

**Ethics and
Accountability
: Rebuilding
Trust in
Government
Institutions**

**Presentation by
Dr. John-Mary Kauzya
Professor Extraordinary,
School of Public Leadership,
Stellenbosch University**

jKauzya@hotmail.com & jkauzya.jmk@gmail.com

+16463425425 and +256705832740

**Position of
Departure: Trust in
Government is Key
to Government's
socio-politico-
economic
performance
Re-building trust
assumes there was
trust and then it
broke down.**

- 1. Building, nurturing and sustaining public trust in government is a critical necessity for effective public governance and transformational developmental leadership performance.**
- 2. The extent to which the people trust their government influences their compliance with government policies, laws, rules and regulations as well as their willingness to participate and engage in the implementation of government's socio-politico-economic development policies and strategies.**
- 3. When the promises the government makes to the people and the extent to which it fulfils these promises are synchronized with the developmental hopes of the people mutual government/people trust grows.**
- 4. This requires integrity, ethical & accountable leadership**

Questions on our minds.

1. What hopes did the people have as successive governments came into power?
2. What promises did the successive governments make to the people?
3. To what extent were governments' promises and peoples' hopes synchronized?
4. To what extent did the governments fulfil the promises they made to the people?
5. How did the meeting point of the outcomes of the people's hopes and government promises translate into public trust or mistrust in government.
6. If trust broke down, how can it be rebuilt?
7. How to address issues of ethics & accountability in governance and public administration
8. Whole of society approach to fighting corruption: Public management and societal management values as a mudguard against corruption.

**In African
countries
Modern Public
Administration
was
“Malparti”and
built on
mistrust and
exploitative
governance**

1:Modern public administration in Africa was “malparti”. Introduced under a colonization processes characterized by

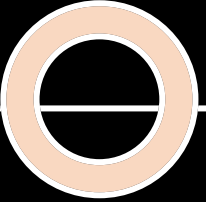
- brutal force for subjugation,**
- exploitation through imposed unfair and unknown taxation regimes,**
- manipulation and sometimes deceit and trickery.**

2: Same administration that indigenous administrators emulated and applied.

3: Bringing different entities into one country (especially during the 1894 Berlin conference generated no trust of the people. Consequently, there was resistance against the colonialist

4: No need to belabor the point. Colonialism was not a politico-administrative romantic practice.

5: That we are still applying the same Public administration literary in the same way is a big question for Africans and their leaders.



Learning Governance and Administration Bad Manners: What a teacher we had in the Colonialist!

- 1. Public policy should be negotiated involving stakeholders, actors and beneficiaries. The colonialist imposed policies and brutally enforced them. We were watching and learning getting ready to practice after independence**
- 2. People should be governed with their consent. The colonialist imposed using might and local agents. We were watching and learning getting ready to practice come independence**
- 3. Government's exploitation of the country's natural resources should benefit its citizens. The colonialist exploited the resources of the country to benefit the colonial metropole. We were watching and learning getting ready to practice come independence**
- 4. The colonialist did not seek nor need trust from the people . We learnt that what administration needed to be effective is not trust from the people but capability to decide and enforce unilaterally and brutally. We were ready come independence.**
- 5. In many African countries the post independence leaders unilaterally decided and brutally enforced life changing policies more or less like the colonialist had done.**
- 6. To make it worse they brought on the scene the hydra monster of corruption,**

Trust in government also depends on how government officials (political, managerial, administrative and technical) follow ethics: ie moral principles, values and standards that guide behavior and practices in public governance and administration

- ✓ **Public administration done in public interest first and foremost.**
 - ✓ **Principles of justice and fairness**
 - ✓ **Responsible and transparent use of entrusted power and authority**
 - ✓ **Integrity**
 - ✓ **Accountability**
 - ✓ **Impartiality and fairness**
 - ✓ **Transparency (openness to citizens to see how and why decisions are made and implemented): Transparency works where there is no impunity**
 - ✓ **Following laws rules and regulations**
- *What I call PIE (Professionalism, Integrity and Ethics): the three are inseparable when a public leader is following them in governance**
- ✓ **A society (public, private, civil society) that cherishes**

Creating trust deficits : Example of Uganda: 1962-1967

- 1: Political alliance between Kabaka Yeka and Uganda Peoples Congress**
 - This alliance was treacherous in two ways: It denied the voting rights of those from Buganda who did not like monarchy and it eventually prepared the betrayal of the Kabaka by Obote the then Prime Minister**
 - The first Obote Government started off with a trust deficit from the Baganda who were denied their voting rights.**

2: The return of the lost counties from Buganda to Bunyoro: May have earned some love for the Government from the people of Bunyoro kingdom, it turned the Baganda against the Government

3: Attack on the palace of the King of Buganda, the President of Uganda: This was the ultimate wrong that Obote did to Uganda. In effect it was the first coup in the country

4: Abolishment of the Kingdoms and the 1962 constitution: This made the Government unpopular among those who loved the monarchy: (Kingdoms of Buganda, Toro, Bunyoro, Ankore Busoga). That the abolishment was a one-man decision made it worse.

***Note: It is very difficult for a government to gain, retain or sustain the trust of the people when it unilaterally abolishes the institutions that are cherished by some of the people. In his zeal to establish a unitary state (a Republic) in Uganda, Apollo Milton Obote did exactly this in 1966 and the results were not good in terms of trust in his government.**



Action	Betrayed hopes and broken promises
1: Banning of opposition political parties	As per 1962 Independence constitution, people had been promised and hoped for independence under a multiparty democracy
2: Detention of political opponents without trial	As per 1962 Independence constitution people had hoped for and promised rule of law, justice and freedom
3: State of emergency up to the 1971 Military Coup	People had hoped to live in a free country enjoying freedom of movement

“The Move to the Left”, the “Common Man’s Charter and Nationalization were Imposed

“The move to the left”

“Common Mans charter” = Common man nekyata
Nationalization discussed and decided by only one party (UPC) Others had been banned. “The issue of nationalisation has already been determined and therefore it is a settled matter.....Therefore no citizen or person in private enterprise should entertain the idea that the Government of Uganda cannot, whenever it is desirable in the interests of the people, nationalise any or all privately owned enterprises, mailo and freehold land and all productive assets or property, at any time, for the benefit of the people. The Party therefore directs the Government to work along these lines” (Milton Obote)

Corruption in government started emerging: Enough abuse and misuse of power and had no moral authority to cry against corruption. They had already betrayed many hopes and broken many promises about the country’s independence.

More Promises, more Betrayals of Hopes: Military Rule of Idi Amin Dada: From Mistrust to Fear of Government

The Government of Apollo Milton Obote was overthrown by the Army on 25th January 1971.

- ✓ **A significant moment in the politico-administrative post -independence life of Uganda.**
- ✓ **Technical significance in leadership's ability to retain and use power to serve the people**
- ✓ **It shows Obote's lack of capability in stewardship of power**
- ✓ **He had misused the army to depose the first President of the country.**
- ✓ **He had misused Parliament to abolish kingdoms and impose nationalization and half-baked unclear socialism on the country.**
- ✓ **This is not the kind of leader that would engineer public trust in his government. Even the army he had relied on to impose his policies did not trust him and eventually removed him from power. The Public cannot trust a government that misuses the power they entrusted to it.**

Some of the reasons why the Army overthrew Obote's government in 1971: Amin's Promise: Peoples Hopes Broken. Again.

- ✓ The unwarranted detention without trial
- ✓ The indefinite state of emergency
- ✓ Lack of freedom to air views on the political and social evils
- ✓ The frequent loss of life, property resulting from widespread Kondoism
- ✓ The widespread corruption and embezzlement
- ✓ The failure by Obote's government to organize any election for the last eight years
- ✓ Economic policies like nationalization,
- ✓ High taxes
- ✓ Increasing prices for essential needs
- ✓ The creation of a wealthy class of leaders under the cover of socialism
- ✓ Failure of the defense council to meet under the chairmanship of Obote since 1969.
- ✓ The creation of a second army (the General Service Unit – GSU)
- ✓ The Lango development master plan at the expense of other area
- ✓ Obote had sought to divide the Uganda armed forces
- ✓ Obote wanted to divide and downgrade the army, which has been his loyal supporter since 1962
- ✓ There should be unity to do away with Obote's bloodshed

The Problem is that Amin did not do much in rectifying Obote's Mistakes.

Worsening trust in Government during Idi Amin Regime. Compliance with policies of Amin's Government had to do with Fear of GOVT not Trust.

Action

- ✓ **Expelling Asians:** Some of the Indians/Asians expelled were actually Ugandans
- ✓ **Confiscating properties and businesses:** Reason number 8 on the list of reasons for Amin's coup was Obote's policy of Nationalization. Yet Amin confiscated properties and businesses of Indians and distributed them to his hench men and nationalized some of them. Where Obote nationalized, Amin confiscated.
- ✓ **Abduction and murder of the Chief Justice:** This was the ultimate sign that justice and the rule of law were at the altar of Amin's impunity and brutality
- ✓ **Scarcity of essential commodities:** As a consequence of the economic war the businesses and industries which were confiscated and nationalized were put under the management of incompetent individuals and their output collapsed leading to severe scarcity of essential commodities. It is difficult to trust a government that causes this.
- ✓ **Murder of the Archbishop:** Murdering the Archbishop Janan Luwum was the epitome of the impunity and disregard for Uganda's people. It is very difficult to trust a leader who does this.
- ✓ **Invasion of Tanzania territory:** The invasion with intent to annex Tanzania's Kagera region was the last act of Amin's impunity that marked the beginning of his fall.

Note: Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the then President of Tanzania could not stomach the attempted annexation of part of his country. His retaliation was immediate, decisive and swift. From December 1978 to 11th April 1979, supporting some Ugandans united under the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) he waged war against Amin and removed him from power.

From Fear to
Chaos and back
to Fear, Trust
was victim:
The Immediate
Post Amin
situation

- Lule: 68 days
- Binaisa: 11 months
- Muwanga & the Presidential commission 5 months
- Obote : Chaotic and fearful four years
- Lutwa: Chaotic and fearful 7 months

Many commentators on Uganda's successive leaders since independence miss one important similarity in the above four: a characteristic of post-independence Uganda leaders is the propensity to act unilaterally and disrespect for authority and control. Obote had displayed this characteristic when he overthrew Mutesa the President and when he imprisoned Parliamentarians who did not agree with his unilateral changes. Idi Amin had displayed the same characteristic when he overthrew Obote's government which he was serving as Army Commander. Lule showed the same characteristic by refusing the request of the Consultative Council which had authority to approve the cabinet he was proposing. Binaisa displayed the same in Lule style. It is difficult to trust leaders who have no respect for authority and who do not show propensity for controlled power.

Terror and fear are not relatives of Trust

- While in many democracies, results of elections usher in a new Government, new leadership, new promises and new hopes, the elections of 1980 which brought Obote back to the Presidency put more fuel to the crisis and chaos that his return found in the country. The trust deficit he had created in the 1960s turned into terror and fear as his government literally fought for its survival.
- As things turned out, in the confusion, Obote's government ended up being removed by his Military one more time lead by General Tito Okello Lutwa in July 1985: One more proof that Obote was a poor steward of power who could not control the coercive institution (the army) given to him to protect the territory and Ugandans. Lutwa was himself removed by the NRA in July 1986.

New Hopes in
New Promises:
The Ten Point
Program of the
NRM: Rebuilding
Public Trust in
Government after
1986:

- 1: Democracy**
- 2: Security**
- 3: Consolidation of national unity and elimination of all forms of sectarianism**
- 4: Defending and consolidating national independence**
- 5: Building an independent, integrated and self sustaining national economy**
- 6: Restoration and improvement of social services and the rehabilitation of the war ravaged areas**
- 7: Elimination of corruption and misuse of power**
- 8: Redressing the errors that have resulted into the dislocation of some sections of the population and improvement of others**
- 9: Cooperating with other African countries in defending human and democratic rights of our brothers in other parts of Africa**
- 10: Following an economic strategy of mixed economy**

Initial blocks of building trust/mistrust after 1986

- 1: The relative freedom of expression and the institutional mechanisms put in place by government provide some data and information on the basis of which the assessment of trust or mistrust can be based.**
- 2: Building public trust in the government of the National Resistance movement has been either very tedious and intricate or very easy depending on which region or political and social group.**
- 3: The central region (Buganda), where the National Resistance guerilla Army had bases was the first to manifest trust in the Government of Museveni especially following the quick re-establishment of peace after the fall of the government of Lutwa. In this case peace and security of person and property including in Kampala city became a strong building block for the public trust in Museveni's first government.**
- 4: For people in the north, building trust in the NRM government was an intricate uphill task which took a very long time. It is an interesting case of building public trust in government in a post conflict situation. "The road to reconciling the people of northern Uganda with the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government under President Museveni has been long, frustrating and difficult" (Nyeko Pen-Mogi 2021). Some elements of the process it has gone through are given below**

Building public trust in the NRM government from the Northern region

1: The people from the north believed that they had lost power and national leadership which they had monopolised since independence. They resolved to fight the NRM government

2: The loss of livestock in Acholi, Lango, and Teso while fighting the NRA and the poverty this caused among the people there

3: Insecurity and loss of life and property due to rebel activities in those areas

4: Generally there was big support for the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) under Joseph Kony people believing he would remove NRM government

8: Restocking livestock and re-establishing peace in the region

7: Turning Arua, Gulu, Lira and Soroti into cities (July 2020)

6: Improvement of services eg: Road construction, health centers, schools, clean water and electricity in the region

5: Combining fighting and engaging in peace talks with the LRA

9: NRM winning election in the region in 2021 (signaling winning the trust in government?)

10: Trust in NRM government : Is this lasting from the North? Is this real trust or just political convenience?

Illustrating Intricacy in Building Public Trust in Govt in Mult-ethnic Uganda

- In the central region (Buganda): the base for the National Resistance Army as it fought the guerrilla war against Obote and Tito Okellos' government
- In a general way the people in Buganda supported the NRA sometimes to the detriment of their lives
- The National Resistance Movement kept on winning elections in Buganda.
- However, in 2021 NRM lost the elections in Buganda.
- It is assumed that this was a mark of lost trust of people in the region.
- This was at a time where people in the north which had fought the NRM government since 1986 voted NRM.
- In situations like these public trust in government can be a relative and generalised thing. In detail government wins trust from this group and loses trust from the other group as it keeps searching for a trust balance to sustain it in power.
- In many cases public trust in government boils down to you win some and you lose some.
- As long as mistrust does not cross to fear of government on balance the government continues functioning

Trust in Institutions = Trust in Government: Trust in the Police

- 1: **Determinants of trust** in the police: Statistical analyses show that citizens' low levels of trust in the police are driven by perceptions of **police corruption**, **brutality**, and **lack of professionalism** and **respect for citizens rights**
- 2: Trust in the police: Fewer than half (41%) of Ugandans trust the police "somewhat" or "a lot." The share of citizens who express no trust at all in the police has increased from 10% in 2005 to 37% in 2022
- 3: Police professionalism: Only about one in five Ugandans (22%) think the police "often" or "always" operate in a professional manner and respect the rights of all citizens, while 42% say this "never" or "rarely" happens
- 4: Uganda police in comparative perspective: Uganda police are the least trusted among key government institutions in the country and rank among the bottom eight across 34 African countries surveyed by Afrobarometer in Round 8.
- 5: Police Brutality: A majority of citizens say the police "often" or "always" use excessive force in managing protests (57%) and in dealing with suspected criminals (54%). Among opposition party supporters, 74% think the police routinely use excessive force with protesters but even among NRM supporters, half, (49%) hold this view
- 6: Police corruption: Three out of four Ugandans (77%) say that "most" or "all" members of the police are corrupt. Uganda police are perceived as the **most** corrupt among key public institutions and one of the most corrupt police forces in the 34 countries surveyed by Afrobarometer

Trust in Institutions=Trust in Government: Trust in the Judiciary

4: Most Ugandans (82%) say the president must always obey the laws and courts. Only a slim majority (52%) say President Yoweri Museveni rarely or never ignores them.

1: Ugandans overwhelmingly believe in the **rule of law; almost nine out of 10 endorse the legitimacy of the courts (85%) and the police (88%).**

Public Trust in the Judiciary

3: More than four in ten (43%) Ugandans see most or all judges and magistrates in the country as **corrupt. Only one in 20 Ugandans (5 %) say that none of the court officials are corrupt**

2: But fewer trust the courts and the police. Around four in ten express just a little or no trust at all in the courts (38%) and the police (44%).

Assessment of the Judiciary by the Civil Society

+Positives

- **Some staff respond to needs fairly and impartially**
- **Reasonable court fees**
- **Professional staff**

-Negatives

- **Some staff are hard to access, not empathetic and ask for bribes**
- **Unaffordable lawyers**
- **Long distances to courts**
- **Delayed court hearings**
- **Backlog of cases**
- **Corruption, lack of transparency and integrity**

Perception that Government is Corrupt

(From Bureau of
Statistics 2017)

- ✓ 89% believed that the police are corrupt
- ✓ 78% believed that the civil servants are corrupt
- ✓ 69% believed that judges and magistrates are corrupt
- ✓ 68% believed that members of parliament are corrupt
- ✓ 62% believed that cabinet ministers are corrupt
- ✓ 44% believed that local officials are corrupt

Percentage of people trusting public institution 2013 & 2017

Public Institution	Year 2013	Year 2017
National social security fund	44%	23%
Tax & customs authorities	39%	29%
State media	57%	40%
Uganda police	57%	46%
Courts of judicature	62%	47%
Public healthcare facilities	75%	62%
Public schools	75%	68%
Mayoral office/local council III	50%	62%

Except for Mayoral offices and Local Council III, the figures in the table above show a bad situation of trust in public institutions getting worse in four years.

The dilemma of controlling the controllers

- 1 • **Regular Police:** The institution that enforces the laws
- 2 • **Traffic police:** The one that enforces road safety laws and regulations
- 3 • **Police Directory of criminal investigation:** The one that investigate crimes
- 4 • **Courts of law:** The ones that judge the alleged criminals
- 5 • **Land Tribunals:** The ones that settle land disputes
- 6 • **Land office:** The ones who manage and keep land titles
- 7 • **Public hospitals:** The ones that care for sick people
- 8 • **District service commissions:** The ones that recruit for local governments
- 9 • **Agricultural extension services (NAADS and operation wealth creation):** The projects established to advise farmers on creating wealth through agriculture
- 10 • **Immigration services:** The ones that issue Passports, National IDs, Work permits etc.
- 11 • **Public service commission:** The one that recruits for the Public service

Concluding Observations About Public Trust in Government in Uganda

1: Ugandans have had trust issues with their governments since colonial administration.

2: The promises by successive governments did not synchronize with the hopes of the people.

3: The first government after independence behaved like the colonial rulers & imposed policies on the people and destroyed cherished traditional institutions.

4: The impunity and abuse of power was amplified by the military government of 1970s.

5: The trust or mistrust in the governments followed the way the country is composed of tribes making it intricate to build or even gauge public trust in government.

6: Before 1986 what was visible was fear of rather than trust or mistrust in government.

7: Even after 1986 in some parts of the country, what was visible until recently was fear of government.

8: The NRM Government regarded in many respects as a liberator, has such low levels of trust from the public so many years down the road. This is paradoxical.

9: Before 1986 what was visible in the public was fear of government, now what can be investigated, estimated and discussed is public trust in government.

10: This is an improvement which could be an asset in building trust in government.

**11: Fear of Govt
Mistrust for Govt
Dissatisfaction with Govt
Trust in Govt.
Where are we?**

Some
Recommendations
for re-building trust
in government and
its institutions. This is
based on the
example of Uganda
but applicable in all
countries in Africa

Given the past and current circumstances, the following recommendations are made for developing trust in government.

- 1: Drop from public administration **impunity and abuse of power** and authority by government leaders both political and managerial.
- 2: Consult the People and respect their hopes and aspirations. Better still engage them in their governance and in the fight against corruption
- 3: Improve service delivery all the time and it must be done equitably in response to the demands and needs of the people.
- 4: Devolve more and more functions and resources to local governments who operate at the contact point between government and the people and are therefore most likely to have an impact on the trust of government by the people.
- 5: The country needs to be under the leadership of men and women who respect societal values and whose conduct respects and values the diversity of the country instead of exploiting it to divide the population into those who trust government and those who do not.
- 6: The leadership of the country ought to envision countrywide aspirations and mobilize the population across tribes to pursue those aspirations so that the hopes of the people, the promises of the government and the development achievements are synchronized to make every citizen happy with government work. That is what will make public trust in government develop and grow.
- 7: Include Professionalism, Integrity and Ethics in the training of all public officials at all levels and sensitise the society about the values of public governance.

I Submit for God, My Country, East Africa, Africa
and a Peaceful well served World

THANK YOU