

Anti-Corruption Course for Members of Parliament and Members of Civil Society June 27th – July 1st, 2005 Report

- **1. Introduction:** Eastern and southern African members of parliament and representatives of civil society organizations came together in Arusha, Tanzania at a time of hope for their region. On the eve of the G8 Summit that is expected to cancel billions in debt owed by African states, the course participants were determined to see to it that any dividends would be allocated responsibly, according to the priorities of the citizens and groups they represent. The latter are expecting results, but, as the title of a July 1st, Canada Day article in the *Globe and Mail* suggested, when it comes to corruption, the attitude they have adopted may best be characterized as 'wait-and-see'.
- 2. Background: This course was developed as an activity in the Parliamentary Centre's programme of support to the African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC), a programme funded by both CIDA and DANIDA. The course was the product of the first collaborative effort between the Parliamentary Centre (PC) and the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) where the training took place and participants were housed and was designed to help participants:
 - a. To understand and appreciate the complexity of corruption and its causes;
 - b. To understand necessary tools for anti-corruption reforms;
 - c. To come up with pilot projects on anti-corruption reform;
 - d. To acquire anti-corruption monitoring skills;

e. To relate theory with practice through field visit.

Participants came from Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see appendix). The format consisted mostly of lectures delivered by ESAMI professors, presentations by selected participants, question and answer sessions and two field visits. The topics covered during the course of the week included:

- Corruption: Its Causes and Consequences
- The AU Convention Against Corruption
- Anti-Corruption Reforms
- Political Governance and Economic Reforms
- Corporate Governance
- Gender and Anti-Corruption Reforms
- Organizational and Institutional Mechanisms for Promoting Accountability
- Watchdog Institutions
- Parliament and Public Service Reform
- Role of Civil Society Organizations in Good Governance
- Linkages Between Parliament and Civil Society Organizations
- **3. Description and Critical Review:** The week can best be reviewed in five sections: a section on the first day and a half, A, which was heavy on lecturing and light on discussing; another section on the second day and a half, B, during which participants waded enthusiastically into discussion; a short section, C, on parliamentary linkages with CSOs; a longer section, D, on the field visits; and a final short section, E, concerning pilot projects.

A. Mr. G.A.W. Kachali, a Malawian consultant with ESAMI who has experience working with public accounts committees, delivered the first lectures of the course. With compelling style and expression, he delivered them with the mix of charm and substance that honourable members expect, though it was the first time he had addressed such a gathering. He made a clear ontological distinction between citizens and holders of public office; the former he

labelled 'owners' and the latter he labelled 'stewards'. In situating corruption within the public sphere, he outlined political structures, systems and controls meant to prevent, detect and correct corrupt activities. It is the role of the MP and CSO member to evaluate these controls continuously to ensure they effectively uphold the rule of law and provide for transparency, openness and accountability.

There was some exchange between MPs and CSO members on the challenge of domesticating the AU Convention Against Corruption, with Hon. Ruzindana underscoring the complementary nature of their respective roles. Hon. Okioma informed participants that the Pan-African Parliament had passed a resolution that all its members should become members of their national chapters of APNAC.

ESAMI's Director-General, Professor Mwape, delivered the first two lectures on Tuesday. His notes on emerging approaches to corporate governance were well researched. He explained 'the triple bottom line' and situated the subject within the context of developing economies that need to create wealth.

B. Professor Kerenge's session on gender and anti-corruption reform included the unveiling of a series of 'gendered' anti-corruption strategies. A strong point was made on the exchange of sexual favours as a common, if often ignored, form of corruption, the corollary being that people need to be taught that it is their right to make a complaint if and when solicited.

On Wednesday, participants engaged in a very useful discussion of lines of accountability between the executive branch and the bureaucracy. The way in which MPs, in particular, grappled with gaps between theory and practice resembled a top-level graduate level seminar in public administration.

Second, Mr. Kachali again facilitated a fruitful exchange, this one on the role of watchdog committees. Hon. Lubinda complained that watchdog committees could be more effective if the time lapses between reports from Auditors General were not so long. He also suggested that processes of appointments to committees should be reformed to become more open, a suggestion with which many agreed.

A final exchange worthy of mention was one which transpired over the role of the ombudsman and the way in which complaints made to him or her are 'filtered' through MPs. Hon. Sibetta explained that though MPs frequently forward complaints, for example, complaints about a parastatal made by an employee, they remain frustrated that the ombudman's reports continue to go to the Executive before they are presented to Parliament. Moreover, the President of Zambia reserves the powers to order an investigation and to shut one down. Hon. Ruzindana recognized that reforms are necessary in both Zambia and Tanzania in order for ombudsmen to play a stronger, more independent role in the investigation of corruption.

C. Rarely, if ever, did the mutual distrust that occasionally bubbles to the surface during encounters between MPs and civil society groups appear in Arusha. On the contrary, participants interacted cordially and as equals. Dr. Shana, Hon. Kinobe and Mr. Muriuki each gave presentations and others contributed to discussing linkages between civil society and parliament. Increasingly, the two sectors engage one another in public hearings, in committee rooms, and at the constituency level. Civil society groups have collaborated with parliamentary research services and have suggested sites for audit based on their assessments of service delivery. Specific relationships between APNAC and Transparency International (TI) in Kenya, Zimbabwe and elsewhere, where TI offices serve as chapter secretariats, were praised. In Uganda, the Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda has been integral to the success of the country's Anti-Corruption Week. Zambian and Zimbabwean participants expressed interest in following suit and

requested that Hon. Ruzindana try to coordinate in such as way as to encourage chapters to hold simultaneous Anti-Corruption Week activities. (Another suggestion on which there was agreement was that APNAC chapters standardize guidelines on how to engage defeated members).

D. Two separate field visits took place, one on Thursday to a mine, Tanzanite One (T-1), and the second on Friday to a sugar cane plantation, TPC Ltd. The discussion session that took place between the visits was excellent. Participants' feedback was thorough, critical and demonstrated capacity for synthesis by linking what they saw to previous activities and to points for future action. Hon. Ruzindana had distributed to participants copies of the Parliamentary Centre's CSR report prior to the visit and referred to the fact that the standards of the countries to which Kenyan flower farms were exporting proved more crucial in achieving improvements than the regulating authority of Kenya. Hon. Madzimure neatly shifted the focus of the definition of CSR by calling it a way to empower people to benefit from private ventures. Hon. Okioma of Kenya informed participants that he had spoken out in Parliament about lesions that he himself had seen on the bodies on women workers at flower farms that used pesticides, suggested that ministry inspectors who check for levels of toxicity in the lake have occasionally been bribed, and recommended that they, as legislators, craft better laws to ensure compliance with codes of practice.

Prior to future monitoring visits, Hon. Lubinda proposed, MPs would need to discuss strategy, to agree on who among them would be looking out for what. Hon. Sabetta thought, for instance, that audited accounts and inspection reports would need to be to be examined. In the meantime, Dr. Shana recommended that APNAC and TI conduct baseline, comparative research on CSR and that they produce a paper that draws explicit linkages between CSR and anti-corruption work. The proposal was seconded by Hon. Lubinda, who added that it should be

resolved that every APNAC chapter commit itself to doing what was agreed in the Naivasha Dialogue recommendations and report back to APNAC Africa in six months or so. Hon. Ruzindana summarized the main action points thus: first, future visits should be based on benchmarks so as to allow for more focussed discussions; second, baseline surveys should be carried out by academics with APNAC support; third, MPs present should identify 'homes' in their parliaments where CSR issues can be addressed and CSO members should make CSR one of their issues; and finally, participants should note that the tenth principle of the Global Compact was added as a result of the UN Convention Against Corruption.

- E. National chapters updated one another on the progress they have made on planning their pilot projects.
 - Zambia: APNAC Zambia has developed a work plan that includes engagement with TI, other stakeholders and the news media. They will need to request an extension, however, owing to time constraints caused by the constitutional review and electioneering for next year's vote.
 - Rwanda: An interim committee has produced a programme and budget that will be submitted to members for approval. They will disseminate information on the AU Convention and build support for national laws against corruption.
 - Uganda: An MoU has been signed by APNAC-Uganda and TI-Uganda, a logical framework has been completed, and funds are already in the chapter's account. They will undertake activities to raise awareness of the AU Convention. A workshop on funding for political parties is scheduled to take place July 18th; radio and TV spots will begin running soon.
 - Zimbabwe: A committee devised a work plan at a strategic retreat that outlines bipartisan activities to raise funds and build support for the AU Convention in respective caucuses that should culminate in a

motion on ratification. The chapter will also set off on 'road shows' to take APNAC to the provinces.

- **4. Evaluation and Lessons Learned:** The expected outputs of this particular activity included:
 - Increased understanding and appreciation of the complexity of corruption and its causes,
 - b. Increased understanding of necessary tools for anti-corruption reform.
 - c. Plans for pilot projects on anti-corruption reform,
 - d. Improved skills for monitoring anti-corruption, and
 - e. Improved capacity to relate CSR theory to practice.

Relevant to an evaluation of these outputs are the following points:

- 15 out of 16 participants who completed evaluation forms felt that
 their expectations had been fulfilled and that the course had been
 'very relevant' to their respective work situations. 100% felt that
 the programme would be valuable to their colleagues. 11 stated
 that their overall impression of the programme was 'very good', 3
 called it 'adequate' and 2 considered it 'excellent'.
- More useful for the purposes of evaluation than these statistics, however, are some of the comments that were made by members and supported by program officer observations made in the foregoing section. Overall, these suggest that while output (a) was achieved with no doubt, outputs (b) through (e) were mostly, but not fully, achieved. Although institutional mechanisms, as tools meant for fighting corruption were presented, it was not always clear how precisely MPs could best work through and with them. More attention could have been paid, for instance, as one honourable member said, to the role of Auditors General in highlighting corrupt practices. Although chapter chairs presented plans for pilot projects, little effort was made to re-engage civil society representatives present to provide feedback on areas of

strategic partnership in enhancing grassroots participation. Although the sharing of experiences in monitoring corruption was excellent, at least a couple participants felt that they had not acquired much in the way of additional, practical, monitoring skills. Skills development might have been improved through the inclusion of interactive methods such as case studies or role-playing scenarios. Finally, although participants very clearly demonstrated learning in the post-field visit discussion, several though that the visits could have been made more educational through more advance preparation and discussion.

- In sum, this training programme could take for granted some of the background theory, be geared somewhat more towards the improvement of practical skills, and allow more time for structured, focussed interaction.
- Results at the outcome level should become more apparent following repetition of this (modified) training programme in West and Central Africa.
- 6. Conclusions: There are three clear areas in which this activity can be viewed as a success. First, the course materials developed by ESAMI were mostly of good quality. One lecture ('Governance') could be removed from the programme and several ('Corporate Governance' and 'Gender') require tweaking in order to minimize background and highlight connections to anticorruption earlier and more clearly. But the essence can be used again, with the addition of examples from other sub-regions, with some measure of confidence. Second, the training demonstrated in practice what was much vaunted in theory at the 2005 FIM Conference: that MPs and representatives of civil society groups can work (and learn) together with minimal friction and the exchange of perspectives can prove mutually enriching. Third, the activity leaves no doubt that CSR has been integrated into APNAC's mandate fully and with enthusiasm, with the 'domestication' of several action points that reinforce Africa-Canada Parliamentary Policy Dialogue results at the

outcome level. Lessons learned, as identified in italics above, remind us that good course materials must be complemented by formats and facilitation techniques that work, that clarify concepts and teach skills effectively and efficiently, that respect participants' time and intelligence, and that appreciate the contributions that they themselves can make to learning.

Participant List:

Kenya: G.G. Kariuki, MP; Christine Mango, MP (f); Samson Okioma, MP; Jack Muriuki, TI Kenya

Rwanda: Bernadette Makarutabana, MP (f) – Vice-Chair, APNAC-Rwanda; Mike Rugema, MP; Paul Kananura, TI Rwanda

Uganda: Augustine Ruzindana, MP – APNAC Chair; Sarah Nyombi, MP (f) – Chair, APNAC-Uganda; James Kinobe, MP; Beatrice Rwakimari, MP (f); Paul Onapa, TI Uganda

Zambia: Crispin Sibetta, MP – Chair, APNAC Zambia; Catherine Namugala, MP (f) – Vice-Chair; Given Lubinda, MP; Andrew Ntewewe, Network of African Youths Against Corruption; Elsie Simpamba, Secretary, APNAC

Zimbabwe: Willias Madzimure, MP – Chair, APNAC Zimbabwe; Daniel Ncube, MP – Vice-Chair; Nomalanga Khumalo, MP (f); Goodwill Shana, TI Zimbabwe