tasks in various institutions as if they are naturally endowed with special qualities not possessed by other people in other regions. But nonetheless, these statistics portray the experience of nepotism in the Uganda Police Force, something that serves to undermine the realisation of an ideal society that cherishes and promotes the ethical values of equity and inclusiveness.
3.6 Corruption in the Judiciary

The judiciary is the third arm of government, under the doctrine of separation of powers. This arm is constitutionally mandated to; administer justice through resolving disputes between citizens and between the state and citizens; interpret the Constitution and the laws of Uganda; promote the rule of law and contribute to the maintenance of order in society; protect human rights of individuals and groups to mention but a few (Judicial Staff Handbook, 2006). This places the judiciary at the heart of the system of justice, to settle disputes between individuals and organisations and to conduct trials when violations of the law are presented. In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (amended 2005), Article 126 (2) spells out that, justice shall be done irrespective of people’s social and economic status, shall not be delayed, adequate compensation shall be awarded to the victims of wrong, reconciliation between parties shall be promoted and substantive justice be administered without undue regard to technicalities. These five principles are so vital in the administration of justice and that if they are to be really put into practice, Ugandans would enjoy the justice system of their country without any grievance. On the other hand, failure to put into account such fundamental principles would mean justice denied, unfair and inadequate compensation, segregation and discrimination in the administration of justice, hostility among parties among others.

Whereas the Judiciary is expected to extend the public good to the citizens through acting as an independent arbiter, this sector equally continues to be eaten up by the "cancer" of corruption, a vice that the Ugandan government has failed to erase from the conduct of Ugandans. This, undeniably, has thwarted the efforts of the ‘have-nots’ to access the administration of justice at the expense of the "haves" making them lose their property, family ties, and exclusion from enjoying citizenship rights. Whereas these are facts, the turn of events is worsened by lack of political will to ensure that demands made by the judiciary in the administration of justice are adhered to. At this point, it is paramount that we look at corruption incidences in the judicial sector.

To begin with, one of the major kinds of corruption that have continued to undermine Uganda’s judiciary is bribery. Whereas the judiciary is expected to resolve disputes in an independent manner, this has not been realised in Uganda because of the malevolent behaviour of bribery by many judicial officers. Bribery in Uganda’s judiciary mostly hits the poorest people, creating for
them a situation that denies them descent livelihood by making it almost impossible to have an enjoyment of their fundamental rights to fair trial. The practice is highly pronounced in the lower courts of judicature, that is to say, magistrate's courts and chief magistrate's courts where most officials ask for a bribe to link the suspects or complainants and plaintiffs to the magistrate. According to the Global Corruption Barometer 2015, it is noted that more than a half of the people who had cases with the courts of law paid a bribe. In other instances, according to ACCU’s report titled "temples of injustice", June 2014, it was found out that a number of court officials solicit bribes and hide files of those who fail to comply. This undeniably could be one of the reasons that explain case backlog in the judiciary as many files are hidden waiting for the owners to comply. The report by ACCU further reveals a number of courts that have had high levels of bribery in the country. A case in point that is reported is Ibanda Magistrate's court, where court officials solicit bribes in form of cattle or other movable assets. It is also clear, that in other courts such as Buganda Road Court, Matuga Magistrates courts, and Kasangati Magistrate's Courts, bribery is equally at its peak (Kaaya, 2014).

In light of the above, it is important to identify some of the court officials who have been caught up in bribery scandals. To begin with, Magistrate Napiyo was charged before the Anti-Corruption Court over an allegation of having received a bribe of UGX 1 million from Amam Vicent Egesa to reverse a child custody ruling in his favour. This vicious magistrate requested to resign from the judiciary in order to have this case dropped against her but her request was sternly rejected by the institutions (Wesaka, 2017a). Another case to look at to this effect involved the Butambala Grade Two Magistrate, who was equally arrested by Police alongside the court clerk only identified as Saidat after a woman claimed to have been asked to give a bribe of UGX 200,000 by the duo to secure a court bail and ‘kill’ the case where the accused was facing charges of malicious damage to property (Luwaga, 2013).

Following the above cases of bribery, it is important to note that corruption in the judiciary is not condoned. It is such an intolerable evil that when one is caught up, they are earnestly dealt with. To exemplify this, in March 2017, an interdiction was served to one of the court officials, Mr. Arthur Peter Batwala, a process server in the High Court’s International Crime Division who intended to hand over a bribe of UGX 15 million to this court’s judge (Wesaka, 2017b). Other officers who were fired on crimes of corruption include David Kaaye Cheptuke, a former Grade
One Magistrate with Kisoro and Okitui Oduru the former Jinja Grade Two Magistrate who were fired after being convicted for soliciting a bribe.

In light of such injustices that are witnessed from what is expected to be a temple of justice, one wonders if Ugandans who are incapable of giving a bribe are able to access justice. But it should also be noted that bribery is not the only corrupt evil in the judiciary, other evils like extortion are also citable in this arm of government. Whereas in bribery there is always a room for negotiation, under extortion, there is the use of force. Here, the victim should either comply and access ‘justice’ or defy and be denied ‘justice’. It is never smooth whenever it comes to this corrupt practice in the judiciary as court litigants are put to panic by judicial officials who take advantage of many based on their ignorance of the law. When it comes to matters of the court and court proceedings many people involved, both complainants and defendants, portray a high sense of fear before, during, and after those processes. Some even plead guilty before facing the magistrates and judges. This situation is worse when it comes to ordinary people in rural areas whose conscience are easily shaken whenever told, that they have issues in court. In light of the above, therefore, it is on this basis, that most judicial officials have taken advantage of such state of affairs to extort money from court users. Various cases of extortion have been received by organs such as the IG, Uganda Police and other actors charged with the responsibility of fighting corruption. In these cases, shocking experience and revelation are narrated by the victims. A case in point to this effect is a story of Nebbi where a court user paid 150,000 UGX to an office attendant at the court and was never given a receipt despite demanding one. In other parts of the country such as Mukono, Clerks issue production warrants for sale as they demand different costs. Many Ugandans testify being asked for money to facilitate courts operations forcefully without their consent (Lubwama, 2013).

3.7 Conclusion

In this Chapter, an attempt has been made to describe the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda’s public service, but from a selected range of sectors of health, education, Uganda Police, and Judiciary. From this description, there is enough evidence that this vice is a reality and is deeply entrenched in the public service. Worth noting is the fact that the vice of corruption in any society is ethically undesirable, since it serves to undermine the purpose for the existence of public service or government of providing the public goods like health, education, security, and justice, among
others, to its citizens. Because of corruption, citizens are denied the chance to access the services that are essential for not only their flourishing but that of the entire society too. And since this is the case, a majority of Ugandans are deprived of such services despite the fact that they put their trust in the public officers to serve the public interest. Having looked at this experience, the next Chapter is tasked with ascertaining the basic cause of this phenomenon in Uganda’s public service as a basis for designing viable solutions to contain it.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE BASIC CAUSE OF CORRUPTION

4.0 Introduction

As already observed in Chapter One, the fight against corruption requires developing cognisance of the basic cause of the vice. The reason for this is that if the basic cause is ascertained, then an effective strategy for dealing with the problem can be identified. But without an understanding of the basic cause, we face the risk of advancing misdirected interventions that would only soothe the problem by simply dealing with the secondary causes. In light of the above observation, therefore, this chapter undertakes a task of giving a philosophical explanation of what could be the basic cause of corruption upon which other causes hinge. This explanation is made by scrutinising what other scholars have so far advanced as the causes of corruption. But as earlier mentioned in Chapter One, this scrutiny is carried out within the theoretical framework of virtue ethics. However, prior to this scrutiny, an attempt is made to develop the meaning of corruption that aptly fits into the requirements of the study by elaborating the major elements of corruption that can suitably aid the realisation of the underlying problem.

An explanation is also given of the cultural context through which corruption thrives. All these steps are necessary towards identifying the basic cause of corruption. The chapter is, therefore, subdivided into four sections which include the meaning of corruption, the cultural context through which corruption thrives, secondary causes of corruption, and the basic cause of corruption.

4.1 The Meaning of Corruption

The concept of corruption is so indispensable to this study that if we are to proceed systematically, then it has to be given the due attention it deserves. It follows then that, before delving into identifying what the basic cause of corruption is, reason demands that this concept of corruption is adequately clarified. In an attempt to establish the meaning of corruption, it is important to bring it to our awareness that the concept of corruption is so complex that there is no precise definition that has so far been advanced which has come to be universally accepted despite attempts made by various scholars and institutions (Osei-Hwedie & Osei-Hwedie, 2000; Arvidson & Folkesson, 2010). One of the reasons behind the failure to come up with a final definition of the concept of
corruption is attributable to its multidimensional nature. Amundsen and Andrande (2009) underscore the intricate view of corruption when they observed that,

> Corruption is in itself a many-faceted phenomenon and the concept of corruption contains too many connotations to be analytically functional without a closer definition. The forms of corruption are diverse in terms of who are the actors, initiators, and profiteers, how it is done, and to what extent it is practiced (Amundsen & Andrande, 2009, p.36).

Following this observation, it is important to note that if we are to come up with an apt understanding of corruption that befits the purpose of the study, then an attempt has to be made to scrutinise the already existing definitions of this concept. This effort is rendered below.

The term ‘corruption’ is derived from two Latin words *corrumpere* and *corruptus*, with the former meaning ‘to decay' or 'to get spoilt' and the latter meaning 'to break'. These two Latin words provide a basis upon which several scholars have given a definition of corruption. What is important to note from these etymological definitions is that they connote a sense of negativity. By implication, therefore, the etymological foundations of the word corruption, pointing to the negativity is an indicator that corruption is an evil or a vicious behaviour. This is an important beginning point for understanding corruption. However, an adequate apprehension of corruption cannot be limited to the etymological roots of the term. Why? Because the etymological definition of corruption is too generic that it encompasses a myriad of evils, some of which may not fit in well with this study's conception of what corruption is. Some of the evils that are not in line with the concerns of this study but may, however, be considered as part of corruption according to the etymological definition include murder and rape.

Besides, this etymological meaning of corruption is also problematic in a sense that, it can also be used metaphorically, for instance, to imply imparting ideas and beliefs into someone or a group of people, which are not in line with what the society believes in, irrespective of whether the ideas and beliefs being imparted are negative or positive. To understand this further, let us take an example of the execution of the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates. It was reported that Socrates was found guilty of impiety and corrupting the youth through the ideas that he imparted in them.
(MacIntyre, 1998). With such an observation, the etymological meaning of corruption is not suitable for the purpose of this study.

In light of this limitation, therefore, there is a need to come up with a clearer and specific definition of corruption that attends to the requirements of the study.

The Oxford advanced learners’ dictionary looks at corruption as “a dishonest or illegal behaviour, especially of people in authority.” This definition is in tandem with one provided for in the Merriam Webster dictionary that defines corruption as "dishonest or illegal behaviour especially by powerful people." These dictionary definitions attempt to render relatively clearer and specific view of corruption than the etymological one. Looking at these dictionary definitions, three major observations are worth noting. Firstly, is the idea of dishonesty. The dishonest aspect of the definition depicts corruption as a vice that involves behaving in a manner characterised by insincerity, trickery, and deceitfulness. It is a behaviour that is intended to outwit others just for selfish reasons. From this dictionary definition, we also observe the idea of illegality, which also points to the unlawful nature of corruption. This illegality of corruption explains why corrupt officials act clandestinely while executing their deals in order to avoid being caught up by the law. And lastly, is the idea of people in authority or with power being involved in the corruption acts. This view points to the involvement of the state agents or office bearers who take advantage of their power or office to serve their selfish interest at the expense of public interest.

This dictionary definition of corruption is more elaborate than the former. It attempts to give some features of corruption as analysed above. However, more elaborate as it maybe than the former, it, nonetheless, suffers a limitation of impreciseness. Like the limitations of the etymological understanding of the vice, this definition can also be used to generalise many evils some of which may not fit well in the study's conception of corruption. For instance, a public officer, who in this case may be in an armed force, who may use his/her office and the tools of coercion at his/her disposal to unlawfully murder the enemy maybe looked at as corrupt if we followed the dictionary definition of corruption. This is because he/she will have acted dishonestly and illegally using his/her office since the laws governing their office do not permit them to use their authority in such a way.
But even besides the impreciseness of the definition, the idea of regarding corruption as being unlawful is also problematic. It is possible to have laws that manifest elements of corruption. To elaborate this further, a hypothetical scenario could be drawn of society ‘A', that may be having two ethnic groups which I may call ethnic group ‘B' and ethnic group ‘C'. A law concerning governance of this society ‘A' is passed specifying that 70% of the leaders will come from ethnic group ‘B' and the remaining 30% will be from ethnic group ‘C'. Although the governance of this society may be seen as lawful, it, nonetheless, manifests elements of corruption. What is observed in this kind of 'lawful' society is a corruption vice of nepotism. In light of that observation, therefore, it is possible to have lawful corruption.

Therefore, looking at such shortcomings noticeable with this meaning of corruption, reason demands that a more precise definition of corruption that would attend to the purpose of the study be identified.

In further attempts to explain the meaning of corruption, Black (2002) defines it as the "use of bribery to influence politicians, civil servants, and other officials" (Black, 2002, p.91-92). Looking at corruption from this dimension, it reveals a more specific explanation than the dictionary meaning. This definition emphasizes the element of inducements that are given by non-state actors to the state actors with the intent of influencing decisions to be made in their favour. Black's incorporation of the element of bribing public office bearers brings the definition close to the one that is suitable for the study. Indeed, he highlights a typical element of corruption that the study also looks at; the element of bribery. Worthwhile as the definition may be, it is, nonetheless, limited in a sense that it only looks at one form of corruption which is bribery. Corruption is a broad term that encompasses many other vices like embezzlement of funds, extortion, influence peddling, and nepotism among others. Therefore, focusing on only bribery makes the definition too limited to render an apt explanation that suites the purpose of the study and can, therefore, not aid the proper identification of the underlying problem.

To some thinkers, corruption is looked at as a deviation from the acceptable way of conducting official duty. Ajit Mishra (2006) for instance looks at it as a "behaviour that deviates from formal duties because of private gains" (2006, p.349). Mishra's view is influenced by thinkers like Nye and Khan. In explaining corruption as a deviation, Nye defines it as a "behaviour which deviates
from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (Nye, 1967, p.417). Through the same lens, Mushtq Khan renders a modified version of corruption as a deviation. He observes that corruption is a "behaviour that deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private-regarding motives such as wealth, power, or status" (Khan, 1996, p.12). From the above definitions, what is deducible is that the vice of corruption is a behaviour that involves a state-societal relation. On one side of the vice is a state agent who may be a civil servant, politician or bureaucrat in an authority, and on the other side is a member of the society who seeks a favour from the state agent (Amundsen, 1999). From this secretive dealing, the state-agent using his position deflects from the formal or acceptable procedure of executing official duty and renders an undue consideration to the other member of a society but with a selfish intent. This definition of corruption as a deviation from the acceptable or formal procedure of executing official duty stands in agreement with Uduigwomen’s more elaborate view of the vice. To Uduigwomen, corruption is;

A deliberate act of indiscipline against the legalised moral norms of the state, and the natural law of justice, as it affects the realisation of the common good of the citizens, whereby an individual or a group of individuals directly or indirectly diverts or misuses, with the tool of political manoeuvring, the wealth of the state for his/her personal use (Uduigwomen, 2006, p.202).

This definition attempts to give a detailed explanation of corruption as a deviation. To Uduigwomen, corruption is a deviation from the “legalised moral norms of the state” (2006, p.202). In his definition, he looks at corruption as an intentional secret activity that involves the diversion or misuse of state wealth for personal gain. Uduigwomen also goes further in his definition to bring to light the negative outcomes of the vice as he points out that it undermines the realisation of the common good. Although Uduigwomen attempts to give a more elaborate explanation of corruption, his view of corruption can also be faulted on grounds that he emphasized a deviation from the “legalised moral norms”. Like the previous dictionary meaning, Uduigwomen
also attaches his view to the law. This implies that the shortcoming of explaining corruption as an unlawful behaviour also applies to him.

These definitions of corruption as a deviation are more convincing than the former definitions. It is a self-evident truth that those who involve in corruption acts do it against the ethical requirements of executing their official duty.

Besides the definitions of corruption as a deviation, the most commonly used and appreciated definition of corruption today was advanced by the World Bank. According to the World Bank, corruption is looked at as the abuse of public office for private benefits/gains (World Bank, 1997). This definition also influenced the one of TI that looks at it as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gains" (TI, 2017b). These definitions by the World Bank and TI are fairly precise and very close to the definition that serves the purpose of this study. From these definitions by the World Bank and TI, it is evident that there is an involvement of public office bearers who unethically use their positions for self-aggrandisement. What is noticeable from these definitions is a vicious tendency of acting selfishly, enriching oneself at the expense of the public who ideally should be the beneficiaries of the services of this public officer. From these definitions, we see the bearer of a public office undermining the public trust yet they are supposed to act as stewards. This definition also connotes a deviation from serving the public interest to serving the interests of the individual public officer.

Arising from the various definitions of corruption examined above, a number of observations are hereby made to render a better understanding of the meaning of corruption that would ultimately aid the establishment of the basic cause of this problem.

Firstly, most definitions look at corruption as a behaviour. The idea of behaviour is so diverse that it may even be applied to animals. For purposes of restricting the discussion to the human person, behaviours can be used interchangeably with conduct which is exclusive to human persons and has ethics connotations (Gonsalves, 1989). Therefore, since corruption applies to only human persons, then we can look at it in line with conduct. In light of the above, therefore, the conduct of human persons is largely shaped by their character (Russell, 2013). One with a vicious character is known for acting in an evil way. Evils such as corruption are born out of the vicious character of public officials and other members of the society. Those with virtuous character strive to do
good. Such individuals always avoid acts of corruption. In light of the above observation, therefore, it is important to note that corruption is an evil that emanates from the vicious character of those involved.

The other observation deducible from the above definitions is that corruption is an unethical behaviour that involves exalting private interest at the expense of the public interest. It involves undermining the public trust that the public servant is ideally expected to uphold.

The third observation is that the state is always involved in corruption acts. It is noted that an agent of the state, who may be a civil servant, politician, functionary or any other bureaucrat, is party to this dealing. It is either that they execute this deal with a non-state member/ agent or they deal amongst themselves as agents of the state.

From the above observations, a definition that suits the purpose of the study and does not distort the meaning of corruption as elaborated by other scholars and institutions as above is hereby developed. Therefore, corruption is defined as ‘a vicious act involving public officers who clandestinely use their official positions to unethically satisfy their private interests at the expense of the public interest.’

4.2 The Cultural Context in Which Corruption Thrives

Having looked at the experience of corruption in Uganda and its meaning, it is also important to understand the cultural context in which this vice thrives. From getting acquainted with the cultural context that supports the flourishing of the behaviour of corruption, it would then be easier to explain the underlying problem behind this trend in Uganda’s public service. And since this is the case, what then is this cultural context that lays a fertile ground for the thriving of corruption in Uganda? The answer to this question is the sensate culture that is manifested through a consumerism lifestyle.

In Uganda today, the sensate culture has been acquired and appreciated by most people as the ideal way of life. It is a culture that cherishes and exalts the material dimensions of the human person and attempts to satisfy the somatic desires of this being. Sorokin (1941) attempts to explain the

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11 In this clandestine move, it may either be done by an individual or in a group, but whatever the case maybe, this dealing remains a secret to only that individual or to members in that particular group/circle.
sensate culture by noting that this culture attends to sensory pleasures, happiness, utility, and comfort. This sensate lifestyle is based on values such as power, wealth, health, bodily comfort, and fame. There is such an interconnectedness in these values that they do not stand in isolation. For instance, one who is obsessed with power does not pursue it as an end in itself, but rather as a means of achieving other values like wealth and comfort. There are some peculiar features that characterise societies that are taken up by a sensate culture. These are expounded below.

In a sensate society, there is a rejection of ethical values and principles that ought to guide society. Ethical values that are capable of guarding society against corruption tendencies like integrity, transparency, accountability, and commitment to official duty are “looked upon as mere ‘rationalisations’, ‘derivations’, or ‘beautiful speech reactions’ veiling the egotistic interests, pecuniary motives and acquisitive propensities of individual and groups” (Sorokin, 1941, p. 129). Talking about such ethical values in the public is almost laughable. They are never taken seriously by public officers as though they do not exist. They are looked at as moves to undermine the livelihood of the public officers. Even with institutions that are aimed at fighting corruption, when they ‘preach the gospel of these values’ it looks as if they are just doing a lip service.

Besides the ethical values, legal regimes are also dysfunctional in a sensate society. Even when they are in place, they only operate majorly on those who may not be close to the ones who hold power. They mainly deal with the ‘small fish’ and not the ‘big fish’. But the ones in power will always use their position to protect members in their circle. Sorokin elaborated this dysfunctional element of the law in a society dominated by the sensate culture when he observed that,

Legal norms, likewise are increasingly considered as devise of the group in power for exploiting others, less powerful, groups – a form of trickery employed by the dominant class for the subjugation and control of the subordinate class (Sorokin, 1941, p.129).

Individuals in sensate societies have a high unprecedented and overwhelmingly aggressive self-interest. As already seen above, the desire for wealth, power, health, fame, and bodily comfort

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12 ‘Small fish’ and ‘big fish’ are illustrations that were used by the Human Rights Watch in 2013 to describe the different categories of people. The ‘small fish’ are the lower cadre officers and mainly technocrats while the ‘big fish’ are highly placed officers in government like ministers and chief executives of different institutions.
often cloud their sense of integrity and professionalism as public officers. When someone acquires an official position, they develop an attitude of ‘get rich quick’. This idea is in tandem with what O’Donohue (1989) described as an ‘instant mentality’ where people want to get wealthier so quickly without much struggle. They develop a high sense of acquisitiveness, siphoning resources that they see at their disposal just for the sake of ‘developing themselves’. Material values like fancy houses, posh cars, expensive food and drinks, entertainment, among others rule their world. To them, non-material values like honesty, truth, integrity, and respect for the dignity of others does not matter. As long as they have power, wealth, and bodily comfort, everything else waits. In a society of people living sensate lifestyles, money is treated as a supreme value. Sorokin Observes that, in such a society, there is “a growing rise of our money madness; our unabashed struggle for wealth” (Sorokin, 1941, p.134). As a result of the ‘money madness’, a belief in a view that ‘money can buy everything’ follows. The uncontrolled desire for such material values often pushes many people into corruption. They are always willing to do anything to get what they want. In pursuing their desires, the main maxim of, “Everything is permitted if you can get away with it” (Sorokin, 1941, p.134) is often followed by the corrupt public officers.

The above are some of the manifestations of a sensate culture that has served to nurture the corruption that is often witnessed in Uganda today. It is important to note that the majority of Ugandans live this kind of life. They are greedily overtaken by wealth and have no regard for moral values and principles.

4.3 Secondary Causes of Corruption

As already observed above, the major purpose of this chapter is to ascertain the basic cause of corruption. But before arriving at this basic cause, using the virtue ethical framework, a scrutiny of the mainly advanced causes of this vice by different scholars is made. And the rationale behind this scrutiny is to bring to light the feebleness embedded in them that disqualifies them from being looked at as the basic cause. This examination is given below;

4.3.1 The Economic Factor

One of the reasons that have been fronted to explain corruption in different parts of the world today are the economic factors such as poverty in the society, high costs of living, and the poor
remuneration of the public officers (Begovic, 2005; Graaf, 2007; Zamahani, 2016). These economic factors spur corruption tendencies among people. Poverty in society, for instance, makes the citizens to be too desperate and vulnerable to falling into the traps of the corrupt officers. A case in point would be that where one accepts to be given money in order to vote for a corrupt politician. It is also this desperation caused by poverty that sometimes forces citizens to pay money to the civil servant in order to be given a service that is otherwise supposed to be free. But even besides poverty in society, poor remuneration of the public officer also serves as an economic factor to explain corruption in the public service. This happens when the salary/wage of the public officer is too meagre to cater for the basic needs of such an officer who may be looking for survival. To a civil servant who earns a pay that cannot facilitate his/her basic needs may be compelled to look for other ways of survival among which may include corruption (Begovic, 2005; Graaf, 2007; Zamahani, 2016).

Poverty and the poor remuneration of the public servants are even made worse in a society with a high cost of living. Usually, the high costs of the goods and services render the wages of the public officers insufficient to cater for his/her needs and that of the dependents. Worth noting is the fact that, the dependency ratio in most African countries like Uganda is so high due to the extended family system. With such a big network of dependents who all attain their livelihood from a poorly paid civil servant, chances of such an official being involved in corruption become high. In such a situation where the public officers' wage is not enough to facilitate the basic necessities suitable for living a decent life, public officers end up resorting to other means of matching the higher costs of living which, among others, may include corruption.

Corruption from an economic point of view draws a line between the corruption of need and corruption of greed. In the economic sense, this corruption is of need. It is the conditions that public servants go through that prompt them to involve in the unethical vice of corruption (Tanzi, 1998). In Uganda for instance, many have justified the unwavering levels of corruption among some civil servants especially the police to poor pay.

It is an undeniable truth that the economic factor plays a role in increasing the chances of corruption. Taking a look at the 2016 TI Corruption Perception Index, for instance, countries such as Somalia, South Sudan, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Syria whose economic conditions are poor
were ranked as the most corrupt countries in the world. From this, a correlation can be drawn between corruption and poverty. In explaining this economic problem further, Svenson (2005) underscores this view of the role of the economic factors in increasing the risks of corruption by using the example of Sweden - a country that is among the least corrupt countries in the world. He observed that;

Sweden, which ranks among the least corrupt countries on all current cross-country rankings, was considered as one of the most corrupt countries in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Increased remuneration of civil servants combined with deregulation has been put forward as important explanations for the emergence of an honest and competent public administration in Sweden (Svenson, 2005, p.32).

In light of the observation that the economic conditions contribute to corruption, different scholars have observed that the fight against corruption should take into consideration making economic reforms such as enhancing the remuneration of public officers and also ensuring the general economic conditions of the citizens in a society are improved (Rijckeghem & Weder, 2001; Begovic, 2005).

Much as the economic factor may increase the chances of corruption in a given country, it is, nonetheless, insufficient to give a basic explanation of the vice. The vice of corruption is experienced in all countries including those countries that are economically well-off. Looking at the *TI's 2016 Corruption Perception Index*, for instance, countries such as Germany, UK, Norway, and Sweden also still suffer from this vice even with their better economic conditions. Even when we look at it from an individual level, there are people who are known to be rich in society with even higher pay yet continue to involve themselves in acts of corruption. In the case of Uganda for instance, there are many public officers in senior positions, being well remunerated and in a better economic position, who have nonetheless been reported for involving in corruption. Examples of such include, ministers like Jim Muhwezi, Mike Mukula, and Alex Kamugisha who embezzled Global Fund money and GAVI funds. The former Principal Accountant in the OPM, Kazinda, also occupied a high position that is well facilitated financially but got involved in a corruption scandal.
Such and many other examples as seen in the antecedent Chapter Three serve to show that it is not just economic causes that lead to corruption. They only offer a partial explanation for the problem of corruption.

It is also problematic to assume that improving the economic conditions for instance through enhancing the remuneration would end corruption. We need to note that problems in this world are not just solved by addressing their immediate causes. Amartya Sen (2000), advises that if we are to solve major contemporary problems (like corruption) then we do not need to rush into solving the immediate causes, but rather venture into ascertaining the underlying problem. And he observes that arriving at this requires involving in dialectical discourse by asking oneself a number of questions that ultimately lead to finding the basic problem. And that it is the underlying problem established that should be addressed.

In light of the above, such and many other explanations point to the fact that the economic factors are insufficient in rendering an apt explanation of the basic cause of corruption in the public service. And because of that, even enhancing the remuneration and improving the economic conditions in the general society cannot eradicate corruption in any public service. Vicious officers who involve themselves in corruption will not stop even when economic conditions are improved. Such officers have developed a vice that cannot be broken by mere economic reforms.

4.3.2 The Weakness of the Law

The other factor often cited for the prevalence of corruption in many societies is the weakness of the laws. Laws are very important in containing unethical behaviours in society. They tend to restrain human persons from involving themselves in vicious acts. This restraint is revealed through the penalties that are designed against one who commits the offense. In situations where the laws are too stringent, unethical behaviours are more minimal than in circumstances where laws are lenient. People often respond to such laws through fear of the penalties once they are caught. In light of the above observation, the vice of corruption also has a very important connection with laws. Klitgaard (1998, p.46) made an observation that “corruption is a crime of calculation, not passion”. It involves calculation of the consequences when one is caught involving in the act. Because of that, when tough penalties are designed against corruption, public officers would refrain from such acts which would ultimately reduce on the vice and when there is leniency
and laxity in the law, people tend to fearlessly involve themselves in the acts of corruption (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

The role of the law in fighting corruption in the public service cannot be overlooked. Experience has revealed to us that there are many people in the world who choose to live ethical lives because of fear of penalties of the law. And since this is the case, where stringent laws are, there is an expectation of reduced engagement in unethical behaviours. Although this, on face value, may seem to be true, if critically looked at, this view reveals some imperfection. In as much as stringent laws may serve to scare many public officers from involving in corruption, on the other hand, stringency of the law may make corruption more lethal than when laws are lenient. Huntington elaborates this view when he notes that "… in a society where corruption is widespread, the passage of strict laws against corruption serves only to multiply the opportunities for corruption" (Huntington, 1968, p.62). The stringency of the law may prompt public officers to develop mafia tendencies and more sophisticated means of dealing with the problem or even to charge higher bribes or swindle larger sums of money since such officers become calculative of the consequences once caught in the act (Tanzi, 1998; Klitgaard, 1998).

Having looked at the role of the weakness of the law in sustaining corruption, can it be concluded that this is the basic cause of corruption? From the above observation, the answer to this question is ‘no’. Although there is some truth that the laws have a role they play in increasing or containing corruption, they are not sufficient to explain an emergency of honest public service. Laws are limited in a sense that they play a marginal role in making human persons virtuous. They principally appeal to external conformity and ignore the internal commitment to ethical standards and that when one gets a loophole in them, he/she uses that opportunity to do evil (George, 1993). In light of the above observation, it is important to note, therefore, that the role of the law in corruption is not basic, it is just a secondary explanation of the underlying problem. This weakness only serves as a factor that propels the basic cause.

It is important to note that corruption as a vice is committed by human persons. And that laws are just a response to the conduct of the corrupt. Because of that, it would be quite absurd and erroneous to look at a factor that responds to the conduct of people as the basic cause. The basic cause of corruption, therefore, has to revolve around the conduct of the human persons since they
are the pivotal points of the vice. Without them, corruption cannot be. Therefore, fighting corruption requires developing a conscious citizenry and the public service that is sensitive to the ethical requirements and one that acts or behaves, not out of fear of the consequence of the law, but out of a conviction that their actions are the right thing to do.

**4.3.3 Institutional Failure as an Explanation for Corruption**

Apart from the weakness of the law, corruption is also blamed on institutional failure (Collier, 2002). Institutions are important in minimising social problems like corruption. Andre & Velasquez underscore the role of institutions in society when they note that;

> The social problems confronting us today, are largely the result of failures of our institutions, and our response, largely the result of our failure to realize the degree to which our lives are shaped by institutional forces and the degree to which we, as a democratic society, can shape these forces for the better (Andre & Velasquez, 2015).

From the above observation, for any society to overcome any social problem like corruption, it requires having in place, good institutions\(^\text{13}\) that are aimed at achieving their main objectives. Different societies have a number of institutions that have to be in place if corruption is to be dealt with effectively. Some of these institutions, among others, may include auditing institutions, the ombudsman agencies, the judiciary and the police. Such institutions play different roles but with the main goal of eradicating the vice of corruption. Some of these roles include checking of financial impropriety, detecting acts of corruption, carrying out investigations on corruption allegations, and effectively prosecuting the corrupt officials. Although these institutions are charged with a number of roles to play, as shown above, their success is only dependent on factors such as their independence from the executive and people's commitment towards them (UNDP, 2005).

\(^{13}\) The concept of a good institution can be looked at from different dimensions. Gonsalves, in *Fagothey’s Right and Reason: Ethics in Theory and Practice* (9th edition), looks at the good in three aspects, that is, good as a function, as a means and as an end. In this specific case, it is hereby looked at as a function. To talk of a good institution, therefore, is to imply that it serves the purpose for which it was established.
Looking at the situation in Uganda, there are a number of institutions that are designed to serve the function of fighting corruption. Examples of these include DEI, IG, and Anti-Corruption Courts, among others, and out of mistrust for all these, now the president suggests to set up another committee in State House to fight corruption (State of Nation Address, June 06th, 2018). It is realised that these institutions have not effectively carried out their functions, and this probably explains why corruption is still high in the public service. The failure of these institutions is largely attributed to their lack of independence from the executive arm of government. The executive on several occasions has been reported for interfering whenever people from the ‘inner-circle’ are caught in corruption (Mwenda & Tangri, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2013; Asiimwe, 2013). This explains why a few cases of these high ranking officers like ministers have been brought to book and convicted for involving in corruption.

In light of the above, the role that anti-corruption institutions play in containing this vice cannot be taken so lightly. Functional anti-corruption institutions play a vital role in checking the vice of corruption as seen above. They help in making checks and balances and closely monitoring the works of public officers to ensure that they do not deviate from the expected behaviour in service. If these institutions are functional, corruption cases would not go unnoticed. And once noticed, then the corrupt officials would effectively be dealt with.

But even though institutional failure can be used to explain the persistence of corruption in any society, it is not a basic cause but rather a secondary cause of the problem. It is worth noting that the failure of institutions is not a problem in itself. This failure is rather a symptom of a bigger problem - a problem that, if sorted, can even result in functional institutions. Therefore, in order to understand this problem, there is a need to establish the causes of institutional failure. Many factors can be rendered to explain institutional failure. But at the centre of these factors is the character of human persons in the institutions. Institutions are established and run by people. Their functionality is dependent on the commitment of different stakeholders towards ensuring the institutions’ success. The success of these institutions is dependent on a number of factors among which include having in place virtuous human persons who are endowed with virtues such as honesty and commitment towards duty. Short of that, the challenge of institutional failure will persist, corruption too.
4.3.4 Socio-Cultural Factors

In line with the social-cultural factor, corruption is also attributable to a number of factors like African traditional cultural values and the transitional phenomenon. These factors are examined below.

4.3.4.1 The African Traditional Cultural Value Systems as a Cause of Corruption

It is very common for scholars to attribute the problem of corruption, especially in African countries, to indigenous cultural systems and values. There are a number of African cultural values upon which corruption has been blamed. One of the cultural values that have been identified to fuel corruption in many societies is the practice of the extended family system. Firstly, extended families are known for increasing the dependence burden for public officers. By their very nature, extended families have a larger number of members, and that, a family head in such a case has a dual responsibility of taking care of him/herself and also a responsibility for others. In such a situation, Gyekye (1998) observes that for one to be in a better position to manage such a responsibility requires him/her to have a strong economic position. This, however, is unlikely to be achieved if one strictly depended on the wage given in the public service, since, in the Ugandan case, it is even meagre in most cases. In such circumstances, "an individual public official who has access to public resources may, in the process of striving to achieve that adequate economic position, take advantage of his official status and commit acts of official corruption." (Gyekye, 1998, p.196).

Secondly, it is rightly advanced that the extended family setting with its broad network of relatives tends to nurture patronage and nepotism. In traditional Africa, people were strongly held together by kinship bonds. Such strong bonds put an obligation on these members to support each other in times of need. Having such a background, a civil servant who has the means to help others will consider his/her members of the extended family to offer them unmerited favours like jobs, a thing that breeds the corruption vice of nepotism. Although the public servant may be conscious about the expectations of conducting themselves ethically according to the requirements of service, the kinship bonds of the extended family are often too strong to be overcome by an official commitment to duty. In light of this observation, Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie (2000) underscored this view when they observed that;
It is also argued that the influence of extended family and tribal or family loyalties and commitments, often lead to corruption. In African countries, there is the notion that people’s identification and relationship with the state and its institution are much weaker than identification and relationship with the family. Thus, there is an expectation of reciprocity between the service provider and the receiver of the service. In this case, nepotism may derive from age-old customs (Osei-Hwedie & Osei-Hwedie, 2000, p.46).

In light of the above observation, therefore, the vice of nepotism strongly stems from the extended family setting. Such nepotism is worsened when the public officer tends to use his official position to influence or employ less competent and less qualified relatives for jobs where there are more competent and more qualified candidates vying for the same slot (Egbue, 2006).

Besides the extended family system, the other cultural value that is so often cited to have a strong connection to corruption is the value of authoritarianism. Authoritarianism tends to override the human person’s freedom to exercise their will. It compels them to obey authorities without questioning (Wiredu, 1980). Such authoritarian tendencies coupled with the extended family system increase the chances of corruption. Due to authoritarian dominance, for instance, the elders in the family tend to emphasize an obligation of helping other members of the family. And because public servants who have such a background are brought up not to question the authority of elders, they devise means of fulfilling the demands of elders, resultantly involving in corruption tendencies like embezzlement of funds and nepotism for the good of the extended family.

Still looking at the traditional African value system as a cause of corruption, there is yet another value that is highly cherished upon which corruption is counted. This value is that of gift giving. Gifts are common aspects of African traditional society often given to express gratitude for the benevolence extended to an individual or a group of individuals (Egbue, 2006). Such gifts in African traditional setting were given in many instances but most prominently in resolving of conflicts (Amadi, 1992). Although gifts are mainly attributed to the African cultural value systems,

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14 In the African context, it is the elders who were looked at as the authorities in society. And that their views were not questionable by those who were younger.
it is important to note that they were not peculiar to Africa, gift giving is practiced universally. It is also important to note that, gifts are not intrinsically evil; they can only be used for negative and positive purposes (Osei-Hwedie & Osei-Hwedie, 2000). What creates a difference as far as corruption is concerned is the intention or motive behind giving of such gifts. And since this is the case, it is important to understand at what point giving a gift maybe looked at as a corrupt act. In understanding this, Gildenhuys advised that;

The purpose of ethics in the public sector is to eliminate the uncertainty between what seems to be right and what is in effect wrong; to identify each possibility of conflict between right and wrong lies, however, beyond the ability of the average person (Gildenhuys, 1991, p.42).

From the above observation made by Gildenhuys, there is need to keenly understand that although gifts from a member of the public to the public officer may look to be innocent, we need to be wary of the fact that oftentimes they have ulterior motives of influencing one to act in favour of the giver of the gift. Giving of gifts to the public servant from the members of the public are looked at as bribes aimed at influencing the decision of the public officer to favour the one who gives the gift.

There is an undeniable truth that these cultural values contribute to corruption in society. It is true that forces of authoritarianism, extended family pressures, and the practice of gift giving tend to compel people to act in ways that are inapposite to the requirements of public service ethics. And it is also true that the corruption vices of bribery and nepotism have correlations with African traditional cultural values of gift-giving and extended family patterns respectively. It is such values that tends to make the human person deviate from the accepted way of conduct in the public service. Therefore, a public servant who succumbs to the forces of these cultural values highlighted above tends to overlook virtues of integrity, honesty, self-control, and commitment to fulfilling duty.

Although the above observations may be true, we also need to keep in mind that it is possible to have such values like extended family patterns, authoritarianism, and the practice of gift giving but a public official still lives a life of virtue as required by public service ethics. We also need to
be aware that, many public officials involve themselves in corruption, not because of the need to facilitate the traditional cultural values like helping the members of the extended family, but rather because they are driven by the sensate culture that compels them to be excessively acquisitive in order to gain power, fame, and comfort. It would, therefore, be erroneous for one to look at indigenous cultural systems and values as the basic cause of corruption in Uganda, yet many corrupt officials are corrupt not because they are pushed by the traditional cultural values as seen above. This factor, therefore, is not basic, it is just a secondary contributing factor to the vice of corruption as it plays an instrumental role in triggering corruption in society by activating a character among the public servant that makes him or her value the expectations of the family over the official requirements and expectations. The virtues of honesty, integrity, self-control, and commitment to fulfilling an official duty are, hence, undermined.

4.3.4.2 Corruption as a Transitional Phenomenon

Some scholars, in attempting to explain the reason for the occurrence of corruption today, tend to premise it on societal transition; that it occurs in situations where a society transits from one stage of development to another. In explaining these views, two dimensions of transition are hereby explicated. These include a transition from the traditional to the modern period and a transition from a status to a contract society.

4.3.4.2.1 The Transition from Tradition to Modernisation Stage of Society

To thinkers like Huntington (1968) and Lovell (2014), corruption is a problem that tends to get stronger in the process of societal transition from the pre-modernisation through modernisation stage of development of any society. From this perspective, it is noted that corruption tends to be more severe in the modernisation phase. And the rationale behind such a trend is premised on the fact that this transition involves changes in the basic values of a society; values that involve concerns of public welfare and private interests, and also the emergence of new sources of wealth and power relations. Huntington (1968) identifies two major issues at hand why corruption becomes more severe in this period. Firstly, it is observed that in the modernisation period, individuals tend to develop and exalt individual interest over public welfare, an issue that makes them involve in corruption tendencies. Secondly, it is also observed that modernisation comes with new sources of wealth and power relations. This period makes people develop a tendency of
trading power for money and vice versa. In such a dealing, Huntington observed that "one trades political power for money, the other money for political power" (Huntington, 1968, p.61). In such value changes, corruption is realised.

The situation in Uganda has vivid examples of the above features of a transitional society. It has been a common occurrence for private interest in Uganda to be held over and above public welfare. This is exemplified in the way resources meant to serve the interest of many citizens are siphoned by a few public officers. Statements from the president himself prove this idea. In an interview, he is quoted saying that he is not working for Ugandans but rather for his children (K24TV, 2011). But besides the private interest raising over public welfare, the exchange of wealth with power and vice versa is also noticeable in the Ugandan society. When it comes to elections, many wealthy people have been seen exchanging their wealth for power. Vote buying characterises Uganda's electoral process (Blatman, et al., 2015). But that aside, some wealthy people strategically support some candidates even by funding the campaigns with expectations of having favours when the politician they support win the election. These are some of the features of a transitional society that Huntington (1968) explicates.

4.3.4.2.2 A Transition from Status to Contract Society

Edward Wamala, who is the proponent of this idea, observes that the corruption that is witnessed today is attributable to the fact that people are caught up in two value systems, which are, the status society (traditional tribal society) characterised by "close-knit social relationships, the prevalence of the extended family, lack of professional differentiation, an economy of affection and emphasis on honour and status" (Wamala, 2008, p.197), and a contract society where members are expected to exhibit professionalism guided by the rule of law. In explaining his position, he observes that the problem of corruption arises when an individual still has a moral obligation to fulfil the expectation of his/her kinsmen resulting into a disrespect of the legal contractual obligation. In such a situation, one uses his newly acquired office to support his numerous relatives. The results of this are corruption tendencies like nepotism, embezzlement of funds, among others (Wamala, 2008).

In light of the above, can we rightly say that the transitional phenomenon is the basic cause of corruption in Uganda? The answer to this question is ‘no’. From the above explanations of
transition, what is seen is that this transition of society does not, in itself, bring about corruption. It only creates conditions that are necessary for the human person to exercise his/her vicious character that culminates in corruption. For instance, a condition of cherishing individual interest over that of the public is created. From such a condition, the public officer tends to exhibit his vicious character portrayed by vices such as greed and selfishness just to realise his/her own interest. From this observation, it is noticed that the transition of a society is not a basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service but only creates conditions from which the underlying problem thrives.

4.4 The Basic Cause of Corruption

Following the discussions of corruption from the preceding sections leads me to the main gist of this Chapter - to identify what the basic cause of corruption is. From the antecedent section, some of the commonly advanced causes of corruption that have been examined included the economic factor (poverty in society, high cost of living and poor remuneration of civil servants); weak anti-corruption laws and institutions; African traditional cultural values of the extended family system, authoritarianism, and gift-giving; and the societal transition phenomenon. It is established that they are not the basic causes of the vice of corruption but rather secondary factors that may make us lose sight of the underlying problem. And since this is the case, attention should be focused on finding out what the basic cause of this vice is upon which the secondary causes discussed above hinge.

However, before embarking on explicating the basic cause of corruption according to this study, it is worth noting that the argument concerning causation of any phenomena can be discussed ad infinitum. This debate can be stretched further and further beyond what any scholar would suggest. There is need, therefore, to be aware of the above challenge as we attempt to ascertain the underlying problem behind every cause advanced. We may never arrive at the final truth. Therefore, the basic cause suggested in this thesis is arrived at considering the school of thought that the study follows of virtue ethics. The secondary causes advanced above hinge upon this cause.

Therefore, arising from the preceding sections of the meaning of corruption and the secondary causes of corruption, two main observations can be drawn. Firstly, corruption is a vicious behaviour; and secondly, the human person stands at the centre of this vice.
Corruption is vicious in a sense that it is a selfish act where one's private interests are fronted at the expense of the interest and welfare of the public, yet public service ethics requires the public officer to serve the public interest and welfare (Ayee, 1998; Lewis, 2006; Amundsen & Andrande, 2009). Vicious acts denote a sense of negativity in behaviour of the human person. To understand vicious act requires one to develop cognisance of the concept of vice. Simply stated, a vice is an immoral or wicked behaviour. Acquisition of a vice is not something that comes to the person unconsciously. He/she reflects on them and decides to follow them out of choice and with freedom. These vices which we may also refer to dispositions to behave are chosen and the agent tends towards them. One chooses his/her vicious character traits after reflecting on a certain sort of person one should be. McKinnon elaborates this idea by noting that

If a vice is to be the sort of thing that must be chosen, then an agent cannot just acquire a vice unthinkingly as she can fall into certain bad habits. Nor can vices be imposed by merely external circumstances, including coercive actions on the part of others. If a vice is to be a character trait that is chosen, then it must at some point have been perceived as in some way good or beneficial or at least desired (McKinnon, 1999, p.39).

Such vices that are acquired after a continuous practice of the same often turn out to become a habit or a disposition as seen above. A habit is a constant way of acting obtained by repetition of the same act (McKinnon, 1999). This constancy in action is what Aristotle terms as a lasting disposition. Aquinas expounded on the Aristotelian idea of disposition by defining a habit as "a disposition according to which that which is disposed of is either well or ill-disposed and either in itself or with reference to something else" (as cited in Gonsalves, 1981, p.199).

From the above definitions of a habit, it creates an implication that habits which are either evil or good are developed over time through practice. And to look at them as dispositions also point to the character of the human person. What is important to note is that habits or character is not natural to the human person. They only play a role in activating and actualising the internal potentials and capabilities of a person that is natural to this being. These internal potentials and capabilities may either be good or evil. Gonsalves is supportive of these ideas. He notes that
Habit does not give us the power to do something; this we must have from our nature. Rather, habit enables us to do something more easily and readily. If the habit is good, it turns our originally fitful and clumsy efforts into quick, smooth, and masterful action. If the habit is bad, it makes us fall more easily and readily into the undesirable course of action. Habits are therefore called a "second nature" for just as nature is the principle or source of the action itself, so the habit is the source of facility in action (Gonsalves, 1981, p.199).

From the above, we notice that habits are not natural to human persons but they (habits) act so close to the nature of the human persons that it may be seen as a natural factor. What is also important to note is the fact that these vicious habits weaken the will which ultimately makes it hard for the person to do the right thing even when they know what the right thing to do is.

We can infer from the above conceptual clarification that corruption can be looked at as a vice or a habit - an act that has been done repeatedly by people in society to the point of becoming part of their behaviour or way of life. People have developed a habit (character) of evilly misusing their official position to unethically satisfy their ego without taking into consideration, the good of other members of society. Due to the continuous corrupt practice by public officials, it has turned out to be a disposition of the sort that oftentimes they make a decision or act without reflecting on the evilness embedded in their action. Actually, due to continuous doing of the same, a vicious person may not acknowledge that his/her actions are bad, they only look at the ends of their actions from which they benefit. In the case of corruption, someone is only concerned about the rewards of their actions.

This vicious character of corruption in Uganda’s public service is a manifestation of a bigger problem in the entire society that attempts have not been made to cultivate virtues like honesty, integrity, and respect for persons that can help to deter corruption. The society has not come up to challenge vices that promote corruption. Some of these vices that have served to spur corruption include but are not limited to greed, intemperance, dishonesty, and deceitfulness. To the corrupt, this is a character that they have developed overtime that makes it look as though it is the right
thing to do. We need to note, therefore, that the corruption that we see being practiced in Uganda’s public service has been developed through the process of habituation from childhood that it has now turned out to be a character of many public officials. Citizens have been nurtured in several ways to be corrupt. A case in point would be in the earlier school education. For one to be a leader at any level, be it a class monitor or any prefectural position, in most cases, bribes are made to other learners to vote for them. This which is often witnessed among the young children in schools is bribery, a form of corruption. Such habits are nurtured through practice throughout the life of the children who are to be future public servants. By the time these young ones join main public service, they become fully initiated into the corruption arena.

The other observation made from the preceding sections is that the human person stands at the centre of this vice of corruption. Although different factors are explained by other scholars to explain the occurrence of corruption in any society, the human person is always at the centre of these factors. A case in point is that, in the explanation of the economic problem as a cause of corruption, an observation was made that these economic problems affect the people who, in a bid to respond to the economic pressures, resort to corruption. Also recalling the other advanced cause of corruption as weaknesses of anti-corruption institutions, an observation was made that these institutions are run by human persons, and therefore, to front them as the basic problem yet they are run by human persons is rather absurd. All factors that have so far been advanced to explain the problem of corruption hinge on the human person. Therefore, it is the human person who involves him/herself in corruption tendencies. This may be a public officer or any other member of the public.

In light of the above observations, therefore, the basic cause of corruption revolves around the vicious character of the human person. This is not only restricted to the public officers but to the entire community. This is due to the fact that, in corruption, public officers don't act in isolation. Even other members of the society are involved. It is, therefore, a problem that is blameable on the entire society. Following the above observation, therefore, the basic cause of corruption in the public service is the vicious character of the public servants and the entire community.\(^{15}\) This

\[^{15}\text{There is a need to guard against the temptation of thinking that this vicious character is natural to the human person. This thinking may mislead us to a conclusion that we are determined and, therefore, there is nothing that can be done about it. But as already discussed above, the vicious character is acquired through habituation by continuously}\]
vicious character of people is manifested through a number of vices such as selfishness, avarice, intemperance, dishonesty, deceitfulness, and the lack of commitment to official duty, among others, which characterise the Ugandan society. It is these vices that have been nurtured through practice that they are a disposition of most people in society, not only public officers but the entire community. This vicious character manifested through vices above has been habituated through practice throughout the lives of the current public servants. As already seen above, it is observed that the process of habituation of these vices starts earlier in the lives of peoples in the family, schools and the general society. They are built over time to make them become habits or character.

The corruption that is reported today in the public service is a manifestation of a disposition that the public servants and other members of the public have to doing vicious acts of selfishness, avarice, dishonesty, deceitfulness, and the lack of commitment to official duty, among others. These are considered vicious in a sense that they are inconsistent with the values of public service ethics of serving the interest and welfare of the public over the private interests.

Following the establishment of the basic cause of corruption as being *vicious character of the public servants and the entire community*, there is a need to be aware, as I highlighted earlier about the philosophical challenge of addressing causation. I observed that causation of any phenomena can be discussed *ad infinitum*. In light of this, therefore, although I have ascertained the basic cause, further inquiry can lead to an inference that there is a primary cause of this vicious character. For instance, one can infer that certain circumstances in society may cause the vicious character of public servants and other members of the society, and that to address corruption, then it is this primary cause that ought to be addressed. Although this observation may be true, it is nonetheless not viable due to the fact that efforts would be spent on identifying the underlying cause behind every cause suggested and in the end we may never reach at the final truth and ultimately rendering no solution to the problem. With such a challenge, therefore, it is important to note that the basic cause of corruption I have identified is not the ultimate. It is nonetheless more viable since it is the underlying problem upon which other secondary causes of corruption hinge.

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practicing vicious acts over time. It can therefore, be referred to as the second nature but not per se natural since it can be reversed.
4.5 Conclusion

The major task of this chapter was to identify the basic cause of corruption from the many causes that have often been advanced by different scholars. Following the virtue ethics parameter, this process started by scrutinising the already advanced definitions and causes of corruption as key elements that constitute the vice of corruption was highlighted. The identification of the basic cause of corruption is central to this study as it is a basis for examining the integrity system itself and also suggesting normative recommendations to overcome the problem. The next chapter, therefore, examines Uganda’s integrity system that is responsible for fighting corruption.
CHAPTER FIVE

AN EXAMINATION OF UGANDA’S INTEGRITY SYSTEM IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

5.0 Introduction

In the antecedent Chapters, the focus has been put on understanding corruption. This understanding has been arrived at through describing its experience in the public service and thereafter getting to know the meaning, the cultural context in which this vice is constructed, secondary causes, and ultimately the basic cause. The key idea of the integrity system, which is the gist of the study, has not yet been given the due attention it deserves. On the basis of the foregoing analysis, this chapter is focused on ascertaining the effectiveness of Uganda’s integrity system in the fight against corruption in the public service. The key guiding question here is: does the integrity system respond to the basic cause identified? However, it is important to note that the concept of the integrity system is too broad and that to study it exhaustively may not be effectively achieved in this single study. The focus here is limited to two institutions, which are DEI and IG but also taking into consideration the Anti-Corruption Act 2009 and its Amendment of 2015. This Chapter is subdivided into seven sections which include; The Morality of public institutions; Meaning of integrity system; Uganda’s integrity system; Directorate for Ethics and Integrity, Inspectorate of Government, A Critique of the IG and DEI, Anticorruption legal regime.

5.1 The Morality of Public Institutions

The morality of any government demands that it provides the public good to its citizens since they bestow upon it, the public trust to act as stewards of resources. This actually explains the fundamental purpose of the existence of any government and its institution. This public good is what John Rawls defined as "certain general conditions that are...equally to everyone's advantage" (as cited in Velasquez, et al., 2014). It encompasses dimensions like a flourishing economic system, accessible and affordable education and public health care system, an unpolluted natural environment, peace within nation-states and in the world, a just legal and political system, an effective system of public safety and security among others. In order to arrive at the ideal of the public good, there ought to be certain essential elements to be fulfilled which include; the respect of the human person which calls for the observance of people’s inherent worth and their individual
rights; promotion of social welfare which requires the fulfilment of the citizens’ social-economic rights like the provision of basic social services; and physical security whose implication is social order in society.

In light of the above observation, therefore, realising the public good requires that government creates public institutions such as healthcare facilities, schools, police, military, courts of law, local governments, among others. Through these institutions, the public good can be extended to the citizens. It is, however, important to note that, sometimes, in view of realising the public good, there tends to arise some anti-social elements in society, and specifically in these public institutions, who often sabotage efforts of this realisation. This interference is mostly done through vicious acts of corruption where some malevolent public officials divert resources meant for all, to selfishly aggrandise themselves. It is the duty of government to defend the public good by putting in place strong safeguards to deter such immoral beings and their corrupt practices that undermine the realisation of this public good. These safeguards are aimed at compelling public officers to act ethically. Such safeguards are what we refer to as the integrity system.

5.2 Perspectives on Integrity System

As already observed in the foregoing section, the need to defend the public good from being undermined by vicious corrupt officers requires that government puts in place strong safeguards against the vice of corruption. The complexity of fighting corruption in public service has prompted states and other international agencies to design a robust system that can counter this vice and create an ethical environment that allows the exercise of key ethical values like integrity, transparency, and accountability. Apart from failures due to misdiagnosis of the problem’s root cause, the complexity of this vice has made it difficult to address it by using a single institution, entity or measure. If this vice is to be contained, it has almost been agreed that a combination of efforts or a system needs to be designed, in order to work hand in hand to realise the goal of defeating corruption that has undermined the purpose for the existence of public service; that of extending public goods. This system is what has been described as an integrity system (Brown & Heinrich, 2017). It is a broad term that is often used to mean an ethical framework that is in place to support and enhance the integrity of members of an organisation, institution or the society. This broadness is further substantiated by Six & Lawton (2013) who look at it as consisting of elements like policies, institutions, practices, and integrity guardians meant to engender the integrity of an
organisation or society. The integrity system is also referred to as an integrity/ethics infrastructure (Stare & Klun, 2016). It comprises of regulatory antidotes like codes of conduct and laws, anti-corruption institutions or risk assessment programs (Six & Lawton, 2013). TI renders a broader list of the major sectors and institutions that constitute the national integrity system. These include the three arms of government (legislature, executive, and Judiciary), public sector, electoral management body, law enforcement, ombudsman, Anti-corruption agencies, Audit institution, political parties, civil society, media and business entities.

5.3 Uganda’s Integrity System

The Government of Uganda commits itself to fight corruption in Uganda’s public service and in the general society. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 (Amended 2005), under its National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy, XXVI, commits itself to ensure that the value of accountability is upheld. In this Constitution, it is categorically stated under National Objective XXVI (i) that, “all public offices shall be held in trust for the people.” To further show its commitment, the same National Objective under clause (iii), states that, “All lawful measures shall be taken to expose, combat, and eradicate corruption and abuse or misuse of power by those holding political and other public offices.” Having the need of fighting corruption in the Ugandan society as a major objective of the state, the government has established a number of institutions and sectors that would enable the realisation of the above objective. Some of these institutions and sectors are constitutionally established whereas others are not. Nonetheless, they all work towards realising the National Objective highlighted above.

In light of the above, therefore, Uganda's integrity system has numerous institutions and sectors that are charged with a responsibility of ensuring that ethical standards are observed in the public service and the general society. Notable among them include Directorate for Ethics and Integrity, Inspectorate of Government, Office of the Auditor General, Directorate of Public Prosecution, Judiciary, Uganda Police, Public Accounts Committee, media, legislative assembly among others. These have a goal of ensuring that the virtues such as integrity are lived. But as already seen in the introduction of this Chapter, the focus is going to be put on two institutions that is DEI and IG and not forgetting the Anti-Corruption Act 2009, and its amendment Act of 2015.
5.3.1 Directorate for Ethics and Integrity

DEI is a government department under the Office of the President that spearheads the national efforts of creating an integral Ugandan society. It is mandated “to rebuild ethics and integrity and coordinate national efforts in the fight against corruption and consequences of moral decadence” (DEI, 2014, p.1). Established in 1998, its key functions include: providing political leadership and coordinating national efforts against corruption and moral decadence; mainstreaming ethics and integrity to propel good governance; and spearheading the development of laws, policies, and strategies to promote ethics and integrity in the Ugandan society (DEI, 2014, p.1-2). In light of the above mandate and functions, an image of a well-intentioned and committed institution to create a virtuous and integral society that can outrightly forestall corruption is seen. It is important to understand the modus operandi of executing the above mandate, specifically concerning the fight against corruption. What measures has DEI, therefore, put in place to fight corruption in Uganda's public service?

First of all, it is important to note that DEI has put in place both reactive and proactive measures to fight corruption in the public service. To begin with, brief elaboration on the reactive measures that are in place is in order. DEI being a coordinator of national efforts in the fight against corruption, and also in line with its function of spearheading the development of laws, policies, and strategies to promote ethics and integrity in the society, has championed the formulation of major anti-corruption legislation. Some of these legislations include the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, Anti-Corruption Amendment Act, 2015, the Whistle Blowers Protection Act, 2010, the Leadership Code Act, 2002 (as Amended), Inspectorate of Government Act 2002. These legislations, especially the Anti-Corruption Act, explain in detail, the offenses that amount to corruption and the penalties that are attached to each offense. They are very important reactive measures to fight corruption. These legislations are a basis upon which the judiciary and other bodies like the IG execute their roles of dealing with the corrupt. It is on the basis of such laws that one accused of corruption will be judged and accorded the appropriate penalty as stipulated in the law.

Laws are a very important aspect in the fight against corruption. They often compel people to act rightly out of fear of the consequences of acting contrary to them. In a society where people have, for instance, developed a sensate culture as seen in Chapter Four, a culture that goes with the loss
of moral values of the society, there is always a need to come up with an external restraint to tame the unbecoming impulse of such people. And in order to tame these appetites, the law comes in handy. A good law that can keep people in order should be one that has punitive measures which have the capacity to deter public officials from involving in corruption. It is important to note that corruption is a vice that involves calculation of the consequences, that when people see that the consequences of involving in the vice are more severe, then they would decide not to be involved (Klitgaard, 1998). Accordingly, the efforts of the DEI of developing such laws to fight corruption are praiseworthy.

DEI further attempts to fight Corruption through the development of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS). This is a plan that specifies the procedures to follow in fighting corruption in Uganda. The scheme of NACS is designed for a specific period usually four years and is implemented by a collaborative effort from different institutions that fall under the umbrella body of the Inter-Agency Forum (IAF). The government of Uganda through DEI established the IAF, an assembly that comprises of institutions that are stakeholders in the fight against corruption. The institutions that form the membership of IAF include, DEI, IG, Criminal Investigation Directorate (Police), Ministry of Public Service, DPP, OAG, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Inspectorate of Courts, PPDA, Service Commissions (Judicial, Public Service, Education, and Health), Local Government Finance Commission, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, URA, Office of the President and Anti-Corruption Court. The NACs is an important tool in the fight against corruption. It gives a procedure that is to be followed in fighting corruption. This is important in a sense that it provides us with a systematic way of doing things and the party responsible in the implementation process. Using the NACS, efforts of various institutions in the fight against corruption can be tracked, something that may compel them to become committed to doing their roles. As already seen, the NACS is implemented through the IAF. This IAF meets periodically to discuss the major issues relating to ethics and integrity and to resolve issues that might have been reported on different entities.

In a bid to extend the efforts of fighting corruption to lower levels, DEI has put in place what is known as the District Integrity Promotion Forum (DIPF). This is a decentralisation of the IAF whereby, at the district level, a working relationship is formed by different offices with the intent of fighting and eliminating unethical practices like corruption. The membership of the DIPF is
comprised of the Resident District Commissioner, Chief Administrative Officer, District LCV Chairperson, Chairperson District Service Commission, Chairperson District Contracts Committee, Chairperson PAC, District Police Commander, Resident State Attorney, Mayor/chairperson LC3 of an urban authority, Head of Judiciary in the District, District Criminal Investigations Officer, District Internal Security Officer, Town Clerk, representatives of the Office of the Auditor General in the district, representatives of the office of the IG in the district, representatives of the Anti-corruption CSOs in the district, and representatives of the Faith-Based Organizations. This forum meets periodically to discuss matters that affect service delivery at the district like corruption. DIPF is charged with a responsibility of ensuring that the virtue of integrity, which is very crucial in the fight against corruption is strictly adhered to at the district level.

Looking at this membership of the DIPF, it is true that these are the key stakeholders in the fight against corruption at district levels. And if they are to honestly commit themselves to deal with this vice, then corruption would easily be defeated at the district level. Although this may be true, we also need to keep in mind that most of these offices that are selected to constitute the membership of the DIPF are often reported to be among those that involve themselves in vicious acts of corruption. In the antecedent Chapter Three, I described the experience of corruption in the major entities of Uganda's public service, among which was Uganda Police Force, health sector, education sector, and Judiciary. From these four, we see that a big percentage of the members of DIPF is drawn from these entities. If we critically look at this arrangement and in line with the above observation, then, there is need to treat this Forum with suspicion on whether it will deliver the intended purpose for which it was created. Questions such as whether they have the moral authority to fight the vice of corruption should be asked. How sure should we be that this forum is not constitutive of unethical or corrupt officials themselves given the fact that the sectors, where the majority of them are drawn, have often been reported to be among the corrupt? With this kind of arrangement, we need to be careful, otherwise, these forum members, instead of collaborating to fight unethical behaviours at the district may instead conspire and form an ‘in-group’ syndicate to be corrupt and to shield one another against any threat of accusation on corruption offenses.

Besides the above, National Ethical Values are also a key proactive milestone that DEI put in place to fight corruption. In line with its function of spearheading the development of laws, policies, and
strategies to promote ethics and integrity in the Ugandan society, DEI developed the National Ethical Values Policy in 2013 that aims at rebuilding and sustaining a morally upright society that is based on values. This policy stipulates ten national ethical values which include: respect for humanity and environment; honesty; justice and fairness in dealing with others; hard work for self-reliance; integrity; creativity and innovativeness; social responsibility; social harmony; national unity; and national consciousness and patriotism. These values are indeed handy in creating an ethical society. And in line with fighting corruption, some of these values are equally applicable and ought to be cultivated if virtue among public officers is to be achieved.

DEI has designed programs that are aimed at disseminating these values. One of the notable programs is the sensitisation of head teachers, District education officials, and senior women teachers on these values. Another is the sensitisation of students in Core Primary Teachers Colleges who are expected to transfer the same message to the learners (Ministerial Policy Statement 2016/2017). This is an important move towards inculcating integrity among the citizens. If this function is effectively implemented, and circulated to a wide range of people, then a conscious citizenry that is concerned about matters of ethics and integrity would be nurtured and corruption diminished.

The DEI has played an important role in the fight against corruption in Uganda’s public service through a number of proactive measures as above. But however, this institution has some shortcomings which are discussed in Section 5.4.

5.3.2 Inspectorate of Government

As already seen above, if the public good is to be realised, there is a need to create an oversight body to ensure strict adherence to the public service ethics. In order to achieve this, different countries have ombudsman institutions that play a function of fighting corruption and any other form of unethical behaviour in the public office. This is done through receiving complaints, conducting investigations into alleged cases and even carrying out prosecution of those found guilty. In Uganda, it is the IG that plays the ombudsman function. The IG is a government institution that was originally established in 1986 and constitutionally established under Article 223 of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (Amended, 2005). The mandate of the IG is in “promoting just utilisation of public resources.” In a bid to realising the above mandate, IG plays a number of functions as stipulated under Article 225 and Section 8(1) of the Inspectorate
of Government Act. These functions include, promoting and fostering strict adherence to the rule of law and principles of natural justice in administration; Eliminating and fostering elimination of corruption, abuse of authority and of public office; Promoting fair, efficient and good governance in public offices; Supervising the enforcement of the Leadership Code of Conduct; investigating any act, omission, advice, decision or recommendation by a public officer or any other authority to which the article applies, taken, made, given or done in the exercise of administrative functions; and stimulating public awareness about the values of constitutionalism in general and the activities of the office, in particular, through any media or other means it considers appropriate.

Besides the above functions, the IG has special powers that are stipulated under Article 230 of the Constitution and Section 14 (5) of the Inspectorate of Government Act. These powers are; to investigate, cause investigations, arrest, cause arrest, prosecute or cause prosecution in respect of cases involving corruption, abuse of authority or of public office, maladministration and breach of the leadership code of conduct. The Inspector General of Government (IGG) may also, during the course of his or her duties or as a consequence of his or her findings, make such orders and give such directions as are necessary and appropriate in the given circumstance.

In light of the functions and powers bestowed upon the IG, it has made great strides in attempting to fight corruption in Uganda's public service. This institution is positioned as a central entity in the fight against corruption in Uganda. In efforts to fight corruption, the IG reports to Parliament. Periodic reports have always been submitted to Parliament specifying the cases that have been reported and handled, something that shows that this institution is indeed on the ground to fight the vice of corruption in Uganda's public service.

Following the above observation, a big number of cases have been reported, investigated, and even prosecuted by the IG. Some of the key notable examples include, the former Director for Budgets in Parliament Mr. Samuel Wanyaka who was sentenced to a ten years jail term for embezzling UGX 822 Million with investigation and prosecution done by IG; in another instance, through the efforts of the IG, the former Vice President of Uganda, Prof. Gilbert Bukenya was also charged with abuse of office when he unlawfully directed the award of contract for supplying executive cars to Motorcare (U) Limited during CHOGM without following the right procurement procedures; The IG further investigated the corruption case of the former Health Minister Maj Gen Jim Muhwezi and his deputies Capt Mike Mukula and Dr. Alex Kamugisha and also made a
recommendation that this trio be prosecuted for mismanaging funds of about UGX 1.6 billion GAVI funds (Eagle Online, July 31, 2015). The cases cited above are just a few of the many that are often handled by the IG. Indeed, with such examples, there is an indication that some efforts are being put to curb corruption. However, as discussed in the next section, the work of the two above institutions is not without limitations.

5.4 Critique of the DEI and IG

Although the DEI and IG have attempted to fight the vice of corruption, it still persists. In fact, as disclosed in various reports, like TI (2017) and IG (2017), it is escalating. What then could be the problem?

Let us focus on understanding these institutions beyond what they do. A number of questions can be asked: Who are the people working in these institutions? Are they virtuous? Are these institutions created to genuinely fight corruption? Are they independent? These and many other questions are handy in understanding the underlying problem.

To begin with, the staffs of these institutions are brought up in generally the same social setting as other Ugandans, and also the challenges that are faced by other public servants in other institutions equally affect the ones of the IG and DEI. This being the case, what creates a unique situation that would make the staff of these institutions more integral than others? With this observation, it is important to note that although staff of the IG and DEI are charged with a responsibility of fighting corruption, many of them are also potential corrupt officers. To exemplify this, in March 2011, the then Member of Parliament for Tingey County in Kapchora, Hon. Herbert Kaale Sabila alongside Mr. Chelimo and Sammy were charged by the Anti-Corruption Court Judge John Bosco Katutsi for offering a UGX 700,000 bribe to an Inspectorate Officer Mr. Mutyabule. On this case, the IGG noted that “there was sufficient evidence for the trial court to find that money exchanged hands between Mr. Mutyabule and Mr. Chelimo who were at Zaadi restaurant (Bath, 2014). This example shows how these integrity institutions equally have some internal problems within them that frustrate their efforts of fighting corruption. Since some of the people who are charged with the responsibility of fighting corruption are themselves corrupt, the government's efforts to fight corruption will be in vain.
Besides the above observation, DEI and IG have been criticised by a number of scholars and institutions like Mwenda and Tangri (2006), Tusabe (2013), Asiimwe (2013), and Human Rights Watch (2013) for lacking independence from the executive arm of government. Could the criticism of the above scholars and institutions have some truth? First of all, there is a need to understand their establishment and reporting line. DEI is a department that is created under the Office of the President, and reports to the president. This gives some evidence that the institution is not independent of the executive. Because they report to the President, it implies that they are bound to serve the will of the President. If the President has the will to fight corruption, especially for the members of the “inner-circle” then the institution is equally bound to be effective in its operation, but if the President does not see fighting corruption as a priority and continues to shield the members of the "inner-circle" from being prosecuted, then the institution is bound to fail to realise its intended outcomes.

By virtue of its inception, the DEI was established basically as a unit that fights corruption under the Office of the President. Its mandate and functions as explained above portray the fact that it is expected to be at the forefront of fighting corruption in Uganda. However, it has been labelled as one of the most silent and invisible anti-corruption agencies when it comes to this cause. DEI has often lagged behind in this endeavour of fighting corruption as it is rarely seen to come out even to make a statement every time huge corruption scandals hit the country. This institution has been seen coming out strongly to fight other moral issues like pornography, and other forms of ‘sexual immoralities’ like homosexuality, something that makes people look at it with suspicion and even label it to be an institution established for propaganda purposes. In light of this, Tusabe (2013) made an observation that,

It seems as though this institution is just there to conceal the unjust acts of some of the country’s political leaders through hypocritical religiosity and moralizing. Whenever there is serious public debate on the misappropriation of government funds or on matters concerning constitutionalism and rule of law the Directorate of Ethics and Integrity suddenly raises the issue of eliminating homosexuals in our midst under the accusation that these sexual minorities are polluting our traditional culture… as the exploiters
are devising other sophisticated mechanisms of appropriating for themselves wealth (Tusabe, 2013, p.52).

With the above observation, it is not surprising that the State Minister for Ethics and Integrity, Hon Simon Lokodo would rise up to challenge the findings of the report by TI (2017) that show that corruption in Uganda is on an increase even when the Government’s Ombudsman reports the same trend in its 2017 report.

The IG, on the other hand, has some independence from the executive as it reports to Parliament on its function and achievements. They are required to submit periodic reports to the Legislative Assembly. But again, the nature of appointment of the Inspector General of Government and his/her Deputy leaves room for suspicion whether they can act independently of the Executive. Section 4(1) of the IG Act, provides for the appointment of the IGG and the Deputy IGG by the President with the approval of Parliament. The nature of their appointment often makes them succumb to the pressures of the President. It is hard for them to act contrary to the President's will, and if by any means they happen to do contrary to his will, they risk losing their position to those who are loyal to him. For instance, Oloka-Onyango (1992) notes that one of the former Deputy IGGs, Wasswa Lule, was sacked by President Museveni for his continued attack on corrupt ministers and other officials.

Whereas the IG is known for handling many cases related to corruption as it often reports, this institution has lost people’s trust since it is known for handling low-level corruption cases mainly by local government officers and other technocrats in ministries. This has raised a feeling in many people’s minds that the ‘open admiration with which the public viewed the IGG’s office up to the early 1990s has since waned to pure indignation and cynicism’ (Uganda Debt Network n.d, p.11). Often time, this institution has succumbed to the pressures from the executive that it has been rendered toothless to bite when confronted with high profile cases. The former IGG, Mr. Jotham Tumwesigye, once observed in 2004 that, “people want high-profile investigations in graft cases” (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006, p.106). The statistics that are given by the IGG are not satisfactory. They always want to see the ‘big-shots being investigated and prosecuted, something that the IG has not attended to.

But as already observed, this failure to investigate the ‘big-shots' is attributed to a big problem identified above of lack of independence from the executive arm of government given the fact that
the IGG is a political appointee, who is bound to be loyal to the appointing authority who in this case is the President. Although the IG has powers accorded to it, it is constrained by political interference. Even when, it makes attempts to act in such cases, it is shot down by other arms of government. For instance, the IG was challenged by the Judiciary on its jurisdiction when it attempted to investigate and prosecute high-level cases of the CHOGM scandal involving the former Vice President Gilbert Bukenya. The same happened when they handled the case of the GAVI funds corruption scandal involved the former Minister of health, Maj Jim Muhwezi and his Assistants (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006). In other instances, when the IG investigates high-profile cases and suggests recommendations for prosecution, these recommendations are never taken seriously. For instance, the IG report of July 2004 indicates that the institution investigated the state minister, Sam Bitangaro for being responsible for the government's loss of substantial amounts of money in the court case and recommended that the minister is reprimanded. This report was given to President Museveni who took no action on the recommendation made by IGG (Tangri & Mwenda, 2006).

5.5 Anti-Corruption Legal Regime

In the above section, the efforts of DEI in developing anti-corruption legislation are underscored. Some of these legislations that are a brainchild of DEI include the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009 and its Amendment Act of 2015. These laws are the major instruments that the IG and other anti-corruption agencies use in the execution of their functions. In light of this observation, therefore, there is need to also cross-examine them in view of fighting corruption in Uganda's public service. Whereas the anti-corruption legal framework is wide, for purposes of better understanding, the study is delimited to the Anti-Corruption Act 2009 and the Anti-Corruption (Amendment) Act, 2015. This choice is based on the fact that they are the basic anti-corruption laws in Uganda that are mostly referred to when it comes to corruption in Uganda.

The Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, is an Act of parliament that was developed following the government's commitment to fighting corruption. It provides for penalties to those who may be considered guilty of corruption offenses like bribery, embezzlement, extortion, and nepotism among others. Article 26 of this Act categorically states that "a person convicted of an offense
under section 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, and 13 is liable on conviction to a term of imprisonment not exceeding ten years or a fine not exceeding two hundred and forty currency points or both.” The same Act provides for a penalty for those caught in the act of embezzlement. According to Article 19 of the Act, embezzlement attracts a penalty of a term of imprisonment not exceeding fourteen years or a fine not exceeding three hundred and sixty currency points or both.

Looking at the penalties provided above, an observation can be made that they are fairly satisfactory especially for petty corruption offenses. One who is calculative of the number of years and the fines attached to it may decide not to involve in the act of corruption, especially if it involves small monies. For instance, one who may be tempted to take ‘small’ bribes, maybe of less than a million Uganda shillings, after considering the above penalties, may decide not to accept the bribe just out of fear. But one important thing that is worth noting is that such penalties, on the other hand, are so lenient especially for grand corruption. Such leniency may make the vice of corruption to even take a more lethal dimension. Huntington (1968) warns us that, “… in a society where corruption is widespread the passage of strict laws against corruption serves only to multiply the opportunities for corruption” (Huntington, 1968, p.62). Because corruption is a ‘game’ of calculation, corrupt public officers will always prefer to siphon huge sums of money that even when they are caught, the penalty will not be felt so much considering the amount of money they will have stolen. The Auditor General, John Muwanga, observed this on May 31, 2013, when he stated that,

Someone will ask, ‘Will it pay?’ If it will, one will steal. If it won’t pay, one won’t steal. It should be too expensive to steal. This is why corruption is happening on a grand scale. They must steal enough to stay out of jail (Human Rights Watch, 2013, p.1).

Besides the highlighted challenge above, the phrasing of the statements of the penalties also leaves room for people not to have the fear that would truthfully deter them from corruption. The word “not exceeding” is, itself, self-defeating. In Chapter Three, a description of the experience of

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16 The Sections referred to provide for the different corruption offenses under the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009. These offenses include corruption, corrupt transaction with agents, corruptly procuring tenders, bribery of public officials, diversion of public officials, diversion of public resources, payment of compensation to aggrieved parties, influence peddling, sectarianism, and nepotism respectively.

17 According to the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, the currency point amounts to twenty thousand Ugandan shillings
corruption in different sectors of Uganda was made, and one of the sectors that have not survived this vice is the Judiciary. Using the word "not exceeding" leaves room for the corrupt public officers to conspire with the judicial officers through corrupt means in order to be accorded a lenient penalty. Such sets trends that make the whole legal anti-corruption enterprise frail.

In light of some of the loopholes citable in the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, an amendment was made in 2015 to bridge the gaps in the Act. One of the crucial areas that the Amendment Act provides for, which is worth noting here, concerns the idea of the mandatory confiscation of property\(^{\text{18}}\) of a person convicted of a corruption offense. This is a useful step in ensuring recovery of the lost resources for the public. As I have already observed, laws compel people to act rightly out of fear of the consequences of acting contrary to its provisions. This provision serves better than the former ones that only provided for fines and imprisonment. People would fear to lose the property and at the same time serve an imprisonment term or pay a fine or both.

Much as these laws are laudable and have played an important role in fighting corruption as they are often referred to, they have, nonetheless, not fully realised their intended purpose. This problem can be attributed largely to its enforcement mechanism. In Uganda, the enforcement of laws is a responsibility of Uganda Police Force and the Judiciary. It is however unfortunate that, these institutions that are charged with a responsibility of enforcing the anti-corruption laws in Uganda are also known to be among the most corrupt institutions in the country. In Chapter Three, a description of the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda Police and the Judiciary is made, showing a number of scandals reported to exemplify it. If the very institutions that are expected to enforce the anti-corruption laws are themselves corrupt, then it becomes problematic to use these laws because they can easily be bent to suit their individual self-interest.

In light of the above, the efforts of creating laws are praiseworthy in fighting corruption. Laws play a duo purpose of enforcing external commitment to doing right, and also cultivating virtue among citizens. Laws can be important in the sense that they, firstly, enforce an external commitment to doing the right thing. Although this enforced conduct by the law is from without, it cannot be overlooked given the fact that many people may not yet have developed a virtuous life.

\(^{\text{18}}\) Property according to the Anti-Corruption (Amendment) Act, 2015, provides a wider scope to include money, assets of any kind whether corporeal or incorporeal, movable or immovable, tangible or intangible and legal documents or instruments evidencing title or interest in such assets.
that compels them to always do right even when there are no severe consequences attached to doing wrong. Secondly, the law also facilitates the process of cultivating virtue among citizens. Through fear of the consequences of acting contrary to the law, people are habituated to doing the right thing which out of continuous practice becomes a virtuous character. Continuous practice of an act for a considerably longer time irrespective of the motivation makes it become a character or habit of the actor. In light of the above, efforts of strengthening the anti-corruption legal framework in Uganda is commendable.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the existing integrity system, specifically, the Directorate for Ethics and Integrity and the Inspectorate of Government and also looked at the Anti-Corruption Act 2009 (As Amended). In this examination, the focus was put on the establishment of the institutions, the staff’s capacity and authority to fight the vice especially for high-level cases and the strategies laid down by these institutions. And for the Anti-Corruption Act (2009), critical focus has been on the penalties for corruption offence and the language that is used. From this process, I observed that much as the country has an integrity system to fight the vice, this system has a number of weaknesses and most importantly does not even put its attention on addressing the basic cause of this problem, being the vicious character of public servants and of other members of society. And because of that, the next chapter focuses on developing a system that, if followed, would ultimately fight the vice through attending to the basic cause identified.
CHAPTER SIX
TOWARDS A FUNCTIONAL INTEGRITY SYSTEM

6.0 Introduction

Having ascertained the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service as being the vicious character of the public servants and the entire community and showing the challenge of the integrity system in Uganda as not attending to remedying the basic cause of corruption, in this chapter an assessment is made of three possible alternatives through which virtues such as integrity, justice, honesty, fairness, self-control, and commitment to official duty can be cultivated among the citizens. These alternatives include promoting a character/moral education that is conscious of the above virtue, developing a mechanism of identifying and recognising virtuous role models, plus enacting and strictly enforcing laws. These alternatives are not sufficient to contain corruption in the country if they are singly applied but a synthesis of them can help remedy the problem. Therefore, they are part of an integrated approach as discussed in the last section of the chapter.

6.1 Character/Moral Education as a Means of Cultivating Virtue

As Gyekye observes, fighting corruption requires us to carry out a moral revolution through making substantive and commitmental moral changes in society. In attaining the desirable changes in society, cultivating civic or moral education among the citizens is inevitable (Gyekye, 1997). In light of the above, therefore, one of the options for cultivating virtue is through character/moral education. This is a type of education whose major goal is to cultivate inner motivations in people to develop a tendency to do right just for its own sake without even thinking of the consequences. This education targets certain virtues that are important in nurturing an integral and honest citizenry that can outrightly reject acts of corruption. Virtues of integrity, transparency, accountability, honesty, respect for human persons, and commitment to duty, among others, are important in this aspect. Such an education should be provided to people at all stages of life from the pre-school, kindergarten, primary, post-primary, university and other tertiary institutions. The

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19 Although the role of the law in virtue ethics may be contestable, it is a very important tool in virtue cultivation. As earlier highlighted, laws are important in a sense that through compelling external commitment to doing right, people are habituated to always doing the right thing and in a long run, their rightful action becomes a habit hence a virtuous character.
suggestion concerning how this character education would be designed is aided by a moral
development theory of the psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg and Jean Piaget’s theory of cognitive
development. These moral and cognitive development theories are blended with the ideas of
Martha Nussbaum concerning the cultivation of humanity. Nussbaum (1997) advises that we need
to put into consideration three major capacities as we cultivate humanity. These include the
capacity for critical self-examination and critical thinking about one's own culture and tradition,
capacity to see oneself as a human being who is bound to all humans with ties of concern, and the
capacity for narrative imagination (Nussbaum, 1997). These will be elaborated more in the
following section.

6.1.1 The Nature of Character/Moral Education

In attempts to cultivate virtue among citizens, we need to be aware that character education is
important at this point. And we also have to keep in mind that it has to start at an early stage in
human development before vicious dispositions are deeply entrenched into people in ways hard to
change later in life. We need to note, as Sigmund Freud and Lawrence Kohlberg observed, that
the conscience of children develops at a very early age. By the age of five, a child has a developed
conscience that can decipher rightness and wrongness (Jensen, n.d). Keen interest and attention,
therefore, needs to be given to the young persons. In light of the above, if corruption is to be dealt
with in Ugandan society, then we need character education which possesses three essential
elements as discussed below.

Firstly, this education should be aimed at empowering citizens to develop a capacity to critically
examine themselves and their cultures and traditions (Nussbaum, 1997). Socrates cautions us that
‘an unexamined life is not worth living’. In this spirit, there is a need to continuously cross-examine
ourselves and our cultures in view of corruption. In line with what he calls the substantive moral
revolution, Gyekye observes that,

There are some features of the traditional African system of values
that would, in the interest of the progress and success of the politics
of the new African nation-state (a heterogeneous state), need to
undergo profound changes by way of substantive moral revolution.
An entirely new morality with respect to attitudes toward
government and public property and resources, and hence toward
public office, will need to be created. People will have to be morally weaned from the influences of communocultural loyalties that obscure and subvert devotion and commitment to the national political community (Gyekye, 1997, p.209).

In light of the above, therefore, citizens from childhood should be trained to question their culture and the value system with an aim of identifying values that are worth keeping that can promote the good of all. In Chapter Four, a highlight of some of the secondary reasons or factors that are said to trigger corruption in the public service was made, one of which was the African cultural values like gift giving, authoritarianism, and extended family patterns. And since these values have a bearing on corruption in Uganda’s public service, therefore they ought to be challenged by this training in virtue. As they critically examine their lives and the traditions, they should be helped to appreciate them in view of whether they help to cultivate certain virtues that are important for fighting corruption. People should be helped to develop a capacity to question such values and if they find out that they contribute to the vice of corruption, then they can consider discarding them.

Secondly, this education should also be aimed at training people to develop a capacity of seeing oneself as being with others in the world, one who has a moral duty of being concerned about the good of others (Nussbaum, 1997). While training virtue, people should be made to appreciate that all people, wherever they are, matter. That one should not exalt his or her individuality by aggrandising self at the expense of others. The problem of corruption which is experienced in Uganda is mainly attributed to our common attitude of thinking of ourselves in narrow individual or group terms, neglecting the needs and interest of others. It is because of this, for instance, that we witness the widespread nepotism and even the theft of public funds. People only think about themselves, and their close relatives. We need to make citizens appreciate that we have a moral duty of protecting people wherever they may be. This is an inner attitude that ought to be cultivated among the people from childhood, to always know that other people also matter and therefore they are not supposed to look only to themselves and members of their family but to everyone in the society.

Lastly, the other capacity that should be underscored in character education is one of narrative imagination (Nussbaum, 1997). This calls for developing the ability to empathise with others. This capacity is so important if cultivated among people. The vice of corruption also arises from people
not thinking about others. A corrupt officer does not put him/herself in the shoes of the one who is in dire need of social services, as long as they enrich themselves and close members of their families.

As this virtuous character is being cultivated among the citizens, the above capacities need to be taken care of. But as already observed above, this character ought to be cultivated at all stages of life. How this education should be provided is thoroughly discussed in what follows.

6.1.2 Character Education at the Pre-Adolescent Stage of Life

This elementary stage of life is important for cultivating ideas into the young that will always stick into their mind even when they grow. This is the most important stage where virtue and character cultivation should start from. If such content is missed at this stage of life, then it may never be appreciated at a later stage. The Lango people of Northern Uganda have an adage that may be used to elaborate this view. They say; ‘yat ogom otwenyo ma pwod tidi. Ka dong oti petwenyere.’ This literally means that a stick that is bent can be straightened when it is still young, but once it grows, attempts to straighten it may only result in its breaking. This same idea is also shared by Frederick Douglas in his famous statement that “it is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men” (as cited in Blow, 2014). In light of this observation, there is a need to pay special attention and interest in cultivating virtue among the very young who can later apply and live virtuous lives as a habit. How, then, should virtue be cultivated at this stage?

Before venturing into understanding how virtue can be cultivated at this stage of life, it is important to first draw attention to the moral development theory of the psychologist, Lawrence Kohlberg. Kohlberg observed that the moral growth of any human person is in three levels, which are the pre-conventional, conventional, and the post-conventional, with each level having two stages. In light of this, for purposes of understanding the pre-adolescent stage, attention will be put on the pre-conventional level.

Kohlberg observes that at this pre-conventional level, children tend to obey simply because it is a requirement from an authority who, in most cases, is an elder. The choice of action at this stage of life is based on the consequences of their actions. Here, one does right to avoid punishment and or to be rewarded for the right things that they do. At this level, two stages are presented, that is the obedience and punishment (also known as the stick and carrot) stage and the egocentric judgment stage. With the former, Kohlberg observes that children act to avoid punishment, while the later
they act in line with what benefits them. In this second stage, an attitude of ‘you scratch my back, I scratch yours too’ is developed among the children. Having that in mind, how, then, can virtue be cultivated at this stage?

The stage that is being dealt with here is for the very young whose intellect that enables them to acquire knowledge may not have developed fully to aptly play its role. An appropriate strategy of helping them acquire the knowledge and appreciate it needs to be designed. In achieving this, we need to seek guidance from the theory of cognitive development of the psychologist Jean Piaget. Piaget came up with four stages of cognitive development. These stages include the sensorimotor, preoperational stage, the concrete operational stage, and the formal operational stage. But for purposes of understanding and designing the education at the pre-adolescent levels of learning, let the focus be on the second stage of the preoperational stage. This stage is comprised of children between two and seven years. At this stage of life, Piaget observes three major characteristics noticeable among these children. They begin to think symbolically and learn to use words and pictures to represent objects, they also develop egocentric tendencies and struggle to see things from the perspective of others, and lastly, they get better with language and thinking as they continue to think about things in very concrete terms (Cherry, 2018).

In light of the above theories of moral and cognitive development, the content at this level should be packaged in a friendly and accessible form appropriate to this category of children. At this stage, virtue should be trained in a very simple way only targeting to help the young ones to make sound ethical decisions and being in a position to name good behaviours. What is important to note is that at such a stage we do not have to bombard the young ones with complex virtues since their intellect may not have appropriately developed to comprehend them. Virtues such as commitment to official duty are too complex at this stage. Simple virtues such as not stealing, loving and respecting others people irrespective of their status, being honest and avoiding telling lies can be cultivated. As we are cultivating these virtues, we also need to be wary of not imparting a lopsided content by only focusing on the virtues. The young also need to be taught about the vices which they are morally required to avoid, like stealing, and greed. But as such virtues are being cultivated, we need to keep in mind, as Kohlberg observes, that children at this stage focus more on the consequences of their action. And because of this, the one cultivating virtues here should underscore the value of living a virtuous life, and the severity of the punishment that would befall
one who is caught involving in vicious acts like theft. Real examples from our society can even be told to this effect of people who have experienced the consequences of their action.

This stage of life is a very fragile one that requires specialised techniques of imparting these ideas into them. If they are to take the message seriously, then there is a need to develop a method of delivery that will keep their interest high and alert. Jean Piaget, in his theory of cognitive development, notes some of the characteristics of children at such a stage. He observes that they begin to think symbolically and learn to use words and pictures to represent objects. And since this is the case, then this content should respond to this feature of the children. We, therefore, need to employ methods such as storytelling, music, social games, art, and role plays to aptly deliver this message. This can be followed by a question and answer session to ascertain whether the message is acquired rightly. Such a method of teaching virtue among the young is very important as it can arouse their interest to learn, and practice what they learn.

6.1.2.1 Enforcement Strategy

Having observed that this stage of life is for the very young, some of whom may not have started schooling, it means that this education has then to be started in the family by the parents and other elders in the home. And if this is to be realised, it means that the parents and the elders who will play this role ought to be equipped with the necessary competencies. There is, therefore, a need to invest in building such competencies through designing training programmes for the parents in different localities. Such parents can be trained on the best way of cultivating virtue among the children. Technical people in the area of education, psychology, and moral philosophy who have the knowledge and expertise on the subject matter and how to impart it to the young can be brought on board to support and train parents and elders on this aspect to enable them to carry on the task in their respective families.

For the pre-adolescents who are in school, this education can be also given to them by their teachers. But as we continue to the next section, we observe that this kind of moral education is a holistic one that will be rolled out to all people in the educational institutions. The teachers for school pupils in the preadolescent stage will have their content of the same from teachers’ training institutions. And for those who will have missed out on this content will also be equipped through educational seminars and refresher courses on the same.
6.1.3 Cultivation of Virtue at the Adolescent Stage

As children grow up, the nature of the education needs to change since even their level of moral development will have changed. The content and method of delivery for children in the pre-adolescent level may not be appropriate for the adolescents. This adolescent stage is mainly for children in upper primary and secondary school. In light of this, there is a need to have some modifications. To understand this stage better, we need to also pay attention to Kohlberg’s theory and specifically on the middle level of reasoning called the conventional level. Kohlberg notes that, at this level, the morality of the youth is majorly determined by social norms. These social norms comprise of social conventions and rules that have been arrived at through implicit or explicit agreement by a group of people for purposes of maintaining social harmony and order. Kohlberg identifies two stages at this level, which are the interpersonal cooperation (interpersonal concordance stage) and the law and order orientation stage.

In the interpersonal cooperation stage, Kohlberg notes that moral decisions are taken on the basis of how their decisions would be looked at by influential members of a social group. Kohlberg observes that, at this stage, these youths have a desire to be looked at as good people. Their actions are usually in tandem with whether it wins approval of the influential members of a society. The next stage (four) of Kohlberg’s theory of moral development is referred to as the law and order orientation stage. At this stage, the key determining factor for morality is in the best interest of the majority of people. The youth at this stage of life starts to hold the rules of the society as very vital for the society’s existence. They develop an appreciation of the fact that the laws in place are aimed at serving everyone’s best interest and therefore commit to observing and strictly adhering to these laws of a society. Therefore, their moral decisions and actions begin to be made in comparison with the moral standards of the larger society.

Following the above explanation of moral development by Kohlberg, how, then, should virtuous character be cultivated at this stage of life?

As children grow older, there should be an advanced form through which this education is cultivated. Virtue education should be introduced in the education curriculum, by infusing its content in some of the already existing subjects like social studies, history, religious studies, English, General paper, among others. This study may not necessarily be a standalone subject.
Through this education in virtue, learners should be helped to understand and appreciate the different virtues like respect for the human person, honesty, integrity, transparency, accountability, commitment to duty, and self-control. Because people at this stage as Kohlberg observes tends towards social cooperation, this character education should be aimed at developing the capacity of seeing oneself as a being with others in the world who has a moral obligation to be concerned about the plight of others and also to develop the capacity to empathise with others by putting themselves in others’ shoes (Nussbaum, 1997). It is through such capacities that the citizens will have to develop an attitude of avoiding corruption as much as possible. As I have already highlighted in the previous Chapters, corruption emerges from people’s vicious characters like avarice. Such people are only concerned about fulfilling their selfish interest in total disregard of the needs and interests of other members of the society. Such vicious character undermines their will to do the right thing even when they may know the right thing to do (McKinnon, 1999). But by making people appreciate that we have a moral obligation towards others, it raises their consciousness and strengthens their will to shun the malevolent practices of corruption.

Therefore, as the virtuous character is being cultivated among the people, they should be helped to realise how vicious and greedy behaviours of corruption have undermined the progress of our society. Practical references should be made to our ailing society, by showing them the offshoots of corruption, like the shoddy works on the roads, poor healthcare facilities, the wanting quality of education, the regional imbalances among others as emanating from corruption. They should be helped also to draw imaginations of how good the society would be without corruption by giving them case studies of countries with minimal corruption and how such countries are flourishing.

Another important aspect that we need to keep in mind is the way people at this stage of life develop a tendency towards attempting to act in line with the requirements of the legal regimes. Kohlberg observes that, at the Law and Order orientation stage, they develop loyalty towards laws and other norms in a society, as they see them to be beneficial for social harmony. As the learners continuously progress towards their later adolescent life, different norms and standard pertaining corruption can, therefore, be introduced. This includes laws, policies, codes of conducts and ethics. It is at this stage that they can be explicitly introduced to corruption, made to understand the different vices that constitute corruption and the penalties that are attached to each offense. It is important to note that although virtue ethics is aimed at cultivating a character of doing right
irrespective of the consequences, knowledge is power, people should be availed this knowledge of the legal framework as we shall observe its essence in the following Section. Having that in mind, then we can consider extending this character/moral education to higher levels of learning.

Just like in the pre-adolescent pupils who are in school, moral education at this stage shall be imparted to students by their teachers who will have attained such training in the teachers’ training institutions and universities. And for teachers in these schools who will have come out of the teachers’ training institutions before this content was introduced ought to be trained on these ideas through seminars and refresher courses in order to update them on the subject matter of virtue/character education.

6.1.4 Cultivation of Virtue at the Post-Adolescent Stage

Basing on the progressive nature of moral development as advanced by Kohlberg, we also need to design the content and method of delivery to suit the different categories of people being reached to. At the post-adolescent level, here the main target is on people in tertiary institutions and universities. How should their education be structured? This post-adolescent stage deserves to be given a content that suits the post-conventional level people. Kohlberg provides us with the final level of moral development which he referred to as the post-conventional level. At this level, Kohlberg observes that morality depends on the abstract moral principles and not merely the existing rules and laws. Here, people tend towards moral and ethical possibilities, they no longer look to external mechanisms like the societal laws and regulations. Kohlberg observed that very few people reach this point (Jensen, n.d). Because of this fact, one can rightly say that if one reaches this point where he/she no longer look to the external laws or principle in society to act or make decisions, then he or she would be rightly considered as a virtuous being for s/he can act without considering the consequences but because it is the right thing to do. This is the exact point we are looking up to. And if we are to realise this, firstly, we need to cultivate among the people the capacity to critically examine themselves and their own traditions and cultures. If we are to have this capacity cultivated, then it implies that the discipline of ethics should be introduced to learners at this level of education. Rigorous ethics training ought to be introduced to students

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20 “Ethics” here is used in its strictest term to refer to moral philosophy and not morality. It is hereby used to mean a rational and critical reflection on free human conduct with a view of ascertaining its moral reasonableness.
across all disciplines. By implication therefore, ethics should be trained in all programs in the educational institutions. In training ethics across the board, much focus ought to be put into building a strong work ethic and commitment to upholding a high sense of integrity and professionalism among the scholars. People here should be subjected to a number of ethical theories that can be handy in helping them take right decisions. The intent of this is to deepen their knowledge of this subject matter and to strengthen their commitment to living an integral life.

Training of ethics at this level can be effectively done by scholars and specialists in philosophy and specifically Ethics as a discipline. This is the area that ought to be developed if corruption is to be dealt with.

The option that is discussed above is very important in the fight against corruption as it serves to nurture an ethically conscious citizenry. As we have already seen above, it is a holistic kind that starts from the very elementary level of education up to the apex. Through such an education, learners are preoccupied with ethical concerns, something that will make them appreciate and act ethically. From childhood, we notice that the children will start living a virtuous life as they are progressively guided by the teachers and elders, that they will reach a point of living virtue as a habit. With such lifetime training in ethics and its practice, there is more reason to believe that a future integral public service that is committed to providing the public good that would ultimately culminate into realising the good life and the good society will be achieved.

The option of cultivating character education is morally acceptable since by it compliance to living a virtuous and an integral life can be realised through internal motivations. However, morally desirable as the character education option may be, we need to be aware that there is no society in the world where one can find all citizens willingly obeying to live by the acknowledged moral ideals. Though they may all know what ought to be the right thing to do, some may desist from living up to it. Because of this fact, thus, other options like having a mechanism for identifying and recognising virtuous and integral role models and laws become indispensable in our social existence.
6.2 Identification and Recognition of Virtuous Role Models as a Step towards Cultivating Virtue

With the special emphasis of this study being the cultivation of virtue or character that compels people to behave ethically irrespective of the consequences that may follow, some virtue ethicists like Aristotle believe that one way of cultivating virtue is through identifying and recognising role models who have lived a virtuous life. These virtuous role models play a role of an exemplary leader whom others can look up to for their behaviour. Kohlberg in his theory of moral development notes that at the conventional level, people's moral actions and decisions are shaped by their desire to attain approval by influential people in society. And since this is the case, it follows then that many people especially after seeing others who have been recognised for their incorruptible behaviour will strive to reach that same position and attain the same recognition, and by so doing, virtue will be lived by such people.

Whereas this would be a good option, is it possible to get exemplary and incorruptible role models in Uganda? The answer is yes. In every society, there is always the good and the bad people. There can never be complete homogeneity in behaviour in any society whatsoever. Although at the moment the Ugandan society has been infiltrated by the vicious behaviour of corruption, we need to note that we cannot fail to have some incorruptible public officers who can be recognised to act as role models. Even in the midst of bad apples, we cannot fail to find a good one. This idea can be explained further by drawing an example of Nigeria, a country that has been ranked to have the most corrupt police force in the whole of Africa. Recently, one of the most incorruptible Nigerian police officer Julius Adedeji Adewale, received a human rights personality award from the U.S Embassy for his incorruptibility (Mbamalu, 2018). With such an example it means that it is possible. But as we are thinking of designing this mechanism, we need to be cautious about the possibility of having the corrupt people influencing the process of identifying the incorruptible people. Therefore, we need to ensure that the process and the parties that are charged with a responsibility of identifying and recognising the incorruptible are accorded a high level of independence.

Plausible as this option may be in cultivating virtue in the society, if it is left alone, it may not be so helpful in fighting corruption in Uganda. If it is to be effective, it needs to be reinforced with
other options like character education and even the law. In light of this observation, there is a need to now explore the third option which is the law.

6.3 Legal Enforcement

The third possibility which we can look to as a way of fighting corruption in Uganda's public service is to cultivate virtue through some external control, that is, the legal system. As earlier observed, the law is one of the tools that any society can use to cultivate virtue among citizens. Laws are important in a way that they set standards of behaviour that people ought to follow. These laws are also tagged with punitive measures for those who act contrary to their provisions. People tend to live in line with the requirements of the law out of fear of the consequences of acting otherwise. However, it is important to note that after a long time of doing right out of fear caused by the law habituates people into developing a virtuous character. Therefore, after sometime of doing right, it becomes a habit for people to do right thing with or without the law. However, it is important to note that the role of the law in this study is not only aimed at cultivating virtue, but also dealing with those who fail to comply to living virtuously from within.

In light of the above, therefore, although the study largely emphasises cultivating a sense of internal commitment to doing right without regard of the consequences, some public officers may not appreciate the idea of virtuous living. Even after strongly cultivating virtue through rigorous character education, there will still be some remnants who will continue to exercise vicious behaviours of corruption. Such people who cannot exercise their internal commitment to doing right, therefore, need an external restraint mechanism like the law. Therefore, if we are to choose this option, then people should be made to live virtuously out of fear for the consequences of disobeying the laws. There is need to resort to strengthening and strictly enforcing anti-corruption laws with an aid of competent police force, an effective judicial system, and functional prisons with an aim of instilling fear in people to ensure compliance to ethical behaviour.

It should, however, be noted that although these laws can help in compelling people to act ethically through fear, choosing this option of laws is not the best option especially if it is to be applied in isolation. In Chapter Five, I highlighted some of the challenges that Uganda's anti-corruption laws face and why basing entirely on the law may not give the best results. We need to be aware that laws tend to cultivate an external commitment to doing right. Someone will always do right only when he/she sees a possibility of being caught up by the law if s/he disobeyed. But in situations
where one identifies a loophole that enables him/her to steal without being caught, he/she would commit the act. In light of this observation, we cannot put all our trust in the laws to fight corruption in Uganda's public service.

Therefore, having seen all the above options as possessing certain inadequacies, what, then, can be the solution to this impasse? The answer to this is an integration of the three options.

6.4 An Integration as the Realistic Option

The intricacy in fighting corruption in Uganda's public service and the challenges cited in the above options identified lead us to a conclusion that to succeed we need a three-pronged approach. Therefore, in order to cultivate virtue and live to the ethical requirements of public service calls for integrating the three options, that is, providing character/moral education to all citizens but accompanied by developing a mechanism of identifying and recognising role models, and also strictly enforcing anti-corruption laws to catch up with those who will have failed to internally commit themselves to doing right. It is important to note that fighting corruption cannot be fully realised by exalting one option at the expense of the others. Doing this is a clear manifestation of the naivety of the inadequacies of these options. Character education alone cannot completely eliminate corruption in the Ugandan society, neither can legal enforcement or identification and recognition of role models do. The only realistic option is an integration of the three. Corruption can aptly be dealt with through tempering virtue/character education with the law and recognition of role models.

6.5 The Viability of the Suggested Strategy

There are a number of challenges that may arise concerning the implementation of the suggested strategy. Questions may arise especially on the first two options of cultivating virtue education and identification and reward of virtuous and incorruptible role models.

Firstly, effectively imparting virtue education to all people is problematic. The advancement in technology experienced today renders a great challenge to this venture. There is a wide range of sources of information that, if not properly managed, may distort the information on virtue that is passed on to citizens. The emergency of different media platforms like radios, televisions, social media, among others remains a big challenge as they may provide contradictory messages to citizens as opposed to the virtue ethical message. This is an area that requires being controlled. However, although we may have contradictory sources of moral shaping especially resulting from
the advancement in technology, such contradiction may not render the entire undertaking of virtue cultivation impossible.

The process of identifying and recognising role models is also a hard task to realise especially in a “morally sick” society like Uganda where corruption appears to be everywhere. Whereas, this is a good strategy of cultivating virtue, we risk having the whole process influenced by the already corrupt officials to work in their favour. Much as I suggested for an independent committee to be selected to champion this process, getting these independent-minded and impartial members is equally challenging.

With some of these challenges highlighted, does that mean that the strategy suggested is not practically implementable? No. Being a challenging task does not mean that it is impossible. The possibility of this rests in the will of the country’s top leadership. The will of the top leaders like the president can play a very vital role in this project. There are a number of countries in the world like Botswana, Rwanda, and Ghana which are known to have had high levels of corruption but as a result of interest of political leaders to fight it, the trend has tremendously changed. Therefore, as long as the political leadership at the top blessed the strategies designed to combat corruption, this vice can be ably managed

6.6 Conclusion

In this Chapter, an attempt has been made to develop a normative position that, if adopted, would help in addressing the problem of corruption in the public service. This normative position has three possibilities of cultivating virtue/character education, recognition of virtuous role models, and strictly enforcing the law on corruption. These possibilities discussed culminated into what was termed as an integrational approach; a synthesis of which can ably defeat this vice. With a central emphasis on cultivating virtue among the citizens, we are, therefore, required to repudiate any corruption practice and only identify ourselves with virtues such as honesty, integrity, respect for others persons, commitment to fulfilling duty, among others.
CHAPTER SEVEN
GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter is subdivided into three major sections which include; summary of findings where I present a highlight of the major issues discussed under each chapter, conclusion of the study, and the normative recommendations that if followed would help to alleviate corruption in the public service.

7.1 Summary of Findings

The prime purpose of this study has been based on the need to address the vice of corruption in Uganda’s public services. This vice has served to ‘eat up’ the Ugandan society by denying citizens their entitlement to the public good and ultimately undermining their realisation of the good life and the good society. With respect to that prime purpose, the study had a general objective of assessing the effectiveness of Uganda’s integrity system in containing corruption in the public service in view of its basic cause. This was arrived at through using a virtue ethical framework. Following the above general objective, the study had four major tasks; ascertaining the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service, describing the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda’s public service, examining Uganda’s integrity system vis-à-vis the fight against corruption in Uganda’s public service, and identifying the necessary interventions that can lead to having an effective integrity system that can contain corruption better in Uganda’s public service than it is today.

The study was captivated by the fact that Uganda has a robust integrity system with various laws and institutions that are all aimed at fighting corruption. But the persistence of corruption in public service left many questions running in the mind of the researcher. This was further propelled by the explanations given by different scholars concerning the persistence of corruption which, were observed to be, insufficient to explain the corruption trend in Uganda. These were seen as merely secondary causes of the major problem. It was because of this that a need arose of ascertaining the basic cause of the problem that would aid effective diagnosis.
In order to aptly understand the problem and offer a viable solution, it was thought prudent to limit the study into something manageable given the limited time. Consequently, I delimited the broader scope of corruption into four vices of bribery, embezzlement, extortion, and nepotism, and also decided to study it from the year 1995 to date (2018). And for purposes of understanding the integrity system further, it was delineated to look at two major anti-corruption institutions of DEI and IG, also considering the major legal instrument in the fight against corruption in Uganda, which is the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009 and its Amendment of 2015.

7.1.1 The Phenomenon of Corruption in Uganda’s Public Service

In fulfilling the first task of describing the phenomenon of corruption in Uganda’s public service, it was established that corruption is a reality that has taken root in most government entities. I observed that this vice is on an increase basing on the reports given by different institutions like Transparency International and the Inspectorate of Government. In explaining the trend, an experience of corruption was given in four major sectors and entities of Health, Education, Uganda Police, and the Judiciary. But what is important to note is that different entities have different forms of corruption. For instance, bribery is profound in the Uganda police and Judiciary than in the education sector, whereas we also notice that embezzlement of funds has not been prominently reported in the police and the judiciary.

Although the experience of corruption has been described in the above four areas, it has also been highlighted that it doesn’t mean that corruption is only in the above entities. Corruption has been deeply entrenched in most if not all public institutions that it has come to even be described as systemic by Asiimwe (2013). It has been revealed that a very large section of the public servants and other members of the society have embraced the vice for purposes of hastily enriching themselves and having things done in their favour respectively.

7.1.2 The Basic Cause of Corruption in Uganda’s Public Service

In this study, a task of ascertaining the basic cause of corruption was also undertaken. This started with the clarification of the concept of corruption through cross-examination of the already advanced definitions of the vice by different scholars and institutions. The rationale for this was to get a definition that suits the major purpose of the study. Consequently, a definition of corruption
as ‘a vicious act involving public officers who clandestinely use their official positions to unethically satisfy their private interests at the expense of the public interest’ was arrived at. As a further step towards ascertaining the basic cause, an examination of the commonly advanced causes of corruption was also undertaken. These causes include but are not limited to the economic factors like poor remuneration and the high cost of living, weak anti-corruption laws and institutions, the transitional phenomenon, and the African traditional cultural values of authoritarianism, extended family systems, and the practice of gift giving. An observation was made that although these are the causes of corruption, they are not sufficient to be presented as the underlying problem, and, therefore, a need was created to establish this basic cause upon which these other mentioned secondary causes hinge.

Consequently, to understand the basic cause of corruption, two major observations were made. Firstly, corruption is a vicious behaviour, and secondly, the human person is central to this vice. In light of the above observations, the basic cause of corruption in Uganda’s public service was established to be the vicious character of public officers and other members of the community. Ascertaining the basic cause was a very important step towards rendering a critique of Uganda’s integrity system and offering viable recommendations to contain the problem.

7.1.3 An Examination of Uganda’s Integrity System

In the study, it was observed that Uganda has a robust mechanism for fighting corruption with a series of institutions, laws, and policies. I explained the efforts that have been rendered by the DEI and the IG. Shortfalls of these institutions that have hindered them from realising the purpose for which they were established were also unearthed. A critical observation was made that in as much as this integrity system was in place to fight corruption, its strategies do not address the basic cause of the problem, something that would explain the persistence of corruption in the public service.

7.1.4 Towards a Functional Integrity System

As a step towards having a functional integrity system and ensuring that the vice of corruption is addressed in Uganda’s public service, I came up with a strategy that would help in cultivating a virtuous citizenry that is conscious about doing right for its own sake. In light of the above, three major options for cultivating virtue among the people that can, in the end, be synthesised to form
an integrational approach in the fight against corruption in Uganda’s public service were proposed. These options included cultivating moral/character education, devising mechanism of identifying and recognising virtuous role models, and promoting and strengthening the legal framework. The study agreed that a single approach or option cannot deliver the intended outcome of defeating corruption in the public service. If this is to be possible, it then requires integrating the above three. Consequently, I came up with an integration of the above three options as the only realistic option.

7.2 Conclusion

On the whole, this study has been aimed at addressing the vice of corruption in Uganda’s public service using virtue ethics parameters. The diagnosis and prescription of the problem of corruption were majorly guided by three theories that formed the theoretical framework. These theories are; virtue ethics, Kwame Gyekye’s moral revolution theory, and Lawrence Kohlberg’s moral development theory. Arising from the discussions presented in previous chapters, I elaborately showed that corruption is a reality in Uganda that has penetrated most government entities. I also made an observation that Uganda’s integrity system has done little in curbing the vice. Therefore, as a step towards addressing this problem, I took on a philosophical task of ascertaining the basic cause of corruption in the public service which revolved around the vicious character of some public officials and other members of the society. Consequent upon this effort of ascertaining the basic cause, I developed a mechanism through which virtues such as integrity, transparency, and commitment to official duty can be cultivated. This is through an integrational approach that involves character/virtue education, designing a mechanism to identify, recognise, and reward virtuous role models, and then strengthening and strictly enforcing anti-corruption laws. Therefore, as a step towards guiding policy on fighting corruption, I have suggested recommendations that were discussed in the earlier chapters, which I believe that, if they are followed, then this evil of corruption would be mitigated in the public service and the entire Ugandan society.

7.3 Recommendations

Arising from the discussion made in the study, a number of observations were made on how possible this vice of corruption can aptly be dealt with. In this section, therefore, I suggest some of the recommendations that ought to be taken seriously especially if this problem is to be managed. These are presented below.
I. Firstly, from the study, an observation was made that the genesis of the corruption problem stems from the vicious character of some public officers and the members of the entire society. In light of this observation, there is a need to embark on establishing programs through which positive character can be cultivated among the citizens. And from the study, an observation was also made that this can be done in many ways but most importantly through character or virtue education. Therefore, the government through the ministry of Education and Sports and the National Curriculum Development Centre should embark on establishing training programmes on virtue at all stages of life as elaborated under Chapter Six of this study. With such an initiative, a virtuous society would be realised.

II. As a reinforcement to the character education suggested in this work, there is a need to embark on designing programmes/mechanisms through which virtuous role models can be identified, recognised, and rewarded for their incorruptibility. This is a very important aspect of cultivating virtue. If it is effected, it will send a signal to other citizens that living a virtuous life is rewarding. Such will motivate others to follow in the footsteps of those that have been recognised as virtuous.

III. Arising from the observation made in Chapter Five, pointing out the shortfalls in the anti-corruption legal regime, a consideration of revisiting the anti-corruption laws ought to be taken. Attention should be put on tightening the penalties and also eliminating some ambiguous phrasing that can be used by some judicial officers to give lenient sentences. In Chapter Five, I made an observation that the phrasing “not exceeding” is problematic and can be exploited by corrupt judicial officers who may conspire with other corrupt public officers to give them a lighter sentence. Therefore, in revisiting the law, phrases like “not exceeding” can be replaced with “not less than”. Besides, these laws should also be strictly operationalised, especially the 2015 Amendment Act of the Anti-Corruption Act that provides for confiscation of property of the corrupt officers. This will help in, first of all, recovering the lost resources, and also scaring away some people from involving themselves in corruption due to fear of losing their fortunes.

IV. There is also a need to strengthen the capacity of anti-corruption institutions like the IG and the DEI to ably fight corruption. Part of these strategies would be through adequately
financing the activities of such institutions that would enable them to handle as many cases as possible. But besides financing, strengthening these institutions can also be through the executive arm of government detaching itself from interfering with the work of these anti-corruption institutions. In Chapter Five, I observed that part of the reason why the integrity system is not working is that of the interference by the executive, something that frustrates the efforts of these anti-corruption institutions in fighting corruption especially for highly placed and ‘connected’ officers in government.

V. Also, as a step towards strengthening the anti-corruption institutions, there is a need to make them independent from the executive. From the discussion held in Chapter Five, I pointed out the lack of independence of the anti-corruption institutions from the executive arm of government as one factor that has frustrated their efforts of fighting corruption. And if they are to effectively do their work, then independence should be sought through, first of all, changing the appointing authority of the IGG, so that he/she is not appointed by the president. This would minimise the chances of succumbing to the pressures and demands of the president. Besides, a process of redesigning the DEI should be initiated so that this institution does not operate under the Office of the President. This would also make it achieve some level of independence to effectively conduct its tasks without any sort of interference.

VI. Improvement in the economic conditions of some public officers should also be put into consideration. Although this has been looked at a secondary cause of corruption, it, nonetheless, increases chances of corruption in the public service. Because of that, it should not be taken for granted. Steps should be made to minimise this problem by increasing the salaries of some officers like the policemen/women, putting in place measures to alleviate poverty in the society, and also addressing the problem of the high cost of living through subsidising essential goods and services that claim a greater part of the income of the citizens.

VII. There should also be a ban on all activities that nurture corrupt practices among the citizens. One of the activities that I have in mind is that of the commercialisation of politics especially at earlier stages in life and most specifically in schools. I made an observation
that today, getting any position in a school, be it, a class monitor or any leadership position requires the one contesting to offer money or any material benefits as an inducement to the voters. As I observed, the vicious corrupt character grows through practice over time. And by tolerating this, means that we are nurturing future corrupt officials. Such practices, therefore, ought to be banned in society.

7.4 Consideration for Further Research

Being a multidimensional phenomenon, eliminating corruption completely requires venturing into more research to have its findings augment the ones of this study. This study did not touch many areas which I strongly believe also need to be studied if we are to develop a comprehensive understanding of this problem and effectively address it. Therefore, the areas of focus for further research are suggested below:

There is a need to study more about the process through which vicious character such as greed, intemperance, dishonesty among others that propels corruption tendencies are acquired in the Ugandan society. This would be a good area of study that would help in addressing corruption as strategies would be suggested on how to deal with this process of formation of such vices. Findings in this study would aptly complement efforts in this current study.

Furthermore, as discussions regarding the causation of the phenomenon of corruption remain controversial. This study following the virtue ethical framework identified vicious character of the public servants and other members of the society as the basic cause. However, this debate needs to be stretched further beyond this by establishing deeper fundamental reasons behind this vicious character. Arriving at this may be handy in advancing more solid solutions to augment the ones of this study.
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