DECENTRALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: 
THE CONTRADICTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN 
UGANDA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO MASINDI AND 
SEMBABULE DISTRICTS

By 
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Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree 
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No part of this thesis may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission from the author.
To my late father Hajji Muhammad Galiwango and the Public Administration profession in Uganda
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<td>CAO</td>
<td>Chief Administrative Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFO</td>
<td>Chief Finance Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Chief Internal Auditor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
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<td>DDHS</td>
<td>District Director of Health services</td>
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<td>DEC</td>
<td>District Executive Committee</td>
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<td>District Education Officer</td>
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<td>DHC</td>
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<td>District Head of Education</td>
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<td>District Health Management Team</td>
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<td>DLB</td>
<td>District Land Board</td>
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<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
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<td>Education Standards Agency</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>GoU</td>
<td>Government of Uganda</td>
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<td>HC</td>
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<td>HCDS</td>
<td>Health Care Delivery System</td>
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<td>HLG</td>
<td>Higher Local Government</td>
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<td>HRM</td>
<td>Human Resources Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSD</td>
<td>Health Sub-District</td>
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<td>HSSP</td>
<td>Health Sector Strategic Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBEAco</td>
<td>Imperial British East Africa Company</td>
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<td>IGG</td>
<td>Inspector General of Government</td>
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<td>JARD</td>
<td>Joint Annual Review of Decentralisation</td>
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<td>KY</td>
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<td>LC</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
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<td>NHP</td>
<td>National Health Policy</td>
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<td>NPPA</td>
<td>National Priority Programme Areas</td>
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<td>NRC</td>
<td>National Resistance Council</td>
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<td>NRM/A</td>
<td>National Resistance Movement/Army</td>
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PAF  - Poverty Action Fund
PCU  - Programme Co-ordinator Unit
PEAP - Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PFA  - Public Finance Act
PHC  - Primary Health Care
PHP  - Private Health Practitioners
PNFP - Private Not For Profit
RDC  - Resident District Commissioner
SFG  - School Facilities Grant
SMC  - School Management Committee
SPS  - Separate Personnel System
SPSS - Statistical Package for Social Scientists
TAI  - Treasury Accounting Institutions
TC   - Town Clerk
TT   - Town Treasurer
ULAA - Uganda Local Authorities Association
ULGA - Uganda Local Governments Association
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UNLF/A - Uganda National Liberation Front/Army
UNMHP - Uganda National Minimum Health Package
UPC  - Uganda Peoples’ Congress
UPE  - Universal Primary Education
UPM  - Uganda Patriotic Movement
USE  - Universal Secondary Education
VAT  - Value Added Tax
WHO - World Health Organisation
SUMMARY

Decentralisation is the process through which Central Government transfers authority and functions to sub-national units of the Government and it traces its origin in Uganda from the “bush” period (1981 – 1986) when Resistance Committees were established by the NRM/A in the Luwero triangle.

The Mamdani Commission Report of 1987 on the Local Government system in Uganda recommended devolution of powers. Subsequently, decentralisation was launched in 1992, constitutionalised by the 1995 Constitution, and operationalised by the Local Governments Act (LGA) in 1997. Among the services devolved were education and health, which this study used as case studies to illustrate whether decentralisation has enhanced development in Uganda during the period 1993 – 2006.

The study used both primary and secondary data in analysing the linkage between decentralisation and development in the two selected districts in Uganda, namely Masindi and Sembabule. Primary data was collected through interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions while secondary data was gathered through a literature survey of relevant textbooks, newspapers, reports, legislation and journals.

The findings of the study established that if decentralisation is properly planned and implemented it can make a meaningful contribution to enhancing development. However, since decentralisation is a process and not a once-off project, it evolves from one stage to another and, as it does so, it also unfolds new challenges and contradictions that need to be effectively addressed. These challenges include aspects relating to the legal framework, as well as political,
fiscal and administrative decentralisation. The study recommended mitigation measures to enhance the efficiency, effectiveness, accountability, transparency, and subsequently the quality of services delivered (development) under decentralised local governance in Uganda.

**KEY WORDS**

Decentralisation, development, democracy, local government, districts, service delivery, health, education.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

This study attempts to analyse the performance of the decentralisation policy in Uganda since the 1990s to the present date. An effort will be made to analyse the policy design, its implementation, monitoring and evaluation concerns and how these relate to development. Specific emphasis in the study will be placed on whether power has actually been devolved by the Central Government to the Local Governments and to what extent this has had a positive impact on the delivery and management of education and health services at district level thereby leading to development.

The study intends to evaluate how the decentralisation policy is operationalised by analysing political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation and how these interface with development in Uganda. The study is fundamentally based on an analysis of primary and secondary data as it relates to the theoretical and practical implications of decentralisation in Uganda, especially in the Masindi and Sembabule districts.

1.1 Case study in Uganda

This study is undertaken in Uganda, Africa. Uganda is one of the East African countries. It is a multi-ethnic country, which was formerly a British Protectorate from 1894 to 1962 when she attained her independence.
Uganda is bordered by the Republic of Kenya to the East, Tanzania to the South, Rwanda to the South West, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the West, and Sudan to the North. At the time of this study Uganda comprised ninety-one districts.

Among the countries in Africa, Uganda is considered particularly valuable for research on decentralisation, since it has been pursuing one of the most systematic decentralisation policies in Africa. Although Uganda’s conditions of living are generally more problematic due to civil strife than other African countries, some of the leading districts like Masindi attract frequent visits from donors and policy makers of other African countries (Dawa, 2001:17).

Secondly, despite Uganda being still heavily dependent on foreign assistance for government activities, the series of decentralisation reforms are not imposed by external aid agencies, as is the case with other African countries (Smoke, 2001:20). Therefore, lessons from Ugandan experiences could be valuable for academics, policy makers, and practitioners who are involved in decentralisation.

According to the Human Right Watch (2003:44), Uganda’s political system can be described as being “semi-authoritarian”. This type of policy usually displays some procedural democracy including constitutional separation of powers, contested presidential and parliamentary elections, as well as providing some degree of political freedom to their citizens.

Golooba-Mutebi (1999:23) argues that after the enactment of the Local Governments Act in 1997, a new accountability relationship between political leaders and constituencies was established, making the decentralisation policy in
Uganda unique. Since these events have significantly altered the policy environment, it is essential to reinvestigate whether the current situation makes any contribution to the policy objectives, including the attainment of democratic participation and reduction of pervasive poverty, hence development. This scenario presents a unique opportunity for this research.

1.2 **Historical context of decentralisation in Uganda**

In order to critically evaluate the performance of the decentralisation policy in Uganda with a view of determining whether it enhances development, it is pertinent to analyse the historical context of decentralisation in Uganda. In this regard, the emphasis will be put on the pre-colonial era of governance in Uganda, the colonial era of governance, and the independence period up to the current decentralisation policy. This historical overview of local governance in Uganda will logically lead to the formulation of the problem and the subsequent objectives of the study.

1.2.1 **Pre-colonial era of governance in Uganda**

The concept of governance has been around in both political and academic discourse for a long time and refers, in a generic sense, to the task of running society (government) (Hyden, 1992:5). Therefore, it can aptly be asserted that governance of society is as old as the human race except that it has always manifested itself differently depending on the generation, environment, and what society considers to be good governance¹. According to Rosenau (1992:4),

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¹ The World Bank view, 1989, is that good governance must guarantee human rights, check corruption, and promote democratization, as well as accountability.
governance is a system of rule that works only if it is accepted by the majority or at least by the most powerful of those it affects.

In Uganda, like it was in the rest of Africa, governance of communities depended on the nature of stratification in the communities. Pre-colonial Ugandan communities manifested themselves in either centralised or decentralised/segmented communities. Centralised communities/tribes had a unitary system of governance with a well-defined institution like the Kingship and a personality who enjoyed inherited authority. The communities in Uganda that cherished such a system were the traditional kingdom areas of Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro and Buganda. The Baganda had the Kabaka, the Banyankole had the Omugabe, and the Banyoro and Batoro had the Omukama. These were leaders by birth and they wielded a lot of authority and as a result all citizens had to bear allegiance to them.

On the other hand, under the decentralised or segmented system, authority was diffused since the communities did not have paramount chiefs and, as a result, operations rotated around clan heads. Such communities included the Iteso, Sabiny, Langi, Acholi, Bagwere, and Banyole among others. In these communities, if an issue was beyond the clan, clan heads converged to form consensus, hence, there was law and order. Each clan head had a council of elders whose decisions were respected by all clan members; this was indeed a form of government. It must, however, be noted that regardless of the system of governance, both centralised and decentralised communities aimed at creating harmony, self defence, expansion of territory, and delivery of services and therefore to enhance development (Semakula, 1971:97).
In Buganda, for instance, the pre-colonial kingdom had a highly centralised and institutionalised political system with the Kabaka (king) at the apex of the political hierarchy. The Kabaka wielded a lot of authority in that:

- All land belonged to him.
- He appointed the Prime Minister (Katikkiro).
- He appointed the cabinet (Bakungu).
- He appointed the legislative council (Lukiiko) whose role was advisory.
- He had a judicial system that made him the ultimate court of appeal.
- He also appointed the minor chiefs at the county (Saza), sub-county (Gombolola), parish (Muluka), and village (Bataka).

This system ensured that the Kabaka’s presence was felt at every level of governance. Most centralised communities in Uganda had a replica of the above political system although the designation of different offices differed from one society to another (Nsibambi, 1998:7).

The last quarter of the nineteenth century ushered in the epoch of colonialism in Africa, Uganda inclusive. Uganda was in 1890 declared by the Heligoland Treaty as a British sphere of influence and it was later in 1894 declared a British Protectorate.

1.2.2 Colonial period of governance in Uganda

European colonial rule in Uganda was occasioned by the entrance of explorers like Speke, Grant, Burton, and the Bakers, who were followed by the missionaries in

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2 The Heligoland Treaty was the second Anglo-German Agreement. The first one had been concluded in 1886 by which the Germans occupied Tanganyika (Tanzania) and the British occupied Kenya.
1877 and 1879 for the Protestants and Catholics respectively, then came the European traders under the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA) led by Lugard and finally British Commissioners like Sir Harry Johnstone.

What has to be noted, however, is that British colonialism was received with mixed feelings depending on the mood of the community and its leadership. For instance, whereas Mutesa I, the king of Buganda between 1856 and 1884 welcomed HM Stanley and later led to the coming of missionaries, his son Mwanga (1884-97) resisted the colonial masters, just as Kabalega the Omukama of Bunyoro did. Generally, British colonialism in Uganda was resisted by the indigenous aristocracy in Bunyoro, Ankole and Buganda who saw their traditional privileges being abolished and their authority eroded, (Karugire, 1980:33).

This partly explains why the British had to use the divide and conquer policy as the Baganda were used to constitute colonial armies by which the Batoro and Banyoro were conquered and subjugated. Indeed, in 1899 Kabalega and Mwanga were arrested using Baganda commanders like Semei Kakungulu. However, after the Baganda forces had been used and achieved the colonial goal of furthering British hegemony, they too were colonised. In 1894, Uganda was declared a British Protectorate; therefore, from then Uganda including the kingdom areas lost its independence until 1962.

Since the British lacked traditional or acquired legitimacy as they did not have inherited authority nor were they elected respectively, they had to adopt the indirect rule system by which indigenous leaders were used to serve as colonial junior functionaries who translated colonial policies into practical terms. The indirect rule system was British in essence and African in burden because the British formulated the policies while the African leaders implemented them. This
exposed African leaders to a lot of risk in the event of resistance against colonial policies. This indeed happened to Miti, a Muganda colonial agent to Bunyoro during the Nyangire rebellion of 1906 (Karugire, 1980:66).

To make the conquest and effective occupation of Uganda cost effective the British adopted the Kiganda\textsuperscript{3} model of local administration already described under the pre-colonial period. This model was adopted by the British and transplanted to other parts of Uganda using Baganda chiefs who served as collaborators. Such chiefs included James Miti, who was sent to Bunyoro and Semei Kakungulu who conquered Busoga, Bukedi, Bugisu, Sebei and Teso areas. This in the history of Uganda is referred to as the sub-Baganda imperialism.

What is worth noting is that during this period, the British practised a highly centralised political system because although they had Baganda colonial agents who established Local Governments where they were deployed, they had no discretionary power. Therefore, it can be argued that centralisation of power in Uganda was a colonial legacy. This situation continued until 1962 when Uganda attained independence (Kisakye, 1996: 36).

However, the centrally placed kingdom of Buganda enjoyed a reasonable degree of autonomy, which is traceable to the 1900 Buganda Agreement. This Agreement, which was signed between the regents\textsuperscript{4} of Buganda and Sir Harry John stone the British Commissioner, recognised the kingdom of Buganda, its legislative council (Lukiiko) and established a freehold system known as Mailo land. This land tenure system allocated land to the British Crown (Crown land) and the rest was given to

\textsuperscript{3} Buganda is the territory, Baganda is the tribe and Kiganda is the form hence, Kiganda model of administration.

\textsuperscript{4} In 1897 Mwanga was deposed by the British Protectorate government and his son Daudi Chwa who was just one year old was enthroned. This led to the regency of Zakaria Kisingiri, Stanslus Mugwanya and Apollo Kaggwa
the Buganda royalty and the peasantry (Mailo land). Agreements were also concluded with the kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro, while the non-kingdom areas were controlled by District Commissioners. By the time Uganda attained its independence, Buganda was treated like a state within the state of Uganda (Semakula, 1973:19).

As the British controlled the whole of Uganda, it became cheaper and more convenient to apply the system of indirect rule that gave some autonomy to kingdom areas (Apter, 1959:13; Burke, 1964:11). This colonial legacy of giving differential systems of autonomy to different areas of Uganda was inherited in the Independence Constitution of 1962.

1.2.3 Independence period up to 1966

Under the 1962 Constitution, federal status was given to the kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro and Busoga, while the other districts like Acholi, Bugisu, Bukedi, Teso, Karamoja, Kigezi, Lango, Madi, Sebei, and West Nile were centrally controlled. This arrangement was resented by the ten latter districts and this led to the crisis of the 1960s.

In reality, however, it was only the kingdom of Buganda that enjoyed meaningful financial and personnel powers and these were enshrined under schedules 7 and 9 of the Independence Constitution. Therefore, Buganda’s power sprang from two major sources – political and financial. Buganda’s political cohesiveness under its Kabaka and a militant Lukiiko, made it possible to dominate the politics of Uganda.
This was more evident because before independence, the Buganda government organised a political movement called Kabaka Yekka (KY) that was so powerful locally that the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC)\(^5\) under Milton Obote, could not form a national government without allying with it. It was so powerful that, if at that time the Kabaka resolved to ally with the Democratic Party (DP) under the leadership of Benedicto Kiwanuka, UPC would have never ascended to power on 1 May 1962 (Kanyeihamba, 1975:93).

The Western Kingdoms and Busoga Act of 1963, which never applied to Buganda greatly reduced the power of federal kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro and the territory of Busoga. According to this Act, before a bill was introduced before the assembly of a federal state, it had to get prior approval of the Minister in charge of Local Government. This meant that changes in the bill had to obtain consent of the Central Government Minister. In reality therefore, the Act made federalism apply only to Buganda.

However, between 1962 and 1965 a number of factors facilitated the devolution of powers. During this time, UPC, the party in power did not have overall majority, it therefore had to appease the Buganda kingdom including granting it autonomy. There are also economic reasons that justified devolution of powers.

It is argued by Allen (1982:49) that it was cheaper to employ local people rather than civil servants from the centre who would have needed allowances for transport and accommodation. This is generally true in that proximity to the local environment and conditions enables local people to plan more realistically for the

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\(^5\) At the time of independence, three political parties namely the Democratic Party, Uganda Peoples Congress and Kabaka Yekka (King only) participated in the elections during which UPC and KY formed a coalition.
needs of their areas than bureaucrats from the centre who tend to behave like “tourists” when they occasionally visit local areas. Decentralisation enhances participation of the local people who become committed to local implementation of the policy, making the policy more sustainable.

From 1964, however, politicians started defecting from Kabaka Yekka and the Democratic Party to the Uganda Peoples Congress and this gave Obote and his UPC ruling party the majority needed in parliament. It ought to be noted that some politicians joined UPC with the hope of overthrowing Obote from within through a constitutional coup. Realising that, Obote suspended the Independence Constitution in 1966, which was eventually replaced with the 1967 Republican Constitution (Obote, 1968:47; Kanyeihamba, 1975:101). These constitutional manoeuvres led to highly centralised political governance in Uganda.

1.2.4 The era of political centralisation

This era was perpetuated by a number of regimes, namely, the first Obote regime, which extended up to 1971, the military regimes of Amin and UNLF (1971-79), and the second Obote regime of 1980-85. During this era, there were no elected Local Councils and Local Government management was controlled from the centre through the Minister in charge of Local and Provincial Administration.

(a) The period 1967 - 1971

The military confrontation of May 1966 between the Central Government and the Buganda (Mengo) establishment led to the defeat of Buganda and availed Obote the opportunity to recentralise power. Obote and his UPC party had the majority in

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6 Mengo was the seat of the Buganda kingdom where the Kabaka resided.
parliament and therefore Buganda could no longer pose a threat to the Central Government. Besides, Obote as Commander in Chief had replaced Brigadier Shaban Opolot\(^7\) with Amin Dada as Army Commander who was to execute the UPC plans.

The parliament went ahead to pass the Local Administration Act of 1967, which “streamlined” Local Administration. Accordingly, the word “Government” was abolished and circulars were sent out to all civil servants warning them not to refer to Local Administration as “government”. This was psychologically intended to eradicate the view that local administrations possessed authority (Government) which could have made them autonomous, legitimate and command the loyalty of the citizens.

These changes implied that Local Administrations owed their existence not to the Constitution but to the wishes and power of the only legitimate Central Government. This probably explains why Obote always chanted the slogan of One Government, One Parliament, One Nation. Local Governments were only supposed to deliver services to the people in a manner prescribed by the Central Government. Ochola, the then Minister in charge of Local Government, while introducing the Local Administration Bill to Parliament in 1967, said:

> “The suggested changes will remove all vestiges of separatism and federalism and will lead to the creation of unitary system of administration with strong centralised powers. Mr. Speaker, the Bill is designed as an instrument for national unity... The Bill is further designed to enable all people of Uganda to have to think in terms of their own sub-groups, but also in terms of the common problems confronting

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\(^7\) Shaban Opolot was the first African Army Commander after attainment of Independence.
different parts and different tribes in Uganda, so that eventually, it should not be difficult for the people of Uganda to comprehend problems confronting the nation as a whole” (Uganda Parliamentary Debate, 21 September 1967: 2032).

As a result of these changes, services like provision of water, forestry, veterinary services, courts, fishing among others were recentralised while Local Administrations retained education, medical and health services, maintenance of water supplies, roads, prison services, control of vermin, trading centres, the registration of births and deaths, plus any function which the Central Government Minister may by order prescribe.

This centralisation of power was facilitated by a number of factors, which included the fact that other parts of Uganda resented the seemingly special position of Buganda. Therefore when Obote confronted Buganda militarily he was supported by the other parts of Uganda. Low (1971:230-231) states that Buganda’s special position generated profound ambivalence towards the kingdom, which in the end came to express itself more particularly in envy. This resentment was orchestrated by some impolitic decisions and statements of some leading Baganda, like when the Lukiiko passed a resolution proposed by Kaggwa that Obote’s “illegal” government should be removed from Buganda’s soil (Kampala).  

This was indeed an imprudent resolution that the Baganda could not enforce, instead, it gave Obote the opportunity he had waited for over time to encircle Buganda and subjugate it with the approval of the rest of Uganda. Kanyeihamba

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8 Kampala the capital city and seat of the Central Government is in the Buganda Region yet Obote and the UPC party that was in power was dominated by leaders from other regions.
(1975:89) remarked thus: “Obote suspended the Independence Constitution not that he loved it less but because he loved Uganda more”. This was in approval of Obote’s actions, which gave credence to the centralisation of power. It was asserted by parliament in 1967 that centralisation would enable the hitherto defiant kingdoms realise that power lies at the centre (Uganda Parliamentary Debates, 1967:2053).

The other reason for centralisation, but which politicians are reluctant to accept, was the lack of political legitimacy. According to the Independence Constitution, general elections were to be held every five years but in 1966/67 this Constitution was abrogated and hence elections were not held. Therefore, when Obote forcefully abrogated the Independence Constitution, he lost the right to rule (political legitimacy). Hence, he could not have shared stolen power with local authorities and to secure his personal survival, he had to centralise power (Tardoff, 1984: 73). Yet there was the need to centralise national resources in order to redistribute them so that regional imbalances could be avoided.

Article 104 of the 1967 Constitution substantially limited the powers of Local Administrations because it transferred loyalty from the local/electorate to the centre, which greatly undermined responsiveness to service beneficiaries and accountability to local leadership. Indeed, according to the 1967 Local Administration Act, the Minister of Local Government had to appoint Local Councils, approve their byelaws and even revoke them at will and approve Local Councils’ budgets on behalf of the Central Government.

Accountability for transferred resources was made to the Minister of Local Government and not to the local people to whom leaders are accountable under
devolution (decentralisation). The Minister had power to dissolve and terminate the mandate of Local Councils. All local council employees, including office messengers had to be appointed by the President (Nsibambi, 1998:47). This situation remained the same until the military regime by Amin that was ushered in by a military coup in 1971.

(b) Military regimes

On 25 January 1971, there was a turning point in the history of Uganda when the Uganda Army under its Commander Idi Amin overthrew the first Obote regime. This was the beginning of a series of military coups that were to follow and write the history of a nation once described by Churchill as the Pearl of Africa. Amin’s regime prevailed until the 11 April 1979 when it was overthrown following a military coercion between the Uganda Army and the Ugandan exiles who were assisted by the Tanzania Peoples Defence Forces.

During Amin’s rule, the appointed Local Councils were abolished altogether and in their stead, local and regional administration was placed in the hands of District Commissioners and Provincial Governors respectively, who were presidential appointees and in most cases military people. These leaders operated without councils, more often than not using decrees that were issued from time to time from the head of state. They were therefore accountable to the president and not the people they were to serve. This regime was characterised by tyranny, which forced many Ugandans into exile. It was these asylum seekers who were helped by Julius Nyerere to form the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army (UNLF/A) in Moshi (Tanzania) in 1979. It was the UNLF that formed the next government of Uganda under Prof Yusuf Lule.
The fall of Amin saw the emergence of the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army which was more of a transition leadership characterised by political intrigue. It was indeed this intrigue that explains why there were three regimes in less than two years. During this period, Prof Yusuf Lule, Godfrey Binaisa and Paul Muwanga’s military commission ruled Uganda between 1979 and 1980. The UNLF government did not have elected or appointed Local Councils in a real sense, instead, a system similar to Local Government known as *Mayumba Kumi*⁹ was established (Nsibambi, 2000:11).

According to this system, every ten homesteads elected a chairperson who presided over local conflicts. Since the economy had been run down during Amin’s economic war during which foreign investors especially of British origin were expelled, basic necessities like sugar, soap, salt were in acute shortage and had to be rationed although at a price. The *Mayumba Kumi* was responsible for this besides being in charge of security. Part of the security roles of this system was to identify from among the communities those who had served with Amin especially under the State Research Bureau. By and large, the *Mayumba Kumi* system was more of a security arrangement than a form of Local Government.

Paul Muwanga’s Military Commission Regime organised elections, which were held in December 1980 and were “won” by UPC, ushering in the second Obote Regime of 1980-85 during which Paul Muwanga was the Vice President. This second Obote regime ruled the country until July 1985 when it was overthrown by the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) under the command of General Tito Okello Lutwa.

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⁹ *Mayumba Kumi* is derived from the Swahili words *mayumba* meaning houses and *kumi* meaning ten, hence, *mayumba kumi* referring to the ten house cell system.
The 1980-85 regime was a replica of the first Obote regime between 1967 and 1971 because Local Councils were just appointed by the Central Government through the Minister of Local Government and local council budgets, bye-laws and lifespan were determined by the centre. Appointments of Local Administration staff were all made by the President through a centralised Public Service Commission (Nsibambi 2000:14).

During the December 1980 elections, four political parties namely the Uganda Peoples’ Congress (UPC), the Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), and the Conservative Party (CP), participated. A lot of malpractices were cited like gerrymandering, potential competitors were held at roadblocks and only set free after 5 o’clock the official closing hour for nominations, there were arbitrary arrests of opponents, election officials were partisan and these among others made the other parties complain about the fairness of the election. Yoweri Museveni, the presidential candidate for UPM promised that if elections were rigged, he would go to the bush, which he did on 6 February 1981 when he launched a guerilla war that lasted five years under the banner of the National Resistance Movement/Army.

(c) The National Resistance Movement and the evolution of the current decentralisation system

Following the 1980 elections that were allegedly rigged, the National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A) waged a protracted peoples’ war between 6 February

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10 Gerrymandering – the practice of changing the size and borders of an area for election purposes, to deliberately give one group or party an unfair advantage over the others.
1981 and 26 January 1986 when they overthrew the military regime that had seized power from Obote in July 1985\textsuperscript{11}. The NRM/A waged war at the time when most Ugandans, especially from the Buganda region (which, being central, is very strategic) were disgruntled with the Obote leadership. In 1966, when Obote invaded Mengo the seat of the Kabaka of Buganda, Mutesa II who was the President fled the country and eventually died in London in 1969 under very suspicious circumstances.

In 1967, Obote had abolished kingdoms including Buganda, which the Baganda resented. Yet the “brutal” leadership of Amin exacted a lot of suffering on them. Therefore, when Museveni and NRM/A decided to wage war against the Obote regime, the Baganda had the opportunity they had been waiting for. Therefore, the success of the NRM/A revolution in Uganda was mostly due to the goodwill of the ordinary population that was yearning for change.

During the “bush”\textsuperscript{12} war, the NRM/A mobilised and politicised the masses about their democratic rights. This movement managed to transform itself into a mass organisation, which captured people’s sympathy. To create coherence amongst the population in the war zone (Luwero triangle), NRM/A introduced a form of local government through elected people’s councils, which were based in villages called the Resistance Councils/Committees in all the areas they conquered.

These Resistance Committees mobilised the masses to support the revolution, mobilised resources especially food, recruited soldiers into the NRA, and also

\textsuperscript{11} On 27 July 1985, the Commander of UNLA overthrew the second Obote regime. This was the second time Obote had been overthrown by the army following that of Amin in 1971.

\textsuperscript{12} “Bush” war is the term generally used to refer to the five years’ war waged internally by NRM/A during the period 1981-85 which ushered in the Museveni regime.
acted as arbitrators/courts in the case of conflicts. These Committees laid the foundation of the current local government system, which the NRM government extended to the whole of the country after gaining power in 1986 (Kisakye, 1996:37).

While in the “bush”, the NRM formulated the Ten Point Programme, which articulated the vision and mission of the revolution. One of the central issues was the “establishment of popular democracy” and it can therefore be asserted that the roots of the current decentralisation system can be traced back to the bush struggle.

Since decentralisation is a process and not a project, it undergoes a metamorphosis depending on changes in the political and economic environment, including changes in government. The current decentralisation policy was occasioned by the appointment in August 1986 of the Mamdani Commission, which carried out an inquiry into the Ugandan Local Government system with a view of devolving power from the centre to the periphery (Mamdani Commission Report, 1987).

In order to legitimise the Resistance Committees formed during the “bush” period, the 1987 Resistance Councils’ Statute was enacted by the National Resistance Council (NRC), which was the parliament of the day formed by historical senior members of the NRM revolution. The recommendations of the Mamdani Commission were crystallised in the decentralisation policy that was launched by YK Museveni (President) on 2 October 1992. Subsequently, in November 1993 the

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13 A process is continuous and dynamic as it manifests itself in different forms depending on circumstances; a project has limited time frame and resources.
Local Government (Resistance Councils Statute) was passed by the NRC (Decentralisation Secretariat, 1994:13).

Decentralisation was further strengthened by the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution and the subsequent laws that operationalised the policy. Chapter One of the 1995 Constitution provides that power belongs to the people and Chapter Eleven of the same Constitution states that decentralisation shall be the form of government applicable to all levels of Local Governments. The same Chapter provides that the details in this respect were to be elaborated on by parliament, which was indeed done in 1997 when the Local Governments Act (LGA) was enacted with its subsequent amendments in 2001 and 2005.

Financial management issues were also streamlined by the enactment of the Local Governments Financial and Accounting Regulations, 1998. From then, functions that were previously undertaken by the centre like human resource management, land management, financial management, procurement, provision of services like health, education, technical services and community based services were devolved to the Local Governments at the district and sub-county levels.

Following the devolution of the functions and resources, Local Governments assumed legislative, judicial and administrative roles. Local Councils exercise legislative functions by formulating policies that the administrative officials implement. Councils also make bye-laws and ordinances as long as they do not contravene existing laws like the Constitution.

Lower Local Councils also exercise judicial powers through village, parish and sub-county courts whose verdicts are respected by the mainstream judicial system.
Administrative roles involve the management of administrative officials by recommending the structure, recruitment, promotions, discipline, and retiring of human resources through the “Separate Human Resource Management System”\(^\text{14}\). Local Councils do this through the District Service Commissions (DSCs) established in every district.

Development planning has also been devolved as it was deemed that decentralisation in Uganda would lead to effective governance and thus development. The decentralisation policy in Uganda is established in terms of a five-tier system which facilitates bottom-up development planning from local council one (LC I) to local council five (LC V) which are the village and district/city councils respectively (Lubanga, 1998:73).

What this investigation will attempt to establish is whether this decentralisation enhances development and, if not, to assess what the bottlenecks are. The Local Governments Act, 1997, operationalises the decentralisation policy by outlining the services that have been decentralised to the districts, urban authorities, and sub-counties. Education and health are among these decentralised services.

1.2.5 The evolution of Education and Health services in Uganda

Prior to the coming of colonialism, indigenous communities in Uganda had developed a system of education and African medicine. During this period, every ethnic group had values that they cherished and hoped to transmit to the next generation. Societal values constituted the norms that formed the curriculum.

\(^{14}\) The Separate Human Resource Management System involves decentralisation of personnel management through the District Service Commissions.
Different sexes had different roles and as a result education for the girl child was different from that given to the boys. Whereas girls were given lessons like cooking, baby tendering and other family related roles, the boys were given arbitration, leadership, hunting and defence related skills. Therefore, indigenous education taught the youth the culture, good behaviour, ethics, and language of the society in which they lived (Sekamwa, 2000: 18).

In the same way, African indigenous communities had developed medicinal science. Although some of the beliefs involved witchcraft, especially when spirits like the “Lubales” in Buganda were consulted, the rich natural environment helped in providing herbal and animal medicine. Different herbs were used to treat different ailments, for instance, the leaves of a local herb called “Omululuza” were taken orally as a treatment for malaria.

Traditional birth attendants provided maternity services to expectant mothers and very tiny fish literally known as “enkeje” were and still are regarded as a treatment for measles. African medicine in some societies like the Karamojong still plays a significant role to date, as they prefer the indigenous treatment to the modern medication offered in health centres.

With the coming of colonialism, most African practices were branded primitive, barbaric and therefore were discarded. Western civilisation was introduced under the guise of liberating Africans from the bondage of backwardness. To undertake the civilising mission were the missionaries who hoped to use education and health as a means of “humanising” and “pacifying” Africans, this explains why the missionaries were the champions of education and health services in Uganda and
indeed the whole of Africa. These institutions were used as conversion centres, the schools helped to produce a literate population who would be able to read the bible and eventually serve as junior functionaries in the colonial establishment (Sekamwa, 2001:22).

In Uganda, the earliest schools were Budo (1906) for the sons of the chiefs and Gayaza (1905) for the daughters (girls) who would be nurtured to become wives of the said sons. Other missionary schools included Namilyango (1902), Namagunga, Nabingo, Nabumali, and Tororo College among others.

The first hospital, Mengo Hospital, was established by Sir Albert Cook in 1896. Since not all missionaries belonged to the same group, there was competition especially between the White Fathers who were Catholics and the Church Missionary Society officials who were Protestants. It is important to note that competition was healthy as it led to the growth of the education and health sectors.

By 1923, when the Phelps-Stokes Commission on education in Uganda was established, both Anglican and Catholic missions had boards, which were charged with the responsibility of advising, construction, training and appointment of Inspectors. In each case, the bishop was the chairman of the board. However, it was found necessary to unify the management of education because missionary societies had limitations. The Phelps-Stokes Commission had this to say on inspection by missionaries:

“By a mere enumeration of the missionaries at work and the work they have to do, it has been proved without a shadow of doubt that missionaries are not undertaking and cannot undertake the work of the
The reason for this state of affairs is not difficult to pinpoint. The priests, the rural deans, simply had no time for the proper inspection and administration of the schools under them. Their main interest when they visited the schools was to see whether or not the preparation for Christian baptism or for confirmation was well conducted.

It was therefore recommended that the Protectorate Government set up a Department of Education because missionary societies had not related their educational activities (curriculum) to the community needs of the people. The Commission considered that the omission of instruction on issues such as Agriculture, Health Science and Hygiene was a very serious indication of the weakness of missionary education.

As a result of the above, from 1925, the Government started exercising control over education by establishing a Directorate of Education. This limited capacity of the missionaries also affected the health sector. After the attainment of independence in 1962, the Education and Health sectors continued to be controlled from the centre (Sekamwa, 2001:46).

Despite the Independence Constitution decentralising local administration, these services continued to be provided as deferred services through administrative officers appointed by the Central Government (deconcentration). The situation did not change much until 1993 when the current decentralisation policy was operationalised. Currently, under decentralisation, Education and Health services
are provided by the Local Governments including the recruitment of staff like the District Education Officer (DEO), the District Director of Health Services (DDHS), and the subordinate staff.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The designers of the decentralisation policy in Uganda hoped that when implemented properly, it would reduce the workload at the centre, create political and administrative accountability, promote responsiveness, and in the long run develop organisational structures tailored to local circumstances in which the payment of taxes could be linked to the provision of services. In this way, it was intended that decentralisation would contribute to democratisation, more effective development, and good governance.

The problem, however, is that despite these well intentioned goals, the theory is contrary to the practice since decentralisation in Uganda is characterised by several contradictions in the way of challenges related to human resource management, procurement, financial management, and the commercialisation of the elections process which involves the use of money to bribe voters and thereby greatly undermines the ideals of individual merit.

As a result, democracy in Uganda has not necessarily produced the best leaders. These contradictions have negative implications for development and this study seeks to investigate why decentralisation has not necessarily led to development in the Ugandan context drawing case studies from the two districts of Masindi and Sembabule and the service sectors of Education and Health.
1.4 Objectives of the study

Generally, the study intends to analyse the performance of the decentralisation policy in terms of effectiveness in the delivery of services with specific reference to Health and Education in the two selected districts of Uganda. The study hopes to highlight inadequacies, which could be addressed to improve performance and lead to development.

More specifically, the study aims at:

- Examining the legal and institutional framework of decentralisation in Uganda.
- Analysing the effectiveness of decentralised human resource and procurement management.
- Examining the role of elected leaders in development under decentralised governance.
- Analysing fiscal decentralisation in relation to service delivery (development).

These objectives have been critically identified to cover the four pillars of decentralisation namely, the legal framework, as well as fiscal, administrative and political decentralisation. To achieve these objectives, the study will analyse the performance of decentralisation in the districts of Masindi and Sembabule using the service sectors of Health and Education due to the importance that the population attaches to them.
1.5 Study hypothesis

This study is conceived and built on a number of hypotheses. Firstly, the study argues that if decentralisation as a policy is properly implemented it can facilitate the democratisation of society through regular, free and fair elections. Secondly, the decentralisation policy can lead to sustainable development because, through participatory management, the grassroots citizens develop a sense of ownership of the resultant development programmes. Thirdly, the lack of integrity of decentralisation practitioners like the elected officials and administrative staff, is the greatest challenge to effective implementation of decentralisation due to lack of accountability and transparency. Due to the problems related to integrity, fiscal decentralisation does not necessarily lead to development. Lastly, decentralisation of human resource management and procurement may not necessarily improve service delivery as the appointment of the boards that manage these functions is manipulated by politicians, therefore, incompetent people are appointed which breeds corruption, nepotism and shoddy work.

1.6 Significance of the study

Decentralisation as a process of transferring authority and functions from the centre to the periphery governments is intended to result in good governance. The quest for good governance in both developed and developing countries has taken centre stage. Governments design policies, which are intended to improve people’s welfare and subsequently lead to development.

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15 Boards are appointed by council on the recommendation of the executive committee which committee is also appointed by the chairperson. So, more often than not, the chairperson appoints his former campaign agents who may not necessarily be competent.
The decentralisation policy in Uganda is one of such policies, which intends to encourage popular participation, accountability, and therefore enhance good governance and development. It is assumed that once organisations are decentralised formally and legally, the intended results are attained. However, there have been few tests to critically compare the assumptions and the subsequent results associated with decentralisation.

This study intends to fill the gap by relating the theory of decentralisation to the practice in the two Ugandan districts using the two service areas. The two districts have been carefully selected because whereas Masindi is one of the largest, oldest districts where the decentralisation policy was piloted in 1993 and is relatively successful, Sembabule is one of the more recently established districts having been part of the Masaka district until 1997. It is a tiny district comprising only seven sub-counties as compared to Masindi’s fourteen. Therefore, the two districts are on contrasting ends of the continuum.

Education and health have been selected because the poor at the grassroots level consider them to be the most essential community priorities. In addition, the education and health sectors consume the largest proportion of the public expenditure. Poor health and lack of education are major facets of poverty. The World Health Organisation in 2000 considered health and education as important components of the International Poverty Reduction Strategy.

According to the Uganda Poverty Participatory Assessment Project organised by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED, 2000:14), communities in Uganda consider poor health and illiteracy as the most significant causes and consequences of poverty. This is why the government of
Uganda accords priority to education and health by voting more resources to them as reflected in the Medium Term Expenditure Framework for the financial years 2005/2006-2006/2007 (see page 357).

From the Medium Term Expenditure Framework for the Financial Years 2003/04 – 2006/07, security expected to use Uganda shillings 385.07 billion and 399.64 billion in the period, 2005/06 – 2006/07. While roads and works expected Uganda shillings 439.20 billion and 504.38 billion, agriculture utilised 129.57 billion and 136.16 billion, education 611.57 billion and 631.28 billion, health 391.11 billion and 414.07 billion, water 88.55 billion and 88.19 billion, and justice, law and order 165.01 billion and 168.72 billion.

The above projections indicate that education was the most expensive social service to the government of Uganda and health is only surpassed by roads and works. Therefore, Education and Health put together were expected to utilise 1,002.68 billion in the financial year 2005/06 and 1,045.35 billion in 2006/07 financial year. Due to the priority attached to Education and Health by both the citizens and the government, this study intends to focus on these service sectors to analyse whether decentralised governance actually enhances development.

1.7 **Scope of the study**

This study is approached from the perspective of policy effectiveness on the basis of objectives and popular participation. It analyses whether the implementation of the decentralisation policy has achieved its intended goals and how this leads to development.
Secondary data will be collected and analysed by means of a literature study which makes use of various sources related to the Ugandan setting, including books, journal articles, and legislation. Primary data will be generated in the two districts of Uganda using a case study approach to: analyse how decentralisation relates to development; highlight challenges (contradictions) experienced; and propose mitigation measures to enhance the effectiveness of decentralisation. Due to the rich data available on decentralisation in both the secondary and primary sources, the research findings can aptly be used for the purposes of generalisation.

1.8 Study plan

The objectives of this study will be achieved by focusing attention on various issues. Chapter One includes the historical background to decentralisation in Uganda, a statement of the problem, an indication of the objectives and hypotheses of the study, as well as the significance of the study and its scope.

Chapter Two will provide an overview of the literature study whereby decentralisation and development will be conceptualised, a theoretical framework for the study will be provided, and the rationale for decentralisation will be presented, followed by a critique of decentralisation.

Chapter Three will present the institutional and legal framework of the current decentralisation arrangements in Uganda. The aim is to describe this policy in theory before the practice is analysed through an investigation of the actual realities pertaining to policy implementation in the two selected districts.
Chapter Four will provide an overview of the research methods that the study employed in arriving at scientifically authentic findings, while Chapter Five will analyse the performance of decentralisation in the two selected districts as revealed by primary data collected and analysed using the methods described in Chapter Four.

Chapter Six will focus specifically on analysing the effectiveness of decentralised human resource and procurement management. Chapter Seven will present an exposition of the findings on the role of elected leaders in development under decentralised governance while Chapter Eight will aim to analyse the findings pertaining to decentralised Education and Health service delivery in Masindi and Sembabule.

Finally, Chapter Nine will serve to provide a conclusion for the study whereby the pertinent findings are summarised, challenges and contradictions relating to decentralisation are highlighted, and recommendations or mitigating measures to address these challenges are indicated.

Having justified the need for the study by analysing the historical background to decentralisation, its rationale as a system of local governance, the next chapter will analyse the literature pertaining to decentralisation with a view identifying the linkages between decentralisation and development.
2.0 Introduction

In undertaking this study, a variety of literature will be reviewed in this chapter with the aim of analysing the relationship between decentralisation and development. The sources of literature analysed include research reports, books, newspapers, journals, electronic material, and workshop presentations, among others.

In light of the topic and objectives of the study, the literature review is presented to include, firstly, a conceptual framework of development and decentralisation with specific reference to an explanation of the various forms associated with these concepts. Secondly, the relationship between decentralisation and development will be analysed in the Ugandan context. Thirdly, the rationale for decentralisation will be assessed with a view to testing the assumption that decentralisation results in development, particularly as this relates to the Ugandan context.

This literature review aims at ascertaining what other authors and scholars have discovered in respect of similar research problems, in addition to identifying possible theoretical gaps that need to be addressed. The literature review will also provide a theoretical backdrop against which the results of the research study can be interpreted.
2.1 Conceptualising development and decentralisation

In conceptualising development and decentralisation, an effort is made to define the two terms and illustrate how they are related using a conceptual framework derived from Joint Annual Review of Decentralisation (JARD)2004

2.1.1. Development conceptualised

Defining development, Rodney (1972:13) looks at development in human society as being a multi-faceted process. At the level of an individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. At the societal level, development implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relations. It involves fighting for survival against natural hazards and against real and imagined human enemies.

More often than not, the term development is used in an exclusive economic sense; the justification being that the type of economy is itself an index of other social features. Mamdani (1984:104) quotes the communist school by asserting that it is the economic sub-structure that determines the ideological super-structure. Economic development at societal level then implies that the members’ capacity to deal with the environment has jointly increased.

2.1.2. Development and growth

The question that arises then is “does economic development mean the same as economic growth?” Generally speaking, economic development refers to the problems of underdeveloped countries and economic growth to those of developed
countries. Maddison (1957:4) makes this distinction by asserting that: \textit{“The raising of income levels is generally called economic growth in rich countries and in poor ones it is called economic development.”}

According to Friedmann (1972:7), economic growth is related to a quantitative sustained increase in the country’s per capita output or income accompanied by expansion in its labour force, consumption, capital and volume of trade. On the other hand, economic development is taken to mean growth plus change, hence it is related to qualitative changes in economic wants, goods, incentives, institutions, productivity and knowledge or the upward movement of the entire social system.

Subsequently, he argues that an economy can grow but it may not develop because poverty, unemployment and inequalities may continue to persist due to the absence of technological and structural changes. However, it is difficult to imagine development without economic growth in the absence of an increase in output per capita, particularly when the population is growing rapidly.

In the contemporary world, development refers to the production of goods and services and how these lead to poverty reduction amongst members of society. Underdevelopment then is not an absence of development, because every person/society has developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. Therefore, underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparison of levels of development. It is tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic viewpoint some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming wealthier. Just as Raanan (1986:66) asserts:
“While humanity shares one planet, it is a planet on which there are two Worlds, the World of the rich and the World of the poor.”

The United Nations Development Programme (Human Development Report, 1995:37) also articulates this income inequality when it reports that:

“More than three-fourths of the World’s people live in developing countries, but they enjoy only 16% of the World’s income – while the richest 20% have 85% of the global income.”

In strictly economic terms, development has traditionally been used to mean the capacity of a national economy, whose initial economic condition has been more or less static for a long time, to generate and sustain an annual increase in its Gross National Product (GNP).16

Economic development can also be viewed in terms of the planned alteration of the structure of production and employment so that agriculture’s share of the economy declines and that of manufacturing and service industries increases. In this case, development strategies place more emphasis on rapid industrialisation at the expense of agriculture and rural development.

Rural development is not measured in terms of industrialisation but non-economic social indicators like health, education, food, water supply, sanitation, and housing among others (Todaro and Smith, 2003:16). Dudley (1969:3) is quoted by Todaro and Smith (2003:16) as defining development by posing three basic questions:

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16 GNP – is the total domestic and foreign output claimed by residents of a country. It comprises Gross Domestic Product (GDP) plus factor incomes accruing to residents from abroad, less the income earned in the domestic economy accruing to persons abroad.
• What has been happening to poverty?
• What has been happening to unemployment?
• What has been happening to inequality?

If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result “development” even if per capita income doubled.

The World Bank in its effort to champion economic growth asserts thus:

“The challenge of development ... is to improve the quality of life. Especially in the World’s poor countries, a better quality of life generally calls for higher incomes but it involves much more. It encompasses as ends in themselves better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more quality of opportunity, greater individual freedom and richer cultural life”. (World Bank, World Development Report 1991:4)

Therefore, development is both a physical reality as well as a state of the mind in which society has, through some combination of social, economic and institutional processes, secured the means of obtaining a better life17.

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17 Better life involves increasing the availability and widening the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods and services like food, shelter, health and protection. In addition to high incomes, more jobs, better education and an expanded range of economic and social choices are available to individuals and nations.
2.1.3. People–centered rural development

Since Uganda, where this study is undertaken is largely rural, it is safer to view development in terms of rural setting. Cornwell (1986:219) considers that the concept rural development has no firm, precise and generally agreed upon meaning; it can be used arbitrarily to indicate a number of policies or programmes. Indeed Smith (1979:58) agrees with Cornwell when he asserts that community development still stands:

“In an Alice in Wonderland World where words still mean what you want them to mean”

Dasgupta, quoted in Brokansha and Hodge (1949:40-49) argues that rural development is to bring back life in all its completeness, making the villagers self-reliant and self-respectful, acquainted with the cultural tradition of their own country, and competent to make efficient use of modern resources for the fullest development of their physical, social, economic and intellectual conditions. This is supported by Gandhi (1931:41) who adds that rural development should include the use of local resources and an integrated approach towards development in order to realise self-sufficiency.

If decentralisation is to stimulate rural development and therefore lead to sustainable development, which is the central issue in this investigation, the decentralisation policy needs to enhance grassroots participation. Gran (1983:327) underlines the centrality of participatory development by defining the concept as:
“... the self sustaining process\textsuperscript{18} to engage free men and women in activities that meet their basic needs and beyond that, realise individually defined human potential within defined limits”.

Korten (1990:67) views rural development as being people-centred or empowerment strategy. He cites the components of the people-centred approach as:

- Population participation in development.
- The need for sustainable development.
- The support and advocacy of the people’s role in development by the bureaucracy, NGOs and voluntary organisations.

From the above, Korten (1990:67) analyses the people’s role in the empowerment strategy as being:

“...a process by which the members of a society increase their potential and institutionalise capacities to mobilise and manage resources to produce sustainable and justify distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations”.

Therefore, in the people-centred or empowerment strategy, development is in the hands of the community. This is indeed what the decentralisation policy in Uganda emphasises when it aims at empowering the grassroots citizens with legislative, administrative and judicial powers. Moser (1983:3) regards a people-centred or empowerment strategy as aiming at capacity building, thus, participation is not a means but an end in itself.

\textsuperscript{18} A self-sustaining process refers to one that is controlled by the community as a key factor in participatory development. The phrase “to engage” signifies involvement.
The above strategy then leads to the fundamental question “who controls development?” Obviously, those affected (beneficiaries) are to be the major players and decision-makers. Yet Government has been and for a long time may be, responsible for providing material and other support for developing rural communities.

In terms of the empowerment paradigm, the major issue regarding outside assistance is the question of control and decision-making. This in effect implies that decentralisation of the decision-making process should not be a mere replica of the present centralised systems. According to Korten (1984:301):

“…decision-making must truly be returned to the people, who have the capacity and the might to inject into the process of richness including the subjectivity of their values and needs. Decision processes should be fully informed by whatever analysis available experts can provide, but only as one of several data inputs available to the many participants”.

In Uganda, under the decentralisation policy, the education requirement is only attached to the office of the district chairperson and his/her deputy; otherwise anyone can be elected as a councillor regardless of education level. The argument is that one does not need any academic qualification to articulate the demands of the local people like the need for a school or a health centre in a locality. The views of the people are expressed there after the administrative officials, who are technocrats, translate them into development plans with a timeframe and costs.

In this way, decentralised decision-making is empowerment in collective action. Slingsby (1986:68) states:
“Community based support programmes can help communities identify their problems and priorities, increase their awareness of what can be done and help them select from a range of components. The programme can therefore act as a facilitator of community needs and as an implementor or pre-conceived proposal”.

If collective action is to amount to empowerment, it ought to be action at the grassroots level, which can be achieved primarily through decentralised governance. Empowerment in this sense releases people from the poverty trap. Release comes about not through conformation, but through transformation, especially by encouraging people-centred rural development.

The economic argument in favour of decentralisation is proximity and avoidance of “red tape” that is expected to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of services. This is supported by Sady (1992:38) who emphasises the important role Local Governments play in rural development. He identifies the following important tasks for Local Government:

- “Decongesting” government at the centre by freeing it from local responsibilities.
- Increasing the people’s understanding and support of local development activities.
- Giving the local people an opportunity to contribute to their own development.
- Ensuring that local programmes for development are more realistic.
Gorvine (1965:225-231) agrees with the views above and adds that development should be institutionalised at the local level and that Local Governments should develop local political responsibility. Ackoff (1984:195) also explains the importance of decentralised development as follows:

“Development is a product of learning not of production, learning how to use ones environment to better meet one’s needs and those of others. Because the development process is essentially a learning process, one person cannot develop another... Now, how can we plan development understood in this way? The answer lies in who does the planning because the principal benefit of planning is not derived from community consuming its products...but from participating in the planning process... Therefore, effective development planning cannot be done for some by others. The learning process and participatory planning are therefore tied together”.

This link is emphasised by Swanepoel (1992:3) when he asserts that:

“Only if they participate can they learn to improve on their own action, gain in self-sufficiency and self-reliance, and move towards self-help, be that participation full of flaws and very tentative at first”.

The above quotations imply that lack of experience and competence should not be used as reason enough not to decentralise, for one does not learn to swim unless he/she dares to enter the waters. Therefore, decentralised participation is the key to sustainable development. If planning is a participatory learning process, so is implementation. Planning, when decentralised should therefore be accompanied by
implementation and evaluation. This is because the planning cycle ties the three together. Policy implementation becomes more rational if it involves people who participated in designing the resultant projects/programmes and the same applies to policy evaluation (Swanepoel & De Beer, 1996:51).

2.1.4. Sustainable development

When discussing sustainable development, there is a danger of misconstruing it to be synonymous to modernisation. The two are different because modernisation focuses more on growth in production and expansion of the market economy. This is not capable of promoting sustainable development. Sustainable development refers to improvement in livelihoods which does not undermine the livelihoods of future generations (environmental sustainability), and which can be sustained over time (institutional sustainability) (Shepherd 1984:4).

From this definition, it is clear that livelihoods refer to more than just income and wealth to include quality of life and of society, security and dignity. In this way, the modernisation paradigm has not been inclusive and, as a result, the very poor and the occupationally, ethnically, racially, religiously, or geographically marginal have remained marginal. The intangibles of development like autonomy, freedom, dignity, and peace are thereby omitted (Demery, 1994:36).

In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) introduced a new concept of “sustainable development”. It defined the term as “meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of the future generation”. Economic development must be sustainable which means that it should “keep going”. This definition emphasises the creation of
sustainable improvements in the quality of life of all people through increases in real income per capita, improvements in education, health, the general quality of life, as well as improvements in the quality of natural environmental resources. Thus, sustainable development is closely linked to, but not limited to, economic development. As pointed out by Pearce and Warford (1990:87), sustainable development is development that is everlasting and contributes to the quality of life through improvements in natural environments. Natural environments, in turn, supply utility to individuals, inputs to the economic process, and services that support life.

Sustainable development aims at maximising the net benefits of economic development, subject to maintaining the stock of all environmental and natural resource assets (physical, human and natural) over time. It therefore aims at accelerating economic development in order to conserve the present and enhance future generations.

For sustainable rural development in Africa to have meaning, it has to be agro-based because, in developing countries like Uganda, over 80 per cent of the population lives in rural areas and their livelihood depends on agriculture. Sustainable rural agriculture creates employment, ensures food security, good health, and protection of the environment. For sustainable rural agriculture to enhance rural development, it should have low external inputs, integrate conservation, and address income inequality (Michaud, 1995:52).

Food and Agriculture Organisation FAO (1991:6) quotes chapter 14 of Agenda 21, which asserts that Sustainable Agricultural Rural Development will depend on the following measures:
• The development of a coherent national policy framework taking account of structural adjustments, subsidies and taxes, laws and other factors which impinge on agriculture.
• Building institutional and human capacities and devolving more decision-making authority and responsibility to the rural people while providing resource management skills.
• Development of farming techniques such as green manuring, crop rotation, and integrated plant nutrition to reduce use of agricultural chemicals.
• Improving infrastructures (credit, processing, rural services) along with cottage industries and other employment, including off-farm livelihood opportunities.
• Conservation and use of land, water and animal and plant genetic resources (these in turn combat desertification and loss of bio-diversity).

Agenda 21 also recognises that the success of the above depends on the participation of rural people, including women, devolution of responsibilities to local levels (decentralisation), better resource allocation policies, access to land, strengthened public agricultural research which should cater for traditional knowledge and techniques.

The UNDP (1992:2) drew up a conceptual and operational approach to sustainable agriculture and rural development by enumerating the following considerations:
• Farmers’ involvement in technology generation.
• A participatory and gender sensitive approach in every phase of the programme.
• The decentralisation of research from the centre to the grassroots to cater for farmers’ needs.
• High genetic diversity of crops.
• Breeding for high yields with modest nutrient levels.
• More imaginative use of a variety of basic agricultural technologies (water and soil conservation, irrigations, agro-forestry, nutrients recycling, livestock-crop mixtures etc).
• Participatory rural appraisal.
• Deconcentrate, devolve, delegate and privatise.

From the above exposition, it can be logically asserted that decentralisation enhances sustainable development because it provides an opportunity for people to participate in determining their needs, planning for programmes and projects that will meet these needs, and implementing, monitoring and evaluating these programmes and projects. This in turn builds the capacity of the local people who are able to use the available scarce resources in a sustainable manner.

2.2. Forms of decentralisation

Generally, the term decentralisation can be described as the transfer of authority to plan, make decisions or manage functions from the national level to any organisation or agency at the sub-national level. It is therefore a gradual process that evolves within an appropriate legal framework (Mills, 1990:89).

Mills (1990:89) further defines decentralisation by categorising it as political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation. Accordingly, he relates political
decentralisation to the transfer of authority or functions from the central levels of government to local institutions that are governed by local political representatives. Administrative decentralisation is conceptualised as the delinking of local authority staff from their respective central ministries and bringing them under the control of the local authority, including procedures for the establishment of a local payroll. While fiscal decentralisation relates to the transfer of functions or authority from the central levels of government to local institutions regarding local decision-making on the allocation of financial resources, including powers to levy local taxes. Mills’ conceptualisation of decentralisation is in line with that of the Decentralisation Secretariat of the Ministry of Local Government in Uganda, which considers political, administrative and fiscal aspects as the pillars of decentralisation in Uganda.

Lubanga (1996, pp69)\textsuperscript{19}, quoting from Rondinnelli, defines decentralisation as the transfer of planning, decision-making and administrative authority from the Central Government to Local Governments. The World Bank (1989:154) defines fiscal decentralisation as the spreading of government spending away from an omnipotent central finance ministry to different ministries and to especially lower levels of government. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1993:66) also defines decentralisation as the programme for dispersing power among government institutions at the same level (horizontal decentralisation) as well as state power being spread to lower levels of government (vertical decentralisation).

\textsuperscript{19} Lubanga (now the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education) was the Director of the Decentralisation Secretariat at the Ministry of Local Government at the time when the decentralisation policy was launched in Uganda.
Makara (1996:33) also asserts that decentralisation may be used to mean the transfer of legal, administrative and political authority to make decisions and manage public functions from the Central Government to field organisations of those agencies, subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, area-wide development authorities, functional authorities, autonomous Local Governments, or non-governmental organisations.

The degree of political and legal power that is transferred or delegated\(^{20}\) may be one way of differentiating the forms of decentralisation, while the forms adopted will generally be a function of the motive for which decentralisation was introduced. Decentralisation may be used to refer to territorial or to functional phenomena. **Territorial decentralisation** refers to the transferring of authority/responsibility for public functions to organisations within well-defined sub-national, spatial or political boundaries, such as a province, district and municipality among others. Usually the transfer of authority is to an institution that may legally perform those functions only within specified geographical or political boundaries. **Functional decentralisation** is used to refer to the transfer of authority to perform specific tasks to specialised organisations that operate nationally or at least across local jurisdictions – power supply, health care and others are some of the popular forms of functional decentralisation. (Rondinelli, Nellis & Cheema, 1984: 58).

According to the Decentralisation Secretariat (1994: 8), the transfer of power is manifested in the forms of deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation. **Deconcentration** involves only a minimum power transfer by shifting responsibility and workload from the Central Government to staff located

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\(^{20}\) The amount of power that the Central Government “gives up” to subordinate or autonomous institutions.
outside the national capital. Under this system, the field administration is under government officers who, although they work within local jurisdictions, remain employees of the centre under whose direction and control they remain. In Uganda, this was the system during the period 1966 up to 1986 because decentralisation was only through deferred services that were provided by administrative staff appointed, deployed, promoted and disciplined by the Central Government. Therefore, such officials were accountable to the Central Government and not to the service beneficiaries.

Smith (1985: 26) categorises deconcentration into three models of field administration. The **functional model** in which the chief agents of central administration work in the provinces and districts as part of separate functional hierarchies responsible for district aspects of governmental activities like education, health, water supply or public works. Administration of these services in the field is not integrated with the central administration since each one operates independently. The line of command runs directly from departmental headquarters to the local field unit.

The second type is the “**Integrated Prefectural**” model, most closely identified with the French system of administration. Smith asserts that this is prefectural because the principal agent of Central Government in the field exercises control over all other field officers as well as supervising locally elected authorities and thus becomes part of the chain of command between central headquarters and the field for all government services. The generalist administrator embodies the authority of each ministry and government in general.
The third is the “un-integrated prefectural” model. As the name suggests, this system is a hybrid of the functional and the integrated prefectual systems, under which the prefect is the central figure in the field but by no means as powerful as in the French integrated prefectural system. Under this system, the prefecture is only one channel of communication among others and each specialist functionary in the field maintains independent links with his or her departmental headquarters. Although there is contact between the prefect and the field officers, the prefect has no overriding authority over their operations nor does he/she occupy the position of chief executive in the Local Government system; he/she is only a supervisor. This system was common with the British colonial masters.

In Uganda, under the current decentralisation policy, this hybrid type seems to be the one applied because although power, resources and functions have been decentralised through devolution, the financing and setting of standards is still undertaken by the Central Government through fiscal decentralisation and supervision by Resident District Commissioners (RDCs)21 and representatives of the Auditor General.

**Devolution** involves the legal conferment of power upon formally constituted local authorities to discharge specified or residual functions. It entails the transfer of power to geographical units of Local Government outside the command structure of the Central Government. Devolution manifests certain characteristics. Firstly, there should be serious intent on the part of Central Government about granting autonomy and independence, as well as having the local units outside the Central Government’s direct control. Secondly, the local units ought to have clear and

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21 The RDC is the representative of the President and Central Government in a district in Uganda. He/she is a senior public servant appointed by the President to monitor government programmes in the district.
legally recognised geographical boundaries over which they exercise authority and within which they perform public functions. Thirdly, the local units have to be given corporate status and the power to raise sufficient resources to carry out specific functions. Fourthly, it implies the need to “develop Local Governments as autonomous institutions” perceived by the people as belonging to them, in the sense that the Local Governments provide services that satisfy their needs and remain subject to the people’s control, direction and influence. Finally, devolution does not imply a federation, since the local units remain linked to the Central Government and with each other unit in the political system through arrangements of mutual support and reciprocity. Authority originates from and is granted by the centre (UNDP, 1993: 67).

Devolution tends to be seen as a form of decentralisation in which Local Government units are given responsibility for some functions, but in which the Central Government often retains some supervisory powers and may fulfill a significant role in financing. Very few developing countries have a system of formal devolution, although some national constitutions devolve specific functions and responsibilities to Local Governments or give them residual powers that are not claimed by the Central Government. What ensures effectiveness under devolution is not the legal status as independent units, but rather the “strength” in skill and professionalism of local officials, their sources of funding, and the effectiveness with which they carry out their responsibilities.

Important to note is the fact that devolution and deconcentration are not mutually exclusive, it is therefore desirable that, when implementing decentralisation, a balance of the two is sought. Thus, while it is analytically convenient to distinguish devolution from deconcentration, in real life it is probably more practical to
consider the two together. For instance, administrative devolution, which in reality amounts to deconcentration, is where discretionay powers are vested in appointed bodies, as was the case in Uganda between 1962 and when the current decentralisation was implemented (1993). Even political devolution is not absolute because, whereas it empowers Local Councils to make bye-laws, these laws must not contravene the existing national laws like the Constitution, as is the case in Papua New Guinea and Uganda (Ghai & Regan, 1992: 227).

**Delegation** is regarded as falling between deconcentration and devolution. This is when responsibility for planning and implementation of decisions relating to specific activities is vested in particular organisations technically competent to perform them. It may involve agencies outside the normal administrative structures of the government like parastatal bodies, which are not part of the public service and therefore have a certain degree of autonomy. Under delegated powers, the Central Government retains the right to overturn local decisions and delegated powers can be withdrawn by the centre. The Central Government makes policy and local leaders only have execution and administration powers.

It is, however, debatable whether delegation should be regarded as a form of decentralisation or as a method used for the transfer of particular powers, which might well be used in either deconcentration or devolved systems. That explains why some decentralists prefer the hybrid (mixed) form of decentralisation, which was used in a number of countries in Africa and Asia. The hybrid is a concoction of deconcentration and devolution. In Uganda, for instance, a district commissioner was appointed by the Central Government and therefore was answerable to the centre, but could share some powers with Local Government councils, which were either elected or appointed. This adoption of the hybrid system achieved
decentralised governance, which actually was a result of the realisation of the admitted failure of centralised governance (Wunsch, 1991: 87; Mawhood, 1983: 91; Mathur, 1983: 75).

Privatisation is the giving up by government of certain functions and services to various sections of the private sector namely business, community groups, cooperatives and non-governmental organisations primarily for reasons of efficiency (Apthorpe and Conyers, 1982: 34; Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983: 8; Smith, 1985: 299). In the Ugandan context, the Local Governments Act, 1997 only allows Local Governments to procure directly goods and/or services whose value do not exceed five hundred thousand Uganda shillings. This implies that any procurement involving an amount exceeding that has to be transacted by the Local Government Contracts Committee. As a result, private individuals and companies bid for supply of goods and services including medicines, scholastic materials and even construction of health centres, classrooms, staff quarters for teachers and nurses among others. In this way, privatisation plays a role in the provision of services in the health and education sectors under decentralised governance.

2.3. The relationship between decentralised governance and development

The central objective of this study is to analyse whether decentralised governance enhances development. Hypothetically, decentralisation is said to enhance development due to political and economic assumptions, which are explained below.

The study starts from the following questions: Is decentralisation likely to achieve the intended goals in the harsh realities of developing countries like Uganda?
Under what circumstances can decentralisation policies yield development results? What factors are behind the creation of such conducive circumstances? From the description of the objectives of decentralisation, it becomes clear that decentralisation is about building sustainable institutions that contribute to the realisation of sustainable development and the resultant poverty reduction.

However, the link between decentralisation and development is not automatic, it can only be valid if certain conditions are met, including amongst others, the functioning of accountability mechanisms at both national and local level, political commitment at national level, availability of financial resources at local level, human capacity and sufficient information flows, donor and civil society involvement, and citizen participation mechanisms. These are summed up as political and economic prerequisites for decentralisation to result in sustainable development.

When underdevelopment is interpreted in a multi-dimensional manner as going beyond the notion of income to include the aspects of voicelessness, vulnerability and limited access to social services, then the ideal type relationship between decentralisation and development can be illustrated as indicated in Figure 1.
Figure 1 shows that political (democratic) decentralisation is expected to offer citizens, including the poor, the possibility of increased participation in the local decision-making process from which they have generally been excluded and which will provide them, it is expected, with better access to services. In the same line of the political argument, decentralisation is believed to offer a way of sharing power more widely within a country, among regions and among various ethnic groups, thereby creating a conducive ground for political consensus and stability. Generally, an established political system offers a better foundation for development.
It is assumed that increased local participation would lead to the economic arguments due to the principle of subsidiarity. Local involvement in decision-making and supervision is expected to result in both responsiveness, in terms of resource allocations to priority areas, in addition to efficiency gains through enhanced governance and accountability. The main question is whether the reality matches the presumed relationships. One clear deficiency in this model is the fact that although extremely important, human resource capacity has not been identified as a critical issue without which development may not be achieved.

The model over-exaggerates the political argument as it assumes that the grassroots citizens actually share power. The fact is that decentralisation, as with community development, favours village elites who are in the best position to take advantage of whatever authority is decentralised. Chambers (1983: 18-19) shows how the elite become the champions and beneficiaries of decentralised development by emphasising that it is the elite who articulate the villagers’ interests, wishes and concerns, which emerge as “the villagers” priorities for development. In this way, decentralisation fails to reduce poverty among the masses as it benefits the well-off elites.

Another challenge that the model seems to ignore is the fact that although the aim of decentralisation is to stimulate the participation of the grassroots people in development programmes, most often such programmes/projects are decided on and planned by “outsiders”, be they Government agents or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who decide on the needs of the people (Roberts, 1979: 39).

In the context of Uganda’s decentralisation policy, the elite at the district level tend to monopolise planning, implementation and evaluation of decentralised projects,
yet the execution of decentralised governance is supposed to be exacted at a level as low as the village if it is to be people-centred.

In this investigation, the two service areas of Education and Health are used to analyse the linkage between decentralisation and development. It therefore becomes pertinent that an effort is made to relate the Health and Education service sectors to development under a decentralised governance system. This will be the focus of the section that follows.

2.4 The linkage between Education, Health and development

Education and Health are basic objectives of development; they are important ends in themselves. Health is central to well-being and Education is essential for a satisfying and rewarding life; thus, both are fundamental to the broader notion of expanded human capabilities that lie at the heart of the notion of development. At the same time, education plays a key role in the ability of a developing community to absorb modern technology and to develop the capacity for self-sustaining growth and development. While Health is a prerequisite for increased productivity, successful Education relies on adequate health. Therefore, both health and education can be seen as vital components of growth and development (United Nations, Report on the World Social Situation, 1997: 22-23).

The two human capital issues of Health and Education are considered together because of their close relationship. This is true because improved Health and Education help families escape some of the vicious cycles of poverty in which they are trapped. At the same time, the most important root cause of poor health and illiteracy is poverty itself (World Bank, World Development Report, 1998/99: 8).
Education and Health are also closely related in economic development. On the one hand, greater health capital may improve the return to investments in education, partly because health is an important factor in school attendance and in the formal learning process of a learner. Better health during working life may in effect lower the rate of depreciation of education capital; likewise, greater education capital may improve investments in health, because many health programmes rely on basic skills, which are learned at school, including personal hygiene and sanitation, education is also needed for training of health personnel (World Health Organisation (WHO) Report, 2000: 101).

There is therefore a direct linkage between health, education and development. The more educated a community is in terms of skills and knowledge, the more productive and adaptive the members will be to the changing world. Investment in Education and Health therefore forms the bedrock for development. Even at individual level, a healthy, educated person is more productive, lives a better life, and therefore creates a better taxable base, which generates more revenue that can enhance development.

It is because of the indispensable relationship between education, health and development that the government of Uganda decided to decentralise the provision of these two services with the aim of enhancing efficient and effective service provision. The Uganda government has done this by introducing the Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education by which all school-going children are entitled to free, compulsory education, which is managed by the Local Governments through Central Government transfers. Health services are also decentralised by having health facilities that were previously situated at district headquarters extended to counties, sub-counties and parishes. The Central
Government, releases funds on monthly basis for the provision and management of the Health and Education sectors among others.

Having analysed the linkage between education, health and development, the question that arises then is “why decentralisation?” The next exposition attempts to provide an overview of the political, social and economic rationale for decentralisation which, if achieved, can enhance development.

2.5. Rationale for decentralisation

Larmour (1985: 353) argues that particular forms of decentralisation are presumed to have particular benefits or to be answers to particular evils. Quoting Simon (1945: 279), Larmour suggests that arguments for decentralisation are often like proverbs with most principles answerable by an equally plausible contradictory principle. For example, decentralisation promotes efficiency and reduces it; decentralisation enhances national unity and inhibits it. Decentralisation promotes efficiency if resources are adequately available and the practitioners, both elected and administrative officials, have the capacity to plan, implement and evaluate the decentralised programmes, otherwise decentralisation could lead to inefficiency. Similarly, instead of decentralisation enhancing political stability and national unity, it could degenerate into tribalism especially if Local Governments are based on tribal (ethnic) districts, which is the case in Uganda.
2.5.1. Decentralisation promotes democracy

Decentralisation proponents argue that if the policy is well implemented it leads to improvements politically as well as developmentally. In 1994, the Ministry of Local Government in Uganda summarised the decentralisation policy objectives as follows:

“In sum, decentralisation is a democratic reform, which seeks to transfer political, administrative, financial and planning authority from the centre to Local Government Councils. It seeks to promote popular participation, empower local people to make decisions and enhance accountability and responsibility. It also aims at introducing efficiency and effectiveness in generation and management of resources and the delivery of services.” (Decentralisation Secretariat, 1994: 33-34).

The technical argument in favour of decentralisation implied in the citation above is the principle of taking planning and decision-making down to the lowest area level feasible, as this is expected to increase the accuracy of problem solving, the commitment of involved people to implement their plans (ownership), and experience participatory as opposed to representative democracy. The argument therefore is that decentralisation enhances both effectiveness and efficiency in the use of public resources.

Firstly, when immediate beneficiaries are involved in planning for allocation of public resources, the activities planned are likely to better suit local needs and

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22 Effectiveness and efficiency are difficult concepts. Effective relates to “doing the right thing” that means, make the appropriate choices regarding allocation of scarce resources to optimise their utility. Efficiency relates to optimising resource use once decisions regarding the desired output and input are made [doing things right].
priorities as compared to a situation where the Central Government plans and delivers on their behalf. This increases effectiveness as regards the use of the scarce public resources, which enhances development.

Secondly, decentralisation is expected to increase efficiency with regard to the use of public resources mainly through improved governance, as a result of increased ownership, improved fine-tuning to local circumstances, and increased direct mechanisms of accountability both politically and administratively (Nsibambi, 1994: 44).

According to the Joint Annual Review on Decentralisation (JARD: 2004, pp) the ultimate goal of decentralisation in Uganda considering both the political as well as the economic motives is:

“To build a long term sustainable public service below the national level that delivers goods and services in an effective and efficient manner, whilst addressing issues of poverty and sustainable growth with equity, whilst enhancing peace and stability”.

This goal is in line with the question that this study seeks to answer. Since when decentralised governance is perpetuated by a prudent public service, which can deliver goods and services effectively and efficiently, then such governance enhances development.
2.5.2. Decentralisation enhances efficiency and effectiveness

The Decentralisation Secretariat Report (1994: 11) states:

“Decentralisation seeks to promote popular participation, empower local people to make decisions and enhance accountability and responsibility. It also aims at introducing efficiency and effectiveness in the generation and management of resources and in the delivery of services, hence making local people get value for money out of their taxes and make development more responsive to the needs of the local people”.

According to Conyers (1982: 167), decentralisation is based on two distinct aims, namely administrative and political aims. Administrative aims emphasise efficiency in terms of cost effectiveness in delivery of services, while political aims emphasise popular participation. Where administrative aims are central, deconcentration with tight central control tends to be the norm, while if political aims are central, there tends to be more devolution, autonomy and transfer of power and resources to sub-national levels of government.

Saito (2003: 23) argues that decentralisation brings services closer to people and as a result, locally specific issues are more easily identified and tailor made solutions are implemented. Public services provided by Local Governments are also

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23 Political aims of decentralisation can be classified as:
- Facilitation and protection of people’s rights.
- Increasing responsiveness of governance.
- Promotion of equitable development.
- Promotion of national unity.

24 Administrative aims are concerned with:
- Making development plans more relevant.
- Mobilising local revenue for local development.
- Ensure local consent for and cooperation in implementing national plans.
delivered more speedily than by Central Government, since decision-making at local levels shortens time-consuming bureaucratic procedures. He also adds that decentralised governance increases people’s opportunities at grassroots level to participate more actively in the decision-making process of government. Effective participation allows the exercise of people’s rights to shape decisions, which affect their own lives.

2.5.3. Decentralisation enhances responsiveness

It is believed that popular participation makes development plans more responsive to local conditions rather than the monolithic administration remote from the local demands. Popular participation also makes mobilisation of local resources for self-reliance more viable, therefore enhancing sustainable project funding rather than donor dependence. Since projects are implemented with popular consent, implementation of national plans becomes efficient because local people take ownership of these plans (Rondinelli, Nellis and Cheema, 1984: 57; Smith, 1985: 137; Oluwu, 1989: 201; Cameron, 1990: 56)

Participatory development enhances the satisfaction of service users, which in turn increases locally generated revenues. People who value the services they receive become more willing to pay for those services. Local participation also contributes to increasing accountability of public servants (Migdal, Kohli & Shue, 1994: 34-36). This is true for Uganda’s case because public servants are accountable to Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC) whose role is to ensure accountability by public servants.
It is also argued that locally elected decision-makers are likely to be more responsive to local needs than Central Government bureaucrats. This is due to the fact that these leaders can be voted out in the subsequent election, or even have a vote of no confidence moved against them through a petition if they do not respond adequately to the needs expressed by the voters.

This also enables the local leaders to control the bureaucracy, because if the bureaucracy is left unchecked it can be extremely powerful. The bureaucracy controls state resources and plays a central role in the planning and implementation of development initiatives. However, the bureaucracy tends to serve the interests of the narrow groups at the centre rather than the rural population. It can therefore, be argued that if the bureaucracy is put under local authority control, it can serve the needs of the rural people; hence, decentralisation in this way promotes responsiveness (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1989: 39-47).

2.5.4. Decentralisation and national unity

It is argued that in culturally diverse states, decentralisation is the best means of promoting national unity in a country characterised by diversity. Ghai and Regan (1992: 299) assert that only when people feel that their local cultural identity and local economic needs are secure will they feel secure in participating in a wider polity.

Since decentralisation places emphasis on equitable development, it reduces fears related to regional imbalances and the resultant threat to unity. Therefore, sub-national centres help to mitigate national disunity as they create satisfaction about controlling their own affairs rather than being dominated by others.
This enhances development because each of the empowered Local Governments strive to develop their own particular locality. This is even more the case in Uganda, because each Local Government benefits from the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP), which is competitive in that the best performing districts are given a bonus of twenty per cent of the funds released to them the preceding financial year.

Decentralisation also often aims at promoting equity between regions, urban and rural areas, different ethnic and religious groups, different income groups, and even between gender groups (Ghai and Regan, 1992: 233-282; UNDP, 1993: 76-77). In Uganda, equity is promoted through Central Government releases like the Conditional, Unconditional, and Equalisation grants. These are monthly releases by the Central Government to all District Local Governments.

Interest groups including women, youth, elderly and disabled persons are represented not only on the Local Councils but also on commissions and boards like the District Land Board, Local Government Public Accounts Committee, and District Service Commission. Promotion of equity through Central Government transfers and catering for various interest groups establishes satisfaction, stability and thus creating a conducive environment that enhances development.

Despite the above advantages of decentralisation, there are a number of arguments against this system of governance and several of these will be explored in the next section. The focus will be specifically placed on a critique of the assumption that decentralisation results in development.
2.6. Critique of the assumption that decentralisation results in development

Despite the merits associated with decentralisation, it is not a panacea for all governance problems because there are a number of criticisms levelled against it. These criticisms relate to democracy, responsiveness, unity, role conflict between the elected and administrative officials, resource redistribution, fiscal constraints, corruption, sensitivity to geographical context, tribalism and ethnicity, among others. These are discussed in detail below.

2.6.1. Decentralisation and democracy

Critics note that popular participation is difficult to assess because decentralised planning and management are undermined by the top-down approach with many assumptions made about involving local people (Ghai & Regan, 1992: 330). The central issue concerning the right to participate is “participate in what?” If local leaders/governments have little power or resources, participation can be meaningless.

This is particularly true in developing countries where the poor are disengaged from all forms of administrative structure (de Gandusson, 1989: 114-116). Therefore, decentralised systems end up serving the interests of the elite and this implies that the prevention of Central Government tyranny, does not guarantee the absence of local tyranny because power is devolved to non-democratic and non-participatory local bodies dominated and exploited by elite groups whose concern is to protect their privileges (Cameron, 1990: 59-60).
Indeed, Todaro (2003: 7) quoting the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) Report 2002 on poverty in Uganda cites a poor woman in Uganda as saying:

“When one is poor, she has no say in public, she feels inferior. She has no food, so there is famine in her house; no clothing, and no progress in her family”.

The above citation implies that decentralisation in Uganda does not necessarily empower the ordinary population. Instead, there is always an elite clique that benefits from the system. Therefore, within decentralisation, there is centralisation at the district headquarters that makes it difficult for the benefits of decentralisation to trickle down to the lowest level of Government, which is the village council (Local Council One) (Bidandi, 2002: 11).

The UNDP (1993: 78) argues that even where decentralisation is in practice, there is always a need to retain some strong Central Government to ensure that Local Administrations respect national standards on such matters as women’s rights and civil rights. This is in line with the decentralisation policy in Uganda because in order to check on excesses by the Local Government, the Central Government enacts laws from time to time that regulate the running of decentralised functions. Such guidelines include financial discipline, making bye-laws and ordinances that conform to national laws, and having a quota for the representation of women, elderly and youth on Local Councils and their inclusion on the statutory boards. In addition, District Service Commission operations are regulated by the Central Public Service Commission. In this way, the Central Government ensures standards and rule of law, which creates sanity.
It is also argued by the proponents of decentralisation that the policy fosters civil society, which is contested by its opponents on the basis that civil society cannot be distinctively independent from the state (Kamstom, 1999: 114). Decentralisation would not completely or automatically enhance the independence of civil society from the state particularly because the boundary between the state and society becomes more blurred at local levels. As a result, the hope placed in civil society to check the abuses of state power is unlikely to be realised, consequently, decentralisation may end up being a form of “bad governance” (Larmour & Qab, 1985: 301).

In the Ugandan context, the devolution of responsibilities still suffers from a top-down or boss-subordinate approach to government programmes so that it is not necessarily the interests of the grassroots people that are served. Similarly most of the policies are still developed by Central Government Ministries and not at the levels of the District or Lower Local Governments.

Some Central Government officials, fearing loss of financial resources and influence, tend to doubt the capacity of the Local Councils and therefore take decisions without consulting them. This is why there is insufficient funding from the centre because fiscal decentralisation decisions are made at the centre (Bidandi, 2002: 11).

Although Rondinelli recognises the strong political implications of a proposal to decentralise, he does not agree with Slater (1989: 491-500) when he concludes that decentralisation is necessarily linked with democracy in developing countries. Although decentralisation and democracy are certainly not mutually exclusive concepts, they are also not necessarily correlated.
A highly centralised government whose officials are elected regularly by universal adult suffrage would certainly be more democratic than one that is structurally decentralised, but tightly controlled by an authoritarian political party. Some regimes pursue economic decentralisation and privatisation with no intention of promoting democratisation in the Western sense of the term, as China’s rulers have already demonstrated.

2.6.2. Responsiveness and resource allocation

With regards to the claim that decentralisation results in greater responsiveness of elected politicians than Central Government bureaucrats, the critics argue that this ignores the fact that there is large-scale ignorance and apathy about Local Government. The turnout of voters at local elections is usually low, although this is a major problem of elected representative governments at all levels rather than only at the local level (Cameron, 1990: 59).

Concerning equitable development, this will largely depend on the fiscal arrangements. If the fiscal measures for equalisation are well managed then decentralisation may promote equity within a region.

2.6.3. Disunity under decentralisation

National unity may also fail to be achieved if ethnic groupings agitate for secessionist demands under a decentralised form of government (Lamour, 1991: 91). For instance, in Uganda, the agitation for new districts is driven by ethnicity rather than the desire to take services nearer to the people and to enhance development.
In Tororo district for example, Tororo County which largely comprises the Iteso tribe have been granted district status. In the same district of Tororo, Butaleja county has been declared a district yet it mostly comprises the Banyole tribe. This tribal setting makes Local Governments mere ethnic groupings, which greatly undermines national unity and patriotism.

Bidandi (2002: 44) also argues that the recruitment of staff and awarding of tenders is tribalised. This does not only undermine nationalism, but also negatively impacts on the quality of services delivered as incompetent people are charged with service delivery.

2.6.4. Conflicts between elected and administrative officials

Criticisms are also levelled at the hybrid form of decentralisation as being dominated by administrative officials, not achieving the intended coordination of bureaucratic agencies, suffering from a lack of fiscal resources, and unable to resolve conflict between the interests of elected members and those of the administrative officials (Rondinelli, 1983: 301; Mawhood, 1983: 19; Conyers, 1985: 24; Smith, 1985: 540-557; Oluwu, 1989: 221).

Conflicts between the elected leaders and administrative officials in the Ugandan decentralisation context are rampant. The councilors are the bosses of the administrative officials, yet the latter are often more educated than the former. As a result, most of the time is wasted on conflict resolution instead of planning for development (Galiwango, 2004: 46).
This is why many Town Clerks and Chief Administrative Officers have dragged their Local Councils to courts of law. In nearly all these cases, the actions of the Local Councils have been declared *ultra vires* by the judiciary, as it was the case in Pallisa, Kiboga, Mbarara, Sembabule districts, and Mbale Municipality.

Uganda’s decentralised system of Local Government comprises two sets of officials namely the elected officials and those who are appointed. The elected officials are supposed to be policy-makers while the appointed (administrative) ones are implementers. Unfortunately, there is frequently role conflict due to interference from either arms of government especially from the legislative wing. This contravenes the principle of “eyes on, hands off” for politicians. This confusion strains cordial relations, which is essential if development is to take place (Nsibambi, 1998: 66; Mutabwire, 2002: 11).

### 2.6.5. Decentralisation and redistributive measures

In this analysis, decentralisation will be construed to be “pure” decentralisation of fiscal federalism theory in which Local Governments raise local revenue and undertake local expenditure without the benefit of Central Government transfers. In this scenario, decentralisation increases disparities instead of reducing them because Local Governments are endowed differently. This implies that while the well resourced Local Governments develop, the poor ones remain underdeveloped.

A centralised system of governance thus needs to play the redistributive role for mainly two reasons. Firstly, attempts by the Local Governments to redress income disparities are likely to be unfair. The poor in well-off regions will fair better than the poor in more deprived regions. Households in the regions that enjoyed the
same income before redistribution will have different incomes after redistribution. This is either because of the income differentials among regions, or because both incomes and redistribution policies differ from one region to another.

Secondly, decentralised redistribution is self-defeating. If a jurisdiction adopts policies to redistribute income, imposing high taxes on the rich and giving high benefits to the poor, the rich will tend to leave for more lightly taxed areas and the poor will tend to move from areas that offer lower benefits. The generous jurisdiction will then be over-populated and hence fail to sustain the policy. This implies that the Central Government should have the responsibility of redistributive programmes and thus must control a large share of taxes and public expenditures (Conyers, 1983: 97-109).

One failure of income redistribution is the failure to appreciate that income is supposed to be redistributed among jurisdictions as well as among individuals. This is ignored by most literature on fiscal decentralisation, which regards regional disparities as abnormal phenomena resulting from accidental shocks that will be reduced and eliminated automatically by the movement of goods, capital and labour. There is therefore no guarantee that transfers to low income areas will effectively benefit poor residents (Krugman, 1987: 117; Myrdal, 1957: 92).

What has to be noted however is that the poor in low income regions are poor for good reasons; they live in a place that offers fewer economic opportunities, less infrastructure and lacks economies of agglomeration and other location specific externalities. Therefore, raising individual incomes is not the same thing as increasing the development potential of the area; it cures the symptoms rather than the illness. The question that arises then is: Is decentralisation likely to be more
effective at reducing inter-jurisdictional disparities than a centralised system? The answer to this is “no” because in a decentralised system, the local jurisdiction would collect all taxes from and undertake all expenditure on behalf of its residents. Yet, to the contrary, a centralised system would redistribute income from richer areas to poor ones (Davezies, 1989: 92; Oliveira, 1991: 129; Prud’homme, 1984: 193).

Despite the conceptual and statistical difficulties, these theories are quite clear that richer jurisdictions do subsidise at least poor ones through National Budgets. It can then be concluded that centralised National Budgets tend to reduce regional disparities.

2.6.6. Fiscal constraints under decentralisation

Certain critics also assert that decentralisation can jeopardise economic stability. This is because decentralisation makes macro-economic policies more difficult to implement. The two main instruments of macro-economic policy are monetary and fiscal policy. Fiscal policy constitutes the control over the amount and structure of taxes and expenditures and the management of the budget deficit or surplus; therefore, it is a powerful instrument for stabilising the economy. This is an instrument that only the Central Government can manipulate because Local Governments have no incentives to undertake economic stabilisation policies (Saito, 2003: 38).

The advocates for decentralisation advance their cause on the grounds of efficiency. They argue that inhabitants of different jurisdictions have different tastes. As a result, in Local Government X, the people may require a health
Decentralisation makes it possible for the residents of Local Governments X and Y to receive what will better match their demand. This argument is however, more hypothetical than real. It focuses more on demand efficiency and ignores supply efficiency. In developing countries the problem is less with identifying preferences and more with the capacity to satisfy basic needs due to limited availability of resources (Galiwango, 2004: 73).

The above assumption is also based on the premise that local leaders will be elected on the basis of competence. However, in developing countries, local elections are often a mere rehearsal of national elections, therefore, tax payers/voters do not express their preferences in the way they vote. Local elections are usually decided on the basis of personal, tribal and party political loyalties. It is even difficult for elected officials to fulfill the preferences of the electorate because of the mismatch between available resources (revenue) and promised expenditures. The hypothesis on which this model rests therefore appears rather fragile particularly in developing countries (Saito, 2003: 82).

According to Rondinelli and Nellis (1986: 3-23) the greatest ambiguity in the decentralisation policy is the insistence of national leaders on transferring planning and administrative functions without providing localities with sufficient financial resources. As a result, available resources do not match the services demanded. This is supported by Tardoff (1994: 19) when he argues that limited resources do not allow improvement of services since implementing decentralisation becomes too complicated to be coped with given the limited resources, skills and knowledge available to Local Governments. Davezies, Laurent, Nicot (1994: 209) echo the same when they assert that decentralisation in Gambia in the 1980s and the early
1990s revealed institutional confusion and ineffective services. Accordingly, they argue that decentralisation “by default” was pursued by NGOs.

In the Ugandan context, the Central Government retains the buoyant sources of revenue like the Value Added Tax (VAT), Income Tax, Customs and Excise duties; leaving Local Governments depending largely on Graduated Tax\textsuperscript{25} which has also been abolished. The abolition of Graduated Tax implies that Local Governments, especially the rural ones, will now solely depend of Central Government transfers. This will greatly undermine the autonomy of Local Governments because their operations will largely be regulated by the centre, as they cannot generate local revenue. However, Central Government transfers cannot match the magnitude of responsibility that has been devolved from the centre to the Lower Local Governments.

Decentralisation is also undermined by the fact that the greater part of the Central Government grants are conditional which leaves no room for Local Government discretion. The unconditional grant is mostly dominated by administrative costs especially salaries and wages (Nsibambi, 1989: 47; Mutabwire, 2002: 11).

2.6.7. Decentralisation is not absolute

Rondinelli (1979: 492) argues that all Governments have a mixture of centralised and decentralised functions; hence, he does not regard decentralisation as a panacea to the political, economic and administrative problems in developing countries. Even the greatest advocates of decentralisation recognise that the Central

\textsuperscript{25} Graduated Tax is payable by every male adult between the ages of 18 and 60; female adults engaged in gainful employment also pay it. It has been abolished since the 2005/06 financial year.
Governments often enact and implement policies that lead to greater territorial justice or redistribution of wealth more effectively than territorial units. He further argues that he has noted Local Governments that have easily been captured by elite groups or vested interests who are unwilling to share power or allow greater participation.

Decentralists also recognise that certain functions of the state cannot be decentralised. For example, services which are essential to the survival of the nation like the Army, services that benefit from economies of scale and standardisation in production, that depend on large networks of facilities that can only be distributed by a government large and powerful enough to redistribute wealth in the face of opposition, or that depend on massive capital investments, may be better administered by Central Governments than by decentralised units (Slater, 1989: 501).

Samoff (1989: 526) argues that after the spate of military coups in Africa in the mid 1960s, it was widely assumed that the fragile political systems of the newly independent states had limited capacity to meet rapidly escalating demands. As the post-colonial leaders sought to depoliticise development, advisers were emphasising centralised decision-making as a strategy for rationalising the use of scarce resources, especially skilled personnel. The new leadership and its external advisers agreed that decentralisation was likely to reinforce racial, ethnic and religious agendas, and in general make governing more difficult.

The colonial philosophy was that while service delivery could and should be decentralised, access to decision-making should not; thus decentralisation was initially introduced as a strategy for prolonging colonial rule. The implication of
this is that depending on the motives of the centre for establishing decentralisation, can result in decentralised systems of governance being established for negative motives and thereby serving the centre rather than the periphery.

In Uganda, decentralisation does not cover essential service areas like the defence of the country. This is left to the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces, which is managed centrally. The collection of major revenues like Income Tax, excise duty, licensing of motor vehicles among others is centrally undertaken so that proceeds are kept as part of the Consolidated Fund. It is from this fund that redistribution to the various sectors of Government including Local Governments is done.

Kessides (1993: 212) analysed the issue of which services lend themselves better to privatisation as a form of decentralisation on the basis of market and demand. He argues that decentralisation of such infrastructure services like railways, highways, power production and transportation cannot easily be feasible because of the infrastructure investment involved. It is argued that the smaller the cost of investment, the better the rationale for decentralisation. Similarly, it is difficult to decentralise public transport infrastructure because it is difficult to finance through fees.

The technical nature of a service also determines whether a service can be decentralised. Some services need a certain degree of technical and managerial expertise; for example, garbage collection is easier to provide than bulk clean water. The lesser the technical expertise required to provide a service, the easier it is to decentralise.

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26 According to the Decentralisation Secretariat 1994, decentralisation manifests itself in four forms namely devolution, deconcentration, delegation and privatisation.
Providing local public services is a complex task that encompasses many functions like selecting the appropriate investment, supervising its construction, operating, regulating, and maintaining the system, and finally monitoring and auditing performance. For this reason, the desirable degree of decentralisation for a given public service in a given geographical context is likely to differ from one function to another (Kessides, 1993: 222). This argument is true in the Ugandan context because several infrastructure services cannot be decentralised due to the high levels of technical expertise involved. Such infrastructure services include the Uganda Electricity Distribution Company, the Uganda Posts, National Water and Sewerage Corporation, among others. These are bulk services that require significant investment and technical expertise and therefore decentralising them would enhance inefficiency instead of development.

The construction of infrastructure is often contracted out to the private sector. However, the operation, regulation and maintenance of the facility, which is the most important function in the provision of the service, can be decentralised. The supervisory function can be performed by the Central Government, which will conveniently undertake the monitoring and auditing because of the expertise involved. For instance, in Uganda, water for production in form of dams and valley tanks are financed by the Central Government by having private firms constructing the water sources. After that, these infrastructure services are handed over to Local Governments for operationalisation and regulation.

Galiwango (2004: 33) argues that more often than not, for most types of investment, two or more levels of government will be involved. Considering the education service sector in Uganda, whereas primary education is fully decentralised, secondary and tertiary education continues to be managed by the
Central Government which does not only finance it but also recruits, promotes, and disciplines teachers through the Education Service Commission. In this case both the Local and Central Governments in Uganda participate in the provision of the education service.

Currently, even human resource management of Local Government staff is not wholly decentralised. Until 2005, all Local Government staff were being recruited, promoted and reprimanded by the District Service Commission. However, the amendment of the Local Governments Act, 2006 reverted the appointments of the Chief Administrative Officers and Town Clerks of Municipalities back to the centre under the Public Service Commission.

2.6.8. Decentralisation and corruption

Whereas decentralisation may lead to enhanced transparency and accountability, there is a possibility that it might be accompanied by more corruption. If corruption is more widespread at the local than at the national level, then decentralisation automatically increases the overall level of corruption.

Some people argue, however, that this corruption may not be so bad in terms of redistribution, because the “benefits” of decentralised corruption are probably better distributed than the “benefits” of centralised corruption. This corruption increases the costs in terms of allocative efficiency, because it leads to supply of services for which the levels of kickbacks are higher, rather than those which are demanded. It is costly in terms of production efficiency because it leads to corruption, thereby avoiding strategies which are cost effective and favouring ineffective technologies which waste resources.
Although corruption is hard to assess and measure, there are reasons why corruption is likely to be more prevalent at the local than at the national level. Firstly, local politicians and administrative officials are likely to be more subject to pressing demands from local people whose votes count. In addition, local officials usually have more discretion than national decision-makers; indeed, it is precisely this discretion that is the theoretical advantage of decentralisation. This discretion comes about in the Ugandan case because Local Governments are by law empowered to determine their own budgets and execute them without interference from the centre.

Through the District Service Commission and the Local Governments Contracts Committee, the Local Governments can appoint in service people of their choice with whom they can connive to misappropriate resources or, using the latter committee, to allocate tenders to themselves or their relatives/friends to provide goods and services more often of poor quality. As a result of this, decentralisation does not enhance development.

Secondly, the fact that Central Government bureaucrats are at least moved from place to place and never stay long in the same location makes it more difficult for them to establish unethical relationships with local interest groups, unlike local bureaucrats whose careers are spent in the same location. Corruption often requires the cooperation of both politicians and administrative officials and this is better disposed at the local level than at the national level. Besides, monitoring and auditing are usually better developed at the national than at the local level (Bidandi, 2002: 47).
Murkeji (1961: 213) states that students of underdevelopment have warned that the proliferation of administrative arrangements at the local level can bring about deterioration in the quality of administration as large numbers of officials with less education, a narrower outlook, and hardly any experience are employed.

Yin and Lucas (1973: 48) assert that the public confidence in the honesty as well as competence of local councillors and administrative officials declines as most of them are convicted of corruption. In this case, decentralisation does not strengthen trust in the fairness of government.

2.6.9. Capacity of Local Government management

Smith (1987: 26) argues that problems related to administrative decentralisation arise mainly from poor management of Local Government bureaucracies. The decentralised administrative systems are said to be plagued by poor design, acute shortage of skilled human resources, financial mismanagement and collapse, and other dysfunctional elements.

In contemporary African administration, management deficiency is a major constraint to decentralisation. This is of course not to under-emphasise political factors such as the contribution of interference from the centre as well as socio-economic factors, including differing resource bases of different parts of the country.
2.6.10. Production inefficiency

Advocates of decentralisation argue that it leads to production efficiency. The real issue here is whether local provision is more cost-effective than national provision. Economies of scale in the various local public services are scarce, because the provision of public services in each jurisdiction is independent of the provision in other regions.

The other argument is that Central Government bureaucracies are likely to attract more qualified personnel, not necessarily because they offer higher salaries, but because they offer better careers, with a greater diversity of tasks, more possibilities for promotion, less political intervention, and a longer term view of issues. Central Government bureaucracies also invest more in technology, research and innovation. In developing countries, Central Governments tend to make few such investments, but local bureaucracies make almost none (World Bank, 1990: 69).

2.6.11. Sensitivity to geographical differences

Proponents of decentralisation tend to ignore geography. As a result, decentralisation in African countries is regarded using the same concepts as decentralisation in countries in Europe or in big cities. When analysing decentralisation it is pertinent to note that population size matters because decentralisation is more likely to succeed in a heavily populated country where sub-national units are as big as or even bigger than some small countries.
The same is true for geographical size, for in a large country like the Democratic Republic of Congo or Sudan where communication is difficult, decentralisation is more desirable than in small countries like Burundi. The same probably also applies to the levels of development because studies have shown that decentralisation is more likely to be successful and/or less risky in middle and high-income countries. For the lowest income countries, decentralisation may be limited to rhetoric (Bahl & Linn, 1992: 393).

2.7 Conclusion

Prud’homme (1992: 1-17) argues that decentralisation measures are like a potent drug, which when prescribed for the relevant illness, at the appropriate moment and in the correct dose, can have the desired salutary effect; but in the wrong circumstances, can harm rather than heal. Research on decentralisation in Africa has generally been theoretical, with little case material presented. As a result, these studies have been of little help in explaining current problems faced by African decentralised systems. Rondinelli (1989: 494) argues that decentralised administration fails in Africa because of *inter alia* the organisational format adopted, the division of responsibilities, the levels of competence of personnel, inter-personal relations, and the level of resources available.

Although decentralisation analysts tend to demarcate between political and administrative aims, it is inevitable that as an organisational concept, decentralisation is viewed as a political issue because it can be used as an instrument for a wider range of political, economic or social purposes and for good or ill depending on the motives and intentions of political leaders (Rondinelli and Nellis, 1986: 57-87).
It is therefore evident from the review of the decentralisation arguments that both supporters and opponents use the same rationale for their own end. This then implies that there is no singularly proven logic for or against decentralisation. Whereas the issues of economic efficiency and local resource enhancement are emphasised more by neo-liberalists, the arguments of enhanced participation and national harmony among social divisions are underlined by the neo-populists. The neo-populists therefore support decentralisation for mainly democratic values rather than economic reasons. The neo-liberalists focus more on economic gains such as allocative efficiency and reduced transaction costs derived from strengthened Local Governments. Therefore, the rationale for decentralisation can be expressed in terms of political democratisation as well as economic restructuring.

The reviews also reveal that pure decentralisation in Uganda is not possible because national policies and priorities have to be adhered to by the Local Governments. Besides, the Local Governments cannot generate sufficient local revenue on their own to facilitate development. Human resource inadequacies were also revealed, since the recruitment of administrative officials is not based on merit but sectarianism like “son/daughter of the soil”. As long as decentralisation in Uganda is characterised by corruption among other evils, then development remains elusive.

In order to establish whether or not decentralisation in Uganda enhances development, it is pertinent to analyse the current legal and institutional framework of Local Government in Uganda. This will receive attention in the chapter that follows.
CHAPTER THREE
INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CURRENT DECENTRALISED LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN UGANDA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the current institutional and legal arrangements of the decentralised Local Government System in Uganda. The chapter is important because it augments the theoretical framework provided by the literature review undertaken in the previous chapter. In this respect, this chapter will attempt to present the decentralisation policy as it is enshrined in the law of Uganda and to describe its structural establishment.

Subsequently, this chapter will contextualise the decentralisation policy by analysing the four pillars of decentralisation namely; the legal framework, as well as political, fiscal and the administrative decentralisation. The study of the pillars of decentralisation will enable this investigation to establish the relationship between the theoretical and legal aspects of decentralisation and the practice thereof in the field as this applies to the two selected districts in Uganda. This relationship will either reveal conformity or contradiction, which is the core objective of this study.

Besides the legal framework, the analysis of the pillars will also help in explaining the different levels of Local Government from the Village Local Council up to the Ministry of Local Government. This analysis will also illustrate the
intergovernmental relations that exist within the Local Government system itself, as well as between the Local Governments and Central Government in Uganda.

The chapter also gives a special consideration to the institutional arrangements concerning Education and Health. Then, it is concluded by summarising the highlights of the institutional and legal arrangements of the current Decentralisation System in Uganda and how it reflects on development.

3.1. Pillars of decentralisation

According to Steffensen (2004:22), the decentralisation system rests on four pillars that are illustrated by figure 2.

**Figure 2: Foundation and Key pillars of decentralisation**

![Decentralised System of Service Delivery](image)

- Legal Framework
- Political Decentralisation
- Fiscal Decentralisation
- Administrative Decentralisation

Institutional arrangements for coordination of reforms

**Source:** Steffensen, 2004:52
3.1.1. The legal framework for decentralisation in Uganda

The existence of a strong legal framework for decentralisation facilitates the definition of roles and responsibilities and provides guidance on implementation of the policy. Decentralisation in Uganda has benefited from the enactment of specific legislation. The devolution of powers in Uganda was occasioned by the 1993 Local Governments (Resistance Councils) Statute, which devolved a number of previously held Central Government powers to elected Local Authorities. This statute provided for decentralisation, which in effect increased democratic control and participation in decision-making and to mobilise support for development, which is relevant to local levels.

The devolution of powers were further consolidated and strengthened by the 1995 Constitution, which in Chapter Eleven provides for the principles, structures and finances of Local Governments. Article 175(i) of the same Constitution states that the system of Local Government in Uganda shall be based on the district, with the council as the highest political organ; as enshrined in Article 180 of the 1995 Constitution.

Articles 191 and 192 also empower the Local Governments to levy, charge, collect an appropriate fees and taxes in accordance with the Local Governments Financial and Accounting Regulations (LGF & AR), 1998. Article 193 also provides for the Conditional, Unconditional and Equalisation Grants payable to Local Governments out of the Consolidated Fund. The same Constitution under article 194 lays out the functions of the Local Government Finance Commission (LGFC). While articles 198-200 cater for the
The Constitution provides a concrete base upon which decentralisation rests.

To further elaborate and operationalise the decentralisation policy, the Local Governments Act (LGA) was enacted in 1997. The objective of the LGA was to amend, consolidate and streamline the existing law on Local Governments so that it is in line with the Constitution. The LGA, 1997 also intended to ensure good governance by establishing democratic, responsive and accountable local governance that would enhance development. It also aimed to provide for revenue, political and administrative set-up of the Local Governments.

Part IV of the LGA sets out the functions, planning and legislative powers of Local Government Councils. In the execution of their functions, Local Councils are under an obligation to ensure they protect the Constitution and other laws of Uganda (Section 31(c) of LGA, 1997). Section 31(d) of the LGA, 1997 also ensures that Local Governments comply with Central Government policy.

Under the Second Schedule of the LGA, 1997, the functions of the Central and Local Governments are set out in detail. The schedule also empowers Central Government Line Ministries to delegate their functions, powers and responsibilities to Local Government Councils. The delegated functions can only be affected subject to agreement of all parties, the provision of adequate resources and measures taken to bring the change to attention of the public, (Section 33, LGA, 1997).

The Act also sets out institutional structures that facilitate Human Resources and Financial Management in Local Governments. Such structures include the District
Service Commission (DSC), which is provided for by part IV of the LGA, the Local Governments Contracts (Procurement) Committee for both the District and Urban Authorities, the Local Governments Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC) which are provided for under part VIII of the LGA.

Although Local Governments are autonomous, they are expected to adhere to national policies and performance standards in the execution of their duties/functions. To ensure this compliance, various Central Government Line Ministries have the mandate under part IX of the LGA, 1997, to inspect, monitor and where necessary provide technical advice, support and training to Local Governments.

In 2001, the Local Governments Act was amended to provide for affirmative action, definitions, administrative and procedural issues that were either earlier omitted or required amendments due to implementation challenges. Some of the amendments include:

- Section 32 that make councillors and administrative officials personally accountable for financial loss of the Local Government arising out of malpractices.
- The salaries and other expenses of the District Service Commission to be paid from the Consolidated Fund.
- The quorum (Coram) of three judges for a tribunal to investigate allegations against a District Chairperson was changed to one judge and two persons of high moral character due to the limited number of judges.

These amendments were influenced by practical experiences arising out of the implementation of the LGA, 1997. Section 31 of the Act and Schedule II of the Act
mandates Local Government Councils to design development plans based on the size of the resource envelope vis-à-vis the locally determined priorities, which should be in line with the National Programme Priority Areas (NPPA).

3.1.2. Political decentralisation

Political decentralisation entails the devolution of powers from the centre to the Local Governments to enable citizens to exercise their Constitutional democratic rights to elect leaders who represent them in decision-making organs, which are legally charged with the responsibility of designing, approving, overseeing and monitoring implementation of plans and budget in their defined areas of jurisdiction with the ultimate aim of ensuring effective and efficient service delivery and hence enhance development.

Political decentralisation in Uganda literally means devolution of powers to Local Councils at lower local levels at the district and below to the village level. The village and parish councils also handle conflicts in the villages; hence, they administer justice through Local Council Courts (Nsibambi, 1994: 43). As an integral aspect of political decentralisation, electoral democracy is carried out after every five years since 1998 as required by the 1995 Constitution and the amended Local Governments Act, 2001. These elections also permit sufficient representation of various marginalised sections of the community like the women, youths, people with disabilities and the elderly.

Meetings at the village and parish councils are presided over by the chairpersons of the respective councils but at sub-county/town council, municipality/city division and district/city councils, the speaker who is elected from amongst the councillors
presides over the council sessions. Local Councils from the village up to the district/city have executive committees headed by the chairperson. Executive committees at the Higher Local Government (HLG) are fulltime and are paid salary monthly from the Consolidated Fund, while the other councillors are part time.

The decentralised Local Government in Uganda is managed under a pyramidal structure as illustrated in figure 3.

**Figure 3: Structure of the LG council from LC I to LC V**

- City/District
- Municipal/County Councils
- Sub-County/Town/Municipal Division Councils
- Parish/Ward Councils
- Village Councils

At the Higher Local Government level, the structure has the district and city Local Government. The district/city councils are as is the case with the parliament at national level, the highest political authorities within their areas of jurisdiction (Section 10, LGA, 1997)
The HLG councils comprise the following:

- District chairperson/city mayor.
- One councillor directly elected for each electoral area, which is normally a sub-county/division.
- A number of female councillors such that at least one third of the councillors are female.
- Two youth councillors, one of whom must be female.
- Two councillors with disabilities catering for both sexes.

The district/city council has planning, legislative and executive powers. The district/city council is the planning authority of that jurisdiction and among the functions that cannot be delegated are the approval of annual estimates and development plans (Schedule 4, LGA, 1997). The chairperson is the political head of the district, answerable to the council and he/she is directly elected.

For one to qualify to be elected as a district chairperson and/or city mayor, one must be qualified to a level of at least advanced level or equivalent. There is however, no academic qualification for other members of the district/city council. The chairperson and other elected councillors are elected by universal adult suffrage (MoLG, 2005: 48).

In each district/city, there is an executive committee consisting of the chairperson/mayor, the vice chairperson/deputy mayor and such number of secretaries not exceeding three, as the council may decide (LGA, 2005). The vice chairperson/deputy mayor and the secretaries are nominated by the chairperson/mayor and approved by the council. At least one of the offices of the secretaries must be held by a female councillor.
The executive committee performs the executive functions of the council, which include initiating policies and submitting them to council for approval, monitoring the implementation of national, district and Lower Local Council (LLC) programmes (Part III, LGA, 1997).

The HLG councils appoint standing committees from among the members of the council not exceeding the number of secretaries. No council member is supposed to belong to more than one committee (section 23 LGA, 1997). The standing committees closely interact with technical departments and discuss in depth specific issues before they are presented to the council.

For the Lower Local Government (LLG), the set-up is a replica of the HLG. The council of the sub-county, town council or division is the highest political organ/authority where the chairperson is also elected directly by adult suffrage. The councillors to the LLG councils are elected from the parishes/wards. For both the LLG and HLG levels, two elderly people of at least fifty-five years of age are elected by the elderly league. One of them has to be female. These become ex-officio members of the council.

At the LLG, just as it is with the HLG, there exists an executive committee with a speaker and deputy. The difference is that only the position of the chairperson is fulltime, while all other members of the executive and the council (including the speaker) are part-time who are only entitled to a sitting allowance (JARD, 2004: 47).

In the above Local Council hierarchy, a city division is equivalent to a municipality; a municipal division and town council are equivalent to the sub-
county. The urban authority includes the city council, city division council, municipality and town council. Every Local Council is a body corporate and may sue or be sued.

Below the LLG are administrative units/councils. The administrative units in the rural areas are county, parish and village, while those in urban areas are the ward (parish) and cell (village). The composition of the administrative council is as follows:

- At the county level, a council consists of all members of the sub-county executive committees within the county.
- At the parish/ward level, a council consists of all members of the village/cell executive committees in the parish/ward.
- At the village level, all persons of eighteen years of age and above residing in that village/cell (Section 46, LGA, 1997).

Administrative units largely have administrative roles as provided for in Section 49 of the LGA, 1997. The administrative units have the power to draw attention to the higher authorities to any matters of their interest. The county administrative unit also serves as the constituency advisory team to the area Member of Parliament. Other functions of the administrative units include: resolving disputes at that level; monitoring delivery of services; and assisting in maintenance of law, order and security.

3.1.3. Fiscal decentralisation

Fiscal decentralisation is a fundamental facet of Uganda’s decentralisation policy. The 1993 Local Government Statute recommended delivery of funding from the
Central Government in form of Block and Equalisation Grants. After the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution and the resultant enactment of the LGA, 1997, Local Governments are currently receiving Central Government transfers in the form of Unconditional, Conditional and Equalisation Grants.

With the introduction of the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) in 1997/98, the Local Governments share of the National Budget has significantly increased up to over forty per cent (46%) in 2006/07 financial year. Out of this, eighty nine per cent (89%) of the transfers by 2006/07 were in form of Unconditional Grants. This gives discretion to Local Governments to plan for location tailored projects.

To streamline the Central-Local fiscal relations, the Government of Uganda introduced the Fiscal Decentralisation Strategy (FDS) whose main objective is to promote Local Government autonomy and widening of participation in decision-making in order to enhance the effectiveness in allocation of resources towards the achievement of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) goal in line with local priorities, which strategy now covers the whole country.

The Equalisation Grant whose main objective is to cater for Local Governments, which even after receiving the Unconditional and Conditional Grants remain in dire straits. The intention is that the Grant should address service delivery gaps in a few worst off Local Governments. The reality however, is that access to this Grant has now become a right to most LGs because of poor local revenue performance; hence defeating the original purpose.

While central transfers remain the main source of revenue for funding decentralised service delivery, local revenue mobilisation remains critical for
sustainable implementation of the decentralisation policy. Unfortunately, local revenues have been declining over the past years.

Whereas local revenue stood at Uganda shillings eighty six billion 1997/98, it had declined to approximately Uganda shillings thirty billion in 2003/04 financial year. This was largely due to corruption by revenue collectors, who used fake acknowledgement documents, spending at source and political interference (Mutabwire, 2002: 41).

During the 2001 presidential elections, one of the presidential candidates promised to abolish Graduated Tax (GT). This compelled the Government to set a minimum of three thousand shillings from ten thousand shillings. Although this negatively affected local revenue, the situation was even worsened in 2005/06 financial year when it was totally abolished. The implication of this is that Local Governments now largely depend on Central Government transfers. This dependence greatly undermines autonomy of the Local Governments under devolution, which is the strongest form of decentralisation (JARD, 2004: 11).

Key to the efficacy of fiscal decentralisation is the institutionalisation of prudent financial management and accountability mechanisms. The Government of Uganda has taken considerable measures to improve financial management in Local Governments, which include training of key Local Government staff and computerising the accounting system. In addition, information about financial transfers to Local Governments is regularly publicised in the print media for the public to be informed and demand accountability.

Under the decentralised system, Local Governments in Uganda have been empowered to collect revenue and spend it in accordance with the laid down procedures. Section 78 of the LGA, 1997 mandates Local Governments to formulate, approve and execute their budgets and plans. This empowerment helps Local Governments to identify their priorities and design development strategies, which are tailored to specific locations.

Section 81(1) of the LGA, 1997 also empowers Local Governments to levy, charge and collect fees and taxes. The Fifth Schedule of the Act details sources of Local revenue, assessment procedures, distribution of grants to Lower Councils and borrowing powers.

Local Governments are prohibited from appropriating funds on expenditure items not approved in the budget (Section 83(1), LGA, 1997). To ensure this, Section 83(2) of the LGA, 1997, provides that the Auditor General or his/her representative has to approve withdrawal of moneys from the General Fund Account of the Council. Grants from the Centre are supposed to supplement the Local revenue of the Local Government.

Section 80 of the LGA, 1997 provides that urban Local Governments shall have autonomy on financial and planning matters in relation to the District. However,
their plans shall be incorporated in the District Development Plans (DDPs). This autonomy also applies to the sub-county/LLG councils.

In addition to the DSC and Contracts Committees as institutions for promoting accountability and transparency, there is the Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC). The LGPAC is established by Section 89(1) of the LGA, 1997. This Committee acts on the reports of the Auditor General, Resident District Commissioner (RDC), the Inspector General of Government (IGG), Commissions of Inquiry, among others. Section 89(9) of the LGA, 1997 and Sections 30(b) and (c) of the amended Act, 2001, oblige Local Governments to act on the recommendations of the LGPAC.

The accountability legal framework (Section 89(8), LGA, 1997) requires the Minister responsible for Local Governments to lay the reports of the LGPAC before parliament. In addition, section 91(1) of the LGA, 1997, establishes the Internal Audit Department, whose reports are submitted to the council and copied to the LGPAC. Local Governments are also enjoined by Section 89 of the LGA, 1997 to keep Books of Accounts and produce final accounts to the Auditor General who is the External Auditor of the Local Governments.

The standing committees are also actors in the fiscal management of the decentralised Local Governance. These committees of council are empowered by Section 23 of the LGA, 1997 to monitor, evaluate performance of sectors, reviewing budgets of departments under their sectors and recommend to council for their integration in the budget. They also scrutinise monthly expenditure returns, tender awards and quarterly financial reports so as to recommend appropriate action by the council.
Section 17 of the LGA, 1997 also establishes the Executive Committee to check the excesses in financial management. The functions of the executive committee of council in relation to financial management as provided for in Regulation 8 of the LGF&AR, 1998 include the following:

- Exercise general supervision and control over councils’ finances.
- Propose policies and projects for consideration by the council.
- At the end of each financial year, evaluate the performance of the council against approved work plans and budgets.
- Examine the annual and other accounts of the council together with the audit and LGPAC reports.
- Receive quarterly internal audit reports after being examined by the LGPAC and report to the council.

Section 86 of the LGA, 1997, outlines how revenue is to be shared under the decentralisation system in Uganda. Various levels of Local Governments have different shares. In the city and municipality councils, revenue is collected by the Division Councils that retain fifty per cent of all the revenue collected and remit the rest to the city/municipality council.

In rural areas, revenue is collected by the sub-county council that retains sixty five per cent or any other higher amount as the District Council may approve, the remaining percentage is passed over to the District Council. The HLG can, with the concurrence of the LLG, collect revenue on behalf of the latter but shall remit the required percentage of the revenue so collected to the relevant LLG.
The distribution of grants by the LLG to other councils is provided for under the Fifth Schedule of the LGA, 1997. This Schedule requires that Local Council One (village/cell) is given twenty-five per cent of the revenue due to the sub-county/division and the parishes are given ten per cent. This is supposed to empower Local Councils up to the Lowest Level of decentralisation.

Section 7 of the Local Governments Financial and Accounting Regulations, 1998, designates the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and Town Clerk (TC) as the Accounting Officers of their respective councils, while section 8 makes the Chief Finance Officer (CFO) the receiver, paymaster and Chief Accountant of the Local Government.

In the execution of the duties of the Accounting Officer, the CAO/TC is to:

- Ensure the appointment of the CFO/Treasure, Chief Internal Auditor and other staff necessary to carry out the accounting and financial management of the council.
- Maintain a budget desk through the CFO/Treasurer.
- Establish and operate a reporting framework through the Chief Internal Auditor (CIA).
- Ensure that all staff and councillors are aware of and conform to the requirements of the LGF&AR, 1998.
- Appoint Accounting Officers at Lower Local Governments for purposes of accountability and reporting.

In view of the above, the Act outlines the following functions for the Chief Finance Officer:
Supervises and coordinates the budget desk in the preparation of work plans.
Ensures that approved estimates of expenditure on Votes are not exceeded.
Ensures that no expenditure is incurred unless it is provided for in the approved budget and has been authorised by the Accounting Officer or any other person who is explicitly delegated to do so.
Ensures that proper Books of Accounts are kept, final accounts are produced on time and are audited.
Supervises all officers entrusted with the receipt and expenditure of funds.

In emphasising integrity in Local Governments, Section 71 of the LGA, 1997 provides for the office of the Resident District Commissioner (RDC). The RDC is the representative of the President and Central Government in the district, he/she performs the following:

- Coordinates the administration of Government services.
- Advises the District Chairperson on matters of National nature.
- Monitors and inspects the activities of Local Governments.
- Sensitises the populace on Government policies and programmes.
- Advises the Chairperson to instruct the Chief Internal Auditor to carry out special audit.
- Draws the attention of the Auditor General to the needs for special investigation audits of LGs.
- Draws the attention of the IGG to the need to investigate any case of mismanagement or abuse of office.
- Draws the attention of any relevant line Ministry of the divergence from or non-compliance with Government policy by any council within his/her area of jurisdiction.
To check on the excesses of administrative officials, Chapter Thirteen of the 1995 Constitution provides for the office of the Inspector General of Government (IGG). The institution of the IGG is operationalised by the Inspectorate of Government Act, 2002. The functions of the IGG according to Section 8 of the Inspectorate of Government Act (IGA), 2002 are as follows:

- Promote and foster strict adherence to the rule of law and principles of natural justice in administration.
- Eliminate and foster the elimination of corruption, abuse of authority and public office.
- Promote fair, efficient and good governance in public offices.
- Enforce the Leadership Code of Conduct.
- Investigate any act, omission, advice, decision or recommendation by a public officer or any other authority in the exercise of administrative functions.
- Stimulate public awareness about the values of Constitutionalism.
- Investigate Law enforcement agents and security agencies.
- Take necessary measures for detection and prevention of corruption.

In the performance of its duties, the Inspectorate is deemed to be independent as it is not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority other than the parliament (Section 10, IGA, 2002). Since the establishment of this institution, a number of cases in Local Governments relating to abuse of office and corruption have been investigated and mitigation measures administered.

The IGG investigates cases of bribery and extortion, conflict of interest, embezzlement, false claims, forgery and uttering of false documents especially
academic certificates, tenders and contracts, victimisation among others. The IGG’s work helps in building integrity systems in Local Governance by enhancing good governance, exemplary leadership, adherence to accountability, transparency and observance of human rights.

In addition to the general functions of the IGG, the institution is also supposed to enforce the Leadership Code of Conduct. The Code requires specific officers to declare their incomes, assets and liabilities every two years. This is meant to prohibit conduct likely to compromise the honesty, impartiality and integrity of the said officers. Both elected and administrative officials in the service of Local Governments are bound by the Leadership Code. This helps in enhancing integrity in Local Governments under the decentralised system in Uganda.

The integrity measures outlined above ensure that the two arms of Local Governments are responsive and accountable not to the Central Government but to the Service users (citizens). Figure 4 illustrates how under decentralisation both elected and administrative officials are accountable to the citizens whom decentralisation is meant to benefit. It also explains how participatory planning, user committees and community based monitoring enhances efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery, hence, development.
3.1.4. Administrative decentralisation and institutional arrangements

The establishment of the decentralisation policy in the Local Government System in Uganda changed the mandate of the Ministry of Local Government (MoLG). Subsequently, the new mission of the MoLG is to build strong Local Governments rather than administering and managing “decentralised” outposts of the Central Government machinery.

As a result, the role of the MoLG has been relegated to that of supporting; monitoring, supervising, policy development and coordination with line Ministries and donors. This change in role has therefore led to the restructuring of the MoLG as reflected on page 358.
To help the MoLG and the centre, a number of organs are established to strengthen decentralisation. One of such organs is the Local Governments Finance Commission (LGFC), which is established by the LGA, 1997. Its major role is to advise the president on the distribution of revenue between the Central Government and Local Governments. Its advice covers the Conditional, Unconditional and Equalisation Grants. They also advise on potential sources of revenue and appropriate tax levels for Local Governments.

In addition to the LGFC there is a non-statutory body that brings together Local Governments in Uganda called the Uganda Local Governments Association (ULGA). ULGA advocates and negotiates with Central Government on behalf of the member Local Governments. It does this by getting involved in fora like the Local Governments Budget Committee (LGBC), Local Governments Releases and Operations Committee (LGR&OC), Local Revenue Enhancement Coordination Committee (LRECO) where matters concerning LGs are discussed.

Besides these bodies, line Ministries inspect, monitor, supervise and where necessary offer technical advice and training to Local Governments in order to ensure the implementation of national policies and adherence to performance standards on the part of Local Governments. The Central Government does not interfere with Local Governments when acting within their mandate. This implies that Local Governments should not overstep their legal boundaries (Section 31(i), LGA, 1997).

The Central Government exercises some influence over Local Governments despite their corporate status. This influence does not however stretch beyond the legal confines enjoined by the constitution and the LGA. One of the avenues by
which the Central Government influences Local Governments is through Grants from the former to the latter (Section 193(i) of the Constitution, 1995; Section 84, LGA, 1997).

The Central Government also influences Local Governments by insisting that Local Governments’ budgets accord National Priority Programme Areas (NPPA) preferential budget outlays (Section 78, LGA, 1997). In addition, the presence of the offices of the Auditor General, RDC, Commissions and Boards are all supposed to regulate the corporate operations of Local Governments.

What has got to be noted however is that the Local Government System under the decentralised system is based on the principle of non-insubordination but with clear levels of interdependence as well as jurisdiction linkages. The system allows horizontal and vertical linkages, which could be used to enhance development.

As a result, Local Government operations are divided in four categories, namely; the centre, which includes the MoLG and other sector Ministries like the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED), the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), Ministry of Health (MoH) among others. The Central Government Sector Ministries network to coordinate and advocate for resources to be transferred to Local Governments.

Below the Central Government are the HLGs, which constitute the District, City and Municipality authorities. These have the political wing under the chairperson or mayor, while the administrative wing is under the CAO or TC.
The third category is the LLG, which is the Sub-County/Town Council. At the bottom are the service beneficiaries and management committees. This arrangement facilitates planning, effective implementation, monitoring and hence creates a conducive environment for development. Subsequently, the ideal Local Government line of operation between the Central Government and the Local Governments is illustrated on page 359.

Administrative decentralisation at the local government level is largely concerned with Human Resources Management (HRM). HRM generally refers to the process of administering people at work to achieve organisational goals. As regards Local Governments in Uganda, it is the way the employees of Local Governments are managed.

The decentralisation policy in Uganda introduced the Separate Personnel System (SPS) for the management of Local Governments staff. The aim is to strengthen the capacity of Local Governments to deliver functions and services that fall within their mandate. Under the SPS, Local Governments become employers. Section 53 of the LGA, 1997, provides that Local Governments may abolish or create offices in the public service of a district or urban council in accordance with the regulations in existence. The process of recruitment, promotion, disciplining is the responsibility of the Local Governments through the District Service Commission (DSC).

Section 56 of the LGA, 1997, establishes the District Service Commission with powers to appoint persons to hold or act in the service of a district or urban council, including powers to confirm appointments, to exercise disciplinary measures or even dismissal. The implication of this is that the administrative
officials of the respective Local Governments are fully accountable to the councils through their chief executives.

Each district is mandated to have one service commission, which offers services to all Local Governments under its jurisdiction (Section 55(1), LGA, 1997). The DSC is appointed by the District Council on the recommendation of the District Executive Committee (Section 55(2), LGA, 1997). The same section details the composition of the DSC.

The DSC comprises the chairperson and a number of members not exceeding five. One of the members should represent the urban council(s) located in that District. The council should also ensure that one third (1/3) of the members of the DSC are women and one member should be a person with disability.

Members of the DSC hold office for four years and are eligible for appointment for one more term. Members of the Commission are supposed to be persons of high moral character, proven integrity, residents in the district, have a clean track record, seasoned, experienced and capable of taking decisions independently without influence. These members are paid salaries, allowances and other expenses from the Consolidated Fund.

The DSC excludes members of parliament, Local Government Councils or executive body of a political organization/party or a public officer (Section 57(2), LGA, 1997). Local Governments administrative officials are protected by Article 173 of the 1995 Constitution and Sections 60 and 62 of the LGA, 1997.
The Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) is the head of the public service in the District, while the Town Clerk heads the Urban Authority. Section 56(1) of the LGA, 1997, outlines the following functions for the CAO:

- Responsible for the implementation of all lawful decisions taken by the District Council.
- Give guidance to the Local Government Councils and their departments in the application of the relevant laws and policies.
- Supervise, monitor and coordinate the activities of the District and Lower Council employees and departments; and ensure accountability and transparency in the management and delivery of council’s services.
- Develop capacity for the development and management of the planning functions in the district.
- Supervise and coordinate the activities of all delegated services and the officers working in those services.
- Have custody of all documents and records of the Local Government Council.
- Act as a Liaison Officer between the District Council and the Central Government.
- Advise the chairperson on the administration of the council.
- Carry out any other duty that may be assigned by the District Council from time to time.

Section 66(1) of the LGA, 1997, provides that an Urban Council other than a Division Council shall have a Town Clerk who shall be the head of the administration of the relevant Urban Council and shall undertake the following functions:
• Responsible for the expending of the council’s funds and be the Accounting Officer of the relevant council.
• Advise the council on legal and administrative matters.
• Responsible for the implementation of lawful decisions taken by the council.
• Supervise and coordinate the activities of all offices and departments of the council.
• Supervise and coordinate the activities of the officers seconded by the council.
• Have custody of all documents and records of the council.

Section 69(1) of the LGA, 1997, provides for the removal of the CAO/TC. The District or Urban Council may recommend the removal of the CAO/TC as the case may be by a resolution supported by two thirds of the council members on the following grounds:
• Abuse of office.
• Incompetence.
• Misconduct or misbehaviour.
• Such physical or mental incapacity as would render the CAO/TC incapable of performing the duties of CAO/TC.

Below the CAO are the Lower Chiefs at the sub-county or parish level. Section 71(1) of the LGA, 1997, provides that there shall be a chief of each sub-county and in each parish who shall be appointed by the DSC. The Chief shall be the Head and Accounting Officer of the respective sub-county or parish. It is the duty of Chief according to Section 70(3) of the LGA, 1997, to:
• Obey all lawful directions from the council, other Higher Local Councils or authorised officers in respect of the execution of his/her duties.

• Carry out general administration in conformity with Government regulations and policies, District ordinances or byelaws made by the Council, Trust Fund or Secretariat or by Lower Councils.

• Implement the respective councils’ lawful policies and decisions.

• Collect and account for the Local Governments’ revenue.

• Obey and execute orders and warrants issued by any court of competent jurisdiction.

• Assist in the maintenance of law, order and security.

• Assist in the prevention of crime and public nuisance.

• Detect, apprehend and bring offenders to justice.

• Collect data and keep records of the council.

• Assist the relevant council in planning, budgeting and budget implementation.

• Supervise and monitor the implementation of socio-economic development projects.

At the District level, administration and management of service delivery is undertaken through Directorates and Departments like Finance, Education and Sports, Health, Planning, Production and Marketing, Works, Administration, Community Based Services, Natural Resources, Statutory Bodies and Internal Audit as illustrated on page 360.

Besides the administrative officials, the other institutional role players include the Statutory Bodies like the DSC, DLB, LGPAC and Contracts Committee. These
bodies undertake their role on behalf of the District Local Government. These bodies enhance development, good governance, exemplary leadership, transparency and accountability.

The amendment of the LGA in 2006 abolished the Local Government Tender Board and replaced it with Local Government Contracts Committee. The LGCC comprises senior administrative officers in the District or Urban Council. The Contracts Committee is appointed by the CAO/TC as the case may be. Each committee has a secretary who should be at the rank of Assistant Chief Administrative Officer (ACAO) or Assistant Town Clerk (ATC). In the performance of its functions, the LGCC is expected to exhibit impartiality, transparency and integrity. It is supposed to act independently without external influence especially from political leaders.

In a rural setting like Uganda, Land Management is cardinal. To strengthen the decentralisation system, the management of land was also decentralised. Article 240(1) of the 1995 Constitution provides for the establishment of the DLB in each district in Uganda. The DLB is appointed by the District Council upon the recommendation of the District Executive Committee (DEC). The DLB according to 241(1) of the Constitution performs the following:

- Holds and allocates land in the district, which is not owned by any person or authority.
- Facilitates the registration and transfer of interests in land.
- Causes surveys, plans, maps, drawings and estimates to be made by or through its officers or agents.
• Compiles and maintains a list of rates of compensation payable in respect of crops, buildings of non-permanent nature and any other thing that may be prescribed.
• Reviews every year the list of rates of compensation referred to in the paragraph above.
• Deals with any matter, which is incidental or connected to the foregoing.

The operation of the statutory boards under decentralisation in Uganda is illustrated on page 361.

From the above it can be deduced that the four pillars of decentralisation, namely, legal, political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation manifest an ideal decentralised structure if well implemented. Such a structure clearly defines the roles of the various role players, especially the interaction between the elected leaders and administrative officials subsequently eliminating role conflict and hence, creating a conducive environment for development.

While the political wing of the council makes political accountability to the service users who are their electorate and hence determine their mandate, the administrative wing of the Local Government Council is accountable to both the political wing and the service users. This makes decentralised governance responsive to the grassroots rather than to the Central Government. When these two wings network with the statutory boards, standing committees and the various Directorates they enhance efficiency, effectiveness, which together lead to development. This is illustrated by an ideal structure of the Local Government Council at District level on page 362.
3.2  Overview of decentralised Education and Health services delivery in Uganda

This section of the chapter will analyse the Education and Health Sectors as decentralised functions of Local Governments in Uganda. An effort will be made to analyse the legal, institutional and operational arrangements of the two service sectors. This analysis is pertinent because the two service sectors are used as case studies in determining whether or not decentralisation enhances development.

3.2.1. Education sector

The Education policy in Uganda caters for both primary and post primary education sectors. The policy on Universal Primary Education (UPE) is to ensure access to education for all irrespective of ones’ gender, disability and categorisation. Effective 2007, the Government of Uganda will introduce Universal Secondary Education (USE).

Under the Second Schedule part 2, paragraph 1 of the LGA, 1997 the District Councils are responsible for the provision of Education services, which cover nursery, primary, secondary, trade, special, and technical education. Part 4 of the same Schedule, devolves nursery and primary education to the Lower Local Governments.

In addition to the LGA, other laws that pertain to the education sector are the Education Act and Education Service Act, 2002. The Education Act provides for the development and regulation of education, the registration and licensing of teachers in public schools and related matters.
The Act recognises the District Education Committee which is a standing committee appointed by the council under the LGA, 1997. Section 4 of the Education Act, makes this committee responsible for the administration of all educational services transferred to the District or Urban Councils.

The Education Service Act sets out the roles and responsibilities of the Education Service Commission established under Article 167 and 168 of the 1995 Constitution. The functions of the ESC include, monitoring, offering technical advice, support and training to the DSC and to hear grievances from persons appointed by the DSC to offer services to the Education Sector in the Local Governments (Section 8(1)(h)-(i), ESA, 2002).

Although Secondary Education is decentralised according to the LGA, 1997, the practice is that the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) has, save for the decentralisation of the payroll, retained the management of Secondary Education at the Centre. Subsequently, the Central Government appoints secondary school teachers, promotes and reprimands them, approves the boards of governors and even procurement is managed by the centre and as such, even accountability is rendered to the centre.

This is indeed inconsistent with the LGA, 1997 and the spirit of decentralisation. This is largely due to selfish motives and not to promote efficiency as the Central Government Officials claim. The centre only fears to lose influence and resources if they let go the delivery of the Education services in totality (Bidandi, 2002: 17).

The current education system in Uganda is based on the Kajubi Report of 1987. According to this Report, education plays a key role in achieving moral,
intellectual, ideological, cultural and social development of the people in society. Despite this importance, the capacity of education has been seriously eroded at all levels due to depredations of wars, civil strife and consequent economic decline. Following the recommendations of the Kajubi Commission on Education, UPE was introduced in 1997. UPE is the provision of basic education (primary) to all Ugandan children of school-going age. This programme guarantees accessibility, equity, quality, relevance and affordability (Makubuya, 2000:14).

To achieve the above goals, UPE was identified as a key sector to benefit from the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP); hence, since 1997, the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) releases have always included the UPE Capitation Grant. The grant is aimed at improving equitable access to basic education by removing the burden of paying school fees from the parents.

PAF releases to schools are supposed to enhance the quality of primary education by providing schools with resources necessary to run the schools. The UPE grant is channeled to the Local Governments as a Conditional Grant since education is one of the decentralised services. The District/Urban authorities are required to design UPE work plans, which they submit to the MoES for analysis and approval. Therefore, UPE releases are linked to the District work plans and annual estimates (budgets) (Education Work Plan, 2002: 113).

In designing these work plans, Lower Local Governments like sub-counties, town councils and division councils are directly involved. The UPE grants cater for extra instructional materials like supplementary books (readers), teachers’ reference books, syllabi, ball point pens, markers, chalks, chalkboards, management of school related items like registers, record books, wall clocks, stapling machines,
file covers, ledger books, vote books, banking books and administrative imprest (Bitamazire, 2004: 14).

The CAO/TC is responsible for the safe management of UPE funds. The financial and accounting procedure for UPE complies with regulations laid down by the relevant authorities for Government financial transactions generally (PFA, 1964, TAI, LGF&AR, 1998). The District/Urban authorities have to carry out supervision and monitoring visits to the schools to assess value for money and compliance with expenditure guidelines and financial accountability (GoU, MoES, 2002: 91).

The introduction of UPE in 1997 led to an increase in enrolments from three million to eight million pupils by the year 2006. As a result, the available number of teachers and classrooms could not cater for the large numbers. To manage the UPE numbers, the number of teachers had to increase from 81,564 in 1997 to 168,493 in 2006. This increased the ratio of teacher to pupils to stand at 1:55. The increase in the number of teachers and pupils inevitably led to the need for teachers’ houses and classrooms respectively (Bitamazire, Ministerial Policy Statement, 2006).

The above scenario warranted the launching of the Schools Facilities Grant (SFG), which helped in increasing the number of classrooms from 25,678 to 97,409 by 2006. In addition to classrooms, the SFG programme has also helped in the construction of teachers’ houses, kitchens, pit latrines/toilets and provision of furniture for both the offices and learners’ desks.
All SFG constructions in the country are standardised by having specifications for construction designed by the Ministry responsible for Housing of the Government of Uganda. Therefore, bills of quantities and drawings are supplied by the MoES with special consideration for people with disabilities, which the contractors are obliged to comply (Education Sector Investment Plan, 2005:14).

The Education Sector Investment Plan (ESIP) was launched to achieve efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of the education services as a decentralised function. ESIP helps in the proper division of functions and responsibilities among stakeholders. Subsequently, the MoES has retained the role of developing, improving and adjusting education policy through wide stakeholder decisions, ensure that policy decisions are communicated to all stakeholders, monitor the effectiveness of the education system, to ensure the best value for money and, to support the decentralisation levels in all aspects of education management and capacity building.

The Central Government is therefore still responsible for developing curriculum nationally and for setting the required standards through the Education Standards Agency (ESA). Under decentralisation, the Local Governments have retained the duty of Education Planning, School Management and teacher management. Efficiency and effectiveness are the major goals of decentralisation of education services delivery. To achieve this, the education service sector is structured as illustrated on page 363.

According to this structure, the management of the education sector under the decentralised system is headed by the District Head of Education (DHE) who is at the rank of the Director of Education or Senior Education Officer with a minimum
academic qualification of a Masters degree of Educational Management. Below the Education Head are two sections of Administration and Inspectorate, both under Senior Education Officers. The administration section handles the management of education in general including the appointment of SMCs, deployment of teachers, monitoring and supervising of payment of salaries, while the Inspectorate ensures quality under ESA, through inspection, refresher courses, in-service training, and workshops among others.

Besides the two sections, an Education Officer is appointed for each county who undertakes administration. There is also a Sports Officer to manage sports activities like games and sports. The Education sector in Uganda attaches a lot of importance to learners with disabilities. Therefore, an Education Officer in charge of Special Needs Education is also appointed within the hierarchy. Each county has an Inspector of Schools for the purposes of closer supervision.

The actual delivery of the service is then undertaken by the SMCs, which are constituted by the Local Governments for each school. The SMCs plan for the schools, supervise the head teachers and teachers, enforce ethical behaviour and mobilise parents. This makes education service delivery grassroots based and participatory (Bitamazire, 2005: 17).

3.2.2. Health sector

The Uganda National Health Policy (NHP), 1999 and the Health Sector Strategic Plan (HSSP), 2000 are directed at accelerating the improvement of the health of the population thereby contributing to poverty eradication and economic and social
development in Uganda. The purpose is to reduce mobility and morbidity from the major causes of health.

The HSSP has a five-programme output, namely:

- The Uganda National Minimum Health Package (UNMHP).
- The Health Care Delivery System (HCDS).
- The Integrated Support System, necessary for the successful delivery of the Minimum Health Care Package.
- Policy.
- Planning and Information Systems.

The key organisational reform for delivery of the HSSP is the Health Sub-District (HSD), which is an integral part of the District Health System. The HSD decentralises health service delivery further down wards to the village level, which is now the principal level for the health service delivery. The HSD constitutes a near self contained service zone that brings basic health care, including essential referral services closer to the community.

In this management, the District has a major hospital(s) and at lower levels, every city/constituency has the Health Centre IV that is manned by a medical doctor, with a theatre. Below this, there is the Health Centre III, which is situated at the sub-county/division. Every parish/ward has the Health Centre II.

As a result of the above arrangements, responsibility for health service delivery now predominantly lies with the Health Sub-District. The overall management is undertaken by the District Director of Health Services (DDHS). This
decentralisation has also helped in community mobilisation as communities and families now take greater charge of their own health and health services (HSSP, 2000: 11).

The NHP and HSSP recognises three categories of Private Health Sub-Sectors, namely the:

- Private Not For Profit (PNFP) sector.
- Private Health Practitioners (PHP) sector.
- Traditional and Complementary Medicine Practitioners sector.

Due to their contribution in the health service delivery, the Government of Uganda gives each of these sectors subsidies.

To ensure effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of health services, the Government of Uganda provides Primary Health Care (PHC) through PAF releases in form of Conditional and Equalisation Grants. A typical structure of Health services delivery is illustrated on page 364.

The structure illustrates that there are three major actors in the Health Sector delivery namely the Administrative, Political and Service Users (Population). At the apex of the hierarchy is the chairperson, secretary for health and the District Health Committee (DHC). The administrative wing is headed by the CAO who is the head of the administrative officials. While the District Council appoints the District Health Committee, the DSC appoints the administrative officials working in the Health Sector. The District Chairperson and Secretary for Health provide political supervision. Technically, the head of health services in the District is the
DDHS and the District Health Management Team (DHMT). These are helped by the stratifications at the county IV to village levels.

3.3. Conclusion.

The foregoing chapter has analysed the institutional arrangements under which decentralisation in Uganda is operationalised. Special emphasis has been made to analyse the pillars of decentralisation in general and the education and health sector service delivery as major indicators of development. These have been used as case studies to illustrate the relationship between decentralisation and development.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to outline the various scientific methods and techniques employed in order to arrive at empirical findings. The chapter covers the research design, study population, sample size, methods of selection, data collection, processing and analysis, as well as the study limitations, data management and quality control.

In this chapter, not only does the researcher identify the various steps that have been adopted in conducting the investigation, but also the logic behind them. In this way, the researcher is able to select methods/techniques, which are relevant to the study (Kothari, 2001:10).

In this respect, attention will firstly be devoted to the research design.

4.1 Research design

The investigation is based on a qualitative research approach making use of descriptive survey and case study techniques. The qualitative research has been chosen because the investigation involves in-depth study of entities that constitute decentralisation like the legal, political, fiscal and administrative aspects, which are features of all Local Governments in Uganda (Santosh, 2001: 24).
With qualitative studies, only small samples of individuals, groups or events are invariably chosen, in view of the in-depth nature of the study. In such studies, one cannot engage in intensive examination of all the factors, as it would entail huge costs and energy expenditure. For the above reason, qualitative studies use small samples (Wilkinson, 2002: 98; Sekaran, 2003: 269).

Although qualitative methods are dominant in this study, some quantitative methodology has been applied through the use of a structured questionnaire administered to key role players involved in decentralised local governance in the two selected districts. Owalabi (2004: 26) asserts that an important technique to strengthen the reliability and validity of a research design is by combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies through triangulation, which is characterised by the use of multiple methods of sampling, research instruments, and statistical analyses.

The investigation involves the following qualitative techniques: Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Case Studies, and Field Studies. Welmen and Kruger (2004: 182-183) state that field studies are important because they aim at discovering the relations and interactions among sociological variables in real social structures. This makes the investigation more realistic because it is on the spot under natural circumstances of the specific case.

A case study design is employed because this investigation focuses on analysing a limited number of units (districts) and social service sectors. Therefore, with a case study approach, the investigator directs all efforts to the uniqueness of the particular case in all its complexity in order to justify generalisation. In this case, Local Governments are established under the same legal framework, with the same
structures and therefore a critical and in-depth investigation of Local Governments in one or two districts can empirically represent the rest without distorting the reliability of the findings (Okum, 2001: 149).

Case studies involve in-depth, contextual analysis of similar situations in other organisations, where the nature and definition of the problem happen to be the same as experienced in the current situation. Case studies usually provide qualitative rather than quantitative data for analysis and interpretation (Sekaran, 2003: 35).

Odum (1929: 229) and Young (1956: 247), support the use of case study methodology by asserting that it is a method which is very popular in qualitative analysis because it involves a careful and complete observation of a social unit, be that unit a person, family, an institution, a cultural group, or even the entire community. It is a method of study that focuses on depth rather than breadth. The case study places more emphasis on the full analysis of a limited number of events or conditions. Therefore, the object of the case study method is to locate the factors that account for the behaviour patterns of the given unit as an integral totality.

The research relies on historical data, current information, practical realities and concerns, and personal experience in ascertaining the relationship between decentralisation and development. At the practical level, empirical data pertaining to decentralisation and how it relates to development is generated from the two districts.
4.2 Study population

Uganda’s population at the time of this study, based on the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics and the 2002 Population Census Report, is approximately twenty seven million. This study covers two districts of Sembabule and Masindi with a population of about two hundred thousand (200,000) and four hundred and twenty thousand (420,000) respectively.

During the Financial Year 2006/07, the District of Masindi was divided to create Buliisa District, which had hitherto been a county of Masindi. For the purposes of this study, the researcher chose to continue with the mother district whose population estimation had subsequently reduced from about six hundred thousand (600,000) to about four hundred twenty thousand (420,000). Therefore, a population of six hundred twenty thousand (620,000) constituted the total study population.

Although Uganda is one of the pioneering countries in Africa in terms of decentralisation, the degree of decentralisation measures differs from one Local Government to another. In order to obtain a balanced picture, two districts have been chosen for this study, namely Masindi and Sembabule. In Masindi, which is located in the Mid North West, a large amount of assistance by the donor community has been provided and various stakeholders have clarified the working relationships with each other reasonably clearly and hence, making it one of the success stories of decentralised local governance in Uganda. Other successful such districts include Rakai, Mukono, Iganga, Mbarara, among others.
Other districts are attempting to follow these pioneering districts. One such example is Sembabule, which is in the Central Region. It is one of the districts created in 1997 having been carved from the Masaka district. It is characterised by conflicts between stakeholders and is therefore not attractive to donor partnerships. These problems encountered by Sembabule represent the challenges and risks associated with decentralisation endeavours in Uganda, which could occur in other districts as well. Sembabule is, therefore, selected as a contrasting case to Masindi district.

Although urbanisation cannot be dismissed in Uganda, this study focuses more on the rural areas. This does not mean that urban areas are insignificant for the purposes of development studies. However, since poverty is largely a rural issue in Uganda, where the majorities reside in rural areas and engage in farming in one way or another, this choice is deemed justified (Saito, 2003: 15).

The two districts chosen represent interestingly enough, slightly different degrees of poverty and development within Uganda. Whereas Masindi out performs the National average, Sembabule does not. However, despite the differences, both districts were improving in the Human Development Index by 2005 (UNDP, 2005: 15). Therefore, comparisons of the two districts are useful for analysing the similarities and differences of the impact of decentralisation efforts on development. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the District Human Development Profile and District Human Poverty Profile respectively, which show the contrast.
Table 1 District human development profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Income Index</th>
<th>Education Index</th>
<th>Life expectancy Index</th>
<th>Human Development Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASINDI</td>
<td>0.2231</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.4033</td>
<td>0.3758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMBABULE</td>
<td>0.374</td>
<td>0.505</td>
<td>0.392</td>
<td>0.375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL AVERAGE</td>
<td>0.2098</td>
<td>0.605</td>
<td>0.4323</td>
<td>0.4046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2 District Human Poverty Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Not expected to survive to age 40 (%) 2005</th>
<th>Illiteracy P2 (%) 2005</th>
<th>No access to safe water 2005</th>
<th>No access to Health services (%) 2005</th>
<th>Underweight children (%) 2005</th>
<th>Human Poverty Index (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASINDI</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMBABULE</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL AVERAGE</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The justification for the choice of education and health sectors is mostly due to their impact on human development. This is important because human development is at the centre of overall development. A healthy and educated population is both a necessary condition for development and one of the central
objectives of development. In Uganda, households’ economic status is linked with their health and educational status as well as their social capital (UNDP, MFPED Millennium Development Goals, 2002: 11). In Uganda, households continue to consider ill health and ignorance as the major causes of poverty. So the achievement of human development is central to the reduction of poverty and subsequently the enhancement of development. To these two social services are added water, sanitation and nutrition.

The status of health and education also affects the overall rate of economic growth and development. The UNDP Report on Human Development, (2003: 9) states that there is a dramatic impact of health on economic development and growth. The report indicates that more than half of Africa’s growth shortfall vis-à-vis that of East Asia is explained in terms of disease burden, demography and geography, rather than by the more traditional macroeconomic variables.

Recent studies have found a powerful impact of malaria and AIDS on per capita income. Similarly, the same studies have also found evidence that education influences the growth rate of a country. Both health and education also have a direct influence on the pattern of employment be it wage employment or self-employment (MFPED, PEAP, 2005/8: 142).

Investment in education and health contributes to the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for higher incomes and sustained economic growth. Evidence in Uganda shows that education is a profitable investment, from both an individual and social perspective. Non-income returns are also significant, parental education is a powerful factor in child survival, and education above the primary level is associated with lower fertility. Educated women are also much more likely
to receive antenatal care and have deliveries attended by health professionals. Education also plays a critical role in strengthening civil institutions and building democratic society, empowering women and other disadvantaged groups, as well as protecting the environment (MFPED, PEAP, 2005/8: 153-155).

With the introduction of UPE in 1997, enrolment of pupils rose up to about eight million by 2006 academic year. Given that Uganda’s population is about twenty seven million, this enrolment constitutes a large fraction of the country’s population. Articles 30 and 34(2) of the 1995 Constitution provide for the right to basic education for every Ugandan. Subsequently, Universalising Primary Education is Governments’ chief priority and is therefore central to the Education Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP, 2005: 43).

Given that every home in Uganda benefits from either or both the education and health service sectors, then the two have the greatest influence on the socio-economic life of the ordinary population in the rural setting. Therefore, public expenditure on education and health by Government is expenditure in the line of development of a nation.

Public subsidy to education and health is justified by externalities of market failure. For instance, young people cannot finance education even if the economic return to it is high. By educating people, the state endows them with a permanent and inalienable asset; and the provision of basic education allows this asset to be broadly spread across society.

Just as good health is essential in enhancing development, the reverse is equally true. Therefore, given that the burden of disease has remained high, is in itself a
justification for considering health as a case study for development in Uganda. In 2004, over 75 per cent of the life years lost was due to premature deaths mainly due to preventable diseases. Prenatal and maternal conditions, malaria, acute respiratory tract infections, AIDS, and diarrhea together accounted for over 60 per cent of the total national death burden. Uganda is also experiencing an increase in the occurrence of non-communicable diseases such as hypertension, diabetes, cancer, mental illness and chronic heart disease (UPPAP, 2005: 20).

The foregoing exposition, therefore, justifies the choice of education and health as social sectors to be used in establishing the relationship between decentralisation and development in Uganda.

4.3. Sample size

This study involves 960 respondents, 660 of them are individual respondents to the survey questionnaire, while the remaining 300 are focus group discussants. Among the individual respondents, there are 100 teaching staff, 100 medical staff, 100 elected leaders, 60 administrative officials, 60 members of the commissions and boards (30 from each district), 200 service users (100 for each of the two service areas), and 40 non-governmental organisation representatives (20 from each district).

In addition to the individual respondents, twenty (20) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted in which relevant guided topics were presented and discussed by carefully selected participants. Each of the FGDs comprises fifteen (15) participants selected particularly due to their speciality, these being mainly professionals with expert knowledge that are able to analyse the topics in-depth.
The Focus Group Discussions as a technique of investigation were generally selected because of the advantages associated with it. Members are purposively chosen on the basis of their experience/expertise on the topic on which information is sought. For the purpose of this investigation, the FGDs comprise such people as Education Officers, Inspectors of schools, Head Teachers, Health Inspectors, Medical Superintendents, nurses, CAOs, CFOs, TCs, among others.

FGDs are sessions aimed at obtaining respondents’ impressions, interpretations and opinions. This provides the opportunity for a flexible, free-flowing format for the members. The unstructured and spontaneous responses reflect the genuine opinions, ideas and feelings of the members about the topic. FGDs are relatively inexpensive and can provide fairly dependable data within a short-time frame. It also provides valuable qualitative information (Sekaran, 2003: 220; Welman & Kruger, 2004: 188).

The sampling procedure applied in this investigation is non-probability sampling, which does not afford any basis of estimating the probability of each item in the population. Non-probability sampling is also known as deliberate, purposive and judgment sampling. In this type of sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher. In other words, the researcher purposively chooses the particular units of the universe, which constitute a sample on the basis of which a small mass so selected out of the total population will be typical or representative of the whole. Therefore, in non-probability sampling design, the elements in the population do not have any probability attached to their being chosen as sample subjects (Kothari, 2001: 73).
Purposive sampling entails obtaining information from specific target groups. This type of sampling confines itself to specific types of respondents who can provide the desired information. In other words, it involves choosing subjects who are most advantageously placed or in the best position to provide the information required (Sekaran, 2003: 277). This author further argues that qualitative studies also allow small samples of individuals, groups or events to be invariably chosen, in view of the in-depth nature of the study.

Mouton (2001:64) supports this argument by asserting that the desired sample size does not depend on the size of the study population only but also on the variance (heterogeneity) of the variable. As a general rule, the larger the variance of the variable, the larger the sample required. Therefore, in subjects that are relatively homogeneous, a relatively smaller sample may be sufficient. Since decentralised systems of governance in Ugandan districts are relatively homogeneous, a sample size of nine hundred sixty (960) is considered sufficient to generate reliable information (data).

In addition to the non-probability sampling design, the case study approach entails that a limited number of units are analysed which makes the survey well demarcated and specific. The uniqueness of the survey dictates the quality and quantity of the interviewees. The use of triangulation in this study also enables an intensive examination of the small sample of the items, as it is easy to corroborate findings from the different instruments like interviews, questionnaires, in-depth probing, and FGDs. This greatly helps to reduce bias and errors and thereby ensuring that the research findings are reliable (Welman & Kruger, 2004: 183-184).
Therefore, the above techniques justify the selection of the sample size of 960 respondents from the two districts, since the research findings generated using these qualitative techniques would be authentic and valid.

4.4. Sample selection

This study involves objective (structural) as well as subjective (attitudinal) aspects. The structural research instruments require respondents to respond to questions that need testing, such as whether the objectives of decentralisation are being achieved like empowerment, accountability and democracy among others. On the other hand, attitudinal aspects require respondents to make their own judgment without structured questions but just guiding ones. In this case, room is left for respondents to express their opinion as regards decentralisation and development.

As a result, the study analyses the policy performance in terms of objectives in relation to realities at the grassroots level and also the participatory implications. To achieve this, specific respondents/participants are selected and involved in this study that include elected leaders, administrative officials, members of district commissions, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, and individual citizens.

The elected leaders are selected because they are the policy makers, they design the development plans, appoint statutory boards (commissions), appoint School Management Committees, approve Local Government estimates/budgets. Therefore, their decentralised functions influence the quality and quantity of services delivered, hence, their participation impacts either negatively or positively on development.
The administrative officials like the CAO, CFO, DEO, DDHS, nurses, and teachers among others are the implementers of Government programmes. The CAO is the Accounting Officer of the District Local Government; he/she is the head of all administrative officials in the district. The CFO is the Chief Accountant of the Local Government, the DDHS and DEO are the heads of the health and education sectors respectively. The administrative officials do not only implement programmes but also inspect, evaluate them to ensure compliance to set standards. They also initiate/formulate policies for standing committees and councils to approve. In this way, these officials control quality, guarantee value for money before payments are made, and therefore determine the quality and quantity of services delivered.

Members of the commissions like the DSC are selected because they recruit, appoint, discipline, promote and confirm all administrative officials apart from the CAO and TC in the civil service of the Local Governments. Given that human capital is pertinent to service delivery, the quality of personnel appointed largely depends on the integrity and competence of the DSC.

The administrative officials further impact on service delivery because they have replaced the Local Government Tender Boards. Instead of the LGTB, Contracts Committees are comprised by administrative officials. The CAO/TC appoints senior civil servants to constitute it. The Contracts Committee awards tenders for the provision of goods and services. This Committee appropriates Local Government revenues and therefore impacts on service delivery and the resultant development.
Representatives from Non-Governmental Organisations and the Private Sector are selected because they participate in the empowerment of the peasantry through advocacy, capacity building, micro-financing, and most importantly play a leading role in the fight against AIDS. The NGOs therefore complement government efforts in enhancing development.

Service users are selected because they are the beneficiaries of the services delivered. Their satisfaction has to be investigated in order to ascertain how the services impact on the population in terms of development.

The Focus Group Discussants are carefully selected because of their specialisation and experience. The investigator has to rely on these FGD participants to elicit technical information, which enriches the data gathered from questionnaires and interview schedules. These are mainly medical/health and education practitioners who manage the two service areas regularly in the two districts.

4.5. Data collection

In this investigation, the researcher enlists the services of two research assistants who have to undergo training for one week before going on a pilot scheme by collecting data from the field. This pre-testing of the interview schedules and questionnaires helps the researcher to determine the competence of the research assistants, as well as the validity and reliability of the research instruments.

The research assistants have to interview ten service users, ten elected officials, and ten administrative officials for the pilot project. After the operationalisation of the research instruments, they are then circulated among a few research workers
for critical review with regard to the wording, format, sequence of questions, and where necessary to redraft in light of their comments. Interview schedules are originally in English, but some could be translated in vernacular depending on the locality.

The research assistants then collect data from respondents and key informants through face-to-face interviews using structured interview schedules. This is the most important tool; therefore, it has to be carefully presented in person. The research assistants carefully administer the questions and record the responses. A tape recorder is used with the consent of the participants, especially during the FGDs and face-to-face interviews.

Structured questionnaires are also used. These are dispatched to respondents who are able to read and write. The researcher follows up with in-depth probing of principal respondents like the CAO, CFO, DEO and DDHS. This helps in generating detailed information regarding the performance of decentralisation.

4.6. Research instruments and procedures

The research instruments include interviews, questionnaires, Focus Group Discussions, and the secondary sources constituting the literature review.

4.6.1. Interviews

To generate data from respondents, a structured interview schedule is administered as the primary research instrument. This is preferred because as the respondents express their views, the researcher notes down the responses. Depending on the
exigencies of the situation, the researcher takes a lead from a respondent’s answer and, where relevant, asks other questions not on the interview schedule. In this process, new factors are identified, resulting in a deeper understanding. Therefore, this method allows for greater flexibility because it enables the interviewer to restructure questions and repeat them since it is face-to-face (Kothari, 2005:97-99, Thakur, 1998:95, Wilkinson, 2002:201-206, Young, 2001:222, Kumar, 1997:56). Furthermore, the same questions are administered to every respondent in the same manner to ensure the findings are comparable.

The interview schedule is developed by the researcher in such a way that it caters for the study objectives and the research problem. It is mainly useful among illiterate respondents, especially the service users.

4.6.2. Questionnaires

Questionnaires are administered to mainly service providers like elected leaders, administrative officials, and members of statutory boards, NGOs, the private sector, but also to literate service users. The researcher uses the selection type of questions, which mainly involves multiple choice because, as Thanulington (2003: 93) states, multiple-choice questions are more convenient and less bothersome to both researchers and respondents.

This method of data collection is adopted given that this inquiry involves a large number of respondents who cannot be interviewed face-to-face. In this method, questionnaires are sent to respondents that are purposively selected. They answer the questions and return the questionnaires to the researcher. The questionnaire
consists of a number of questions printed using the likert-type scale on a set of forms.

The method is cost effective when the universe is large and widely spread geographically, it is free from the bias of the interviewer, responses are in the respondent’s own words, respondents have adequate time to give well thought-out answers, respondents who are not easily approachable can be reached conveniently, and large samples can be made use of and thus the results are more dependable and reliable (Kothari, 2005: 100-101; Santosh, 2001: 141; Sekaran, 2003: 236-237; Kumur, 1997: 57; Young, 2001: 222; Wilkinson, 2002: 213-218).

Summated scales/Likert-type scales are selected and used because they are relatively easy to construct and they are more reliable because respondents answer each statement, hence providing more information. Each statement is given an empirical test for discriminating ability. These items are easy to score because each response is given a numerical score, indicating its favourableness or unfavourableness, and the scores are totalled to measure the respondent’s attitude.

4.6.3. Focus Group Discussions

This study involves twenty Focus Group Discussions spread equally between the two districts and service sectors. According to Sekaran, (2003:220), the focus group sessions aim at tapping respondents’ impressions, interpretations and opinions. The moderator plays a vital role in steering the discussions as he/she draws out information and keeps members on track. These discussions are conducted at the District Headquarters and at the Lower Local Governments especially at the sub-county level. The participants in these
sessions include elected leaders, administrative officials, representatives of NGOs and civil society organisations, and service users. During these sessions, the researcher and/or the research assistants are the moderators. The moderators record the proceedings verbatim. With the consent of the participants, a tape recorder is used.

During the FGD the researcher tries as much as possible not to deviate from the questions contained in the interview schedules and questionnaires. This is to prevent collecting data that is not comparable (Welman & Kruger, 2004: 187). While this is done, sufficient room is left for participants to purposively deviate in order to experience the life-world of the group members.

During these sessions, the researcher/moderator uses the format suggested by Welman and Kruger (2004:187). The moderator introduces the topic to the group, rules are set like one person speaks at a time, each participant introduces oneself and makes an opening statement regarding his/her experience on the topic, and the moderator then guides the discussion by asking questions. The sessions end with each participant (in turn) giving a final statement. The data collected is analysed and used for the purpose of triangulation by corroborating it with data from other sources (instruments) such as the structured questionnaires and face-to-face interviews.

4.6.4. Secondary sources

Sekaran (2003: 58) defines secondary data as data that already exists and does not have to be collected by the researcher. Some secondary data sources are statistical
bulletins, government publications, published and unpublished academic papers, textbooks, online data, websites and the Internet.

The advantage of seeking secondary data sources in this study has been because it is time saving and cost effective. In using the data, the researcher has to scrutinise it first to avoid unsuitable and inadequate data in the context of the research problem and objectives. Bowley (1937:18) supports this by aptly observing that it is never safe to take published statistics at their face value without knowing their meaning and limitations.

In using the secondary data, the researcher has heeded Kothari’s (2005:111) caution. He asserts that the researcher, before using secondary data should see that they are characterised by reliability, suitability and adequacy. Subsequently, the researcher has had to ensure reliability by analysing such questions as to who collected the data, what were the sources of data, were proper data collection methods used, at what time were they collected and with which level of accuracy. Suitability of the data is analysed by scrutinising the definition of the various terms and units of collection used at the time of collecting the data from the primary source. The object, scope and nature of the original enquiry have also been scrutinised.

Adequacy of the data, which is the level of accuracy achieved in data has also been analysed. Therefore, in using the secondary data, the researcher has only considered data that is reliable, suitable and adequate. This creates a wealth of usable information, which the researcher uses to build a firm foundation for the theoretical framework against which primary data is analysed in the subsequent chapters.
Just as Thanulington (2003:81) states, the researcher finds the use of secondary data economical, ensures validity and reliability, and establishes mislinks between primary and secondary data. These gaps constitute the area of investigation in this study.

4.6.5. Data processing and analysis

Technically, data processing implies editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that they are amenable to analysis (Kothari, 2005: 122). Data editing requires that the researcher will edit the data by examining the collected raw data to detect errors and omissions. Therefore, the researcher will undertake a careful scrutiny of the completed questionnaires and/or schedules. Editing will help to ensure that the data are accurate, consistent with other facts gathered, uniformly entered, and are well arranged to facilitate coding and tabulation. Editing will be done both in the field and centrally.

Field editing will involve the investigator reviewing the reporting forms for completing (translating or rewriting) what the investigator has written in abbreviation and/or in illegible form at the time of recording the respondents’ responses. This type of editing according to Sekaran (2003: 254) is necessary in view of the fact that individual writing styles often can be difficult for others to decipher. This sort of editing will be done as soon as possible after the interview; preferably on the same day to avoid guessing later what the informant could have said. Central editing will take place when all questionnaires or interview schedules have been completed and returned to the central collection centre/office. The editor(s) here will only correct the obvious errors such as entry in the wrong place like entry recorded in months when it should have been recorded in weeks.
Coding refers to the process of assigning numerals or other symbols to answers so that responses can be put into a limited number of categories or classes. The researcher will ensure exhaustiveness and mutual exclusiveness (a specific answer is placed in only one cell in a given category set). Coding will be necessary for the efficient analysis, as several replies will be reduced to a small number of classes, which contain critical information required for analysis.

Classification will take place after the data has been edited and coded. Classification will involve arranging data into sequences and groups according to their common characteristics or separating data into different but related parts (Santosh, 2001: 154-156). As regards this study, data will be classified according to the sample selection like elected leaders, administrative officials, service users, and others. Classification in this study will help to present the facts in a simple form, to clearly bring out points of similarity and dissimilarity, facilitate comparison, and highlight relationships. This will facilitate presenting a mental picture which, in turn, will enable tabulation.

Tabulation is the process of summarising raw data and displaying the same in compact form (in the form of statistical tables) for further analysis. This will be done by orderly arranging data in columns and rows. Tabulation will be done manually and using electronic devices. Manual tabulation will be preferred in analysing results from the FGDs while electronic devices will be used in analysing coded data from questionnaires and/or schedules.

Analysis of the data will take place after editing, coding and tabulation. Analysis will be both descriptive and inferential (i.e. inferential analysis is often known as statistical analysis). The former will be used in the case of FGD results while the
latter will be used for the analysis of results from questionnaires and schedules. It will be on the basis of inferential analysis that the task of drawing inferences and conclusions will be performed. The quantitative data will be analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). Triangulation will help qualitative and quantitative analysis to yield simultaneous interpretation of results. These will be augmented by relevant quotations from respondents, wherever possible and relevant.

4.6.6. Data management and quality control

Several measures will be employed to ensure reliability and validity of data and ease of its management. In the first instance, the pages of the schedules and questionnaires will be firmly fixed using staples and each of these research instruments will be accorded a number that will serve to identify it from any other. Two separate files will be kept (maintained); one for the original copies and another for photocopies/duplicates. The two sets of files will be kept in different cabinets so that in the event one gets lost, the other will be used.

The research assistants will be subjected to induction training for one week to enable them internalise the study problem, objectives, and subsequently the research instruments. The training will include inculcating interview skills like listening, probing and recording responses correctly. These skills will make the administration of the interviews effective and enhance the reliability and validity of the data collected.
4.6.7. Study Limitations

Like any other research undertaking, this study is expected to face both practical and methodological limitations. Methodological limitations will include the small sample of nine hundred sixty (960) respondents out of a study population of over six hundred thousand. The practical limitations may include limited funds, time and knowledge of computerised statistical analysis packages.

However, the researcher plans to mitigate these limitations by firstly recruiting committed and hardworking research assistants who will undergo training on the administration of the interview schedules, questionnaires and management of respondents. Research ethical issues will constitute part of the training for the research assistants. Each research assistant will be offered transport, lunch and a token allowance to facilitate work. This amount will not be enough, but adequate to ensure a good job is done. Research assistants will be briefed in advance about what is expected from them.

Before the final administration of the research instruments, there will be a pre-test undertaken on a small sample of about thirty respondents. This will help to reveal the likely hindrances or challenges and subsequently, remedial measures will be put in place to correct these problems before the investigation takes place.

The researcher and/or research assistants will conduct pre-visits to the respondents to make appointments, explain the purpose of the investigation and hence, build confidence. This will help in minimising suspicion, which is a likely cause of hiding or misrepresenting information by the respondents.
To ensure reliability and consistence, the researcher and research assistants will meet at the end of every session to edit the data and appraise their performance. This formative evaluation will help to reveal deviations and likely problems. The researchers will then chart the way forward.

As regards limited computer knowledge, the principal researcher will improve his computer knowledge by taking more lessons. In addition, he will seek the assistance of computer statistical analysts to help in the application of the SPSS. The methodological limitations will be mitigated by the researcher adopting appropriate research techniques, which will include the qualitative research design; the use of the case study method; and, above all, triangulation of research findings will enhance reliability and validity. The case study method will allow for a deep and detailed study, which will be comprehensive and representative.

4.6.8. Ethical issues

The researcher will seek permission from relevant authorities like the Chief Administrative Officers of Masindi and Sembabule, Town Clerks of Masindi and Sembabule Town Councils, sub-county chiefs, Heads of Civil Society Organisations and NGOs, among others. Respondents will be given information in advance so that permission and appointment is sought to conduct interviews. Examples of letters obtained to secure the permission of chief officials to conduct the investigation in their districts are presented on pages 362 and 363. Data generated will be treated with utmost anonymity and confidentiality. Respondents will reserve the right to withhold information or even to withdraw from the process although such a scenario will be avoided as much as possible.
In the next chapter, the findings generated from the research methods described in this chapter will be presented as they pertain to the general performance of decentralisation in the Ugandan districts of Masindi and Sembabule.
CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL PERFORMANCE OF DECENTRALISATION IN UGANDA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE MASINDI AND SEMBABULE DISTRICTS

5 0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the general performance of decentralisation in relation to service delivery and development in the two selected districts in Uganda. It will cover aspects such as the participants in decentralised governance, their relationships, the quality of service delivery, the responsiveness and value of the services, partnerships with the private sector, and the distribution of benefits under decentralised governance.

The findings are generated from the research instruments, namely the questionnaires, interview schedules, and focus group discussions. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the questionnaire mostly made use of a five-point Likert scale to obtain ratings for each of the items. In the discussion of the findings, reference will be made to responses to specific items on each of the various aspects relating to decentralisation and development. The percentages of respondents who “agreed” with a statement represent the sum of responses under the categories “strongly agree” and “agree”, while the percentages of respondents who “disagreed” with a statement represent the sum of responses under the categories “strongly disagree” and “disagree”. Where applicable, the remaining percentage represents those respondents who were neutral with respect to the particular statement.
This chapter is a response to the general objective of the study, which is to analyse the performance of decentralisation policy in terms of its effectiveness in the delivery of services. The chapter specifically addresses the effectiveness of the legal and institutional framework of decentralisation in Uganda. However, before focusing on the findings in respect of the performance of decentralisation in Uganda, it is first necessary to provide an overview of the biographical profile of the respondents.

5.1. Biographical data

The study on the general performance of decentralisation covered all the relevant stakeholders, namely the administrative staff, elected officials, service users, private sector, and members of the Commissions and Boards of the Local Governments in the two districts.

All the targeted nine hundred sixty (960) respondents participated. Out of these, four hundred forty five (445) were males and five hundred fifteen (515) were females, representing 46.4 and 53.6 percent respectively. The percentage of females is higher because it was established that there are more female service users especially in respect to the Health and Education service sectors than males. Most health centre records revealed that more female service users visited the service units to have their children treated or for antenatal care than male service users.
With regards to the ages of the respondents, the frequency was as indicated in table 3 below:

**Table 3: Age bracket of the respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (in years)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 –29</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 39</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>960</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Original*

Nearly ninety per cent of the respondents were within the age bracket of 20 to 59 years, which represents the economically active sector of the Ugandan population. This is the age bracket when people are analytical about their quality of life and therefore value quality service delivery.

The education level of respondents is also significant when making an appraisal of government performance, which this chapter is particularly concerned with.
**Table 4  The education levels of respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors degree</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters degree</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorial degree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>960</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Original*

The table above reveals that over sixty percent (60%) of the respondents had attained post primary education. Quite a significant proportion of the respondents (38.8%) had at least attended primary level education. This was possible because the study used the purposive sampling technique whereby the researcher selected segments of the population from which he could generate the required data (basic literacy skills was a factor considered when choosing respondents).

Generally, most service users had attained primary and secondary education, and service providers were mainly graduates with diplomas and degrees. The elected officials had mainly attended secondary education with a few graduates like the chairpersons of the two districts.
The occupation of the respondents was pertinent in this research due to the influence this had on the attitudes of respondents with respect to decentralised service delivery. They manifested the following characteristics:

Table 5: Occupation of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public servant</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>960</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Original*

Of the respondents, over seventy percent were involved in decentralised service delivery related roles. Within the private sector were the business persons who were local contractors and service providers who were partners in local governance. Therefore, their experience and/or expertise was central in the generation of original, authentic and empirical data. It is important to note that the respondents represent a fairly equal distribution among administrative officials, elected officials, private sector, and service users.
5.2. Working definition of decentralisation and development

For respondents to react objectively to research instruments, it is important to analyse how they conceptualise the key terms, namely decentralisation and development. Therefore, the Focus Group Discussions that were held at the district headquarters of Masindi and Sembabule comprising elected leaders at district level resulted in agreement on the following working definition of decentralisation.

“Decentralisation in Uganda implies a transfer of political and administrative authority for enhanced social harmony, growth and poverty reduction”

The administrative officials asserted:

“Decentralisation is an alternative development approach by which government has recognised that highly centralised and bureaucratic approaches to planning and implementing public sector programmes hindered development.”

The above definitions by both elected and administrative officials are in line with the central objective of decentralisation in Uganda, which underlines the centrality of service delivery.

“Decentralisation reform objectives intend to shift responsibility for development from the centre to Local Governments as instruments aimed at improving local democracy and enhancing the effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability of service delivery”

(Decentralisation Secretariat, 1994:13)

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27 Focus group discussion definition for Sembabule elected leaders on 16.11.2006.
28 Working definition by FGD with administrative officials of Masindi district on 15.11.2006
Whereas the above objective was acknowledged by the discussants, the chairperson of Sembabule district noted as follows: -

“The reality is that over the period of implementation, the main argument for decentralisation has tended to concentrate on the motive for democratic reform as a means of promoting popular democracy and has focused less on the economic argument or efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery29”.

The concept development was construed by the elected and administrative officials to refer to decentralised service delivery by which a stream of benefits to recipient communities would improve their socio-economic welfare and eventually liberate them from pervasive poverty. Therefore, development to them means increase in quantity and quality of service delivery.

An old woman in Kimengo sub-county of Masindi district understood development to mean: -

“All that we understand by development in the rural setting is having health services, good roads, schools, water and security30”.

Having conceptualised the two terms, a critical analysis of decentralised service delivery will follow with specific reference to quantity, quality, accessibility, human resources, and fiscal decentralisation. Therefore, the next sector will be categorised into three broad sections focusing on the performance of decentralisation in Uganda.

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29 Interview with Sentongo on 16.11.2006.
Firstly, the institutional framework and relationships between stakeholder groups (administrative officials, private sector, elected officials and service users), will receive attention with emphasis on the manner they have impacted on or influenced service delivery. Secondly, the achievements of decentralisation in Uganda will be assessed with specific reference to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of service delivery. Thirdly, the challenges associated with decentralisation will be discussed.

5.3. Institutional structures for decentralised service delivery

The institutional structures for decentralised service delivery was mainly analysed by focus group discussants. Discussants noted that a number of institutional structures existed that facilitate the delivery of services to recipient communities. During the Focus Group Discussion session held at the Kigumba sub-county of Masindi district, the Central Government Line Ministries, Local Governments and the Private Sector were identified as the major structures for service delivery under the decentralised governance.

5.3.1. Central Government Line Ministries

The discussants at the FGD comprising elected leaders and administrative officials at Sembabule district headquarters noted that the Central Government Line Ministries had retained the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of national policies and adherence to performance standards on the part of Local Governments. A Local Council III Chairperson of Lugusulu sub-county of the Sembabule district observed as follows:
“Although the role of the line ministries was to inspect, monitor and where necessary offer technical advice, many Central Government Ministries continued to undertake direct roles in decentralised service delivery\textsuperscript{31}.

To substantiate the above claim, he quoted the case where the Ministry of Water had awarded tenders for the construction of water tanks without involving the local leadership in the district of Sembabule.

A similar scenario was quoted during the FGD held at the Masindi district headquarters where Zimwe Contractors were awarded to construct water dams without the involvement of the Masindi local leadership. This contradicts the spirit and objectives of decentralisation, that is, the transfer of authority by devolution for the purposes of political, administrative and financial management from the Central Government to the Local Governments, including procurement of goods and services.

5.3.2. Local Governments

Members of the discussion panels at the district level in both districts agreed with the LGA, 1997, when they asserted that Local Government Councils are organs of Local Government that are closest to the people. They also concurred that by exercising executive and legislative authority, the elected Local Government Councils were responsible for effective service delivery, as well as the promotion of economic and social development within their areas of jurisdiction.

\textsuperscript{31} Focus group discussion held on 12.11.2006 at Sembabule District headquarters.
When asked to identify such services, the FGDs in both Masindi and Sembabule outlined education services (covering nursery, primary, secondary, trade, special and technical education), primary health care services, water services, construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of roads as not falling under the responsibility of the Central Government.

In both districts, it was a common feature that technical departments existed and were coordinated by the Technical Planning Committee (TPC). These technical departments implemented council’s policies and programmes under the guidance of the executive committee of council and the supervision of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO).

The CAO of Sembabule district expressed that this institutional arrangement was replicated at Lower Local Government levels, which served as entry points for development programmes, even by NGOs and/or CSOs. However, during a FGD with the elected leaders of Matete sub-county of the Sembabule district, the councillors complained that although they participated in planning and identifying programmes, the District Local Government often ended up changing their proposals. Hence, it was not always the aspirations of the local communities that were eventually reflected in the development plan. This contradiction undermines one of the advantages of decentralisation of having tailor – made solutions to location specific problems.

However, out of 200 service users interviewed, 80 percent acknowledged that the service coverage of NGOs spanned beyond conventional service areas like health and education to include advocacy and oversight of Local Governments. FGDs with administrative officials in both Masindi and Sembabule underlined the
increasing role of CSOs in the policy formulation, planning and implementation. This had enhanced policy responsiveness to the needs and rights of the poor people.

The same service users indicated by an overwhelming 82 percent who said they felt more secure under the care of NGOs and CSOs than of the administrative officials. They revealed that government workers (administrative officials) were more arrogant, egocentric and therefore less responsive to local poverty conditions.

5.3.3. Private Sector

The introduction of decentralisation as a policy was accompanied by the liberalisation of the economy. This led to partnership between Government and the private sector in the provision of services. Subsequently, the involvement of the private sector has increasingly gained currency as an effective strategy in the decentralised service delivery.

During the in-depth probing of District Directors (heads of department) in Masindi district, they asserted that the private sector was working with Local Governments as contractors/suppliers in works, goods or services, operators of Local Government services like urban water provision, and managers of tenders for revenue utilities like markets and taxi parks.

The same scenario was cited in Sembabule but in addition, the focus group discussion with the District Directors, enumerated service areas provided by the private sector to include the Private Not For Profit (PNFP) health care institutions that receive grants from the Central Government to provide services. In the
education sector, the private sector was noted to have provided significant education at primary, secondary and even university levels.

The focus group discussions with representatives of the private sector also acknowledged / recognised that the private sector did not only deliver services but also created employment. Unfortunately, a representative of Link Community Development, an international voluntary NGO working in Masindi, revealed that:

"Due to a lack of coordination with the District Education Department, there was duplication and role conflict..."

If the private sector was to perform well, then the LGs need to provide a conducive environment so that the private sector can deliver the needed services, provide employment, and thus contribute to development.

5.3.4. Civil Society Organisations

The role of CSOs has in many ways intensified and deepened both at national and sub national level. It therefore has tremendous potential for fostering good governance and development at the local level in Uganda. The chairperson of Masindi Local Government said:

"Civil society in Uganda is a necessary counter balance for good governance and efficient demand driven service delivery."

The CSOs mobilise, sensitisce, advocate and build capacity amongst the local citizens who learn to manage themselves and to demand for their rights. Such a

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32 During FGD with private sector representatives on 17.11.2006 at Masindi District Education offices.
33 Interview with Mr. Birija Steven on 17.11.2006
society will ensure that quality services are delivered and even demand for accountability.

5.4. Stakeholder relationships and service delivery

There are three pillars that make up society; namely civil society sector (which includes the NGOs), faith based organisations, and political parties, (Nsibambi, 1998: 14). In the delivery of services under decentralised local governance, the three sectors relate both vertically and horizontally. The quantity and quality of service delivery, by and large, depends on the nature of the relationship between the stakeholders.

During the focus group discussion with elected leaders in Miirya sub-county in Masindi district, the discussants identified the following as the stakeholders in the Local Government setting:

- Elected officials.
- Appointed officials (including members of the statutory boards).
- Service providers (including the private sector).
- Service users (recipient communities).

Of the two hundred and forty (240) respondents to the interview schedule, service users, private sector and civil society organisation members who were asked to express their impression on stakeholder relations, 53 percent said it was lacking/bad, 39 percent said it was good and 8 per cent were non-committal.
The LC II Chairperson of Kyatiri Parish in Masindi supported this scenario when he asserted that:

“The elected and appointed officials are often antagonistic to one another. The source of conflict is sometimes power (who has more authority) and also economic especially when it comes to contracts.”

When the service users, private sector and civil society members were interviewed about the characteristics of their councillors, a representative of Link Community Development, an international NGO in Masindi, described the type of people who are councillors as

“At the grassroots level of L.C I and L.C II, the councillors are not necessarily rich and powerful. They are elected primarily because other villagers consider them as trustworthy leaders.”

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34 Interview with Mugisha on 22.11.2006
35 Interview with Evans on 22.11.2006
This is in line with the findings of Vincent (1971: 114), who found that marital status (polygamy), occupation like farming, land rights and cattle ownership, and permanency in local residence are the status symbols of village leadership.

As for the profiles of councillors at the sub-county (L.C III), municipality (LC IV) and district/city (L.C V) level, they tended to be more elite and came from an establishment background. Quite a few have attended a university education and have impressive careers in the formal sector. Nyakato, a resident of Lugusulu in the Ssembabule district described the women councillors as follows: -

“Our female councillors always have a teacher or community activity background.”

As for the male councillors, the majority was found to be businessmen, former teachers or generally retired civil servants. This is in line with the findings of Tidemand (1994: 34) during his fieldwork study in Buganda, who found that most councillors were fluent in English and their profiles were by no means associated with poverty by Ugandan standards. He particularly described women councillors as those who tended to have experience in organising women’s groups, often in association with NGOs.

During an interview with Masindi town councillors, they were asked why they wanted to become councillors and a newly elected councillor responded as follows:

“I want to participate in politics in order to bring development to my town.”

35 Interview with Nyakato on 17.11.2006
37 Response by Dorah of Masindi TC on 27.11.2006
Another Kyamanywa, who had belonged to the previous council but had been re-elected said:

“I want to finish what I had initiated. I had a work plan in my last term, but I could not fulfill it”.

These statements echo what other councillors in Sembabule said during a focus group discussion since they indicated that they basically would like to bring development to their areas of jurisdiction. In some cases, they responded that they wanted to bring more specific improvements to homes in their areas, send children to schools, modernise agriculture and increase income-generating opportunities.

The chairperson of Hospital Ward in Sembabule Town Council assessed the job of being a councillor in the following ways:

“It is rewarding if we can resolve various simple problems in the village: feeder roads, digging and cleaning wells, improvement of school building, sanitation and home hygiene and cultivation of food”.

From the above exposition, it is clear that local councillors have a sense of direction and accomplishment. However, in all these discussions and interviews, the common view was that work at the grassroots level of decentralised governance is voluntary and since there was no local revenue to be generated, some times it was difficult to get things done.

For the councillors to be efficient and effective, they are expected to harness popular participation at the grassroots level to discuss and resolve local issues.

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38 Response by Kyamanywa of Masindi TC on 27.11.2006
39 Interview with the chairperson Mr. Musoke Mulindwa on 12.11.2006
Ordinarily, meetings are expected to be convened at village level monthly. When asked about the attendance of village council meetings, Kyemashaija, a councillor of Lutunku village in Sembabule district described the typical situation as follows:

“There are certain topics which tend to attract more people to come to meetings. They are security, donor assistance projects and visits of officials like Members of Parliament (MPs) and higher level councils. The topics related to development do not necessarily attract higher attendance.”

Of the 200 service users interviewed, 136 respondents representing 68 per cent said that they participated in the decision-making process of the LCI. Tukahebwa (1997: 52) also found that of the 150 he interviewed on LCI attendance, 63 per cent responded in the affirmative with respect to their participation in the decision-making meetings in their villages.

Figure 6 Responses on participation in village meetings by service users

These service users also particularly singled out meetings related to Education and Health as attracting more people than other subjects. Accordingly, the high

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40 Interview with Kyemashaija on 12.11.2006
attendance facilitates the participation of citizens at grassroots level in decisions pertaining to school classroom construction, health centre construction and management.

Of the 32 percent who did not attend village meetings regularly, their response was that they considered that it was the job of the councillors and not for themselves to perform such work that is related to service delivery. Some even asked questions like:

“Since councillors receive allowances, why can’t they do the work instead of asking the poor to contribute”?

Therefore, a significant proportion of service users believed that service delivery was precisely what political leaders promised during the election campaigns and hence, they should be responsible for undertaking these tasks, yet the leaders could not easily sacrifice their personal wealth for community service delivery since they spent substantial sums of money during elections. This attitude undermines the traditional “bulungi bwansi” culture which is supposed to be voluntary and by which community development could be enhanced.

The FGD session comprising councillors of Matete sub-county in Sembabule district qualified the above scenario by asserting that the most participative social group were the women and the least participative were the youth. According to the youth, their main concern was immediate income since the unemployment rate is very high especially among the educated. The Uganda National Bureau of Statistics report of 2005/6 financial year puts youth unemployment at 79 percent overall and 68 per cent for the educated. However, one councillor explained thus:

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41 Question by Nsubuga of Matete Sub-county on 28.12.2006
42 Bulungi bwansi – This is community welfare service that is voluntarily offered by adult able-bodied community members.
“If we wish to attract the youth we have to organise beer drinking in conjunction with the meetings.”

During an interview with the youth of Mitete trading centre of Matete sub-county of Sembabule district, they were questioned on their negative attitude towards participation in Local Governments and the following response was noted:

“Participation in Local Government does not carry any meaning because even if we participate, our views are never taken seriously by councillors who promise to take action but more often than not, nothing happens.”

The youth therefore believe that their participation would not change anything. It is interesting to note that such attitudes were not only manifested by the youth. An elderly male farmer in Kigumba sub-county in Masindi district complained that:

“The concerns raised by people at the grassroots level do not seem to attract enough attention for problem solving. This makes us feel that we are ignored.”

Such attitudes do not promote participative democracy and service delivery. Another measure of participation is the frequency of contact between councillors and the ordinary people or service users. At the LC I/village level, councillors and service users reside in the same neighbourhood; hence, the contacts are very frequent and mostly informal. However, the degree of frequency in contacts is considerably reduced when it comes to interacting with councillors and

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43 Statement by Kakembo on 28.11.06
44 Quotation from Semambo on 28.11.06
45 Complaint by Mukasa on 21.11.2006
administrative officials at higher levels. Some of the grassroots people did not know their councillors at LC III though LC V levels.

Testimonies from the elected leaders and service users regarding the frequency of contact between LC V councillors and grassroots people were in conflict. On the one hand, LC V councillors maintained that when they were invited to the LC I and III meetings, they attended. However, the ordinary people/service users insisted they only saw LC V councillors once a year. A young lady in Kabango village in the Masindi district expressed her views as follows:

“For LC V Councillors, we do not see them often. Sometimes once in a year or none at all. They just pass by in cars and never stop to talk to us. They are worse than LC III councillors.”

According to this respondent, “Democracy goes into slumber once elections are over”. This was the view of most people interviewed in Masindi and Sembabule. It has to be noted that the LC system under the decentralised system of governance has to work in two ways. On the one hand, it is supposed to disseminate government programmes and policies from the Central Government to the grassroots level in the same way the councillors are supposed to reflect peoples’ views and needs and pass them upwards. From the above views expressed by the service users in the two Ugandan districts, it is quite apparent that the hierarchy seems to function more as a top-down and less as a bottom-up mechanism.

This is in conformity with the findings of Golooba-Mutebi (1999: 18) who found that local councillors in Mukono cited people’s ignorance, poverty and unemployment as being responsible for their hostility towards community

46 Statement by Akumu Anne on 22/11/2006 during an interview
participation. Accordingly, it made the work of councillors to mobilise the grassroots people very difficult, yet sometimes there had been little or no financial assistance from the higher levels of Government especially the Central Government.

However, even if financial assistance is available, it is more often than not monopolised by the chairperson of the local council without the knowledge or participation of the councillors. When one councillor in Masindi district was asked whether increased funding would improve the situation, he responded thus:

“Yes, we will be more motivated to try to convince the people who are ignorant and those who are stubborn. We would make more visits to the villages”

The other stakeholder relationship that this study analysed is the one between service providers (especially administrative officials) and the service users. This is probably the most important relationship if quality services are to be delivered. When the teachers in Masindi Town Council were asked during the FGD session which factors affected school performance, they almost unanimously stated that it was their relationship with the parents of the pupils. The same was echoed by the Medical Superintendent of Masindi Hospital when he asserted as follows:

“If doctors and nurses have a bad attitude towards their patients, then patients are unlikely to use a health facility.”

Good relationships with service providers can enable users to be organised in support of a facility to raise funds for improvement and/or development. Both

47 Interview with Kanagingi Atenyi of Masindi district on 09.12.2006
48 Quotation by medical superintendent of Masindi Hospital on 10.12.2006
teachers and medical practitioners agreed during the FGDs that one way of improving and formalising the relationship between service providers and users in education and health is the establishment of school and health management committees. During the FGD by the District Directors of Sembabule district at the district headquarters, the CAO emphasised the partnership between service providers and users in the following way:

“It is because of the strategic importance of teamwork that the law emphasises the formation of school and health management committees. These committees bring the service providers and users together in a partnership.”

5.5. Decentralised governance and the quality of service delivery

The relationship between elected leaders and the service users at the grassroots level revealed a significant gap in terms of the expectations of decentralisation. This gap exists because of a lack of coherent understanding of the roles among stakeholders which invariably affects the quality and quantity of services delivered.

During the FGD session with the District Directors (heads of department) of the Sembabule district. It was noted that due to decentralisation, there had been a marked increase in the levels of services delivered by Local Government entities. It was also highlighted that decentralisation had increased the civic responsibility of the recipient communities. The group further acknowledged that the implementation of the system of decentralised service delivery in Uganda had also attracted an unprecedented growth in the volume of government and donor

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49 Statement by Mr Twesigye CAO of Sembabule during FGD session on 16.11.2006
funding. The consequence of this increased transfer of resources had seen the expansion of the quantity and quality of service facilities.

The chairperson of Sembabule Local Government during an interview argued that:

“Decentralised service delivery is responsible for the reduction of the severity of household poverty and has led to indirect creation of employment opportunities. The labour based approach to feeder roads maintenance is one of the ways by which household incomes have increased”.

The Secretary for Health of Masindi district supported the above assertion when she said:

“The expansion of health, water and sanitation services has led to comparatively increased access to services and subsequently improved the quality of life”.

During the interaction between the researcher and the district executive committee members of the People With Disabilities (PWDs) in Sembabule at the district headquarters, they were asked to express their view about the quality of services delivered and how they impacted on the disabled. They noted that service delivery mechanisms took into consideration the needs of the marginalised. The chairperson of the PWDs said:

“Today, we are considered as important members of the society. Education facilities are constructed with provision for people with disabilities and the sanitary facilities are provided separately for both sexes”.

50 In-depth probing of Mr. Herman Sentongo, chairperson Sembabule on 16.11.2006.
51 FGD session with members of the district executive committee on 14.11.2006
52 Statement by Mr. Nsereko during FGD session with PWDs on 16.11.2006.
The members of the PWDs committee were also appreciative of the removal of user fees that had also enabled the poor categories of the communities to access services like education and health.

A general statement was presented to 660 respondents (including the service users, administrative officials, elected leaders and private sector representatives) on whether decentralisation was a good policy that had led to development. The responses were 66 percent (436) said Yes, 32 per cent (211) said No, and 2 percent (13) were Uncertain. The dominant view was that people considered decentralisation to be useful and performing well. When asked why they rated decentralisation positively, most respondents said it had improved service delivery, provided jobs to their children, and reduced the distance to health and education service centres.

**Figure 7  Responses to whether decentralisation led to development**

![Graph showing responses to whether decentralisation led to development]
The 32 percent who responded that decentralisation had not led to development were largely angry and frustrated. Some had lost in the previous elections, others were denied tenders or employment opportunities, and some thought government was responsible for the widespread poverty.

The degree of appreciation for decentralisation was relatively higher in Masindi than in Sembabule, whereas for Masindi, the degree of appreciation was 71 percent that of Sembabule was 61 percent. The response pattern indicated a similarity with the reason for choosing the two districts, namely Masindi is an old, well established, politically stable district where decentralisation had been originally piloted, Sembabule was a newly created, small district characterised by political and ethnic squabbles. The two districts provide a contrasting environment for investigating decentralised service delivery.

Different age groups also showed varied responses as regards the performance of decentralisation. To the youth, the system was not appealing. A frustrated and angry young man in Chema village of the Masindi district stated during an interview that:

"Nobody listens to us. We have no voice in the government."

The same disappointment was attested to by several rural youths in both districts as many of them thought decentralisation had been established to benefit a few “thieves” at the district headquarters who were after amassing wealth instead of ensuring service delivery and poverty reduction.

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53 Interview with Abdallah Ochia on 14.11.2006.
Education levels also influenced the responses with respect to satisfaction about the performance of decentralisation. The investigation generally revealed that the higher the level of educational attainment, the lower the level of satisfaction with decentralisation. Intuitively, it can be reasoned that the educated have had more interactions with other affluent Local Governments that offer alternatives for comparison. The other reason could be that since they are learned, their analytical capacity is more developed and therefore their expectations are higher in respect of decentralised service delivery. However, from the Focus Group Discussions in both Masindi and Sembabule districts, it was generally acknowledged by the administrative officials that there was significant improvement in the quality of services in the health, education, road, water and production sectors.

According to the Chief Administrative Officer of Sembabule district, improvement had been registered because of increased involvement or participation of people in the planning and delivery of the services. However, some of the participants in the FGD session\textsuperscript{54} also noted that some times the increase in services had been undermined by deterioration in quality. For instance, they reported that the high involvement rates in primary schools for the Universal Primary Education (UPE) had led to deterioration in the quality of education offered.

5.6. **Decentralisation and poverty reduction**

In response to the question of whether decentralisation had led to poverty reduction, the responses generated from the 200 service users that were interviewed were 68 percent agreed, 3.1 percent were neutral and 28.9 per cent

\textsuperscript{54} Focus group discussion by District directors of Sembabule district on 16.11.2006
disagreed. When asked to explain why they felt that poverty had reduced, one woman in Kasaana, Sembabule district said:

“Naked children are now rare. They wear some sort of cloth. We can also do small business”

The 28.9 percent who disagreed also had reasons. For example, an old man in Lugusulu sub-county of Sembabule district believed that decentralisation had not done enough as regards extension services by the agriculture and veterinary departments. As a result, soil fertility had been declining and cattle related diseases were on the increase, which contributed to perpetuating poverty.

Figure 8: responses on whether decentralisation has led to poverty reduction

![Bar chart showing responses to whether decentralisation has led to poverty reduction.](image)

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55 Interview with Babirye who owns a small shop at Kasaana Township on 12.11.2006.
Another Muhima man from the same sub-county of Lugusulu also said life was never easy and blamed it to lack of responsiveness by Local Government extension workers. He said:

“In the past, cattle were considered wealth but now there are fewer animals. Diseases often affect the animals. It is difficult to sell them when we need to”

A youth in Mitete parish of Sembabule district while lamenting about poverty said:

“Poverty is even getting worse because of HIV/AIDS. Even investment in education makes the future bleak. It is possible to get HIV/AIDS regardless of education level”

Nonetheless, despite the pessimistic expositions above, basing on the responses given to this statement, respondents were generally more positive than negative about the fact that poverty had been reduced as a result of decentralisation.

5.7. Decentralisation and empowerment of the socially disadvantaged

The theories of decentralisation argue that decentralisation brings services closer to the people and through their participation, especially of the socially disadvantaged, they are more empowered by participating in the decision-making process. This question on empowerment was posed to the youth, women, elderly and disabled persons during the Focus Group Discussions. The responses to whether decentralisation had enhanced empowerment amongst these interest groups were 56 percent responded Yes, 39 percent responded No, and 5 percent were Uncertain.

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56 Interview with Rugasha on 12.11.2006.
57 Lamentation by Semwezi on 13.11.2006.
However, it is interesting to note that these responses varied from one interest group to another. The women felt more empowered because of the affirmative action arising from the quota system which requires that women representatives comprise a third of the council, the executive committee and the statutory boards at all levels of local governance. Some women argued that they are more empowered because of their involvement with NGOs and CBOs that are working in their areas. These organisations help to create awareness, mobilise, offer micro-finance opportunities and build capacity among the females.

While the young and energetic women were appreciative of the empowerment arising from decentralisation, the men and the elderly women had contrary views. One old man in Kiryandongo sub-county in the Masindi district during an interview responded as follows:

“This Government. Everything they bring is for women. They are given loans, from micro finance, heifers, poultry. We men are neglected.”

The elderly women and youths echoed this feeling of being marginalised too. An elderly woman in Kigumba complained that:

“We the elderly are often asked to look after children who are mainly orphans who have lost parents due to HIV/AIDS.”

The general trend in Uganda is that when people grow older than 60, they start losing most of their relatives and friends; hence, their social networks shrink. This explains why, after 60, most old people have less positive views. They are most hit

58 Interview with Okello of Kiryandongo on 20/11/2006.
59 Interview with Maama Kiseka on 20/11/06
by poverty yet they cannot get help because of a lack of a social security scheme in Uganda. This interpretation largely corresponds with the average life expectancy in Uganda, which is about 50 years according to the 2005 UNDP Report on Human Development.

The youth were among those who felt that decentralisation had not empowered them. They argued that although youth councils had been established, they were not facilitated and therefore less effective. A youth leader in the Sembabule Town Council argued as follows:

“We, the youth are only important during elections. This is when powerful politicians even make telephone calls to us. After that, they even do not wave to us if they happen to come home.”

Another female youth from Kinyara in the Masindi district pointed out that:

During the general elections, most of us (youths) supported the opposition because we thought it was the only way we could express out disgust with the lies of the current politicians.

When the youths were asked whether voting for the opposition had helped to change the attitude of the leadership, one of them said:-

“It seems all our leaders are made of the same material. Even the ones we voted for have turned into kings and forgotten us.”

The disabled people were the most positive about the impact of decentralisation on their empowerment. According to them, they are now part of the ruling class since they are elected to the Local Councils, have an executive of their own from the

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60 Interview with Kafeero of Sembabule T/C on 16.11.2006
61 Responses from youth leaders during FGD on 21.11.2006.
village to national level, they are able to network with NGOs and CBOs, and they are no longer segregated from the management of public affairs. Given that the disabled did not enjoy such privileges before, they felt that the decentralisation policy had greatly empowered them.

**Figure 9** Responses of the socially disadvantaged on whether decentralisation had empowered them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally, the responses manifest that the socially disadvantaged have been empowered by decentralisation as compared to the situation before it was introduced as a system of local governance.

5.8. **Decentralisation and responsiveness of service delivery**

Those in favour of decentralisation argue that this system of governance better matches public services with the needs of the citizens by designing strategies that are tailored to address location specific problems. To test the responsiveness of decentralised service delivery, the service users in both districts were interviewed as to whether decentralisation was responding to the needs of the citizens.

Out of the 200 respondents, 34 percent (68) disagreed, 4 percent (8) were neutral, and 62 percent (124) agreed with the view that the decentralised service delivery in
Uganda was responsive to the demands and needs of the ordinary citizens. Those who argued positively said that the citizens at the grassroots level are involved in the management of their Local Government affairs through their elected leaders. Some of the respondents claimed that through participatory planning, they participated in determining the projects to be implemented in their villages especially those related to health, education and water. They also indicated that LCs consult them on development projects. Some of these service users are also members of the health, water and school management committees. This also facilitates their involvement in Local Government decision-making.

The 34 percent who responded negatively constituted quite a substantial portion of the service users. According to them, cliques of self-seekers have dominated decentralisation. They claim that, when elections are held, the rich who want to benefit from gaining power in Local Councils use money to get elected or to sponsor their agents. Subsequently, the perception is that ordinary citizens have no say and do not determine what goes on in their areas since these decisions are made by elites who are in power.

**Figure 10** Responses to whether decentralisation enhanced responsiveness

- **62%** Agreed
- **4%** Neutral
- **34%** Disagree
According to one service user in the Lwebitakuli sub-county of the Sembabule district:

“The LCs appoint their former campaign agents on the school or health management committees. This is the way they are paid.”

The danger of this is that even when these appointees misbehave, as with misappropriation, no one can accuse them because they enjoy the protection of the politicians. This makes decentralisation less responsive to the local needs. Furthermore, one of the local councillors at the Kyatiri Parish in Masindi district had this to say:

“The decentralisation process has been frustrated by the district leaders who, after the parish planning committees have proposed what they need in terms of development; it is changed by the district council.”

The same finding was made by Balunywa (2006: 11) when investigating conflicts in Local Governments in Uganda when he found that one of the causes of this conflict was the lack of networking between higher and lower Local Governments. He noted that this affected the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery. The danger of such conflicts is that the recipient communities end up failing to access and benefit from the required services, which contradicts the strategic mission of the decentralisation policy in Uganda.

63 Interview with Bonabantu on 23.11.2006

64 Interview with Kaheru on 20.11.2006.


5.9. Decentralisation and value of the services

Decentralisation is assumed to enhance value for money in service delivery. This is true when decentralised service delivery manifests efficiency, transparency, responsiveness, accountability, and generally good governance. To test this, the researcher sought the opinion of the service users on whether decentralisation was providing value for money in terms of service delivery. This particular question had two dimensions; the first related to the costs related to setting up service delivery units and the second was associated with services being provided in a cost–effective manner when the units become operational.

Out of the 200 service users targeted by the survey, 34.8 percent disagreed, 2.3 percent were neutral, and 62.9 percent agreed with the view that decentralisation in Uganda enhanced value for money in terms of service delivery. This positive response was particularly in respect of the second dimension, which concerned services provided by the units like Health and Education centres.

The 34.8 percent of the respondents who disagreed that there was value for money in terms of services were particularly responding to the shoddy work by contractors. One services user in Kimengo sub-county of the Masindi district stated that:

“In our district, there is no value for work. The buildings constructed are so poor because of corruption. Contractors share money with politicians and civil servants.”

65 Interview with Komakech on 20.11.2006.
In Sembabule district, the service users expressed similar dissatisfaction with decentralised service delivery. At Kasaana primary school, a five-stance latrine collapsed even before it was used. While in the Kigumba sub-county of Masindi, the district chairperson who went to commission a new classroom block had to adjourn the function when he found the building had cracks in it. This made the service users believe that there was no value for money in terms of the services and hence, this undermines the performance of decentralisation.

Another pertinent issue that emerged during the Focus Group Discussion with service users was that of the distribution of decentralised benefits. Decentralisation is supposed to enhance equitable distribution of services and resources from the consolidated fund to Local Governments. The resources transfer is supposed to create regional balance and to reduce poverty once these resources trickle to the grassroots level. However, from the responses, the general perception was that decentralised service delivery had not been equitably distributed. Respondents argued that “middle men” benefitted more from decentralisation than the average citizens in the two districts. A respondent in Sembabule said that:

“Although citizens in the district are supposed to benefit from decentralised contracts, tenders are often awarded to contractors from the Masaka district who bring labourers with them. So we cannot sell bricks, sand, stones and even unskilled labour. This makes us not beneficiaries of the decentralisation policy.”

Besides this, the service users also claimed that district leaders were not fair in distributing projects to the various parts of the district. An old man in the Kijujubwa parish in Masindi maintains that:

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66 Focus group discussion of service users on 23.11.2006 at Matete sub-county, Sembabule district.
“Our road has never been made for the last four years because our area never voted for the chairperson during the election.”67

The implication of this is that leaders provide services to politically friendly areas, thereby contradicting the distributive role of decentralisation.

**5.10. Conclusion**

The views expressed by service users at the grassroots level hinted at both positive and negative aspects of decentralisation performance in Uganda. On the one hand, it is encouraging that people value the decentralisation system since they appreciate the importance of participation, networking amongst various stakeholders, and easy access to service units due to proximity.

The overall assessment of the decentralisation system was different in different areas, age groups, education levels, and at times genders. As a result, there were a number of problems that the grassroots citizens cited that inhibit decentralisation performance. These include: poor working relationships between elected leaders and administrative officials, inadequate financial resources at the grassroots level, non-responsive service delivery, and unequal distribution of decentralised resources and projects.

Despite these problems, the service users still contend that the decentralised service delivery has largely been successful. The next chapter will analyse specific issues in the decentralisation process in Uganda such as human resources

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67 Interview with Mzee Kamukama on 27.11.2006.
management, procurement management and fiscal related issues with specific reference to how these impact on development.
CHAPTER SIX
DECENTRALISED HUMAN RESOURCES AND
PROCUREMENT MANAGEMENT IN MASINDI AND
SEMBABULE DISTRICTS

6.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter will be to analyse the effectiveness of the arrangements for decentralised human recourses and procurement management in the Masindi and Sembabule districts. The issue of Human Resources Management (HRM) is central to decentralised service delivery since it is the capacity and/or quality of the human capital that will determine the quality of the services delivered. For this reason, this chapter will seek to analyse the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) of the Separate Personnel System (SPS) that operationalises the decentralisation of Human Resources Management in Uganda.

As part of this analysis, an attempt will be made to evaluate the adequacy, quality, efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery. The focus in this respect will be on the performance, retention and development of human resources, and the operational environment within which human recourses fulfill their functions.

This chapter will also provide an assessment of decentralised procurement as the means by which Local Governments appropriate resources by procuring goods or services. This is a decentralised function performed by the Local Governments Contracts Committees (LGCC). These replaced the Local Government Tender Boards (LGTBs) effective with the amendment of the LGA, 2006.
The LGCC now comprises administrative officials appointed by either the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) or the Town Clerk (TC) as the case may be for the district and city/municipality respectively. This chapter will serve to review the performance of these Committees to assess whether they have addressed the weaknesses of the LGTBs such as corruption and a lack of independence.

The Separate Personnel System and the LGCC are confronted by numerous challenges in a decentralised setting and the purpose of this chapter will be to examine whether these challenges are impacting negatively on the performance of decentralisation as it relates to development and service delivery in the two selected districts.

The changing roles of Local Governments inevitably call for research. This is supported by Lubanga (1998:41) when he said that the focus, needs and demands of Local Governments have changed with the introduction of decentralisation in Uganda. To achieve this objective, it is first necessary to provide overviews of the responsibilities of decentralised Local Governments in the Masindi and Sembabule districts.

6.1. Responsibilities of decentralised Local Governments in Uganda

The devolution of responsibilities such as planning, budgeting, resource mobilisation, human resources management, procurement and service delivery from Central Government to Local Governments changed the magnitude of responsibilities that are undertaken by the latter within a system of decentralised governance. As a result, Local Governments have ceased being just administrative
units of the Central Government and have assumed corporate status (Lubanga 1998: 49)

The expanded roles and responsibilities of Local Governments have inevitably implied increased competencies, in terms of skills. The CAO of Sembabule noted as follows:

“Although there has been tremendous improvement of service facilities both in numbers and types, the use of some of the service units has been limited due to a lack of corresponding increase in staff.”

When he was probed further what could be responsible for this, he replied:

“It is lack of forward planning that takes into account an assessment of the implications of putting up infrastructure without corresponding human resources. The health facilities are the main problem area.”

The Principal Personnel Officer of Masindi district also agreed with the above view when he added that some service delivery points lack the required human resources particularly in the health and the education sector where the teacher–pupil ratio was still 1:95 as compared to the national norm, which is 1:55. This inhibits the efficiency with which services are delivered, hence negatively affecting development.

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67/68 In-depth interview with Mr. Twesigye, CAO Sembabule district on 16.11.2006.

69 Interview with Mr. Kisembo the PPO of Masindi district on 15.11.2006.
During the FGD with the directors or heads of department at the district headquarters in Masindi, it was noted that there are a number of challenges associated with attracting certain categories of human resources to the districts. They cited the example of physical planners who are not readily available within Local Governments.

They also emphasised the problem of attracting and retaining competent human resources in LGs given the relatively difficult conditions in some areas where there is no accommodation, electricity, water and roads. Bullisa county (now district) was cited as an example of a difficult environment in Masindi, while Lwemiyaga county was cited for Sembabule.

Similar views were expressed during the FGD in Sembabule, except that these respondents added that conflicts amongst district leaders also makes it difficult to attract competent staff to work in the district since it is polarised into two camps. The political environment therefore creates difficulties for administrative officials in terms of efficient service delivery since the prevailing conflicts are not conducive to networking and teamwork.

Kakumba (2003: 38) discovered similar trends when he investigated the challenges of human resources decentralisation and Local Governments performance in the Luwer district. He cited lack of capacity, poor motivation and leadership squabbles as the problems pertaining to Human Resources Management in a decentralised context.
JARD (2004:12) sums up the human resources problem as follows:

“Lack of capacity is the most important reason for the slowing of the implementation of decentralisation”.

In his earlier research, Galiwango (2004:41 asserted that:

“Too much decentralisation was being rolled out, too fast and yet there was too little, in way of resources that were delivered too late to enable the LGs to deliver on the devolved responsibilities”.

Despite the above findings, both the service users and the Civil Society Organisations interviewed, argued that the capacity of the human resources in Local Government had improved and that this had a significant influence on the quantity and to some extent the quality of services that were delivered. It is interesting to note that 63.9 percent were of the opinion that decentralised Local Governments in the two districts have adequate human resources.

**Figure 11  Responses regarding whether Local Government human resources are adequate**
However, among those who were neutral or were of the opinion that human resources available to Local Governments are inadequate indicated that while the higher Local Governments had significantly improved, the Lower Local Governments still experience acute capacity gaps. These respondents also argued that since significant resources were being made available in terms of Central Government transfers that were being channeled to these levels, it was important to ensure that these resources were being utilised to enhance capacity at these levels.

Respondents generally acknowledged that one of the biggest challenges that confront Local Governments nationwide is the issue of HIV/AIDS since it has had a devastating impact on the human resources responsible for service delivery due to death or prolonged absence from work due to sickness. HIV/AIDS has also impacted on the recipient communities with a similar effect and this has, in turn, furthermore increased the burden on the delivery of health services to those infected with the disease.

It is interesting to note that, in both the Masindi and Sembabule districts, the schedules of responsibilities of the districts were found to be homogenous. These responsibilities are categorised according to directorates, which include production and marketing, education and sports, works and technical services, health gender and community based services, management and support services and finance and planning. The composition and functions of these directorates are illustrated in the table 6 below.
Table 6  Responsibilities of the districts under decentralisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directorate</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Production and Marketing</td>
<td>Departments of Agriculture, Veterinary, Fisheries, Environment, Entomology, Forestry, Trade, Industry and Labour.</td>
<td>Increasing production and value of crops, livestock, fish and diary products, providing animal and plant materials, improved breeds, advisory services to farmers; controlling diseases and pests; agro-processing industries; facilitating trade and commerce; and promoting environment protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Sports</td>
<td>Departments of Inspection, Administration and Sports.</td>
<td>Providing quality education, eradication of illiteracy, private primary and secondary schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works and Technical services</td>
<td>Departments of Roads, Water, Housing, Physical Planning and Mechanical Services.</td>
<td>Providing and maintaining district physical infrastructure and water sources, land surveying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Departments of Health Inspectorate and TB/Leprosy programme, Primary Health Care</td>
<td>Coordinating, supervising and monitoring health services and activities of government, NGOs and private health sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender and Community based Services</td>
<td>Community Development, Youth affairs, Probation and Social Welfare, Labour, Gender and Culture and Social Rehabilitation.</td>
<td>Strengthening general living conditions through sensitisation and mobilisation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
190

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management and Support Services</th>
<th>Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), County and Sub-County Administration, Parish Chiefs, Local Administration Police, Prisons, Departments of Information, Personnel, Planning, the Audit Unit and Local Council Affairs Unit.</th>
<th>Responsible for general administration, personnel, information, Law and Order, public relations and personnel matters.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finance and Planning</td>
<td>Departments of Accounts, Budget and Revenue, Population, Statistics, Monitoring and Evaluation, Planning and Finance</td>
<td>Handling all financial and planning functions of the district and coordinating planning activities of various district departments.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Masindi District Development Plan 2004-07*

**6.2. Human resources context in the Local Governments within the Masindi and Ssembabule districts**

The wide-ranging reforms undertaken in the Local Governments have included a review of the structures to enable them to cope with the changing demands as well as to ensure delivery of their mandates. From the discussions with CAOs of the two districts, it became apparent that there are three models in respect of the standard type of staffing levels of Local Governments within the two districts, namely small, medium and large. In terms of this classification, Ssembabule was regarded by the Respondents as a small district and Masindi as a large district.

The study revealed that each district has a substantive CAO who is the head of the administrative officials. However, in Ssembabule the CAO is assisted by a deputy
CAO and three assistants, while in Masindi there is a deputy CAO and five assistants. Out of the Assistant CAOs there is one for every county. Sub-county chiefs assist the ACAOs in charge of counties. Sembabule district has seven sub-counties. There are also extension workers and support staff in addition to the ACAOs in each sub-county.

In addition to the above, Sembabule district has thirty-five parishes and Masindi has 124 parishes. Each parish is administratively headed by a parish chief. When the senior administrative staff were asked whether employee gaps exist, 31 percent indicated that there were gaps that needed to be filled, while 69 percent indicated that they were comfortable with the existing numbers of staff in their respective directorates.

**Figure 12  Responses on whether gaps existed in the staff establishment of the two districts**

![Pie chart showing 69% no gaps and 31% gaps existed]

It is important to note that the staff establishment and any vacancies therein are impacted on by funding from the Central Government. Indicated in the table 7 and 8 below are the staffing situations of the two districts by directorate showing the establishment, positions filled and per centage gap for each of the district.
Table 7  Sembabule staffing situation by directorates 2006/07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directorate</th>
<th>Establishment</th>
<th>Filled</th>
<th>% Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management and support services</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and planning</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works and Technical services</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education*</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community services</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excludes the number of teachers

Table 8  Masindi staffing situation by directorates 2006/07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directorate</th>
<th>Establishment</th>
<th>Filled</th>
<th>% Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management and support services</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and planning</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works and Technical services</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education*</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community services</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excludes the number of teachers

The tables above indicate that the sectors most affected by vacancies in the establishment are Production and Health in the Sembabule district, while the Masindi district seems to experience gaps in Works and Technical Services as well as Community Services. When the CAOs of the two districts were asked what they planned to do to fill the gaps, they expressed reluctance to recruit new staff since
the unconditional grant is currently not yet adequate, while the local revenue base has dwindled ever since graduated tax was abolished.

In particular, the numbers of employees in professions such as agriculture, human medicine, veterinary medicine, surveying, and physical planning were found to be inadequate in Local Governments in both districts, especially when such professionals are required to work outside the district headquarters where facilities are not very conducive.

However, the researcher noted that the existing shortfall/gaps did not pose a serious problem because of the interventions from the civil society sector, especially the NGOs and CBOs who provide alternative services that cover almost all sub-counties. This partnership helps to alleviate what would otherwise be a problem, especially in the health sector.

The Focus Group Discussions with the senior administrative officials in Sembabule also noted that staff retention was a big problem in Local Governments, especially for districts in remote areas and for Local Governments at the lower levels. They quoted how doctors had rejected being resident in Lwemiyaga County because of remoteness and lack of social amenities. The same applies to community workers, agricultural extension staff, and the district water staff who insist on staying at the district headquarters and only visit Lwemiyaga occasionally. According to the CAO of Sembabule, this affects service delivery negatively yet, if it is insisted that they reside in Lwemiyaga, the staff members would just tender their resignation. This is aggravated by the fact that there are no hardship incentives that could motivate specialised staff to work in such areas
6.3. Staff qualifications in Masindi and Sembabule Districts 2006/07

Goel (1993: 180) asserts that productivity will only be possible if a corps of administration exists who are knowledgeable and skillful and have a sense of dedication to the goals of the government. It should be noted that skills and knowledge are critical tenets of expertise, which is an outcome of qualifications and experience. For the purpose of this study, the qualifications of key top administrators were analysed and it was established that overall these personnel had the requisite qualifications for posts at the top and middle management levels as illustrated in table 9 below.

Table 9 Qualifications of selected staff at district headquarters in Sembabule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portfolio</th>
<th>Qualifications of incumbent</th>
<th>Minimum required qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAO</td>
<td>Post Graduate Diploma</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPO</td>
<td>Post Graduate Diploma</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager Works</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager Education</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager Health</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Clerk</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFO</td>
<td>Post Graduate Diploma</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk to Council</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Internal Auditor</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Planner</td>
<td>Post Graduate Diploma</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The situation for the district headquarters staff in Masindi was quite similar to that of Sembabule because top administrative officials were well qualified. In Sembabule district, out of the seven sub-county chiefs, five were graduates and in Masindi out of the twelve sub-county chiefs, eleven were graduates. In both cases, some of those who were not graduates were undergraduate students on weekend programme at various universities, but they were in possession of at least a diploma.

However, other than the sub-county chiefs who were mainly graduates as required by law, most staff at the lower Local Governments held office simply because of experience. In terms of national policy on decentralised service delivery, the sub-county (L.C III) is regarded as the pivotal point of development. This is due to the fact that agricultural modernization, poverty eradication, universal education and the institutionalisation of development planning all have been decentralised. This requires high calibre human resources with university education in addition to experience. Lubanga (1996: 11) also recommended this when he was the head of the decentralisation secretariat in Uganda.

Indeed, the CAO of Masindi admitted that some incumbents especially at the sub-county and the lower levels, administrative officials did not have the required minimum qualifications for the jobs they were holding but they had extensive experience and could perform well. At the time this investigation was undertaken, the restructuring exercise was being undertaken with a view of down-sizing the work force and recruiting qualified staff.

This restructuring exercise in the Local Governments is intended to remove unqualified staff, but this is difficult in some instances when experienced sub-
county chiefs without the requisite university qualifications are found to be more competent than young inexperienced graduates.

During an investigation of human resources in Luwero district, Kakumba (2003: 37) found the same. In this particular study, the district health inspector and district health visitor were quoted as saying that in Luwero, there were some clinical officers at the health centres and health sub districts who demonstrated better performance than some medical doctors who were more qualified but inexperienced.

Out of the seven sub-counties of Sembabule, the extension service officers have at least a diploma in relevant fields like veterinary science and agriculture while the coordinators were graduates in veterinary medicine and agriculture from various universities. The situation was quite similar in Masindi district with coordinators being graduates and the field officers having diplomas. Agricultural officers were diplomats of Bukalasa Agricultural institute.

A biographical data analysis from the questionnaires revealed that 49 per cent of the staff in both districts was graduates, 36 percent were diploma holders, and 15 percent had postgraduate qualifications, which included diplomas and masters degrees. The pie chart below illustrates the qualifications of the senior staff in the two districts.

**Figure 13: Qualification level of senior staff in the two districts**

![Pie chart showing qualifications](chart.png)
The Principal Personnel Officer of Masindi pointed out that personnel had the requisite qualifications in the technical fields at the top and middle management levels largely due to the stringent regulations and standards set by the Central Government. Indeed, this is in line with the legal and institutional arrangements of the current decentralised local governance system in Uganda in that the autonomy of the Local Governments is regulated by Central Government. With regards to human resources issues, it is worth noting that the Health Service Commission, the Education Service Commission and the Public Service Commission regulate the DSC.

6.4. Human Resources Development opportunities

The establishment of new Local Government structures like committees of council, and statutory institutions like the District Service Commission (DSC), Local Government Contracts Committee (LGCC), Land Boards and the Local Governments Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC) that are supposed to operationalise decentralised service delivery, necessitates that human resources have specific knowledge and skills to enable them to perform adequately. This has in effect exerted pressure on the human resources in Local Governments to abreast modern skills and knowledge through further studies, capacity building workshops, seminars and others. Competence as a measure of service delivery is also encouraged through politicising and publicising decentralised programmes because village councillors and civil society members have the right to challenge the quality of services delivered.
One veterinary assistant in Lugusulu sub-county of Sembabule district lamented as follows:

“Today, work in government is very difficult. We have many supervisors. If you don’t visit those cattle keepers, they report you to the elected leaders. We work because we have nothing else to do.”

Most other workers in the Health and Education sectors also supported this as well as those employed in the Works department. These challenges were ushered in through the empowerment of the local community/service users and this has enhanced the need for the service providers to ensure efficient and responsive service delivery.

In respect of capacity building, the research established a mix of both positive and negative experiences. During the FGD with the top management of Masindi Local Government, it was observed that sustainable delivery of decentralised services required adequate capacity at the technical levels. The PPO of Masindi Local Government (MLG) outlined during the discussion that:

“A number of capacity enhancement interventions such as retooling of Local Governments and development of Manuals and guides on various aspects of LG operations and training of officials have been undertaken.”

The importance of capacity building was also emphasised by the CAO of Masindi when she said that before the introduction of a uniform operational manual and

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70 Interview with Mwebesa, Veterinary Assistant on 11/11/2006.
71 Exposition by Mr. Kisembo PPO Masindi District on 15.11.2006.
training in Local Governments, many officers were overwhelmed by the new decentralised roles and delivered services in a haphazard and uncoordinated manner.

To address this critical issue, the Government of Uganda formulated a National Local Government capacity building policy that defines and sets out the institutional structures for coordination and harmonisation of capacity building initiatives. When asked how much they had benefited from these capacity building programmes the top management answered in the affirmative while the lower cadres such as clerks and assistants to top managers were generally negative. An assistant clerk to council noted:

“Whenever there are workshops, our bosses do not delegate us to attend. They attend all workshops apart from those that are not sponsored. We are not only denied the opportunity to acquire new skills but also to get some allowances.”

The above quotation implies that capacity building workshops have been monopolised by top management thereby denying the lower cadres the opportunity to acquire new skills and knowledge. This does not only affect their capacity but also demotivates them since they are relegated to the daily, monotonous routine work for which they are not paid so well. If this is not addressed it could serve to undermine the good intentions of capacity building by the Central Government.

The above scenario however, only affects capacity building workshops organised nationally because all respondents, including both the top and lower cadre management, acknowledged that each directorate was allocated funds for capacity

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72 Statement by Mugisha, Assistant Clerk to the council of Masindi District.
building (training) in the district budget. When asked whether they had ever attended such training, 69 percent of the staff of Sembabule district in the sectors of Production, Works, Education and Health answered in the affirmative, while 27 percent said no, and 4 percent were non-committal.

**Figure 14** Responses of staff who had attended capacity building

The above responses indicate that the majority of the staff interviewed had attended such training. Those who attended reported that it was easy and cost effective to organise such workshops and seminars at local level, yet the added advantage was that this type of capacity building involves large numbers of staff without leaving their stations. Those who had not attended capacity building interventions had various reasons for this, but common amongst them was that the selection criteria were discriminative.
One revenue officer in the Finance Directorate in Sembabule district noted that:

“If you are not in good books of the boss, he can never send you to such courses. I have had to miss such workshops because I am referred to as being argumentative.”

Sentiments of dissent notwithstanding, the general view was that the capacity building programmes had enhanced the quality of human resources, which had in turn enhanced efficiency.

Besides the capacity building programmes, the researcher also discovered during the FGDs that there were a number of staff who were on further study programmes at diploma, under and post graduate levels, at the various universities that offered weekend study programmes. In Masindi district, the PPO who was himself pursuing a Masters of Public Administration was able to list 17 LG staff on weekend study programme, while in Sembabule district there were eight. Some of these staff are on government scholarships while the majority are self-sponsored.

The findings of the research furthermore indicated that the training programmes provided focused on the areas of administration, community services development, health, finance and resource mobilisation. It was noted that both elected leaders and administrative officials in the districts and sub-counties participated in these training programmes. This was possible because the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP) funds have a component of capacity building, which are, released quarterly according to work plans designed by the district planners.

73 Interview with Mulindwa of the Finance department at Sembabule district headquarters on 16.11.2006.
The donor-funded programmes also have training components and therefore support government efforts in capacity building. Donors such as DANIDA, Link Community International, International Rescue Committee (IRC) and the World Bank continue to offer sector support to human resource development under decentralisation. Although these efforts were found to be short lined and not continually accessible, especially when NGO programmes wound up; they nonetheless, provided a mechanism for functional awareness and skills development that had enhanced performance amongst service providers.

However, what has to be noted is that although there is enthusiasm, especially amongst the middle and lower cadre managers to be exposed to further training in order to upgrade their qualifications and competencies, the resources to facilitate these workshops are always limited. The PPO of Sembabule district reported that:

“The bigger chunk of the Central Government releases is Conditional Grant which does not leave any discretion to Local Governments to allocate it to local priority areas like capacity building.”

Kakumba (2003: 42) found that a good number of staff in the senior management positions in Luwero district had sponsored themselves for particular courses, which they thought were relevant to their careers. Therefore, he asserted that decentralised Human Resources Management had not necessarily enhanced capacity building.

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74 Interview with Madam Nasaali, PPO of Sembabule on 16.11.2006.
Goel (1993: 301) argues that mere acquisition of knowledge does not ensure best results since performance depends on motivation, facilitation and career development. From the findings, it was quite clear that money is a major motivation and that people would work harder if paid more. Goel (1993: 304) elaborates that, however fascinating the individual’s job assignment in public agency or private sector, the employee expects to be paid. The wage therefore affects the way he/she works, both in terms of quantity and quality of outputs.

As with the Central Government, salaries paid to administrative officials in Local Governments remain low and have not been adjusted in line with inflationary trends. When the administrative officials were interviewed on matters related to motivation, the majority said that motivation was extremely limited due to the meagre resources realised from the local revenue sources. To varying extents, they noted that some mechanisms are in place, which are meant to motivate staff. The interview sessions in Sembabule and Masindi districts revealed the motivators indicated in the Table 10 below.

Table 10 Mechanisms of motivating staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivator</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prompt salary payment</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of transport</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of allowances</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training opportunities</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO interventions (e.g. prizes, seminars)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>148</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from the above that the two districts use different mechanisms to motivate staff. However, these responses were generated from four technical areas only namely Health, Education, Agriculture, and Works and Technical Services. It was also pointed out by staff in lower cadres that these benefits are restricted to the top management, leaving the lower cadres depending on wages alone.

The CAO of Sembabule district while commenting on motivation noted that:

“When the Local Governments were collecting graduated tax, they were able to facilitate the LG staff including the lower cadres with overtime allowance, night allowance, subsistence allowance. But these days we are totally hard up."75”

This is the same situation in other Local Governments because Balunywa (2006: 23) discovered the same trend when investigating the reasons for the conflicts in local governance in the Iganga district.

6.5 The District Service Commission in the Masindi and Sembabule Districts

The Separate Personnel System (SPS) is operationalised by the District Service Commission (DSC) which is empowered by the LGA to recruit, confirm and discipline staff in the service of Local Governments, except for the CAO, Deputy CAO and TC of municipality or city. As noted in chapter three, the DSC is appointed by the District council on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the district or city.

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75 Interview with Mr. Twesigye on 16.11.2006.
This section examines the effectiveness of the DSC by analysing its appointment procedure, as well as the adequacy of resources and integrity in the execution of its duties. The manner in which the DSC members are appointed was analysed amongst 240 respondents, which included elected office bearers, administrative officials, and civil society organisations.

Of the respondents, 37 percent were satisfied with the way members of the DSC were appointed, 59 percent were dissatisfied, while 4 percent were non-committal. This is illustrated in figure 15 below.

**Figure 15  Responses to satisfaction with appointment of DSC**

Findings reveal that the majority was not satisfied with the way the members of the DSCs were appointed. When asked why, respondents argued that the people who were selected as members of the DSC were not the best in the district.
One administrative officer in Sembabule district argued that:

“The DSC is virtually appointed by the chairperson who presents name to the executive that he/she appoints. None of the executives can challenge the chairperson for fear of being relieved of her/his duties.76”

The implication of the above statement is that more often than not, merit was not adhered to when appointing members of the DSC.

This was strengthened by one councillor in Masindi Town Council who argued that:

“One cannot be appointed to the statutory boards especially the DSC unless one was one of the campaign agents of the ruling chairperson. It has become one way of appeasement and entrenchment for the incumbents.77”

A similar finding was made by Kakumba (2003: 540) when he discovered that appointments to the DSC was monopolised by the chairperson who could not be challenged by his/her councillors. Those who were satisfied however argued that they did not mind who was appointed as long as she/he was their daughter/son and had the requisite qualification.

During an earlier investigation by Galiwango (2004: 52), it was found that the chairperson of Sembabule omitted a retired senior head-teacher of one of the powerful secondary schools (Ntare secondary school) simply because of tribalism.

76 Interview with Matia, on 16.11.2006.
77 Interview with Kyamanywa on 15.11.2006.
and this candidate did not support him during an election. Such incidents do not only undermine the performance of the DSC, but also compromise their independence and integrity.

The DSCs are operational despite the shortcomings in the appointment of members. The DSCs are fulfilling their role in respect of appointing human resources in the service of the Local Governments. However, the question that was posed to the respondents was the extent to which the DSCs were performing competently and with integrity.

It was established from a cross section of senior administrative officials that, as a routine, the DSCs invite and co-opt technical members of the relevant departments when interviewing prospective candidates. The manager of education in Masindi asserted that:

“As a routine, the DSC relies heavily on the guidelines of the ESC and seeks the opinion of the technical team from the education sector, when making appointments in the education service”.

The secretary of the DSC in Sembabule, a senior administrative official at the level of senior personnel officer, also confirmed that the DSC follows the specifications laid down in the “man and job specifications” drafted by the Ministry of Local Government. This does not allow for the DSC to exercise discretion. For example, when the DSC of Sembabule could not identify a suitable candidate for the post of Town Clerk out of the applicants that were interviewed, they appointed one to act.

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78 Interview with madam Lubega on 16.11.2007.
When the administrative officials were asked to assess the performance of the DSC by indicating whether they believed the DSC was competent to handle HR in decentralised governance, the responses were mostly affirmative 67.6 percent, while 28.2 percent responded No, and 4.2 percent were Uncertain (see Graph 12 below). From these responses, it is possible to conclude that the performance of the DSC is generally satisfactory enough for it to be considered a viable organisation in terms of handling human resources in a decentralised system of governance in Uganda.

Those who were positive argued that the DSC comprised members who were qualified, mature and experienced people who were competent and impartial. Those who responded in the negative argued that the DSC did not adhere to the principle of merit when recruiting staff because they only considered relatives, friends and political supporters in terms of appointments and at times bribery occurs.

Figure 16 Responses assessing the performance of the DSC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses

Percentages
When the question regarding the independence of the DSC was put to the administrative officers and civil society members, the responses generally indicated that the DSCs witnessed a considerable amount of political interference and hence they were not independent. One community development officer in charge of Kiryandongo sub-county in Masindi district noted that:

“It is difficult to get a job in the district unless the councillors have talked to the chairperson. The DSC is just a rubber stamp.”

Balunywa (2006: 25) discovered the same trend when he was informed that jobs in Iganga Local Government are allocated by politicians according to clans, religious affiliations and political leaning. This indeed undermines the integrity and independence of the DSCs. The PPO of Sembabule, when commenting on the independence of the DSCs argued as follows:

“The law is very clear, the DSC is supposed to be independent. But if the appointing authority insinuates that they have interest in a particular person (candidate) the members of the DSC have their hands tied.”

During the FGDs, the administrative officials in both districts confirmed that the biggest problem experienced by the DSCs is political interference and as a result, the committee often fails to make independent decisions. It was also noted that this situation is worse immediately after election when elected leaders feel compelled to reward their campaigners and or financiers.

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79 Interview with Komakech on 21.11.2006.
80 Interview with madam Nasaali on 16.11.2006.
6.6. The recentralisation of the CAOs and TCs of cities and municipalities

The 2006 amendment of the LGA removed powers from the DSC to appoint CAOs, deputy CAOs and TCs of municipalities or cities and recentralised this function at the level of the Public Service Commission (Central Government). The effect of this is that CAOs, their deputies and TCs are now responsible to the Central Government through the Line Ministry of Local Government.

Although these chief officials are now responsible to the centre, they still perform the statutory roles as outlined in the theoretical framework in chapter three. They are therefore bound by law to implement lawful decisions of their respective councils; hence, although their appointments are reversed to the centre, the Local Councils still retain their supervisory roles.

Elected leaders and service users were requested to indicate their opinion on the recentralisation of CAOs and TCs. As indicated in Graph 13, the responses were mostly negative (65.7%), while 29.3 percent of the respondents were positive about this, and 5 per cent were uncertain. The elected leaders were mostly not in favour of recentralisation of CAOs and TCs because they viewed this as a sign of a lack of confidence in the capacity of Local Governments and loss of autonomy and authority. These leaders feared that it would be difficult to control CAOs and TCs because their appointments were made by and their salaries paid by the Central Government.
Figure 17  Responses on whether the recentralisation of CAOs and TCs is a positive development

One secretary for Works in Sembabule Local Government stated as follows with respect to the recentralisation of CAOs:

“The Central Government is killing its own child (decentralisation). They have turned us into mere shadows. We cannot appoint CAOs of our choice, yet we cannot raise our own revenue. We are helpless. Decentralisation is now recentralisation.81”

This is also expressed by Balunywa (2006: 28) when he argues that the abolition of graduated tax and the recentralisation of the appointment of CAOs and TCs, who are also accounting officers in their respective Local Governments, had totally reversed the intentions and objectives of decentralisation in Uganda. He asserts that the previously corporate bodies have now been reduced to mere decentralised administrative units of Central Government.

81  Interview with Isa Ntumwa on 16.11.2006.
Saito (2003: 127), when analysing Central Government transfers to Local Governments, noted that the over dependence of Local Governments on the central transfers had actually led to recentralisation. When he investigated fiscal decentralisation in the districts of Mukono and Rakai, he discovered that Central Government funded Local Governments budgets as of 2003/04 by over 93 percent.

However, when the under-secretary of the MOLG was interviewed on the recentralisation of CAOs and TCs, she reasoned that Central Government finances the activities of Local Governments and it therefore needs to appoint the CAOs and TCs who are the accounting officers in their respective areas of jurisdiction. She asked:

“Why don’t they (local leaders) complain about the Central Government transfers but question Central Government appointments?”

When the issue was raised during the FGD sessions with the administrative officials of the two districts, it was apparent that their opinions were totally different to those manifested by the elected leaders and service users. One ACAO from Sembabule supported the appointment of CAOs by the Central Government and pointed out that:

“CAOs are now safe from undue pressure from elected leaders. There has been a lot of interference, harassment, nepotism and intimidation before.”

82 Interview with Madam Asio on 11.12.2006.
83 Responses from Katongole on 16.11.2006.
During the FGD with administrative officials of Masindi, it was observed that many of the court cases in Local Governments in Uganda between CAOs and their Local Governments emerged as a result of political victimisation. They quoted the cases of CAOs of the following districts against their respective councils namely, the Kiboga, Mbale and Pallisa. In all these cases, the administrative officials won the cases in the high court. As a result, they were reinstated and paid salary arrears and legal costs which were often exorbitant for the respective Local Governments whose local revenues have been dwindling over time. The administrative officials were of the opinion that recentralisation will rejuvenate the authority of the CAOs and TCs and protect them from political victimisation.

6.7. The Local Government procurement system

The amended LGA (2006:72-77) abolished the Local Governments Tender Boards (LGTB) and replaced them with the District and Municipal Contracts Committees as the case may be. Whereas the district or municipal council on the recommendation of the respective executive committees appointed the LGTB, the Contracts Committees are appointed by the CAO or TC of the respective local authority. Members of the LGTB used to be appointed from among qualified people in the general public. However, the members of the Contracts Committee are appointed by the CAO/TC from among the senior administrative officials who should at least be heads of department (Section 91 of LGA, 2006).

In the execution of their duties, that is, the procurement of goods and services on behalf of their respective Local Governments, the Contracts Committees are expected to manifest impartiality, integrity and independence. Responses concerning the abolition of LGTBs and the establishment of Contracts Committees
in their stead were controversial as those relating to the recentralisation of the appointment of CAOS and TCs. Whereas the administrative officials, who constitute the Contracts Committees, were supportive the elected leaders again felt it was a way of limiting their authority.

Subsequently, the administrative officials were overwhelmingly in support of the Contracts Committees by 82 percent since they claimed that the administrative officers would be more transparent and independent in the execution of their duties on these committees since they were people of high calibre and had their jobs to protect. The responses of the administrative officials are illustrated in Figure 18.

**Figure 18  Responses of Administrative Officials on Contracts Committees**

The secretary of the Contracts Committee of Masindi district remarked thus:

“The elected leaders used to appoint people to the Tender Boards some of whom had no requisite qualifications. Their only qualification was their loyalty to the incumbent establishment.”

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84 Interview with Byaruhanga on 11.12.2006.
Another administrative official (sub-county chief) of Miirya sub-county noted that:

“Tender Boards comprised people most of whom lacked integrity, because they were easily corruptible. Indeed they were responsible for the shoddy work because they exorted a lot of money from contractors.”

These arguments were also echoed in Sembabule district. The other reason advanced by the administrative officials in support of appointing administrative officials to Contracts Committees was that it was more cost effective since instead of paying emoluments to Tender Board members, administrative officials would only be awarded sitting allowance. In addition, the administrative officials had to ensure ethical behaviour because their appointing authority, that is, the CAO/TC was also their routine boss at work; hence, misconduct could easily be checked.

As for the elected leaders, they were totally opposed to Contracts Committees. The majority of these respondents (89%) argued that appointing administrative officials to Contracts Committees via the CAO/TC was a vote of no confidence in their capacity to manage Local Governments.

The secretary for Works in Sembabule remarked that:

“There is no more decentralisation. The money comes from Kampala (Central Government), the CAO from Kampala, now even the Contracts Committee is from Kampala (meaning is appointed by someone from Kampala). What more is left of decentralisation? Very soon we (elected leaders) shall be appointed from Kampala.”

85 Responses from Kiwanuka on 11/12/2006.
86 Interview with Isa Ntumwa on 16.11.2006.
Another elected leader who echoed negative sentiments about increasing interference in Local Governments by the Central Government commented that:

“How can Central Government trust Civil servants more than us who are elected by the people? Politicians do not write cheques in Local Governments so it is the civil servants who should be accused of corruption.87”

Those who supported the Contracts Committee said they supported it because the previous system (LGTB) had been abused by the politicians who used the boards to allocate tenders to themselves, which they often sold off to sub contractors. One councillor from Pakany sub-county in Masindi acknowledged that:

“If it was a councillor taking the tender, the outside contractor paid 10 percent of what was worth of the project. This made the profit margin so small that the contractor had no choice but to produce shoddy work.88”

The remaining respondents (2%) who preferred to remain non-committal responded as follows when pressed

“We do not find it wise to support either because the same civil servants were working with a few elected leaders to either win tenders or sell them. The administrative officials are still under the same politicians, so we see no change.89”

What has to be noted is that transferring from the LGTB to the LGCC is not a panacea to political interference and partiality. In his study, Balunywa (2006: 51)

87 Interview with Kahwa on 11.12.2006.
found that elected leaders in the Mbale Municipality Council prevailed on the Town Clerk and the Contracts Committee not to award the Taxi Park Tender to the highest bidder. Therefore, it can be deduced that the introduction of LGCC has not necessarily improved the procurement system in Local Governments.

6.8. Conclusion

This chapter analysed pertinent issues relating to decentralised service delivery and how it relates to development in the Ugandan districts of Masindi and Sembabule. Such issues included the analysis of responsibilities of decentralised Local Governments, as well as the effectiveness of Human Resources Management and procurement systems in Local Governments.

Generally, the findings of this chapter indicate that the Local Governments in Uganda fulfil the same responsibilities such as production and marketing, education and sports, works and technical services, management and support services, and finance and planning. These similarities in function and responsibilities facilitated comparison between Local Governments in the two selected districts in respect of the delivery of services.

The findings also revealed that the administrative officials had the requisite qualifications. The DSC was assessed to be performing well except for political interference, which compromised their independence. The recentralisation of CAOs drew mixed feelings with administrative officials supporting this while elected leaders did not approve of it since they were of the opinion that it dilutes their authority and autonomy. The same sentiments were expressed for the Contracts Committees.
Generally, the Human Resources Management, the performance of the DSC, the Contracts Committees, and the recentralisation of CAOs and TCs were aimed at enhancing efficiency in service delivery and subsequently development. The next chapter will analyse findings in respect of the role of elected leaders and the impact of fiscal decentralisation on development and service delivery.
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE ROLE OF ELECTED LEADERS AND THE IMPACT OF FISCAL DECENTRALISATION ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE MASINDI AND SEMBABULE DISTRICTS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter aims, firstly, to present findings relating to the role of elected leaders in enhancing development and decentralised local governance in the Sembabule and Masindi districts. Secondly, this chapter will provide an exposition of the impact of fiscal decentralisation with specific reference to the impact of Central Government transfers, the viability of Local Governments, and the manifestations or characteristics of good local governance in a decentralised context.

Attention will firstly be devoted to assessing the perceptions of respondents with respect to the electoral process in the Sembabule and Masindi districts.

7.1. Electoral process at Local Government level

Local Government political office holders attain their offices through an electoral process. During the focus group discussions with service users in the sub-counties of Lemiyaga in Sembabule and Kigumba in Masindi, the discussants asserted that there was evidence that election behaviour did not depend on the candidates’ ability and/or content of manifestos, but rather on material benefits derived from
voting for a particular candidate, or sometimes on the basis of ethnic or religious background.

An employee of International Link Community in Masindi who was part of the FGD argued that:

“Candidates do not necessarily look for political office and their ability to fill it as the main motivation to run in the elections, but rather the potential material gains that seem to be the real incentive for potential office holders.”

This can be attributed to the fact that the electoral process emphasises standing for election on individual merit to the extent that several individuals defy party regulations and contest the elections as independent candidates. As a result, the process has not always facilitated the election of the best leaders.

An elderly lady in Sembabule Town Council asserted that:

“If you have no money, you do not have to waste time to contest for any office in the Local Government elections. The voters know only one language, money.”

In response to the question of whether democracy had led to good governance in Uganda, it is interesting to note that the majority of the respondents (67.4%) agreed that this was the case.

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Figure 19  Responses to whether democracy has led to good governance in Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67.4%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This overwhelmingly positive response was supported by the FGDs where the discussants argued that the introduction of decentralisation and regular elections had enhanced political accountability. The LC III chairperson of Mutunda sub-county in Masindi had this to say in support of good governance:

“We elected leaders have to work hard to the satisfaction of the electorate who evaluate our performance every five years through an electoral process.”

7.2. Accountability required of elected leaders at Local Government level

Political accountability can be downward or vertical whereby Local Government leaders are accountable to the electorate. This is enhanced when the voters periodically demand explanations from elected leaders on issues pertaining to local development and service delivery or when they are consulted on development

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programmes that are implemented in their areas. Elected leaders derive their legitimacy from being elected by the electorate and should therefore be accountable to the constituents of the local community.

In this respect, the service users were questioned on whether their elected leaders consult them on development projects implemented in their areas, the responses were mostly negative (59.2%) with only 33.4 percent of the respondents indicating that they are consulted by their elected leaders, while 7.4 percent were uncertain. This is illustrated in Figure 20 below.

**Figure 20  Responses on the extent of consultation with service users by elected leaders with respect to development**

During the FGDs, the deputy CAO of Sembabule argued that the public did not know that they could access (purchase) the council minutes since most of the elected leaders did not provide feedback to their constituents. She further asserted that some did not have the capacity to interpret the decisions made by councils.
Therefore, the failure by the elected leaders to provide information and to periodically communicate to constituents to demand explanations from elected leaders on issues of concern. Community members are also unaware of their right to recall elected leaders who are unaccountable. This can also be regarded as a symptom of the weak capacities of civil society organisations in the areas of advocacy and civic education to communities.

During the FGD with administrative officials in Masindi, it was noted that the flow of communication was not only faulty vertically (between elected leaders and community members), but also horizontally (among elected leaders). Thus, communication among the elected leaders is not efficient enough to enhance development.

In Sembabule for example, it was noted that the district council was divided into two camps of the chairperson and the speaker. The same was found in Masindi as the council was divided due to differences emanating from elections. These short falls in communication led to relatively low functionality of elected leaders and Local Government councils.

7.3. The performance of elected leaders at Local Government level

The capacity of elected leaders has a significant influence on the quality of decision-making and subsequently the overall performance of Local Governments. This is critical since significant volumes of resources are channeled to Local Governments in Uganda. In addition, there are numerous guidelines, regulations and procedures that need to be effectively internalised by elected leaders to ensure that they are able to take resolutions on matters in an
informed manner and thereby guide the activities of administrative officials. The extent to which this is possible is also influenced by the educational attainment of elected leaders.

In this regard, elected leaders, administrative officials and service users of the health and educational sectors were asked whether they were of the opinion that the educational levels of the elected leaders hindered their performance. Of these respondents, 69 percent agreed that it was the case and this clearly points to the need for capacity development interventions for elected leaders to enhance their contribution to decentralised local governance and service delivery, while 26.4 percent disagreed and 4.4 per cent were neutral.

**Figure 21  Responses to whether educational levels of elected leaders hinder their performance**

During the FGDs, the discussants asserted that the quality of elected leaders with regard to academic qualifications and experience in public affairs has greatly
improved over time, especially at the district level, but still remained a problem at the lower levels especially at the sub-county. It has to be noted that the sub-county is the locus of development within the context of decentralised local governance in Uganda and therefore in the event that the elected leaders are generally deficient, then the value for money associated with the whole system of political decentralisation and the process of democratisation becomes questionable.

The need for competent elected Local Government leaders is underlined by the fact that development planning has been decentralised to Local Governments. This shift in the planning process implies that local administrators no longer formulate sector plans which are submitted to Central Government line ministries; rather, local administrators report to their local council which, in turn, is held accountable to the local community in each jurisdiction.

This is supported by Saito (2003: 61) when he argues that, under decentralisation in Uganda, elected leaders have to prioritise activities for coherent planning. He came to this conclusion after a study of development planning in Rakai and Mukono. What was noted in this study was that the participatory approach to planning that involved the bottom-up process required political and administrative competence.

### 7.4. Transparency of elected leaders at Local Government level

Good governance and transparency are essential prerequisites for decentralisation to impact positively on development. If decentralised service delivery is characterised by widespread corruption, the system is inherently weakened. During
the FGDs, the discussants were requested to identify the types of corruption in Local Governments and the following were listed:

- Embezzlement or misappropriation of funds.
- Nepotism, which results in incompetent unqualified administrative officials being appointed in positions of leadership.
- Local favouritism, by especially the Contracts Committee, District Service Commission and Land Board.
- Failure to monitor programmes and therefore to account for funds and activities.
- Failure to deal with corrupt officials when they have been found guilty.

When service users were asked whether they considered elected leaders to be transparent, 69.6 percent responded negatively. Many of the service users expressed disgust with the widespread corruption, because they believed that this inhibits development. However, some noted that they would do the same if they were in positions of authority. One young man from the Matete Trading centre had this to say:

“Corruption is so widespread in public offices that if I were in such office, I would do the same.”

When another old woman was asked whether she would also behave like a corrupt leader, she said:

“Yes, this is a social problem. Even if one corrupt person is punished, the next person will also get corrupt. Corruption is now a virus…”

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93 Statement by Mulindwa on 11/12/2006.
94 Statement by Keishanyo on 11/12/2006.
When the respondents were asked why they believed elected leaders were not transparent, they gave various reasons, namely that the elected leaders:

- Are too involved in tendering processes (33%).
- Connive with administrative officials to misappropriate district and sub-County resources (21.5%).
- Influence the District Service Commission to have their relatives, friends, or political allies appointed in the district civil service (35.5%).
- Do not account to the electorate on their performance (10%).

These findings are similar to those of Saito (2003: 72) where the service users in Mukono and Rakai were of the opinion that their elected leaders were corrupt and responsible for the lack of development in their areas.

7.5. **Autonomy of elected leaders at Local Government level**

The effective and efficient implementation of locally initiated development programmes requires that sufficient autonomy be granted to Local Councils to generate and spend their own resources from local revenue. However, autonomy should also extend to decision-making and this is only realised when devolution as a form of decentralisation is real and meaningful.

It is interesting to note that when asked whether elected leaders experience more autonomy under a decentralised system of governance, 62.3 per cent of the respondents disagreed, while 34.3 percent agreed that this was the case and 3.4 percent were neutral. This is indicative of the fact that most respondents considered elected leaders to be less autonomous under the decentralised system of
governance. This is surprising given that this is one of the intentions of decentralisation.

**Figure 22  Responses to whether elected leaders are more autonomous under a decentralised system of governance**

During the FGDs with administrative officials and elected leaders, the arguments advanced indicate that autonomy has been eroded largely by Central Government legislation and declarations. These discussants cited examples such as the interference of Central Government in the generation of local revenues like the abolition of graduated tax, *boda-boda* (bicycle and motorcycle) fees, road toll collections – all of which have been major sources of revenue for Local Governments. The recentralisation of CAOs and Town Clerks, as well as the replacement of Tender Boards with Contracts Committees had also served to weaken decentralisation rather than establishing autonomous Local Government leadership.
Furthermore, Local Government elected leaders are also paid salaries by the Central Government through allowances from the Consolidated Fund. This implies that the elected leaders have been relegated to the status of salaried officers and this undermines their autonomy. Local Governments ordinances are also subject to approval by the Central Government.

From the above findings, it is apparent that democracy does not automatically enhance good governance because the elected leaders are not responsive and accountable to the electorate. Although decentralisation is expected to motivate people-centered development, the system was found to be non-participatory as the service users are not generally consulted on the projects that are implemented. The autonomy of the elected leaders is also under threat particularly from Central Government interventions. The next section of this chapter analyses findings on fiscal decentralisation and how this impacts on development.

7.6. Fiscal decentralisation and development

Fiscal decentralisation is intended to build the capacity of Local Governments to deliver services efficiently and effectively and hence enhance development. However, the ability of Local Governments to raise local revenue through service charges and other sources of income is central. Only then can the public hold the elected leaders accountable for their performance. This then requires that the public should pay directly for their local political representation and the existing infrastructure owned by Local Government should be sustained by that Local Government using local revenue.
During the FGDs with administrative officials at the district head quarters in both Masindi and Sembabule, the discussants were requested to analyse the issue of the public paying the salaries of their elected leaders. They argued that this was the main mechanism for holding these elected leaders accountable; they also added that this would make the elected leaders more responsive to the needs and priorities of their citizens when making decisions. The CAO of Masindi argued as follows:

“If elected leaders are paid by the Central Government, they will know that this will continue and they are more likely to respond to Central Government, whilst citizens are likely to perceive them as not working on their behalf.”\textsuperscript{95}

To the contrary, during the FGDs with elected leaders at the district level, some discussants preferred the Central Government financing the salaries of local elected leaders. The primary argument in favour of central payment of council emoluments was that local revenue would be available for other development purposes, yet guaranteeing stability in the payment of elected leaders.

The above expositions represent different interests on the part of the elected leaders and administrative officials. The argument in favour of payment from the centre is in direct contrast to the rationale of devolution, which is to promote local solutions tailored to local problems. One councillor for Sembabule Local Government who was opposed to Central Government payment argued that:

“Our allegiance is going to shift to the centre because he who pays the piper calls the tune.”\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{95} Analysis by Margaret Gimogoi on 20.11.2006.
\textsuperscript{96} By Kyemashaiji on 21.11.2006.
The general view on this issue is that Central Government payment would turn them into “beggars” who would be made to follow the instructions of Central Government and this would significantly erode the authority of Local Governments. One administrative official in Sembabule remarked as follows:

“Elected leaders are mandated by the LGA to mobilise for payment of taxes. In turn, they are rewarded for their effort in form of salaries and allowances derived from local revenue. What will motivate them to mobilise for local revenue when the centre pays them?”

Another dimension of the debate during the FGDs focused on whether Central Government should be the most appropriate institution to decide on the remuneration rates of local councillors. The discussants argued that the minimum rates set by the Central Government should be used as guidelines (not instructions) and, that Local Governments should retain the liberty to determine own remuneration rates.

A discussion on whether local revenue should fund investments and services also ensued during the FGDs. During these sessions, it was noted that decentralisation and service provision through the Local Government system had the potential to enhance quality of service delivery since elected leaders are made responsible for monitoring administrative officials.

The youth councillor for Masindi Town Council while arguing in favour of local revenue being used to fund investments stated that:

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“The public are more likely to demand for quality services if they know that they contribute towards them directly.”

He further put it simply:

“If I pay a water provider for water, I expect water in turn, otherwise I will not pay.”

The Vice Chairperson of Sembabule Local Government supported local contribution to capital investments and referred to the case of Local Government Development Programme (LGDP) whereby Local Governments contribute 10 percent of the cost of investments. The Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) also has a 10 percent co-funding obligation. According to her:

“The logic is that such contributions are a guarantee for proper priority setting and promote local ownership of the facility and that is likely to increase the likelihood that the investment is sustained.”

A further critical issue that was addressed by the study in relation to fiscal decentralisation was the viability of Local Governments in terms of local revenue. During the FGDs with the CAOs and directors at the district headquarters, an operational working definition of a viable Local Government was coined as:

“Local Government is “viable” in terms of its local revenue when the total cost of political representation and minimum expenditure on operation and maintenance financed from local revenue do not exceed 50 per cent of local revenue.”

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98 Response by Drago on 17.11.2006.
An analysis of the two Local Governments revealed that none of them met the criteria. The Chief Finance Officer (CFO) of Sembabule district asserted that:

"Several Local Governments do not have the revenue collecting potential to become viable"\textsuperscript{101}

Underlying reasons that could explain the trend of declining local revenue were analysed during the FGDs. The FGDs with administrative officials and elected leaders at the district level outlined the following as the causes of the decline:

- Political pronouncements against graduated tax.
- Central Government transfers allegedly hamper the capacity of Local Governments to generate local revenues.
- Lack of adherence to regulations regarding local revenue generation.
- Imbalance in tax assignments between Central and Local Governments.
- Generally poor fiscal collection performance especially the graduated tax, due to the inadequacy of local tax registers.
- Poor asset enumeration and assessment procedures.
- Unwillingness to pay by taxpayers due to mistrust arising from non-transparent tax administration.
- Weak link between taxes paid and services delivered.
- Rigidity of collection exacerbated by widespread poverty.

In this respect, administrative officials, elected leaders and service users were asked in the survey to indicate whether they agreed with the statement that local revenue is higher than under a centralised system of governance. It is interesting to note that 81 percent disagreed with the statement, which confirms the above

\textsuperscript{101} Statement by Ham on 11.12.2006.
sentiments that local revenue has declined under a decentralised system of governance.

**Figure 23** Responses to whether local revenue is higher than under centralised system of governance

![Bar chart showing responses to local revenue](image)

When discussants were requested to indicate local revenue sources in order of importance from most to least important, they listed them as follows: graduated tax, property tax, licences and market dues. According to these respondents, graduated tax alone formed 80 per cent of the local revenue for rural Local Governments and 30 per cent for urban Local Governments before these sources were interfered with.

Administrative officials, elected leaders and service users were furthermore requested to express their level of agreement with whether graduated tax abolition had impacted positively on Local Governments service delivery. The responses indicated that an overwhelming 82.5 percent disagreed with the statement, which
implies that the abolition of graduated tax has negatively impacted on service delivery. This also explains why the two Local Governments did not meet the conditions for viability.

**Figure 24  Response to whether the abolition of graduated tax has impacted positively on service delivery**

As a result of the above scenario, the share of local revenues in the total budget of the two Local Governments has become insignificant. Subsequently, the low levels of local revenue have served to undermine the legitimacy of Local Governments in that sustainable sources of local revenue contribute to building a stronger, more autonomous and financially viable Local Government system. This will require much less dependence on Central Government sources of revenue, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in the next section.
7.6.1. Increased dependence on Central Government transfers

While local revenue has been declining Central Government grants have increased. As a result, Local Governments have become increasingly more reliant on central grants. An increasing proportion of these grants are being provided as conditional grants, limiting the autonomy of Local Governments. The implication of this is that Local Governments administrative officials and elected leaders are likely to become more responsive and accountable to the Central Government rather than to the local electorate.

The CFO of Masindi indicated that reliance on central transfers in the Masindi district has increased from 54 to 95 percent between the financial years 1999/2000 to 2006/2007. This is graphically depicted in figure 25 below.

**Figure 25**  Increasing LG Reliance on CG transfer in Masindi district from 1999 to 2006
In 1999/2000, that is, before the interference of Central Government in Local Government revenue mechanisms, Masindi Local Government was contributing over 45 percent to the budget. However, the political events that unfolded between 2001 and 2006 general elections have left this Local Government with the capacity to contribute only 5 percent to the budget. The situation is even worse in Sembabule where local revenue constituted only 3.7 percent of the budget during the 2005/06 financial year. Having noted that Local Governments depended on Central Government transfers to deliver services, the question that arose was whether the transfers were adequate or not.

7.6.2. Adequacy of Central Government transfer for Local service delivery

The administrative officials and elected leaders were asked to express their opinion on the adequacy of Central Government transfers and the majority (71.4%) believed that the Central Government transfers were inadequate for effective service delivery, while 27.3 percent believed to the contrary and 1.3 percent was neutral.

**Figure 26  Responses on the adequacy of Central Government transfers**

![Pie chart showing responses on the adequacy of Central Government transfers]

- 71.4% believed transfers were inadequate
- 27.3% believed transfers were adequate
- 1.3% were neutral
When asked during the FGDs to explain why they believed Central Government transfers were inadequate, administrative officials and elected leaders argued that although the amount of fiscal transfers from the Central Government had increased, these transfers are not commensurate with the responsibilities that the Local Governments have to undertake especially given that local revenue sources have been destabilised.

The CFO of Sembabule argued that although the LG transfers had increased, 80 percent of these funds were conditional grants with stringent conditions attached to them. This predominance of conditional grants potentially undermines the rationale underlying decentralisation.

The FGD of the elected leaders at district level supported the analysis by the CFO Sembabule but added that the reason for the increase in conditional grant is that many activities area funded by Poverty Action Fund (PAF). The PAF was created when Uganda benefited from the debt relief of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative in 1998.

According to these discussants, the PAF Particularly focuses on the five priority areas of education, health, water and sanitation, agriculture, and feeder roads. Although the conditionality negotiation is a recent development which makes the budgeting process by the Central Government inclusive, when it comes to determining the release transfers, the exercise is done arbitrarily depending on the central resource basket and national priorities.

When asked what they thought should be done to address the problem, the discussants responded that there is a need for Central Government to renounce
their earlier pronouncements on graduated tax and market dues to enable Local Governments to regain their autonomy and viability. They also asserted that there is a need to harmonise the Central Government and Local Governments budgeting process.

To further enhance the viability of Local Governments and thereby promote development and service delivery, it is essential that accounting systems be improved. This is analysed in the next section of this chapter.

7.6.3. **Improvement of Local Government accounting system**

Prudent financial management manifested by transparency and accountability, is a critical requirement in ensuring that resources are utilised to enhance development. It is interesting to note that 59.4 percent of the respondents agreed that accountability systems of local governance had improved, while 38.8 percent disagreed, and 1.8 percent was neutral.

**Figure 27** Responses to whether accounting systems had improved under a decentralised system of governance
The responses elicited during the FGDs with administrative officials and elected leaders at the district level in both Masindi and Sembabule districts did not differ from the above. The discussants argued that transparency and accountability had improved under a decentralised system of governance since the Central Government publicises Local Governments financial information in national newspapers and within Local Governments as a condition during the assessment of minimum conditions and performance measures. The purpose of publicising this information is to provide the public with an opportunity to view and follow up on the utilisation of funds.

However, the secretary for Works of Sembabule Local Government lamented as follows:

“Unfortunately, many of the community members do not access this information because of inadequate appreciation of its importance.”

The other hindrance is the manner in which the information is disseminated in both the way it is packaged and the channel of communication used. As a result the public remains largely ignorant of the resources transferred from the Central Government to the various Local Governments.

The chairperson of the Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC) for Masindi district argued that:

“Lack of financial information impedes community capacity to demand for services or plan and benefit from economic

opportunities. Informed communities are empowered which makes them active participants in society.\textsuperscript{103}

One UNICEF official in Sembabule district who attended one of the FGDs on health argued that the public were not active participants because Local Governments council decisions were either not communicated to constituents or when communicated, information was scattered and not user friendly. He added that communication between the administrative officials and elected leaders regarding expenditures was scanty and this undermines transparency.

The FGD with the administrative officials in Masindi revealed that transparency and accountability were reinforced through mechanisms such as the monitoring of administrative officials by elected leaders, the presence of the Auditor General’s office in every district, the IGG, the RDC and even the police. In addition, they argued that the various civil society organisations also mobilised and advocated for the interests of local communities in respect of the utilisation of Local Government funds.

On the other hand, the RDC of Sembabule district asserted that insufficient facilitation, limited independence, lack of follow up by council of the internal audit reports and poor networking hamper Local Governments accountability mechanisms. He further argued that the LGPACs in most Local Governments had not effectively exerted their statutory authority as an institution responsible for checking on accountability and transparency.

\textsuperscript{103} Statement by Shaban on 17.11.2006.
This is in line with the findings of Saito (2003: 129) who pointed out that the LGPAC in Mukono had knowledge and skill limitations that impact negatively on their ability to exercise their functions as mandated by legislation. In addition, he argued that the LGPAC tended to focus too exclusively on faults rather than recommendations to improve accounting systems.

It is imperative that accountability mechanisms are in place and functional to promote the effectiveness of service delivery within a decentralised system of governance. This will serve to minimise the threat of corruption.

7.6.4. Corruption as a threat to decentralisation

If decentralisation is to enhance development, Local Governments need to be characterised by prudent and corrupt free systems of service delivery. The majority of administrative officials, elected leaders and service users targeted by the survey (83.5%) were of the opinion that corruption constitutes a threat to decentralisation. This overwhelming response was manifested even among the elected leaders and administrative officials who would benefit the most from corruption. This is graphically illustrated in figure 28 below.
One service user of Kimengo Sub-County of Masindi, when asked what he regarded as the biggest threat to decentralised service delivery stated that:

“Decentralisation’s biggest enemy is corrupt elected and administrative officials. These two connive to disrupt tendering processes and even influence recruitment of staff in the district."\(^{104}\)

During an interview with the former chairperson of Karujubu Sub-County in Masindi, it was found that during the 2004/05 financial year, the sub-county chief and accountant had misappropriated 22 million Uganda shillings collected from Kinyara Sugar Works as graduated tax (before it was abolished) for factory workers residing in the sub–county. It is encouraging to note, however, that at the time this research was conducted, these two officers had been charged in the courts of law.

\(^{104}\) Statement by Opio on 17.11.2006.
7.7. Conclusion

This chapter analysed the role of elected leaders and fiscal decentralisation in enhancing development in Local Governments in Uganda with specific reference to the Masindi and Sembabule districts. The research findings with respect to elected leaders focused on the electoral process that had been monetised and that the elected leaders generally do not consult their constituents on the projects to be implemented in their areas. It was also noted that the education levels of the elected leaders affected their performance, the elected leaders were not transparent, and that their autonomy had been undermined by Central Government interventions.

The aspects relating to fiscal decentralisation that received attention included the viability of Local Governments, Local Government revenue generation, the abolition of graduation tax, the increasing dependence of Local Governments on Central Government transfers, as well as the accounting systems and corruption at Local Government level. In this respect, it was revealed that both Masindi and Semababule could not be regarded as viable Local Governments and this could largely be attributed to factors such as:

- A marked decline in the ability of Local Governments to generate their own revenue.
- The negative impact of abolition of graduated tax on Local Governments service delivery.
- The increased dependence of Local Governments on Central Government transfers which are inadequate and arbitrarily determined.
It was further pointed out that the Local Governments accounting systems have improved although corruption remains a major threat to decentralisation.

In conclusion, it can be argued that Local Governments need adequate discretionary funds for the purposes of development and improved service provision. This is made possible through granting Local Governments the autonomy to raise local revenue and reducing their dependence on conditional Central Government transfers.

In order to provide an in-depth assessment of whether decentralisation enhances development and to also depict the contradictions manifested in decentralised local governance in Uganda, two service sectors, namely Education and Health are used as case studies. The next chapter analyses responses on the decentralised delivery of the education and health services with specific reference to the Masindi and Sembabule districts.
CHAPTER EIGHT
FINDINGS ON EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICE SECTORS IN MASINDI AND SEMBABULE DISTRICTS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings in respect of Education and Health in the Masindi and Sembabule districts as case study service sectors whose delivery was decentralised in terms of both the Constitution of 1995 and the Local Governments Act of 1997. Firstly, the Education sector will be analysed in terms of its effectiveness under decentralised local governance and then, secondly, the Health sector will receive attention.

This analysis will aim to assess the extent to which decentralised local governance is facilitating the delivery of essential services such as Education and Health in two selected districts in Uganda and thereby contributing to development and poverty reduction.

8.1. Education sector under decentralised local governance

Education is essential to enhance the self-esteem of people as it equips people with practical skills such as literacy. In Uganda, education is considered critical to overcome pervasive poverty. In addition, the process of education enables people to become more aware of a wide range of social and political issues. This raised awareness can help people fulfil their potential, not only in the economic sphere, but also as human beings.
The Government of Uganda has through the various reforms identified six National Programme Priority Areas (NPPA) and these include primary education, primary health care, water and sanitation, rural roads, agricultural extension and functional adult literacy. These priority areas are among the sectors where decentralised services are delivered, however, there are contradictions in terms of which these decentralisation principles are applied in some of the NPPAs.

8.1.1. Legal status of education service delivery under decentralisation

The policy of primary education emphasises Universal Primary Education (UPE) whose aim is to ensure access to education for all irrespective of gender, disability and categorisation. Legal issues relating to the Education sector were discussed by education service providers such as Education officers, District Executive Committee Members, and the District Education Committees during the FGDs. During these discussions, it was noted that the second schedule, part 2, paragraph 1 of the LGA, 1997, devolves the responsibility for the provision of Education services to the district councils. When asked to list the levels of education that have been decentralised the Education Officer of Sembabule district enumerated nursery, primary, secondary, trade, special and technical education. She further clarified that the Lower Local Government councils were particularly responsible for nursery and primary education.

The discussants also outlined the laws that pertain to the Education sector as being the Education Act Cap 127 and the Education Service Act, 2002. When the discussants at Masindi Education Centre were asked to distinguish between the two laws, the DEO of Masindi district stated that:
“The Education Act provides for the development and regulation of Education, the registration and licensing of teachers in public schools. While the Education Service Act sets out the roles and responsibilities of the Education Service Commission.”

The Secretary of Education for Masindi Local Government added that one of the functions of the ESC is to monitor and offer technical advice, support and training to the District Service Commission (DSC) and to hear grievances from persons appointed by the DSC.

Both FGD sessions in the two districts noted the contradiction relating to secondary education service delivery. They asserted that although the LGA decentralised secondary education, the line Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) has retained the management of secondary Education at the centre. The only function that had been decentralised was managing the pay roll.

During a telephone interview with the Permanent Secretary of MoES about this contradiction, he argued as follows:

“The justification for retaining secondary Education at the centre is based on the challenges experienced through the decentralisation of UPE. Although success has been recorded in quantitative terms, reflected through increase in enrolment and infrastructure developments, challenges in accountability and the quality of Education in general need to be addressed before wholly decentralizing secondary Education.”

105 Statement by Kisembo on 20.11.2006.
106 Statement made by Mr. Lubanga Francis.
The FGDs also discussed the Education sector programmes within the context of decentralisation. The sessions noted that the major programmes under the primary education sub-sector for which resources and responsibilities for their implementation were fully decentralised to Local Governments included:

- Universal Primary Education (UPE) Capitation Grant Programme, for provision to schools of extra instructional materials, promotion of co-curricular activities, and support to school management and administration.
- The primary schools construction programme under the School Facilities Grant (SFG).
- Recruitment, appointment and remuneration of primary school teachers.

One of the controversial issues that was raised by the discussants related to the procurement of instructional materials. It was noted that the MoES was directly engaged in the procurement of instructional materials for Local Governments. This contravened the second schedule of the LGA, which decentralised the provision of Education services to LGs and thereby compromised the autonomy and mandate of LGs to procure goods and services for purposes of Education services delivery.

**8.1.2. Accessibility of Education services under decentralisation**

The survey instrument that was administered to administrative officials, elected leaders and service users questioned the respondents about the accessibility of Education services under decentralised local governance. This related mainly to the availability of and proximity to the service facilities. The purpose of this question was to assess perceptions regarding whether schools are more accessible under decentralisation.
It is interesting to note in figure 29 that the majority of respondents (79.1%) believed that schools were more accessible under decentralisation. This was in line with the researcher’s (2004: 51) earlier findings when 68.3 percent of service users of education in Sembabule responded that education facilities were within a distance less than three kilometers from one another. In some instances facilities were as close as one kilometer especially in case of denominational founded schools like the Roman Catholic schools.

**Figure 29  Responses regarding accessibility of Education under decentralised local governance in Masindi and Sembabule districts**

What has to be noted, however, is that although schools may be in close proximity to service users, the quality of services provided may be problematic. This was addressed during the FGDs in both districts. The discussants were aware of a variety of factors that contributed to the deterioration of Educational quality even if they were generally positive about UPE.
The discussants outlined the following as factors leading to the deterioration of education quality:

- The increase of pupils had outpaced the increase of newly recruited teachers.
- School materials were far from sufficient. These included text books and classrooms.

The finding was similar to one by Saito (2003: 161) when he found that in Mukono district some lessons were held under trees and several other classes were held in incomplete or temporary structures. As a result, crowded classrooms with inadequate furniture and a poor state of scholastic materials do not facilitate effective learning. Subsequently, these inadequate facilities also contribute to school dropouts despite the increase in enrolments.

**8.1.3. School enrolments**

Universal Primary Education (UPE) was intended to provide an opportunity to all school going children to attend school. During the FGDs in the two districts, it was revealed that school enrolments in both districts had increased since 1997. While in Sembabule, school enrolments had risen from 37,500 pupils in 1997 to 67,300 pupils by 2006, in Masindi it had increased from 103,000 in 1997 to 210,000 pupils by 2006. This data from official records was in line with the general opinion of respondents (87.6%) who expressed their agreement that school enrolments had increased under decentralisation.

When some services users were asked why they thought school enrolments had not improved, they indicated that the biggest problem was absenteeism and school dropouts. In Sembabule, where there is a large Bahiima (cattle keepers) population,
many children especially girls had to herd cattle, which is enshrined in the Bahiima culture. In both districts, poverty and economic burden are still high for the very poor despite UPE subsidies. In order to cope with massive increase of pupils at school, parents were often asked to pay various fees in addition to the costs of uniforms, stationary and scholastic materials. The various fees include pupils’ lunch, teachers’ welfare, and extra lessons. The other reason for poor school attendance was the poor status of child nutrition both at home and at school.

During the FGDs, the discussants also cited the dry spell as one of the factors that led to pupils deserting schools. This mainly affected the cattle keepers in Lugusulu, Lwemiyaga, Lwebitakuli, Ntuusi sub-counties of Sembabule district and the Kiryandongo, Kigumba, Kimengo, Karujubu, Bujenje sub – counties of Masindi district. During the drought, parents and their children have to shift with their cattle to river Katonga and Lake Albert for Sembabule and Masindi respectively. This negatively impacts on school attendance in these two districts.

The discussants also identified parental attitudes towards Education as one of the factors that lead to school dropouts. One district councillor in Sembabule had this to say;

“Some parents do not fully appreciate the importance of Education and this results in their children not being sent to school. This is partly because the parents themselves did not receive Education; even persuasion by councillors tends to be unsuccessful.”

107 Argument by Sebugwawo on 24.11.2006.
The DEO of Sembabule cited the lack of role models in the community of personalities who had excelled through Education as one of the factors undermining positive parental attitudes. Although female enrolments had increased under UPE, more girls tended to drop out than boys. This finding is in line with that of Saito (2003: 171) when he found that in Rakai, female pupils dropped out more than boys due to pregnancy, marriage and family responsibilities like looking after cattle.

Despite the reasons advanced for pupils dropping out, the survey findings reveal that 73.8 percent of the respondents agreed that school dropouts had declined in both districts under decentralisation.

**Figure 30  Responses to whether school dropouts had declined**

![Bar chart showing responses to whether school dropouts had declined](chart)

The findings of the FGDs support this since the discussants argued that although many pupils dropped out of school, they were far less compared to the period before the introduction of UPE. They also asserted that even those pupils who
dropped out due to hazards like drought still went back to school when the climatic conditions improved. Besides, the ratio of dropouts was much lower than that of those pupils who persisted in school and it is therefore not justified to regard school dropouts as constituting a major threat to UPE.

Generally, UPE was highly appreciated by people at the grassroots level and many FGD discussants acknowledged that it had reduced the financial burdens of schooling. UPE has had a particular impact on disadvantaged children, especially girls, orphans and the disabled. As one woman stated;

“It (UPE) is good because children get educated up to the primary seven level. For a widow, government support for children is really appreciated.”

8.1.4. The role of Local Councils in respect of Education

District and urban authorities are by law body corporates with autonomous powers to sue and/or to be sued. These Local Governments plan, for development of their respective areas of jurisdiction. Each Local Government is required to compile a five-year development plan from which annual estimates are drawn. The two districts have these five-year development plans in place at both the district and sub-county levels.

A scrutiny of the five-year development plans for the Masindi and Sembabule districts revealed that the Education sector service delivery was largely financed from resources transferred from the Central Government in terms of SFG, UPE

capitation grants and Local Governments Development Programme (LGDP) Grants.

The FGDs revealed that there was still poor facilitation of available local revenue on the part of the Education Department because the elected leaders did not regard education as a priority. According to the DEO of Sembabule, it was due to this poor facilitation that the Assistant Education Officers who were supposed to be resident in the counties where they were designated, stayed at the district headquarters and only occasionally visited the counties like mere visitors.

The head teachers of Karushoshomezi Primary School in Sembabule district attributed the negative attitude of the elected leaders (councillors) to education to the fact that the councillors themselves were largely illiterate and hence could not support the development of education as a priority. He quoted the example of the chairperson of Ntuusi sub-county, where the said school is located, who had not attended even primary one education.

A similar argument was advanced by the inspector of schools for Bujenje County in Masindi district who asserted that:

“The LGA should be revised to include a minimum academic qualification for LC III chairpersons and LC V councillors. Only then shall we have politicians who value Education.”

At the time this investigation was undertaken, only the office of the district/city chairperson had a minimum academic qualification attached to it. The rest of the

109 Statement by Byaruhanga on 22.11.2006.
political offices in the Local Councils are open to anyone regardless of educational attainment.

According to the above findings this partly influences the attitude of the elected leaders towards education. The survey questioned elected leaders, administrative officials and service users on whether Local Councils disregard the education programmes. Despite the views of the administrative officials during the FGDs, the responses to the questionnaires reflected that 54.8 per cent of respondents disagreed with this statement. The implication of this is that most respondents believed that Local Councils do not disregard Education programmes.

**Figure 31 Responses to whether Local Councils disregard Education programmes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During an interview with the parents of Kabango Primary School, they were asked whether they were satisfied with the contribution of their local leaders to schools. One elderly man stated that:

“In our village, we voted for the LC III chairperson and our parish councillor because they brought for us a permanent school. I am
69 years old but I studied in a grass – thatched classroom. Now my grandchildren study in good buildings.\textsuperscript{110}\textsuperscript{,}\textsuperscript{111}"

The above quotation indicates that infrastructure improvements in schools have taken place under decentralised service delivery and that citizens attribute this to good governance by Local Councils. The parish priest of Matete Catholic Mission in the Sembabule district concurred with this and argued that:

“Before decentralisation, most schools in the district were semi-permanent (meaning mud and wattle), but today children study in permanent structure with scholastic materials. There is indeed improvement in the service delivery in the Education sector if only the quality of teachers could be improved.\textsuperscript{111}\textsuperscript{,}\textsuperscript{112}”

In contrast to the above, it is interesting to note that the Education Officers who were interviewed by the researcher pointed out that local revenue is not allocated to Education programmes, while the Central Government transfers are conditional grants that cannot be diverted to cover Educational programmes as this is a criminal act.

8.1.5. Inspection of schools

The Education sector has four major departments of administration, inspection, special needs and sports. The inspectorate is central to Educational quality assurance because it monitors the quality of teachers, the levels of absenteeism and their adherence to the curriculum. Effective inspection requires that competent

\textsuperscript{110} Statement by Dramani on 21/11/2006.
\textsuperscript{111} Rev. Father Dungu on 24/10/2006.
Education Officers are appointed, deployed and facilitated to visit schools, formulate appraisal reports, organise refresh courses/workshops where required, and recommend confirmation, transfer or disciplining of teachers.

In the survey, respondents were asked to express their level of agreement with whether inspection of schools was adequate. The graph below indicates that the majority of the respondents (71.3%) were of the opinion that school inspection is inadequate.

**Figure 32 Responses to whether inspection of school was adequate**

When the Education Officers of the two districts were asked to account for the reasons why respondents believed that school inspection was inadequate, they argued that the Local Governments did not effectively facilitate Education programmes like the inspection of schools. When the County Inspector for Mawogola County in Sembabule was asked to explain why inspection was not adequate he stated that:

“We have no residential facilities at the counties, no transport (vehicles/ motorcycles), no facilitation in terms of allowances"
or imprest, hence, making inspection of schools very difficult. We want to visit schools but we are incapacitated.¹¹²”

In-depth probing of some head-teachers and senior teachers also revealed that some Education Officers especially in the inspectorate were not aware of their duties and responsibilities. According to the chairperson of the Primary Head-Teachers’ Association in Masindi:

“The Education Officers recruited to inspect schools are inexperienced secondary school teachers who cannot impart professional advice on the basics of primary education. Teacher educators or graduate teachers but who developed through upgrading, would make better inspectors of primary schools.¹¹³”

This implies that inadequate school inspection is not only caused by lack of financial resources, but also by deficiencies in the competence of inspectors.

8.1.6. Efficiency and adequacy of school personnel

School personnel include the head-teachers and teachers who run the school routinely. The efficiency of school personnel is central in determining the quality of education that pupils receive. While he was chairperson of the Education Review Commission, Kajubi (1989:3) remarked that:

“No education system can be better than the quality of its teachers, nor can a country be better than the quality of its education.”

¹¹² Made by Haji Sulait on 24.10.2006.
The above quotation underlines the important role of school teachers in determining the outcome of education and subsequently the competitiveness of the nation. For the school personnel to be adequate, staff have to be well trained, experienced and numerically adequate to effectively deliver the education services to the benefit of the pupils.

At the time of this investigation, Sembabule had 1588 teachers of whom 55.8 percent were trained and qualified while 44.2 percent were unqualified. In Masindi district, there were 3741 teachers of whom 69.7 percent were qualified, with the remaining 30.3 percent being unqualified. On average therefore, the two districts had 62.8 percent qualified teachers and 37.2 percent unqualified teachers. This is graphically illustrated in figure: 33 below.

Figure 33 Qualification status of teachers in Sembabule and Masindi Districts

![Pie chart showing 69.7% qualified and 30.3% unqualified teachers.]

The implication of this finding is that in Sembabule, out of 1588 teachers, 702 were not qualified while in Masindi out of 3741 teachers, 1134 teachers were unqualified. This is indicative of the fact that the DSC and Education Office often have to recruit unqualified teachers to fill the gap. For example, in some remote
schools that the researcher visited like Karushoshomezi Primary School in Ntusui sub-county in Sembabule district, only three out of nine teachers employed at the school were qualified. A similar situation was found in several parts of Masindi, especially the remote and inaccessible areas neighbouring the Murchison Falls National Park and Kijujubwa.

The shortage of qualified teachers was highlighted by the FGD discussants as one of the hindrances to the UPE programme in the two districts. During the sessions, the discussants in Sembabule also revealed that out of the “qualified” teachers, many were being investigated by the IGG Masaka officer for possessing forged documents (certificates) and eight had been interdicted. The implication of this is that several of the qualified teachers could actually be unqualified and in possession of forged qualification.

Besides forging academic certificates, the study also found that some teachers had fraudulently promoted themselves using concocted minutes of the DSC and/or some times without any minutes at all. A validation report by the DSC on the authenticity of promotion appointment letters of head-teachers and deputies in Sembabule district revealed that 56 head-teachers and deputies had forged their promotions since they had promotion appointment letters without having attended promotion interviews.

These forgeries have serious financial and performance implications. In terms of financial resources, it implies that these teachers are earning salaries for which they do not qualify while on the performance side; these teachers are performing roles of school managers for which they are not competent. In-depth probing revealed that district officials in the personnel department, head teachers and some officials
from the Ministry of public service are involved in these malpractices. This, however, was not found to have happened in Masindi.

When asked in the survey whether schools had competent head-teachers, 51.8 percent of the respondents agreed that this was the case, while 47.1 percent disagreed and only 1.1 percent was neutral. Furthermore, during the interview with the service users of Education and Health, participants were asked whether they were happy with the school services in their areas and 55.6 percent responded in the affirmative, while 42.1 percent were negative and only 2.3 percent were uncertain. These findings seem to indicate that there is no overwhelming consensus among the respondents of whether head-teachers at schools are competent and education service delivery is adequate.

**Figure 34   Responses to whether schools have competent head-teachers**

Those respondents who indicated that they were not satisfied with education service delivery were requested to motivate their view, they indicated the following varied reasons:
The head-teachers are frequently absent and as a result even the teachers are absent. Those teachers who bothered to attend are not supervised.

- Contractors build shoddy classrooms, latrines and teachers’ houses.
- The DSC has appointed incompetent head-teachers.
- SMC meetings were not being convened and therefore there was no accountability for the utilisation of UPE funds.
- Inadequate supervision by the Education Officers.
- Parents were aware that some of the teachers were untrained.

Closely related to the efficiency of schools is the academic performance of the schools as measured by their performance in National Examinations. The study analysed the academic performance of the two districts for Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE) for the academic years 2003 – 2005 and the following was revealed.

Table 11  PLE results for Sembabule District (2003 – 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div I</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>9.34</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div II</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>23.68</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div III</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>17.63</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div IV</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>15.07</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>22.33</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>11.95</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Education Office 2006

Key - U – Failure  X – Absent
The above table reveals that first grades are still very few, as the district never got beyond 10 percent of the registered candidates for three consecutive academic years. The failure rate (U) is still high since it has never dropped below 20 percent for the three years under review. The number of candidates who registered for examinations at the beginning of the academic year but who did not persevere up to the end to sit for PLE was significant since it was always beyond 10 percent of the registered candidates. This could be construed to be the dropout rate at the primary seven stage.

Table 12  PLE results for Masindi District (2003 – 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div I</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>11.18</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div II</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>27.56</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div III</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>14.83</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div IV</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>18.09</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>16.68</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>11.66</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2692</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Education Office 2006

Key - U – Failure
X – Absent

The Masindi scenario is slightly better since the pass rate for the first grades for the three years under review was above 10 percent. Given that the district is bigger and
older with a better establishment than Sembabule, the academic performance of
schools in this district was expected to be better. However, the rate of failure (U) at
an average of 16 percent of the candidates is not a reflection of good performance.
Furthermore, as with Sembabule, the number of candidates who registered for
examinations but never sat for examination (X) stands on average at above 12
percent for the period 2003 – 2005, if this is taken as the dropout rate then it is
high.

When the DEO of Masindi was asked to explain the high failure and dropout rate,
he cited a number of reasons, which include the following:

- Child labour especially in the tobacco production by especially the Alur
  community of Masindi.
- The nomadic life of the cattle keepers who shift during drought.
- The influx of internally displaced persons from northern Uganda as a result
  of the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) rebellion.
- The high number of unqualified teachers.
- Wide spread poverty amongst the population who can not afford extra
  charges and providing meals to pupils
- Lack of support from political leadership.

8.1.7. School Management Committees

Decentralised Education service delivery is intended to increase community
participation in planning and implementation. Community involvement in the
Education sector is manifested in the constitution and operations of the School
Management Committees (SMCs).
By law, each school is supposed to have an SMC, which represents various interest groups/stakeholders like the foundation body if the school is denominational, parents, teachers and representatives of government like local councillors. When asked in the survey whether all schools have SMCs, a substantial majority of the respondents (78.6%) agreed that this was the case.

Figure 35  Responses to whether schools have School Management Committees

However, the issue of whether schools have SMCs and whether these committees are functioning effectively are two different things. Thus, when the same respondents were asked whether the SMCs are effective, 61.7 per cent of the respondents disagreed, which implies that they do not believe that SMCs are effective.
Figure 36 Responses to whether SMCs are effective

During the FGDs with service users and members of the civil society organisations, it was clear that the manner in which these Committees are constituted is not democratic, transparent and representative enough. The discussants argued that the elected leaders ensured that their political supporters were the ones to be appointed on these Committees. Most of the members of FGDs expressed ignorance on the constitution of these SMCs claiming that parents were not consulted to propose their representatives.

The issue of frequency of meetings by the SMCs also came up during the discussions. It was generally asserted that meetings are not regular and SMC work had been usurped by the chairpersons of the SMCs and the head-teachers. This undermines grassroots participation as a core principle of decentralisation.

The FGD discussants also argued that the SMCs are not effective because they had failed to curb corruption in schools especially in terms of the use of UPE funds,
shoddy work in the construction of classrooms and inflated enrolment of pupils with the purpose of accessing more UPE funds. In addition, the SMCs had failed to exercise discipline among head-teachers and teachers who are often absent.

The discussants also cited that although the schools receive UPE funds regularly these funds are kept a secret between the SMC chairperson and head teacher. Each school is supposed to display on the notice board information regarding financial releases for accountability and transparency purposes, but this is not adhered to. The regulation regarding UPE funds requires that each school is to have a finance committee to manage finances and this was also found to be lacking.

A member of the Kyamabogo Primary School Management Committee in Sembabule had this to say about the school finance committee:

“All we know about the finance committee is that it does not exist. If it does at all then, it is composed of the SMC chairman and the head teacher. The rest of us are mere observers who are only consulted when there is need for raising funds from the parent."

Due to the absence of finance committees in the schools, UPE funds were found to have been misappropriated by some head-teachers. At the time this research was undertaken, the IGG had recommended for the interdiction and prosecution of the head-teacher of Lwembogo Primary School for having misappropriated UPE funds for the period 2003 – 2004, similar action was to be taken against the head teachers of Kyatula, Kisindi, Kyamabogo, Kasana Primary Schools. All this according to FGD discussants was because of the failure on the part of the SMCs to function effectively and to follow UPE guidelines.

This lack of financial discipline should have been checked by regular visits to schools by the auditors who would have ensured adherence to financial regulations. When questioned in the survey whether auditors regularly visit schools, more than half of the respondents (54.8%) disagreed that this was the case, which implies that auditors are not regularly visiting schools. This is clearly problematic since auditors are supposed to provide preventive and remedial actions that would have guarded against misappropriation of funds.

**Figure 37**  Responses to whether auditors regularly visit schools

8.1.8. **General challenges facing Universal Primary Education (UPE)**

The general challenges facing UPE were analysed during the FGDs comprising Education officials of the two districts and members of CSOs. The following were cited as the main challenges confronting decentralised Education service delivery:
• Unreliable school data in terms of inflated enrolments. The discussants noted that some Local Governments and schools deliberately falsified enrolment data in order to access more funding through grants.

• Poor construction of school facilities in the form of shoddy work under SFG, which did not deliver value for money as compared to resources being expended.

• Non–compliance with sector guidelines. It was noted by the FGDs that some Local Governments flouted sector guidelines for the implementation of the decentralised sector programmes. This had manifested in the fraudulent award of SFG tenders, selection of SFG beneficiary schools, construction of structures that were inconsistent with standard SFG technical designs, use of UPE grants for ineligible school expenditures among others.

• Diversion of sector grants, UPE and SFG grants were sometimes diverted and utilised for other purposes outside the priority areas identified by the sector. The Education advisor of the International Link Community in Masindi district reported that there had been cases when SFG funds were diverted to procure motorcycles at the expense of construction of badly needed school infrastructure.

• Failure by some Local Governments to account for sector grants satisfactorily and timeously. This was cited as having been responsible for delayed or non–release of sector grants from Central Government for the purposes of decentralised Education service delivery.

• Inadequate supervision and monitoring of decentralised sector services. The incapacity of Local Governments to oversee and ensure effective and quality delivery of the decentralised services was a major challenge to the UPE.
• Failure of some LGs to recruit qualified teachers, which affects the quality of education.
• Inability of the MoES to discipline errant LGs and school officials. Glaring cases of mismanagement of sector resources cited yet the MoES had not disciplined such officials.

8.2. Health sector under decentralised local governance

As with education, health service delivery is significant in terms of mitigating poverty in Uganda. Maintaining effective health service delivery is a prerequisite for overcoming poverty since it enables people to earn an income, as they are able to work free of illness and disease. The preventive as well as curative aspects of health care are closely related to promoting the general welfare of the poor in developing countries like Uganda. In developing countries, non-medical concerns such as nutrition, safe drinking water, family planning and education levels affect the health status of citizens. It was due to the central role that health service delivery plays in the economic transformation of society that the function was decentralised in Uganda. Therefore, in analysing whether decentralisation enhances development it is pertinent to examine how the health services are being delivered under a decentralised system of local governance.

8.2.1. Legal status of decentralised health service delivery

The Health Policy in Uganda was amended to align with the Constitution of 1995 and the Local Governments Act of 1997, which decentralised governance and service delivery in certain sectors including Health. In this regard, the FGDs comprising Health practitioners and Health secretaries in the Sembabule and
Masindi districts identified the newly redefined roles of the Central Ministry of Health (MoH) as including the following:

- Policy formulation, setting standards and quality assurance.
- Resources mobilisation.
- Capacity development and technical support.
- Provision of nationally coordinated services like epidemic control.
- Coordination of health research.
- Monitoring and evaluation of the overall health sector.

On the other hand, the responsibilities of Local Governments, especially the offices of the District Director of Health Services (DDHS) include:

- Implementation of National Health Policy.
- Planning and management of district health services.
- Provision of disease prevention, health promotion, curative and rehabilitative services, with the emphasis of the Minimum Health Care Packages (MHCP) and other national priorities.
- Control of other communicable diseases of public health important to districts.
- Vector control.
- Health Education.
- Ensuring provision of safe water and environmental sanitation.
- Health data collection, management interpretation, dissemination and utilisation.

When the DDHS of Sembabule was asked to express her opinion on decentralised health service delivery she asserted that:
“The decentralisation policy has made us autonomous. It has improved the planning and management of limited resources for running Health facilities.\textsuperscript{115}”

This was supported by the Secretary for Health in Masindi district who argued that decentralised health service delivery has enabled interactions with service recipients through collaboration with the LC system and other stakeholders like mission hospitals and NGO Health facilities which would not have been possible under a centralised system.

The discussants cited Health Sub-Districts (HSD) as the institutional pillar for service delivery under the decentralised system. This is situated in every county (LCIV, Equivalent to MP constituency) from where both curative and preventive health services are provided to a population of approximately 100,000 in collaboration with lower level health facilities.

The DDHS of Masindi while explaining the significance of the HSD policy to Health service delivery argued that the policy has resulted in the following:

- Integration of curative and preventive services, including Primary Health Care (PHC) is sought at the level of actual local service delivery.
- With the HSD, some functions and responsibilities have been transferred away from the DDHS to lower levels where hospitals are actually located.
- The HSD could be publicly or privately managed. While in the past the public medical units and private clinics were operated more or less as parallel systems, this new policy attempts to enhance collaboration of public and private medical providers thereby enhancing coordination and efficiency.

\textsuperscript{115} Statement by Monica on 22.11.2006.
As analysed earlier in the theoretical framework presented in Chapter Three, lower local health service delivery centres were established at the levels of the sub-county (HC III), parish (HCII) and village health committees, which on average cater for 1000 people. This system aims to enhance the accessibility of health service delivery and facilities.

8.2.2. Accessibility of health services delivery and facilities under decentralisation

As part of the survey, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed that health centres are more accessible under decentralisation. From the responses, 74.2 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement, which implies that health services are more accessible. This finding was in agreement with the views expressed by the FGD discussants who cited that HSD policy had decentralised health service delivery and facilities down to the village level, thereby making them easily accessible.

**Figure 38  Responses to whether health services are accessible**
During the interview with the health service users, participants were asked whether they were happy with the health services in their areas and 65.1 per cent responded in the affirmative, while 32.6 percent were negative and only 2.3 percent were uncertain. These findings seem to indicate that most of the respondents perceive decentralised health service delivery as satisfactory.

Those respondents who indicated that they were not satisfied with health services in their area argued that the health centres were understaffed and drugs were always in short supply so they had more confidence in private clinics. The MoH is mandated to distribute drugs to all health centres in the country through the office of DDHS. The service users who were interviewed were required to respond to the question on whether the drugs sent to their health centres are properly utilised and more than half replied in the negative.

**Figure 39  Responses to whether drugs are properly utilised**
When these respondents were asked to propose what could be done to address the problem of drugs not being utilised properly by health centres, the responses were varied and included the following:

- Drugs to be branded so that they are easily distinguished. This would make taking such drugs to private clinics risky, as it would be easy to trace them.
- Arrest and prosecute medical practitioners found guilty of stealing drugs. Dismiss health workers who are responsible for the loss of drugs.
- Health centre management committees to become more vigilant in monitoring the utilisation of drugs.

The service users were also asked to indicate whether they are informed when money is released to the health sector. From the responses, it was clear that the majority (67.6%) of the respondents are not notified when financial resources are released to the health sector.

Figure 40 Responses to whether service users are informed when money for the health sector is released
This lack of transparency results in a situation where service users cannot monitor the proper utilisation of financial resources nor can they demand accountability from health service providers. This was found to be common to most service sectors. One community development worker stated that:

“The service providers deliberately keep the service beneficiaries in information blackout so that they can misappropriate resources without public notice”.

8.2.3. Health Management Committee (HMC)

As with the education sector, the National Health Policy (NHP) requires that every health centre must establish a Health Management Committee (HMC) that comprises Local Governments representatives, service providers (medical practitioners), and service users’ representatives. When asked whether all health centres have Health Management Committees, the majority of the respondents (72.8%) agreed that this is the case.

Figure 41 Responses to whether health centres have Health Management Committees
However, in contrast to this, more than half of the respondents (52.3%) were of the opinion that these HMCs are not functioning effectively.

**Figure 42  Responses to whether HMCs are effective**

When probed about the lack of effectiveness of HMCs during the FGDs with service users and the CSOs, discussants argued that these committees were not doing enough to curb irregularities on the part of service providers, theft of drugs, and misappropriation of funds. Furthermore, when the service users were asked whether the HMCs are representative, 58.7 percent replied that this is not the case.
Figure 43  Responses from service users regarding whether HMCs are representative

When asked why they thought the HMCs were not representative, the respondents provided reasons that were not significantly different from those advanced for the Education sector including the following:

- LCs do not consult them on the formation of Health Management Committees for health centres.
- Elected leaders appointed their former campaigners, friends and relatives to the HMCs.

The respondents suggested that a participative approach should be instituted by which all stakeholders have the opportunity to propose names for the HMCs to ensure that they are truly representative.

8.2.4. Health Personnel

The availability and quality of human resources is a central prerequisite in the efficient delivery of health services. It is interesting to note in Figure 44 that more than half of the respondents (55.9%) are of the opinion that health personnel are not adequate in their districts.
Furthermore, the service users were asked whether they were satisfied with the staffing of the health sector and 65.3 percent indicated that they were not satisfied. When they were asked why they were dissatisfied with the staffing of health centres, the services users argued that whenever they visited the health centres at the parish (HCII) which is the nearest to the community, they either found one nurse on duty or the centre was closed.

The general feeling was that the Government had to recruit more personnel in the health sector to ensure efficient service delivery.

The above shortcomings notwithstanding, the administrative officials, elected leaders and service users largely agreed (72.5%) that disease prevalence had declined under a system of decentralised health service delivery. Thus, despite the
inadequacy of health sector personnel, it seems as if decentralised local governance has had a positive impact in this regard.

**Figure 45**  Responses to whether disease prevalence has declined

![Graph showing responses to whether disease prevalence has declined with key: Agree 72.5%, Neutral 1.6%, Disagree 25.9%]

8.2.5. **General challenges facing the health sector**

During the FGDs, general challenges confronting the health sector under a decentralised system of governance were discussed and the discussants indicated the following:

- Poor construction of health centres by contractors due to problems associated with the procurement process.
- Corruption on the part of health service providers. The service users claimed that when they went to public health centres they were asked, “Do you have a brother?” (i.e. Where “brother” meant money or a bribe).
• Lack of community participation as was found to be the case with the Education sector.
• Inadequate financial resources both locally and those transferred from the centre.
• Diversion of health resources to payment of salaries, hence, reducing the resources available for drugs.
• Failure by some LGs to account for health sector funds.
• Inadequate inspection by drug inspectors, which allowed for misappropriation.
• Failure of some LGs to attract qualified staff, due to lack of incentives.

8.3. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the findings of the survey and Focus Group Discussions in respect of Education and Health as service sectors selected for the purposes of this study to illustrate whether decentralised service delivery enhances development. In doing so, various factors were considered including the availability and accessibility of the service facilities, the adequacy of human resources, the effectiveness of decentralised management committees, the utilisation of financial resources and the eventual impact of the services in terms of literacy enhancement, disease prevalence and poverty reduction.

The findings revealed that in Uganda the citizens regard Education and Health as being essential in the fight against pervasive poverty. In the delivery of Education and Health services, the respondents in this study asserted that decentralisation has enabled interactions with service recipients through collaboration with the LC
system and other stakeholders, which would not have been possible under a centralised system.

The findings provided an indication that citizens appreciate the services delivered, especially as a result of the introduction of Universal Primary Education and Health Sub-District programmes for Education and Health respectively. The increasing interaction between service providers and users also helps not only in building social bonds between stakeholders but also in enhancing the quality of the services.

However, the chapter also revealed a number of challenges that have to be addressed such as:

- The need to fully decentralise the management of both Education and Health sectors, including procurement.
- The availability of qualified personnel in both sectors was found to be inadequate.
- The management committees in both sectors were not effective and not representative enough.
- Although school enrolments had risen there was need to address the high rate of dropouts.
- Accountability and transparency are a big threat to the two service sectors with corruption still a widespread phenomenon.
- The quality of the services delivered had to be upgraded so as to enhance development and poverty reduction.
Some recommendations regarding how these challenges can be effectively addressed in the interest of effective decentralised service delivery in the Education and Health sectors will be discussed in the final chapter.
CHAPTER NINE
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In developing countries decentralisation measures have been attempted in several forms to achieve numerous goals ranging from democratisation to economic development. In the African context, decentralisation has been considered crucial to seek a closer fit between the state and society so that more legitimate relations can be constructed between the leaders and the citizens that they serve.

This is exactly what Kafir (1993: 25) means when he argues that:

“Physical and social conditions in Africa favour it as a pragmatic response to the problems of government. The inability of the Central Government to reach its citizen effectively suggests that something else is necessary. The continuing strength of the democratic norm in the city and countryside demonstrates the persistent desire of people to participate in the management of their own affairs”

The Local Government system of Uganda is distinguished in post-independent Africa as an institution that emphasises popular participation. The citizens democratically elect their own leaders; the elected Local Councils plan for development through resource mobilisation, budgeting, Human Resources Management and procurement of goods and services. Therefore, the Local Council system is people-centred.

Despite this, as the theme of the study suggests, the decentralisation process in Uganda can be regarded as a “double-edged sword” because it presents a
combination of significant improvements as well as striking challenges and contradictions. Even when improvements have been made, they in turn create new challenges. This acute reality in implementing the decentralisation policy served as a justification for the necessity of this particular study.

The study comprised two major parts namely: firstly, analysing the relationship between decentralisation and development; and secondly, examining the contradictions arising from the implementation of the decentralisation policy in two selected districts within Uganda.

The investigation commenced in Chapter One with a chronological study of the history of local governance in Uganda. The purpose of providing this historic overview was to indicate how the contemporary Local Government system in Uganda has evolved over time from the pre-colonial period, to the colonial period, to the post-colonial era, and up to the current decentralisation policy. This period manifested both decentralisation and centralisation depending on the political climate of the time; for instance, between 1962-1966, Obote did not see the need to centralise power whereas the political events following the 1966/7 abrogation of the constitution necessitated the centralisation of power. Further more, the military regime of Amin could not have allowed democratic institutions to co-exist, hence, Local Councils had to be completely abolished.

Chapter One also highlighted the research problem and objectives of the study hence, justifying why it had to be undertaken. The scope of the study was also demarcated to include an analysis of whether decentralisation has resulted in development, drawing from cases in the Masindi and Sembabule districts, and focusing specifically on the Health and Education service sectors. The study
covered the period 1993-2006 due to the fact that the decentralisation policy in Uganda was launched in the 1992/93 financial year.

Chapter Two analysed the literature relating to decentralisation and development. It dealt with salient aspects such as conceptualising relevant terms, providing a rationale for the adoption of decentralisation, and analysing the disadvantages associated with decentralisation. The linkage between the Education and Health sectors and development was also analysed with the purpose of explaining the choice of these two service sectors to examine the relationship between decentralisation and development. The literature study revealed that research and decentralisation in Uganda was generally theoretical and hence required case material that could only be acquired through primary empirical data collection that this study undertook in the two districts.

The theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Two also revealed that decentralisation measures contribute to empowering marginalised groups. However, decentralisation is not a panacea and its successful implementation depends largely on whether institutional reform enriches social networks for the purposes of resolving development problems.

Subsequently, Chapter Three examined the institutional and legal framework that was established in Uganda to operationalise the decentralisation policy. The chapter explained the relevant legislative attempts that gave rise to the establishment of these institutions, as well as providing an analysis of the various roles of the relevant stakeholders. The four pillars of decentralisation namely, the legal framework, political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation were also
considered with specific reference to an analysis of decentralised Education and Health service delivery in Uganda.

Chapter Three revealed that decentralisation operates in terms of partnerships which assist in reducing disharmony at local levels where interactions between various stakeholders were cited to be more frequent. Democracy was also seen to be more effectively deepened through decentralised structures and was therefore seen as a solution to the monopolisation of coercive forces and the personalised exercise of power.

In Uganda, four strategic partnerships were cited. They included the relationship between the Central and Local Governments, the relationship between the Government and the private sector, between service providers and service users/recipient, as well as the associations of local authorities like Uganda Local Authorities Association. Partnerships between these various stakeholders were deemed to improve service provision that would, in turn contribute to reducing poverty and hence enhance development and the legitimacy of the state.

However, it was noted that realising these objectives depended on the manner in which decentralisation was implemented since, if it was poorly planned, it would end up under the control of the local elite. This would then leave the majority of the grassroots citizens poor, legitimacy would be eroded, and decentralisation would therefore not lead to development under these circumstances.

Institutional partnerships were found to be reciprocal relations among diverse actors to attain common developmental goals, but it was pointed out that, to be effective, these partnerships should be based on the equal participation of
autonomous organisations. When such partnerships are established, they were found to improve efficiency and effectiveness in utilising service resources. It was emphasised that stakeholder partnerships ensure that decentralisation endeavours constitute more than the sum of the activities undertaken by individual participant and thereby serve to enhance development.

In terms of administrative decentralisation, improved Local Government management was expected to improve development outcomes since; improved service delivery outputs would contribute to poverty reduction in both material and non-material terms. More responsive service delivery would also enhance the well being of the poor and subsequently reduce their vulnerability. This was considered an achievement of decentralisation as it empowered the socially disadvantaged.

Chapter Four focused on providing an explanation of the methodology that was used to ensure the quality, reliability and validity of the data could, in turn, warrant generalisation. This chapter provided an overview of the research design, study population, sample size, methods of sample selection, methods of data collection, processing and analysis as well as issues pertaining to data management and quality control.

The study population was based on the 2002 Uganda census, out of which a sample size of 960 respondents was selected using non-probability sampling whereby the respondents were deliberately and purposively selected. The samples included elected leaders, administrative officials, and members of statutory boards, service users, and representatives of the private sector and NGOs. The data collection techniques involved interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussions and the use of secondary sources for purposes of the literature survey. Where possible, the
findings of the questionnaire and interviews/FGDs were compared for the purposes of triangulation.

Chapter Five analysed the general performance of decentralisation in Uganda within the districts of Masindi and Sembabule. The findings revealed that Central Government Line Ministries interfered with Local Governments operations especially with regard to procurement. The Ministry of Water was particularly cited for having awarded contracts for the provision of production water in Sembabule and Masindi without involving the local leadership.

The findings also revealed that although decentralisation had enhanced participatory leadership, there was a lack of coordination among the various stakeholders like civil society organisations. The relationship between elected leaders and administrative officials was also found to be wanting.

With regards to empowerment of women, the youth, the disabled and the elderly, it was interesting to note that, whereas women and disabled felt empowered by decentralisation, the youths believed the contrary. In this chapter it was also ascertained that the majority of the service beneficiaries appreciated the quality of services decentralisation has provided in their particular districts. Respondents alluded to the fact that there has been a reduction in poverty and service delivery was more responsive under decentralisation as compared to centralisation.

Chapter Six aimed to analyse Human Resources Management and Procurement in Local Governments under decentralised governance. In this respect, LG human resources were generally found to be numerically adequate and suitably qualified.
In this chapter, it was also noted that DSC’s were not appointed procedurally, but generally performed well in spite of this.

Capacity building programmes existed although access to them was discriminative. Political influence peddling was cited as the major threat to the smooth running of the statutory boards. The recentralisation of CAOs and TCs was appreciated by administrative officials, but resented by the elected leaders. A similar response was exhibited with respect to the replacement of LGTBs by contracts committees.

Chapter Seven examined the role of elected leaders and fiscal issues in decentralised development in the two districts. It was generally cited that the Local Government electoral process had been monetised, tribalised and therefore did not necessarily produce the best leaders at Local Government levels. The Educational levels of elected leaders were also identified as an inhibitor to decentralisation. Further more, elected leaders were not found to be transparent and Central Government interference reduced their autonomy.

In this chapter, it was found that Local Government revenue had declined overtime and Local Governments in both districts were found to be financially unviable. Despite this, it was pointed out that Central Government transfers to Local Governments were adequate. It was also found that although the accounting systems had improved, corruption was still a major threat to decentralisation.

Chapter Eight, discussed the findings pertaining to the decentralisation of Education sector, it was found that accessibility to Education facilities had been improved by decentralisation. It was also found that school enrolments had generally increased, school dropouts had also increased.
It was noted that Local Councils do not assign adequate resources to Education, which negatively impacted on school inspections and hence the resultant decline in academic standards within schools in the two districts. Further more, it was revealed that the Education sector had on average 37 per cent unqualified teachers and this was also found to detract from the quality of Education in the two districts. School Management Committees were found to exist although it was pointed out that political influence and peddling undermined their competence. Visits by auditors were noted as being irregular at schools and this resulted in an increase in misappropriation of funds.

Chapter Eight also analysed the Health sector and, like Education, Health services were found to be more accessible under decentralised governance. Furthermore, disease prevalence was found to have declined under decentralised governance. Although service users were satisfied with decentralised Health services, it was pointed out that drugs were not properly utilised. It was also noted that accountability was difficult to achieve because the service beneficiaries were not informed when money was released to the Health sector and could therefore not monitor whether such funds were being properly administered and utilised by the service providers.

Contradictions and Challenges associated with Decentralised Local Governance in Uganda

The second part of the theme of this study concerned contradictions of local governance, as it pertains to decentralisation enhancing development. These contradictions emerged as challenges for which remedial measures have to be
designed to improve the decentralisation policy so as to enhance its contribution to sustainable development.

The challenges could be considered to embrace institutional and fiscal arrangements, the legal framework, service delivery and good governance. Institutionally, the roles and relationships of key players in decentralised governance still have to be clearly defined. There is a need to demarcate the relationship between Central Government Line Ministries and decentralised organs. There is also a need for decentralisation to be internalised by all key stakeholders to enhance their understanding of their respective roles.

A further challenge relates to the effectiveness of systems and processes since it was found that the standards and quality assurance mechanisms were not standardised and clearly stipulated. As a result, there is a variance in the manner and form of service delivery amongst Local Governments, particularly as it relates to the nature and cost of service delivery. Coordination, supervision, monitoring and inspection of service delivery on the basis of set policies and quality standards were also found to be lacking. This, more than any other factor has led to conflicts between elected leaders and administrative officials and therefore remains a crucial challenge that needs to be addressed.

A further, institutional challenge is high turnover of both administrative officials and elected leaders. The terms and conditions of service in Local Governments are still less competitive and therefore attracting and retaining staff in Local Governments remains a challenge. Similarly, continuity of service delivery remains a problem since there is a high turnover after every election.
In respect of the legal pillar underpinning decentralisation, the successful implementation of the decentralisation policy hinges on the existence of a strong legal framework, which defines, the parameters within which decentralisation operates. Although Local Governments have legislative powers, the formulation of ordinances and bye-laws to assist in the local enforcement of national laws and policies has been minimal. Furthermore, some Central Government Line Ministries have gone beyond standards setting and as such, have contravened the LGA.

Subsequently, the Central Government has not provided Local Governments with adequate guidance, monitoring and support to ensure effective service delivery. As a result, most Local Governments found it difficult to respond to development challenges confronting them. Due to legal gaps, the Central Government has also continued to provide secondary and tertiary Education despite the fact that these are decentralised functions in terms of the legislation. Even the procurement of instructional materials has been undertaken by the centre and this constitutes a major contradiction of decentralisation.

The fiscal challenges include the fact that Local Governments have inadequate revenue for financing decentralised services. Local Governments find it difficult to generate adequate local revenue to supplement Central Governments transfers; Local Governments are faced with the contradiction of being limited with respect to the flexibility in the use of Central Government transfers, since the unconditional grants are ever decreasing. The equalisation grant is also inadequate since it is spread too thinly across LGs and is often not used for the intended purposes of reducing the disparities in service delivery.
In terms of good governance, accountability and transparency are still a major challenge to the successful implementation of decentralisation in Uganda. Democratic accountability is largely lacking and this undermines the responsiveness of decentralised governance. Corruption thus continues to be a significant threat to decentralisation.

Specifically, the Education and Health service sectors in the selected two districts are confronted with the challenges of unreliable school data, non-compliance with sector guidelines, diversions of sector grants, failure by LGs to account for sector funds, failure to supervise, monitor and recruit qualified teachers and nurses lack of community participation inappropriate utilisation of drugs by Health service providers. All these inhibit efficiency and effectiveness in terms of decentralised service delivery and detract from poverty reduction.

**Recommendations**

Based on the above discussion of the findings of this study, it is clear that decentralisation will not result in sustainable development and poverty reduction unless certain measures are put in place to address the challenges and contradictions associated with decentralised local governance in Uganda. To this effect, the following recommendations are made.

- There is a need for greater clarity among key stakeholders regarding their roles, responsibilities and legal mandates. This is particularly applicable to the relationship between Central Government Line Ministries and Local Governments, but also with respect to the interaction between elected leaders and administrative officials within Local Governments.
- The Central Government, both the National Parliament and the Cabinet, should appreciate the strategic philosophy of decentralisation by restraining their Line Ministries from interfering in the management of decentralised services. This will eliminate conflict between the Central Government and Local Governments. Sustainable development can only be achieved under a stable and cordial centre-periphery relationship.

- Fiscal decentralisation will only be sustainable if LGs can raise their own revenues and thereby reduce their dependency on Central Government transfers. The abolition of Graduated Tax was found to have had a negative impact on the financial viability of LGs and alternatives to this source of local revenue should be investigated as a matter of urgency.

- For accountability to be effective there is a need to strengthen the laws on corruption in order to enforce compliance. The measures that have been put in place to improve transparency and accountability also need to be strengthened to ensure that various roleplayers fulfil their roles in an ethical and accountable manner. This includes devoting attention to the need for regular inspections, stringent financial reporting procedures, and an enhanced flow of information to the citizens regarding the funds that have been released and utilised for the purposes of service delivery.

- The characteristics of good governance such as democratic leadership, respect, patriotism, accountability and transparency should become an integral part of the school curriculum so that the human resources graduating from such an Education system are morally upright. This will assist in the long run in promoting professionalism and corporate management in LGs.

- Capacity development initiatives are required to enhance the capacity of Local Government politicians and officials to plan, budget, utilise and
account for financial resources. This is one of the assurance measures to sustainable development. As part of such capacity development programmes, each of the stakeholders need to have a better understanding of their respective roles so as to reduce role conflict in LGs.

- The existing law that prevents elected leaders from participating in routine work like inspection, execution of policies, procurement, among others should be enforced. Some elected leaders who abuse office by interfering in the procurement process in LGs should be prosecuted as a means of stamping out the bad behaviour so that others learn.

- The existing law regarding electoral malpractices should be enforced in order for the electoral process to enhance the elevation of competent leaders into positions of leadership in the LGs. The laws have thus far remained dormant.

- The Parliament of Uganda should revise the LGA with a view to attaching an academic qualification to office bearers in LGs especially at LCIII (Sub-county) up to LC V (District/City). This is due to the fact that the management challenges that have been decentralised require leaders who are sufficiently educated at least to ordinary level standard. This will enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of services and subsequently enhance development.
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Semakula Kiwanuka, MM (1971) *From Colonialism to Independence* (Kampala: Kenya Literature Bureau).


Young, PV (1956) Scientific Social Surveys and Research: An Introduction to the Background, Content, Methods, Principles, and Analysis of Social Studies (New York: Prentice Hall).


1. **INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.**

1.1 Read the following carefully before completing the questionnaire.

1.2 Where applicable, the questions should be answered by circling the correct **option**. Do not write in the boxes in the right margin.

1.3 Your own view/opinion (based on your practical experience) will also be requested. In such cases please write the required information in the space provided.

**SECTION A**

**2. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS**

2.1 **District:**

2.2 **Sub County:**

2.3 **Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 **Age**

| 20 – 29 | 1 |
| 30 – 39 | 2 |
| 40 – 49 | 3 |
| 50 – 59 | 4 |
| 60 – 69 | 5 |
| 70+ | 6 |

2.5 **Home Language**

| English | 1 |
| Kiswahili | 2 |
| Lunyoro | 3 |
| Luganda | 4 |
| Lunyakole | 5 |
| Other | 6 |
2.6 **Highest Educational Qualification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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2.7 **Level of Governance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance Level</th>
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<td>School</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Centre</td>
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</table>

2.8 **Geographical Location**

- **Area Name:**
- **Station name:**

2.9 **Length of Service in Local Government**

<table>
<thead>
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<td>11 – 15 years</td>
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<td>&gt; 15 years</td>
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2.10 **Post Title**

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<td>Chief Administrative Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human Resource Manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education Staff</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Staff</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION B**

3. **PERCEPTIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS OF DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A DECENTRALISED SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE**

3.1 How do you rate decentralisation performance in your district?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance Level</th>
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<tr>
<td>Above average</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 In your opinion has decentralisation improved service delivery in your district?

<table>
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<th>Improvement Status</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 If no, what problems are being experienced?

__________________________
__________________________
__________________________
3.3 In your opinion, are Central Government transfers adequate for local service delivery?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.3.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3.4 In your opinion, do Local Government Councillors fulfil their role effectively with regard to service delivery?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.4.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of this problem?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3.5 In your opinion, do administrative officials enjoy independence in executing their roles?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.5.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the source of the lack of independence?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3.6 In your opinion, is the District Service Commission competent enough to handle human resources within a decentralised system of governance?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.6.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3.7 In your opinion, do statutory bodies operate independently?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.7.1 If no, why is this the case?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3.8 Do you consider the Local Governments Act 1997/2001 as a satisfactory policy framework for Local Governments in Uganda?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |
3.8.1 If no, what is lacking?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

3.9 In your opinion, is the present structure that makes political leaders responsible for monitoring civil servants effective?

Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.9.1 If no, what would be an acceptable alternative?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

3.10 In your opinion, do administrative officials feel secure in their career tenure?

Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.10.1 If no, please cite the source of the problem.

__________________________________________________________________________

3.11 Indicate the level to which you agree/disagree with the following statements by circling one option for each item:

1 – strongly disagree  2 - disagree  3 - neutral  4 - agree  5 - strongly agree

| 3.11.1 | Decentralisation enhances development in Uganda | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.2 | Administrative officials are accountable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.3 | Local revenue is currently higher than under a centralised system of governance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.4 | Accounting Systems have improved | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.5 | Health personnel are adequate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.6 | School personnel are adequate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.7 | School enrolments have increased | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.8 | Local Councils disregard Health programmes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.9 | Local Councils disregard Education programmes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.10 | Central Government transfers are regular | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.11 | Health Centres are adequately stocked with drugs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.12 | Universal Primary Education funds are inadequate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.13 | Schools have competent head teachers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.14 | Inspection of schools is adequate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.15 | Auditors regularly visit schools | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.16 | Corruption is a threat to decentralisation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.17 | Decentralisation encourages tribalism | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.18 | All Health Centres have Management Committees | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.19 | All schools have Management Committees | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.20 | Health Centre Management Committees are effective | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.21 | School Management Committees are effective | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.22 | The relationship between elected and administrative officials is good at the district level | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.23 | The educational level of Councillors hinders their performance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.24 | Administrative officials feel more empowered under a decentralised system of governance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.25 | Elected officials experience more autonomy under a decentralised system of governance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.26 | Democracy has led to good governance in Uganda | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.27 | Health centres are more accessible under decentralisation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.28 | Schools are more accessible under decentralisation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.29 | School drop outs have declined | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.30 | Disease prevalence has declined | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.31 | Women, the youth and disabled are empowered to participate in decentralised development | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.11.32 | Graduated tax abolition has impacted positively on service delivery | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

4. Any further comments regarding decentralisation and development:
_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your time in completing this questionnaire
NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY  
(PORT ELIZABETH)  

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SCIENCES  

DECENTRALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CONTRADICTIONS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN UGANDA  

QUESTIONNAIRE TO ELECTED LEADERS  

1. INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE:  

1.1 Read the following carefully before completing the questionnaire.  

1.2 Where applicable, the questions should be answered by circling the correct option. Do not write in the boxes in the right margin.  

1.3 Your own view/opinion (based on your practical experience) will also be requested. In such cases, please write the required information in the space provided.  

SECTION A  

2. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS  

2.1 District: ______________________________________________________  

2.2 Sub County: _________________________________________________  

2.3 Gender  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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2.4 Age  

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>50 – 59</td>
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<td>60 – 69</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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2.5 Home Language  

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</table>
2.6 **Highest Educational Qualification**

<table>
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<th>Degree</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
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<td>Masters</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral Degree</td>
<td>7</td>
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</table>

2.7 **Level of Governance**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
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<td>Sub County</td>
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<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Centre</td>
<td>4</td>
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</table>

2.8 **Geographical Location**

- 2.7.1 Area Name: 
- 2.7.2 Station Name: 

2.9 **Post Title**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Chairperson</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councillor</td>
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**SECTION B**

3. **PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTED LEADERS OF DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A DECENTRALISED SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE**

3.1 How do you rate decentralisation performance in your district?

<table>
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<th>Rating</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<td>Average</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above Average</td>
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</table>

3.2 In your opinion has decentralisation improved service delivery in your district?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 If no, what problems are being experienced?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

3.3 In your opinion, are Central Government transfers adequate for local service delivery?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adequacy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.1 If no, what should be done to address this?
___________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________

3.4 In your opinion, do Local Government Councillors fulfil their role effectively with regard to service delivery?
Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.4.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of this problem?
___________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________

3.5 Do you receive appropriate technical advice from Local Government civil servants?
Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.5.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of this problem?
___________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________

3.6 In your opinion, is the District Service Commission competent enough to handle human resources within a decentralised system of governance?
Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.6.1 If no, what should be done to address this?
___________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________

3.7 Are you satisfied with the Contracts Committee replacing tender boards?
Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.7.1 If no, why?
___________________________________________________________

3.8 Do you consider the Local Governments Act 1997/2001 as a satisfactory policy framework for local governments in Uganda?
Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.8.1 If no, what is lacking?
___________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________
3.9 In your opinion is the present structure that makes political leaders responsible for monitoring civil servants effective?

Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.9.1 If no, what is the problem?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

3.10 In your opinion, is the recentralisation of Chief Administrative Officers and Town Clerks a positive development?

Yes 1  No 2  Uncertain 3

3.10.1 If no, what do you propose as an alternative?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

3.11 Indicate the level to which you agree/disagree with the following statements by circling one option for each item.

1 – strongly disagree  2 – disagree  3 – neutral  4 – agree  5 – strongly agree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3.11.1</th>
<th>Decentralisation enhances development in Uganda</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.11.2</td>
<td>Administrative officials are accountable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.3</td>
<td>Local revenue is currently higher than a centralized system of governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.4</td>
<td>Accounting Systems have improved</td>
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<td>Health personnel are adequate</td>
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<td>3.11.6</td>
<td>School personnel are adequate</td>
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<td>3.11.7</td>
<td>School enrolments have increased</td>
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<td>3.11.8</td>
<td>Local Councils disregard Education programmes</td>
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<td>3.11.9</td>
<td>Local Councils disregard Health programmes</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.10</td>
<td>Central Government transfers are regular</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.11</td>
<td>Health Centres are adequately stocked with drugs</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.12</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education funds are adequate</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.13</td>
<td>Schools have competent head teachers</td>
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<td>Inspection of schools is adequate</td>
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<td>Auditors regularly visit schools</td>
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<td>Corruption is a threat to decentralisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.17</td>
<td>Decentralisation encourages tribalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.18</td>
<td>All Health Centres have Management Committees</td>
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<td>3.11.19</td>
<td>All schools have Management Committees</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.20</td>
<td>Health Centre Management Committees are effective</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.21</td>
<td>School Management Committees are effective</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.22</td>
<td>The relationship between elected and administrative officials is good at the district level</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.23</td>
<td>The educational level of Councillors hinders their performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.24</td>
<td>Administrative officials feel more empowered under a decentralised system of governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.25</td>
<td>Elected officials experience more autonomy under a decentralised system of governance</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.11.26</td>
<td>Democracy has led to good governance in Uganda</td>
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<td>Health centres are more accessible under decentralisation</td>
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<td>3.11.28</td>
<td>Schools are more accessible under decentralisation</td>
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<td>3.11.29</td>
<td>School drop outs have declined</td>
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<td>3.11.30</td>
<td>Disease prevalence has declined</td>
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<td>Women, the youth and disabled are empowered to participate in decentralised development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.32</td>
<td>Graduated tax abolition has impacted positively on service delivery</td>
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</table>

4. Any further comments regarding decentralisation and development:
_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________

*Thank you for your time in completing this questionnaire.*
NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY  
(PORT ELIZABETH)

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SCIENCES

DECENTRALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CONTRADICTIONS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN UGANDA

QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE SERVICE USERS OF HEALTH AND EDUCATION SECTORS

1. INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE:

1.1 Read the following carefully before completing the questionnaire.

1.2 Where applicable, the questions should be answered by circling the correct option. Do not write in the boxes in the right margin.

1.2 Your own view/opinion (based on your practical experience) will also be requested. In such cases, please write the required information in the space provided.

**SECTION A**

2. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS:

2.1 **District:** 
2.2 **Sub County:** 

2.3 **Gender**

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2.4 **Age**

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<td>60 – 69</td>
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2.5 **Highest Educational Qualification**

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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>O’ Level</td>
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<tr>
<td>A’ Level</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA/BSc (Hon)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral Degree</td>
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</table>
2.6 Occupation

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
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2.7 Home Language

<table>
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<td>Luganda</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lunyankole</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION B

3. PERCEPTIONS OF SERVICE USERS OF DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A DECENTRALISED SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE

3.1 How do you rate decentralisation performance in your district?

| Below Average 1 | Average 2 | Above average 3 |

3.2 In your opinion, has decentralisation improved service delivery in your district?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.2.1 If no, what problems are being experienced?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

3.3 In your opinion, are Central Government transfers adequate for local service delivery?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.3.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

________________________________________________________________________

3.4 In your opinion, do Local Government civil servants fulfil their role effectively with regard to service delivery?

| Yes 1 | No 2 | Uncertain 3 |

3.4.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of this problem?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
3.5 Do you receive appropriate technical advice from Local Government civil servants?
Yes 1 No 2 Uncertain 3

3.5.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of this problem?

____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________

3.6 In your opinion, is the District Service Commission competent enough to handle human resources within a decentralised system of governance?
Yes 1 No 2 Uncertain 3

3.6.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________

3.7 Are you satisfied with the Contracts Committee replacing tender boards?
Yes 1 No 2 Uncertain 3

3.7.1 If no, why?

____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________

3.8 Do you consider the Local Governments Act 1997/2001 as a satisfactory policy framework for Local Governments in Uganda?
Yes 1 No 2 Uncertain 3

3.8.1 If no, what is lacking?

____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________

3.9 In your opinion, is the present structure that makes political leaders responsible for monitoring civil servants effective?
Yes 1 No 2 Uncertain 3

3.9.1 If no, what is the problem?

____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________

3.10 In your opinion, is the recentralisation of Chief Administrative Officers and Town Clerks a positive development?
Yes 1 No 2 Uncertain 3
3.10.1 If no, what do you propose as an alternative?

____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________

3.11 Indicate the level to which you agree/disagree with the following statements by circling one option for each item.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 - strongly disagree</th>
<th>2 - disagree</th>
<th>3 - neutral</th>
<th>4 - agree</th>
<th>5 - strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.11.1</td>
<td>Decentralisation enhances development in Uganda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.2</td>
<td>Administrative officials are accountable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.3</td>
<td>Local revenue is currently higher than under a centralised system of governance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.4</td>
<td>Accounting Systems have improved</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.5</td>
<td>Health personnel are adequate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.6</td>
<td>School personnel are adequate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.7</td>
<td>School enrolments have increased</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.8</td>
<td>Local Councils disregard the Education programmes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.9</td>
<td>Local Councils disregard the Health programmes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.10</td>
<td>Central Government transfers are regular</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.11</td>
<td>Health Centres are adequately stocked with drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.12</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education funds are inadequate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.13</td>
<td>Schools have competent head teachers</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.14</td>
<td>Inspection of schools is adequate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.15</td>
<td>Auditors regularly visit schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.16</td>
<td>Corruption is a threat to decentralisation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3.11.17</td>
<td>Decentralisation encourages tribalism</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>3.11.18</td>
<td>All Health Centres have Management Committees</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.19</td>
<td>All schools have Management Committees</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.20</td>
<td>Health Centre Management Committees are effective</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.21</td>
<td>School Management Committees are effective</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.22</td>
<td>The relationship between elected and administrative officials is good at the district level</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.23</td>
<td>The education level of Councillors hinders their performance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.24</td>
<td>Administrative officials feel more empowered under a decentralised system of governance</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.25</td>
<td>Elected officials experience more autonomy under a decentralised system of governance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.26</td>
<td>Democracy has led to good governance in Uganda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.27</td>
<td>Health centres are more accessible under decentralisation</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.28</td>
<td>Schools are more accessible under decentralisation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.29</td>
<td>School drop outs have declined</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.30</td>
<td>Disease prevalence has declined</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11.31</td>
<td>Women, the youth and disabled are empowered to participate in decentralised development</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.11.32</td>
<td>Graduated tax abolition has impacted positively on service delivery</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4. Any further comments regarding decentralisation and development:

______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________

*Thank you for your time in completing this questionnaire.*
NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY  
(PORT ELIZABETH)  

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SCIENCES  

DECENTRALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CONTRADICTIONS IN  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN UGANDA  

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS – GUIDE  

This study will convene twenty focus group discussions evenly distributed in the two districts to cover a number of salient topics as indicated below:  

NOTE:  
This is merely an indicative guideline since sufficient opportunity will be accorded to participants who want to discuss an issue in more depth to do so.  

The discussion will begin with:  

a) Introduction of the facilitator/researcher.  
b) Explanation of the purpose of the meeting.  
c) Agreeing on procedure of the meeting.  
d) Open discussion on topics relating to decentralisation and development.  

Discussion will cover the following topics:  

a) Decentralisation – definitions, merits, demerits.  
b) Development – definitions, indicators, realities.  
c) Decentralisation and poverty reduction.  
d) Local Government structures and systems.  
e) Staffing in Local Governments.  
f) Statutory bodies like District Service Commission, Contracts Committee, Local Governments Public Accounts Committee.  
g) Role and functions of the Ministry of Local Government.  
h) Sector performance – Primary Education and Health Sector.  
i) Fiscal decentralisation – unconditional, conditional, Equalisation funds – challenges like abolition of graduated tax.  
j) Empowerment under decentralisation, democratisation, and equity related issues such as empowerment of women, the youth and disabled.  
k) Integrity and transparency issues.  
l) Good governance issues in general.
SECTION A

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

1.1 District: _________________________________

1.2 Sub County: ________________________________

1.3 Village: ___________________________________

1.4 Gender

<table>
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1.5 Age

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1.6 Occupation

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<td>Community Development</td>
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<td>Unemployed</td>
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1.7 Highest Educational Qualification

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<td>A’ Level</td>
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<td>Diploma</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>BA (Hon)</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Masters</td>
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1.8 Religion

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1.9 Ethnic Group/Tribe: __________________________________________

SECTION B

2. PERCEPTIONS OF SERVICE USERS OF DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA
   WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A DECENTRALISED SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE

2.1 Are you satisfied with the way the Local Council system as a whole operates?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

2.1.1 If no, what is the problem?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

2.2 Do you feel empowered by decentralisation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1 If no, what is lacking?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

2.3 Do your Councillors consult you on the projects implemented in your area?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of this lack of consultation?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

2.4 How has decentralisation changed your area?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

2.5 Do you feel satisfied with the health services provided at your health centre?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

Are you happy with school services in your area?

| Yes | 1 | No | 2 | Uncertain | 3 |

2.6.1 If no, why?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

Are you satisfied with the work of statutory bodies like the District Service Commission?

| Yes | 1 | No | 2 | Uncertain | 3 |

2.7.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the problem?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

What is your opinion about the competence and independence of these statutory bodies?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

2.9 Do you consider civil servants to be transparent?

| Yes | 1 | No | 2 | Uncertain | 3 |

2.9.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of the problem?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

2.10 Do you consider elected leaders to be transparent?

| Yes | 1 | No | 2 | Uncertain | 3 |

2.10.1 If no, what do you perceive to be the cause of the problem?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________
2.11 Are you informed when money for education and health is released to these sectors?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.11.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________

2.12 Do you think the drugs sent to your health centre are properly utilised?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.12.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________

2.13 Are you satisfied with the staffing of the health and education sector?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.13.1 If no, what do you propose as the solution?

______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________

2.14 Are the Management Committees for schools and health centres representative?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.14.1 If no, what should be done to address this?

______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________

2.15 Do you think the youth, women, and disabled should continue being in positions of leadership/governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.15.1 If no, what do you propose as an alternative?

______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________

2.16 Has decentralisation empowered the categories mentioned in 2.15 above?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.16.1 If no, what is the problem?
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________

2.17 Do you consider the abolition of graduated tax to have negatively affected service delivery?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2.17.1 If yes, what do you propose as a solution?
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________

2.18 Do you consider decentralisation to be a better system of governance than centralisation?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2.18.1 If no, what do you propose as the alternative?
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________

2.19 What would you like to be improved in the decentralisation policy?
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
MAP OF UGANDA
MASINDI DISTRICT
GALIWANGO HASSAN WASSWA
PhD Student
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
05/11/2006

The Chief Administrative Officer
MASINDI

Dear Sir,

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN MASINDI DISTRICT

I have the humble duty of requesting you to allow me undertake research in your district.

I am a PhD student of NMMU in the process of investigating on Decentralisation and Development: The Contradictions of Local Governance in Uganda. Your district has been positively chosen for the study.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
Wasswa Hassan Galiwango
GALIWANGO HASSAN WASSWA
PhD Student
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
05/11/2006

The Chief Administrative Officer
Sembabule

Dear Sir,

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SEMBABULE DISTRICT

I have the humble duty of requesting you to allow me undertake research in your district.

I am a PhD student of NMMU in the process of investigating on Decentralisation and Development: The Contradictions of Local Governance in Uganda. Your district has been positively chosen for the study.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]

\[Wasswa Hassan Galiwango\]
Office of the Chief Administrative Officer
MASINDI DISTRICT LOCAL GOVERNMENT
P.O. Box 67
MASINDI
November 8, 2006

Mr. H. W. Galiwango
Phd Student NMMU
Port Elizabeth (SA)

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN MASINDI DISTRICT

I have received your letter requesting for permission to carry out research in Masindi District on the Topic Decentralisation and Development: The Contradictions of Local Governance in Uganda with particular reference to Masindi District Local Government.

I am pleased to inform you that after consultations with the District Leadership, Permission is granted. We hope to benefit from the research findings.

Good luck

Milton Kato
Chief Administrative officer
Mr. H. W Galiwango  
Phd Student NMMU  
Port Elizabeth (SA)

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN SEMBABULE DISTRICT

Following your request to conduct research on Decentralization and Development. The contradictions of Local Governance in Uganda – Sembabule/Masindi

I have no objection to this and I wish you success. My office will be ready to give the necessary assistance and participation.

Yours faithfully,

Twesigye Robert  
Chief Administrative Officer
Medium term expenditure framework FY 2005/06-2006/07
(Excluding Arrears and Non VAT Taxes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTOR/VOTE</th>
<th>2005/06 PROJECTIONS (In billions)</th>
<th>2006/07 PROJECTIONS (In billions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY</td>
<td>385.07</td>
<td>399.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROADS &amp; WORKS</td>
<td>439.20</td>
<td>504.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURE</td>
<td>129.57</td>
<td>136.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>611.57</td>
<td>631.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEALTH</td>
<td>391.11</td>
<td>414.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WATER</td>
<td>88.55</td>
<td>88.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUSTICE &amp; ORDER</td>
<td>165.01</td>
<td>168.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, Approved estimates of Revenue and Expenditure (Recurrent and Development) 2005/06

NOTE: The projections include wage, non-wage recurrent, development, and donor funding.
Ministry of Local Government organogramme of present situation

Source: The study on the Institutional Development Strategy (MoLG/Arcadis, 2002).
Local government line of operation and inter-relations

Centre

- Sector Ministries
- Chair LoGROC MoFPED
- MoLG & LGFC

LCV/IV Council
- Quarterly

LCV/IV Standing Committees
- Quarterly

LCV/IV Executive Committee
- Quarterly

CAO/TC
- Monthly

LCV/IV Heads of Departments
- Quarterly

LCIV or LCV
- Quarterly

Sub-Prog /Project at LCIV/V

LC III
- Quarterly

LCIII Council
- Quarterly

LCIII Exec
- Quarterly

Sub county /Division Chiefs
- Quarterly

Sub Accountant
- Quarterly

LCV/IV Financed Service Provider
- Management Committees
- Monthly
- Monthly

Service Units
- Beneficiaries
- Public Notices

Source: JARD 2004:33
District Macro Structure:

Source: Government of Uganda, Ministry of Public Service 2004
Administrative structure for council statutory bodies:

LCV COUNCIL

DISTRICT CONTRACTS COMMITTEE
- SEC. CONTRACTS COMMITTEE U3 (1)
- COMMITTEE CLERK – U5b-4 (1)

DISTRICT LAND BOARD
- CLERK TO COUNCIL–U3 (1)
- SEC. DISTRICT LAND BOARD - U3 (1)

DISTRICT SERVICE COMMISSION
- PRINC. PERSONAL OFF. DSC (1) U2
- PERSONNEL OFFICER –U5b-4 (1)
- ASST. RECORDS OFFICER –U5c (1)

Support Staff
Office Attendant 2

Source: Government of Uganda, Ministry of Public Service 2004
Typical local council structure at District level.

Source: Modified Structure from F. Saito 2003:57
District structure for the Education Sector

Education Department (District Head of Education (DHE)-UI) (1)

Administration Section (Senior Education Officer –U3) (1)

Education Officer – U5a-3 (1)

Inspectorate Section (Senior Education Officer –U3) (1)

Sports Unit (Sports Officer –U5b-4 (1)

Special Needs Education Unit (Education Officer –U5a-3) (1)

General Inspection Unit (Education Officer –U5a-3) (3)

PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT / CITY UNDER SCHOOL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

District structure for Health Care delivery.

**KEY**
- CAO: Chief Administrative Officer
- DDHS: Director of District Health Services
- DHMT: District Health Management Team
- DHC: District Health Committee
- HSD: Health Sub-County
- HC: Health Care
- LC: Local Council

**Source:** Government of Uganda, Ministry of Health 2004.