

Ethics in the Tanzanian Public Service Reform Program during President Benjamin Mkapa's Reign (1995 – 2005)

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One of the most difficult and under-examined issues in the administrative reform programs research of developing countries is the institutionalization of ethics in the public service. This study attempts to fill the gap by investigating the way ethics and accountability were integrated in the Tanzanian public service reform program under President Mkapa's reign and the effect generated. Research was undertaken through a non-experimental summative case study utilizing qualitative methods of data collection. The results show that from 1995 through 2005, great strides were made in enhancing ethics and accountability of the Tanzanian public service.

INTRODUCTION

Ethics is an essential element of administrative institutions and processes. The ethical stance of public officials especially the civil servants, and the availability of, and abidance by accountability mechanisms such as codes of conduct all have significant impact on public service performance. Ethics and accountability therefore, are public service values that administrative systems have endeavored to integrate in their structures, processes, and systems to generate efficient management of public services and to engender democratic governance. Lack of ethics and accountability manifest in various ways including misuse of office for self-aggrandizement, disregard for rules and regulations, misapplication of bureaucratic discretion, corruption, bribery, embezzlement and misuse of public funds, and general abuse of public office.

Developing countries, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have consistently been associated with endemic unethical and corrupt practices in public administration and politics. Organizations like the Freedom House, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), and Transparency International (TI) have documented unethical conduct at various levels of governments. Academic scholars too, have lamented the lack of ethics in government (Meyers, 2014; Larbi, 2007; Tangri and Mwenda, 2006; Cheema, 2005; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004; Farazmand, 2002; Flanary and Watt, 1999; Decalo, 1985). The efforts to revamp civil services in SSA implemented in the early 1990s therefore, did not only aim at generating efficient and effective administrative systems, but accountable ones too.

Tanzania, one of the few politically stable nations in Africa, is also one of the poorest on the continent. The country endured economic stagnation soon after its 1961 independence from British rule because of the adoption of the socialist economic ideology and policies that were enshrined in what is commonly known as "African Socialism". The latter, adopted in 1967, was aimed at making the country

self-reliant through an economy based on socialist local agricultural production rooted in African values. According to Julius Nyerere, the country's first president and proponent of this ideology, socialism was synonymous with 'Ujamaa' a concept that means familyhood in the Swahili language. Nyerere's economic experiment mobilized citizens into Ujamaa villages where they cultivated communal land and shared produce together as a community. People were expected to be self-reliant while the government provided funding, leadership, planning, and education (United Republic of Tanzania, 1969).

Between 1968 through 1978, Ujamaa socialism enhanced agricultural production, access to healthcare, education, and other social services like sanitation. It has been asserted that literacy rates increased from 30% in 1970 to 90% in 1980 (Amani, 2006). Government controlled the economic commanding heights including key industries in manufacturing, construction, banking and commerce. In addition, it formed national cooperatives in major sectors of the economy. Lacking a viable private sector, the only source of employment was the government. Inevitably, the size and scope of the government expanded. By the mid-1970s, the Ujamaa experiment had started to falter. Agricultural productivity fell as communal farming lost favor, goods became scarce, inflation rose, and the economy deteriorated. Within the administrative system, as salaries lost purchasing power, corruption emerged and public service performance degenerated.

The economic stagnation and administrative inefficiency of the 1970s and 80s led to gross decline in ethics and accountability in the Tanzanian public service (TPS). Mismanagement, corruption, embezzlement of funds, and disregard for civil service rules and regulations became the norm as the TPS performance declined to low levels and service delivery all but ceased. Yet, despite this dire state, ethics and accountability were not given attention at the inception of the public service reform program (PSRP) in the early 1990s. Indeed, between 1990 and 1995, government efforts to deal with corruption and lack of accountability were largely ineffective. Formulated outside the PSRP framework, they mainly consisted of anti-corruption squads which emphasized enforcement while ignoring the context that fostered unethical behavior.

It was not until 1995 when President Benjamin Mkapa assumed office that ethics and accountability gained prominence in the reform rhetoric and a strong determination to fight corruption in government ensued. President Mkapa appointed a special Commission to investigate corruption in government. In December 1996 the Commission reported that corruption was rampant in all sectors of the economy, public services, and the politics. According to the report, corruption was widespread in the civil service because of low wages and poor benefits. Civil servants, dissatisfied with their working conditions, resorted to bribes, embezzlement, and other unethical means of income generation. The Commission believed that the situation could be improved if better salaries and wages were offered (Presidential Commission of Inquiry against Corruption, 1996).

At the launch of the revamped PSRP in June 2000, President Mkapa proclaimed that the country was at a threshold of a new era of national prosperity and honor that demanded a transformed public service. He asserted that such a service would be "truly transparent and accountable to the public" and would have "zero-tolerance for corrupt behavior" (New Utumishi, 2003, p.1). Ethics and accountability were therefore included in the PSRP with the objective of "reinstating ethical conduct through inculcation of values and standards of performance to public servants" (Civil Service Reform Programme Implementation Status Report, 1999, p.29). It was anticipated that by 2005, a strong Ethics Division would be in existence at the Civil Service Department, capacity for ethics management would be established in government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs), citizen involvement in public service accountability would be enhanced, and public servants would be more ethical and accountable. This article focuses its analysis on these four major components and investigates whether they were attained or not. The article is structured in the following format: the next section offers a theoretical overview of ethics in public service. The third section presents the data collection methodology. The fourth section presents and discusses the research results. The last section offers the conclusion and suggestions for future research.

Ethics in Public Service: A Theoretical Overview

The quest for ethics in public service is not novel but has rather been a focus of scholars and practitioners for long. Ancient Greek philosophers like Aristotle (384 – 322 B.C) emphasized moral imperatives, and political and civic virtue. Philosophical theorists like Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1973) underscored the importance of consequences of actions by those in administrative and political leadership. In more recent times however the ethical conduct of public officials, political and administrative alike, has garnered great attention from the public, the media, as well as the civil servants and politicians. Since the 19th century efforts to dismantle the spoils system, calls for public service ethics have broadened from political corruption and administrative inefficiency to include morality, virtue, and duties to democratic citizenship (Cooper, 2001). The focus on ethics in public service has especially become prominent as cases of corruption, abuse of office and power, and misuse of public funds have become more common place and easily exposed. Whether it is high level ethical infractions like the Watergate scandal or the pillaging of state coffers by leaders especially those in developing countries, those in government are under greater scrutiny than ever before (Meyers, 2017). In contemporary public administration, the moral and ethical benchmark for public servants has been raised even as the role and scope of government continue to expand, work become more complex and ethical dilemmas more difficult to decipher. But what exactly is ethics? Why is ethics important to the public service reform agenda?

The concept ethics has been variedly defined although there seems to be consensus that morality and differentiation between right and wrong actions are critical to be an ethical public servant. The term ethics “involves thinking systematically about morals and conduct and making judgments about right and wrong” (Lewis, 1991, p.3). Defined thus, ethics should guide the actions and performance of public servants while moral values should enable them to distinguish right from wrong actions. In similar fashion, it has been argued that “ethics is concerned with the process by which we clarify what is right and wrong and by which we act on what we take to be right ... Ethics is a search for moral standards” (Denhardt et al, 2014, p.250). In the latter’s view, public officers should not only know what the right course of action is, but should also have the will to do the right thing. Moral virtue ethics calls on political and administrative leaders to not only have good intentions but to consistently and intuitively act in an ethical manner (Svara, 2007). Yet, the proper course of action is not always easy to establish and the contemporary complexity of government roles make decision making more difficult for those in the public service.

Ethics has also been defined in terms of right and wrong buttressed by principled conduct. Deontologist Emmanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) viewed ethical individuals as those whose actions are guided by a set of principles that define right from wrong. In his view, ethical beings are bound by duty to do the right thing and the duty to behave and act in an ethical manner is a ‘categorical imperative’ that is not only universally binding but applicable too (Chandler, 1994). When public service ethics is viewed through the deontologist lens, public administrators become duty-bound to be benign, honest, and to do what is morally right irrespective of consequences. In this perspective, what is morally right is also morally just. Political philosopher John Rawls (1921 – 2002) emphasized this view when he framed deontological theory to include justice, fairness, and equality as important ethical benchmarks. For Rawls, an ethical public servant forsakes self-interest and works for the public interest. Similarly, in his famous essay, Lippman defined the public interest as a moral imperative when he asserted that public interest is “what men would choose if they saw clearly, thought rationally, acted disinterestedly and benevolently” (1955, p.42). The public service is supposed to pursue the public interest and make decisions that bolster and defend the public interest. The public interest is therefore imbedded in the pursuit of public service ethics that contemporary administrative reform efforts seek.

Ethics can also be defined from the consequentialist ethics perspective which asserts that actions should be judged based on their outcome. Together with utilitarianism, consequentialism asserts that an act is moral if it produces the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Disregarding universal principles for moral guidance advocated by deontologists, consequentialism calls on those in government to pay attention to not just their principle-based actions but the possible consequences of such acts to

determine their moral rightness or wrongness (Svara, 2007). It should be noted however that defining ethics in utilitarian terms enhances subjective discernment of what is ethical and what is not. This may lead to ethical relativism since different individuals bring different sets of values and perceptions to decision making. By inducing ethical relativism, the teleological perspective may result in ethical ambiguity especially considering that it is not always easy for public administrators to predict the ramifications of their actions.

Ultimately, the above discussed ethics definitions can provide a sound basis for resolving ethical dilemmas in public administration. Those that choose to work in the public service have an obligation to commit themselves to virtuous, principled, and utilitarian purpose of public duty. While each ethical perspective has some underlying inadequacies, the latter can be counterbalanced by utilizing the ethical approaches together. Public administrators should not only consider consequences, but consider virtue as well, which may help restrain the negative effects of ethical relativism that is associated with utilitarian philosophy (Svara, 2007).

Ethics and Public Service Reform in Developing Countries

In developing countries especially in SSA, ethics concerns became prominent in the early 1990s after the WB and IMF realized that structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were not generating the results that they were intended to namely; generating adequate socioeconomic change and alleviating poverty. It was asserted that the missing link between the numerous SAPs and positive change was lack of ethics in public service and lack of democratic governance. While the WB prescribed reform initiatives had initially focused on economic stabilization, liberalization, and government size reduction, focus now shifted to emphasize governance and public service institutional issues like transparency, accountability, and ethics in government. Good governance was perceived as critical to administrative reform especially bureaucratic performance, efficacy, responsiveness, and ethics. The new governance reform agenda called on developing countries to pay attention to causes of and solutions to corruption and other unethical behavior in the public service systems (Doig, 1995; Das, 1998). Enhancing the ethical stance of the public service was believed to not only enhance efficiency and effectiveness of the public service, but to also address the confidence deficit many developing countries faced. It was envisaged that including ethics in the reform process would enhance both public service performance and investor confidence in the nations as they liberalized and opened their economies to foreign investment.

Domestically, many governments in developing regions have been under pressure from civil society and the public to deliver better, timely services. Citizens expect value for the taxes they pay and expect to access services without delay or first having to pay bribes and kickbacks. Moreover, as the government was retreating from provision of services and instituting user charges per the WB and IMF requirements, service quality remained stagnant or deteriorated further. Calls for better services therefore included demands for a more accountable, ethical, and responsive public service. Countries in SSA including Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanzania among others included ethics in the public service reforms they adopted in the 1990s in part because the IMF and WB required them, and because of domestic pressure.

The quest for ethics in the public service reform programs in SSA has been spurred by the new public management (NPM) reform movement that was popularized in the 1980s and 1990s by such countries as Australia and New Zealand. NPM reforms represent a paradigm shift in public administration by advocating a move from traditional public administration to a market-based public administration (Hood, 1991; Minogue et al, 1998; Poladino, 2001). To be market-like, NPM calls on government and the public service to focus on achieving results, to be customer-driven, and to rely on market-based mechanism of service delivery. In addition, government should also adopt market-like competition, innovation and entrepreneurial strategies (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993; Haque, 2001). In developing countries, the adoption of NPM principles led to decentralization of government functions to lower levels of government, contracting out of provision of services, privatization of government enterprises, setting public service performance targets and performance measurement, and adoption of results oriented management systems among other initiatives. While some of the NPM administrative reforms like decentralization have generated better service delivery, the impact of NPM reforms on public service

ethics and accountability has been negative. Government deregulation has reduced accountability and increased opportunities for corruption and unethical conduct, while giving public servants latitude to act as entrepreneurs has led to reduced administrative responsibility and responsiveness, and diminished focus on democratic norms like fairness, justice, and the public interest (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2011; Minogue, 2001; Romzek, 2000; Frederickson, 1999).

Whereas the rationale for including ethics in the public service reforms differs from country to country, ethics is a public service value that most administrative systems and governments strive to integrate into their processes and structures. Countries, developed and developing alike, recognize that ethics is important to governance and efficient management of public service systems. Tanzania did not pay attention to ethics in public service at the inception of the administrative reforms but that changed after president Mkapa assumed office in 1995 and integrated ethics in the newly redesigned public service reform program. Before delving into the effects of Mkapa's quest for instituting ethics in the Tanzanian public service, it is important to discuss the methods that were used in the collection and analysis of the data that this study is based on.

Methodology

Research was undertaken through a non-experimental summative case study utilizing qualitative methods of data collection. A summative evaluation assesses a program's effectiveness and is typically undertaken on programs that have stabilized (Patton, 2002). The PSRP in Tanzania had been in place for over ten years when the research was carried out and so it was ideal for evaluation. The research utilized a case study method by focusing on an in-depth analysis of four ministries (cabinet departments) namely the Ministry of Public Service, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Local Government. In a case study, a researcher investigates one or two cases, or compares a limited set of cases by focusing on several factors. The goal is to gather rich, comprehensive and in-depth data and to capture nuances, patterns, and other underlying elements that other research methods might fail to notice. Case studies aim at generating detailed, varied, and extensive descriptions of a program or policy (Neuman, 2000). The case study methodology approach therefore was the most appropriate for gaining an in-depth understanding of the performance of the PSRP efforts geared toward enhancing ethics in the Tanzanian PS.

Qualitative methods of data collection were utilized because the study sought to provide an in-depth description of the effects of the PSRP in enhancing the ethics of the Tanzanian public service. Most administrative reform studies tend to be quantitative and not based on the perceptions of those involved in the reform process. Qualitative research is suitable for examining the experience of participants without making judgements in advance (Berg, 2004). A qualitative approach was favored because it permits deep inquiry into a selected issue with careful attention to detail, context, and nuance. Because it is not constrained by predetermined analytical categories, a qualitative research design can generate a wealth of detailed data about a small number of cases. In this study, the goal was to get in-depth data about the four government ministries.

Data was collected via face to face interviews and content analysis of official documents and publications, newspapers, and online government information sources. Secondary information from scholarly journals and books was also used. Interviews based on open-ended questions were used to get the perspective of those involved in, and affected by, the reform program. Respondents were purposively selected based on their leadership position and their role in the reform process and were asked to recommend other public servants to interview based on their perception of who would have rich knowledge. The goal was to qualitatively get their understanding, interpretation, and subjective experience of the efforts implemented to enhance ethics in the public service.

Data analysis was conducted through an inductive approach to thematic analysis, creation of categories, and sorting of answers (Berg, 2004). Patterns and themes developed that indicated the following: changes that respondents revealed as resulting from the reform, problems they encountered, prospects and suggestions for change. To ensure confidentiality and to protect participant's identity, code

numbers were used for respondents that did not want their identities to be revealed. Ensuring subject confidentiality resulted in candid responses as illustrated in the following results section.

Results and Discussion

Data is presented based on the major reform components for enhancing ethics and is categorized under themes that were derived from the interviews, documents, and government policy statements on ethics and accountability in the Tanzanian public service. The study was not undertaken to generate generalizable truths about the institutionalization of ethics in the Tanzanian public service, but rather to generate meaningful conclusions and deeper understanding of the effects of the PSRP on ethics.

The Ethics Division

An ethics division was formed and charged with promoting ethical behavior within the public service in conjunction with other watchdog bodies like the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) and the Good Governance Coordination Unit (GGCU). The Division is responsible for building internal capacity of public service ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs), enabling them to undertake ethics monitoring, inspection, and enforcement. Between 2000 and 2004, it focused attention on policy and regulation formulation, capacity building, and awareness creation efforts. It developed a Public Service Code of Ethics and Conduct that was widely disseminated in all MDAs. A complaints handling strategy operational manual for MDAs was also designed to facilitate the handling of internal and public complaints. All the study participants were familiar with the code of ethics and asserted that it was helpful in specifying the areas that are pertinent to ethical performance and in offering guidelines for dealing with ethical dilemmas.

Capacity for Ethics Management in MDAs

During the period 1995-2005, the Ethics Secretariat offered various training programs to build the capacity of MDAs to enable them to monitor ethics and accountability of the public servants. Training-of-trainers courses in public service ethics were offered to more than 200 trainers from different Ministries. Those trained were available to continuously train members of their Ministries in public service ethics. Subjects covered in the training included accountability, transparency, conflict of interest, diligence and competency, confidentiality, fairness and impartiality, integrity and honesty, codes of conduct, corruption - its cause and effects, and strategies to combat it among others. To better handle ethics complaints and address ethics issues within the MDAs, the latter were supposed to form ethics committees. However, this had not been done. This failure to formulate committees is a major shortcoming of the efforts to enhance ethics and accountability because the committees are not only supposed to help in the monitoring and detection of unethical practices of corrupt public servants within the MDAs, but, are also supposed to handle internal complaints and those from the public.

Enhancing Public Awareness

A wide range of activities were undertaken to raise civil society awareness about public service ethics and accountability. It is recognized that an informed and vigilant public can be a vital resource in combating unethical tendencies like corruption. Radio and television programs were aired; newspaper articles and booklets published, and visual aids like posters were widely displayed calling on the public to embrace the responsibility of holding public servants accountable. The study participants considered radio and newspapers awareness programs in English and Kiswahili essential in raising awareness because the two mediums of communication reach a large portion of the population. Posters on big roadside boards were visible on major highways in Dar es Salaam but study participants indicated that the visibility decreased the further away from the city one went. There was general agreement that the public was becoming increasingly aware and intolerant of unethical behavior. It was indicated that since 2002, public complaints about unethical behavior have increased by about 11 percent per quarter. However, because the Ministerial ethics committees were not operational, such complaints were not being addressed promptly. Table 1 shows the ethics awareness campaigns that had been undertaken.

TABLE 1
ETHICS AWARENESS PROGRAMS

EVENT	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	TOTAL
Radio Programs	104	104	104	–	312
Television Programs	0	12	24	–	36
Newspaper Articles	104	104	104	–	312
Posters	–	–	20,000	5,000	25,000
Various Booklets	–	–	50,000	50,500	105,000

Source: United Republic of Tanzania. President's Office – Public Service Management. (2008). *PSRP Phase I End of Programme Report: A Summary of Results 2003-2007*. Dar es Salaam, p. 44.

To hold public servants accountable, the PSRP in 2001 instituted Client Service Charters (CSCs) and Open Performance Reviews and Appraisals (OPRAS) in MDAs. CSCs are social pacts between service providers and the recipients specifying standards of service delivery in the form of commitments or promises. They are supposed to enhance customer service and commit public servants to meet their targets. In 2004, a study to assess the degree to which commitments in the charters were being met was undertaken by the President's Office Public Service Management (PO-PSM) office in five Ministries and two Executive Agencies. 72 commitments were evaluated and a sample of 20 instances of actual service delivery for each commitment was made for the years 2001-2004. It was found that commitments were met 60% of the time and performance ranged from 31% to 81%. However, on assessing the performance before and after the charters were put in place, it was found that commitments were likely to be met 64% of the time prior to the charters and 60% post the charters. It was therefore concluded that the charters had not had any significant positive impact on service delivery (State of the Public Service Report, 2004). In the same study, it was found that 35% of the service users had complained about the public servants' performance with 33% asserting that public servants were corrupt. However, 1% were satisfied with the responses they received while 59% were dissatisfied and 21% were very dissatisfied with the way their complaints were handled (State of the Public Service Report, 2004). It can therefore be argued that although using client charters is a good innovation, it has not enhanced performance, ethics, and accountability.

Open Performance Reviews and Appraisals (OPRA) is a novelty through which accountability is supposed to be enhanced. At the beginning of each financial year subordinates and their superiors agree upon the work targets and objectives to be met, agree to review progress mid-year and to make an end-of-year assessment of objective achievement. The review process was thought to enhance accountability because both parties would be involved in setting goals and objectives and in discussing evaluation results. It was however revealed that while performance agreements were being made and OPRA forms filled on a routine basis, progress is not monitored and reviewed. A respondent from the Ministry of Finance lamented thus:

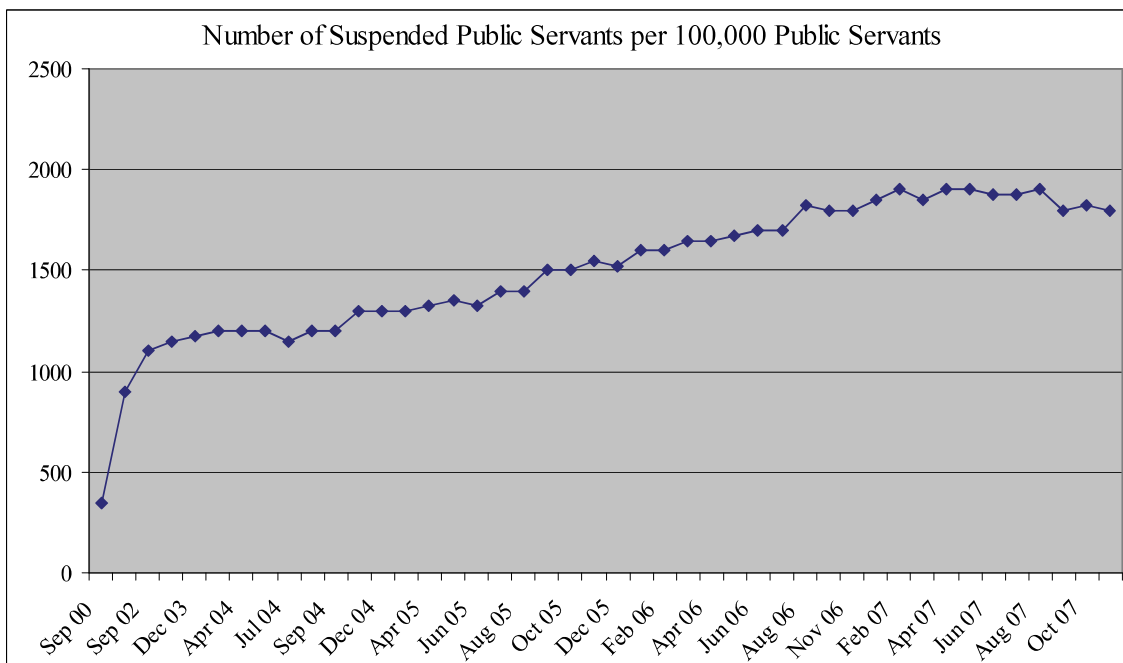
“Open performance assessment has not taken root. It is very hard to implement and not much progress has been made. Public servants find it cumbersome and time consuming and some even think it is irrelevant.”

It can therefore be asserted that OPRAS have not yet attained the goal of enhancing administrative ethics and accountability.

For client charters and OPRAS to be effective, performance must be monitored closely to ensure that commitments are being met. Such monitoring requires a rigorous system that is firmly built in the Ministry's daily operations and a management that is committed to its implementation. Thus far, both were lacking. Where complaints are raised whether from the public or from within the Ministry, they should be addressed promptly. The effectiveness of handling complaints however largely depends on the existence and integrity of ethics committees and the officers/management addressing the complaints. Moreover, government commitment to enhance ethics remained in doubt because despite the high levels of dissatisfaction, few public servants were punished for violating rules and regulations. It was revealed

that government was taking a stricter stance in dealing with the corrupt and those that did not abide by accountability standards. However, evidence showed only a mild increase in suspension of public servants found in violation of rules. Figure 1 shows the number of suspensions effected between 2000 and 2007. The number of suspensions increased from less than 500 in 2000 to more than 1000 in 2003 but thereafter the rate remained almost constant. Renewed efforts to enhance public service ethics and accountability boosted by the President Kikwete who was elected in 2005 and donor support for anti-corruption programs might explain the slight increase that occurred in 2006.

FIGURE 1
NUMBER OF SUSPENDED PUBLIC SERVANTS PER 100,000 PUBLIC SERVANTS



Source: United Republic of Tanzania. President’s Office – Public Service Management. (2008). *PSRP Phase 1 End of Programme Report: A Summary of Results 2003-2007*, Dar es Salaam, p. 10.

In addition to the reform efforts undertaken within the PSRP framework, the government of Tanzania since 1995 reenergized its efforts to fight corruption and enhance public service ethics. Some of the initiatives taken include the formulation of the Public Leadership Code; enactment of the National anti-corruption strategy and action plan; and the revitalization of the preexisting institutions like the Prevention of Corruption Bureau.

The Public Leadership Code

President Mkapa approved the Public Leadership Code of Ethics Act No. 13 in 1995 to promote ethical behavior in government. The code emphasizes the role of transparency and integrity in restoring public confidence in government and strengthening national ethics. The code requires cabinet ministers and senior public servants to annually disclose their property and sign a code of ethics declaring that assets acquired during their tenure in office will be attributable to their legal income. The Chief Technical Adviser, Public Service Reform Program, asserted that the president set a good precedent by declaring his assets within days of assuming office, a trend that was being steadily embraced by those in public office. However, enforcement of the code was still a challenge. There was general agreement that some public officers had not declared their wealth and non-compliance was not met with strict repercussions. Moreover, the public did not have access to declarations making it difficult to hold those that had not

stated their assets accountable. Ultimately, the effectiveness of the code will depend on long term compliance with its provisions otherwise public officers will find it easy to use public office for self-aggrandizement.

The National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan

One of the major manifestations of unethical behavior is the presence of corruption in government. It is therefore not surprising that efforts to enhance ethics have placed great emphasis on curbing corruption. The Commission of inquiry into corruption in Tanzania that was appointed by President Mkapa soon after he assumed power made various recommendations on how to deal with corruption. Among them was the establishment of a national anti-corruption strategy and action plan (NACSAP). The strategy that was launched in 2000 embodies the government's efforts to curb corruption and focuses on seven major areas: the rule of law and legal framework; financial discipline and management; procurement; public education awareness and sensitization of the public rights; public service reform; whistle blowers and witness protection; and the media. It provides a framework for dealing with corruption in government be it petty or large scale. It also provides guidelines for MDAs to initiate concrete measures for corruption prevention, enforcement of rules and regulations, avenues to increase public awareness, and involvement of watchdog institutions.

The NACSAP was implemented by the Good Governance Coordination Unit (GGCU) in the President's Office. The GGCU monitors implementation of crosscutting reforms geared towards corruption prevention and rallies MDAs to regularly provide reports about their efforts against corruption. Because of this drive, MDAs were in the process of developing and implementing sectoral anti-corruption action plans. One of the major achievements of NACSAP was the passing of the Public Procurement Act in 2004. It was asserted by an officer in the Ministry of Finance that prior to the reform government procurement was corruption and embezzlement ridden.

"There was no clear procurement process; no transparency in the use of public funds and in purchases; there was a lot of abuse. We now have a legal instrument that has professionalized procurement and saved government a lot of money."

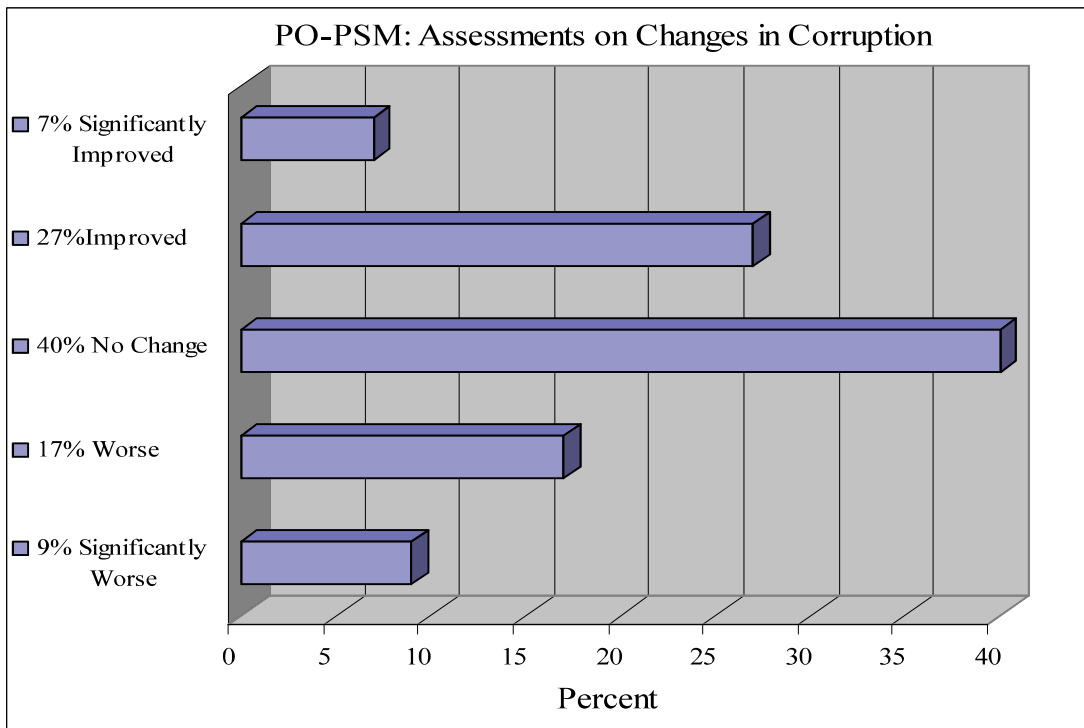
There was a consensus that NACSAP initiatives have generated greater zeal to fight corruption in the government. Yet there also was a general agreement that corruption was still prevalent in the public service although it was not clearly indicated that it is on the rise or major decline. Many of the study participants had the perception that there was a slight decrease in corruption especially petty corruption because it was easier to detect and punish. There was also a general view that the increase in remuneration and improvement of procurement procedures had reduced incidences of corruption.

That corruption was decreasing seemed to be the general view within civil society as well. A study by the PO-PSM found that the public perceived corruption to be on the decrease but barely so. Figure 2 shows perceptions about changes in corruption. Most of the respondents felt that not much had changed and contradicted the surveys undertaken by Transparency international whose Corruption Perception Index showed corruption in Tanzania on a consistent decrease. Figure 2 shows that 34% believed that the corruption stance of the public service had improved while 26% believe that it had worsened. Forty percent however, believed that no change had occurred. This implies that despite the numerous programs that government had put in place to combat corruption, a lot still needs to be done.

Table 2 shows the corruption perception index trend generated by Transparency International surveys. The results depict an evidently consistent decrease in corruption. The corruption perception index (CPI) scores show a clear improvement in the degree to which corruption was perceived to exist among public officials and politicians in Tanzanians from a very low 1.9 when the country was the fourth most corrupt country out of 58 in 1998, to a high of 3.0 in 2008 when the country was 78th out of 180 countries surveyed. The scores show that the gains left behind by President Mkapa at the end of 2005 were not only sustained but improved upon by his successor President Kikwete. The trend shows a positive and consistent change for the better that has been applauded and supported by international donors.¹ It can therefore be asserted that although corruption still manifested in the public service, some progress had

been made. It should be noted that the above achievements were partly possible because of the efforts of the Prevention of Corruption Bureau.

FIGURE 2
PO-PSM ASSESSMENTS ON CHANGES IN CORRUPTION



Source: United Republic of Tanzania. President’s Office – Public Service Management. (2008). *PSRP Phase 1 End of Programme Report: A Summary of Results 2003-2007*, Dar es Salaam, p. 12.

TABLE 2
TANZANIA’S CORRUPTION PERCEPTION INDEX RANKING, 1998-2006

YEAR	FROM TOP	FROM BOTTOM	CPI SCORE
1998	81 out of 85	4 th	1.9
1999	93 out of 99	6 th	1.9
2000	76 out of 90	15 th	2.5
2001	82 out of 91	9 th	2.2
2002	71 out of 102	31 st	2.7
2003	92 out of 133	41 st	2.5
2004	90 out of 145	55 th	2.8
2005	86 out of 158	72 nd	2.9
2006	93 out of 163	70 th	2.9
2007	94 out of 179	85 th	3.2
2008	102 out of 180	78 th	3.0

Source: Transparency International. www.transparency.org.

The Prevention of Corruption Bureau

The Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) is one the major national watchdog agencies that was established by parliament. It has three major roles: first, it is supposed to take necessary measures for

prevention of corruption in government and private sectors; second, it has the mandate to investigate allegations of corruption and persecute those found guilty of corruption; and third, it is supposed to advise the government and its agencies on ways and means to prevent corruption. It is headed by a director who is appointed by the president and reports not to parliament, but to the president. The PCB has offices in all regions of the country and at the time of data collection had 43 offices at the district level. It has policing powers – it can enter and search premises as well as arrest suspects and prosecute (with the approval of the Director of Public Prosecutions - DPP) those found guilty. It also undertakes awareness and educational campaigns, and carries out research and diagnostic survey studies in MDAs to guide the formulation of strategies to fight corruption.

It was asserted that the financial and manpower of the PCB had been enhanced substantially. For instance, staff was increased from 185 in 1995 to 527 in 2002 and its budget was increased from 191 million Tanzanian Shillings in 1995 to 3 billion in 2002.² Further, an anti-corruption law containing provisions that allow the PCB unfettered access to information was passed by parliament in 2006. The changes made it possible for the agency to expand its reach especially in investigation and awareness campaigns. Nonetheless, there was a general view that the PCB suffers from some weaknesses that hinder its performance. Despite the increase in the budget, the resources were still insufficient to enable it to carry out its roles and functions. The most notable challenge was the poor rates of convictions. For instance, between 2002 and 2004 7,058 cases were reported, 138 were investigated and on average only 24 convictions were made (State of the Public Service Report, 2004). Part of the problem was lack of personnel but it was also acknowledged that investigations and convictions take a very long time because of the bureaucratic delays that emerge in the collection of evidence and because of the involvement of the DPPs office.³ There was also a general belief that the PCB “lacks teeth” as it focuses more on petty corruption and not so much on grand cases of corruption. The only high-profile corruption case that was conclusively prosecuted was against the Minister of Works and his Permanent Secretary in 2005. However, the Minister was later released from jail while the Permanent Secretary was still serving his sentence in 2006.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this research provide interesting and encouraging insights into the administrative reforms aimed at enhancing ethics in public service in Tanzania. The analysis offered in this article shows that some improvement had been made in building the ethical stance of the civil servants and in enhancing accountability within the Tanzanian public service. Although the data showed varying degrees of progress, the study participants were quite optimistic that the achievements made were real and would be sustained. A new procurement law permitted greater transparency and accountability in the process of procurement, the public was more involved in reporting cases of office abuse and demanding better services, public servants were getting the training and tools necessary to guide them in dealing with ethical dilemmas, the PCB had improved staffing levels and opened offices in all the regions in the country, and there was great political will to strengthen ethics and accountability in government.

Nevertheless, corruption was still considered a serious problem in the Tanzanian public service and most of the public did not see any change in corruption levels. Not all public officers abided by the leadership code and non-compliance had so far not been met with strict legal action. Client service charters and OPRAS were not abided by and there was no evidence that poor performance was punished. Watchdog agencies, despite some achievements, experienced major weaknesses in monitoring, enforcement, and execution of their mandates. The perception that the public servants did not abide by ethical standards was still prevalent both within the public service and in the civil society. Future studies could therefore explore and investigate the developments that have occurred, and the state of ethics in the Tanzanian public service more than ten years since President Mkapa left office. Future studies could deductively focus on specific elements introduced by Mkapa for instance client service charters, OPRAS and even the code of conduct so that a quantitative analysis of changes in the ethical stance of public servants is measured.

Overall, when compared to the period prior to the reform, the period 1995 – 2005 shows great improvement. Enhancing ethics and accountability are extraordinarily complex and daunting tasks. Institutional reforms and change of behavior and mindset of public servants, and the involvement of stakeholders are critical components in achieving those tasks. Thus far, the reforms were in progress, and political goodwill and exemplary leadership were exhibited. Training, performance improvement, and accountability measures were in place, the NACSAP was implemented, and watchdog bodies had been reenergized. In addition, public awareness campaigns were implemented and the public was more vigilant in demanding ethical behavior and accountability. Moreover, the public corruption perception surveys indicated a decreasing rate of corruption in the public service however miniscule. It can therefore be asserted that enhancing ethics was on course to becoming a reality in the Tanzanian civil service under the reign of President Benjamin Mkapa.

ENDNOTES

1. In 2006, The World Bank gave Tanzania a US\$ 40 Million Credit to enhance Accountability, Transparency and Integrity - see The World Bank 2006. Public Sector Reform and Capacity Building. Report No: 35615 – TZ.
2. Interview No. BW 0012.
3. Interview No. BW 0012.

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