Research Funding at Makerere University and its Implications on Human Resource and Institutional Development: Does Gender Matter?

Elizabeth Kaase-Bwanga and Consolata Kabonesa

Makerere University , Uganda

Abstract

The study investigated the research funding pattern at Makerere University. The major focus was to assess how the research funding pattern at Makerere University translated into human resource and institutional development and to ascertain whether gender matters. The analytical framework was anchored within the feminist organizational theory, economic resource-based theory of the firm and the human capital theory, Using secondary data, the results indicated that Makerere University was, to some extent, a gender-responsive institution in programming and organizational processes; although beneath these processes was a gendered sub-structure that was reproduced daily in practical work activities and impacting negatively on female staff research productivity, feminizing some academic disciplines, colleges, schools and administrative positions within the University structures. Makerere University research funding sources including, government and development partners as well as internally-generated funds demonstrated some level of gender responsiveness. Time was a binding constraint to female research productivity, the technical capacity of the members on the policy committees in gender analysis as well as the organizational logic built on masculine structures was found inadequate.There was need to reconsider widening research funding sources to increase research support, to include administrative staff, while targeting staff and colleges that are lagging behind in research outputs. Gender equity should be guiding factor. Technical capacity in gender mainstreaming that is already existing at the institution should be engaged to change the organizational logic with a view to enhancing the integration gender in the organizational structures, programs, policies including recruitment, promotion, retirement and processes which inadvertently create and enhance gender gaps between, colleges, administrative units and within disciplines for self-actualization. It is important for Makerere University to consider building the skills of the existing female staff into role models for the upcoming female students.

Introduction and Problem Statement

The emergence of globalization and knowledge- based economies has given rise to a new economic, social political and cultural order to which nations, regions, higher education systems and institutions are responding. The contribution of research and development towards this new world order cannot be overemphasized as it is through research that new technological innovations are born. Magara (2009) notes that at Makerere University, research is important as it is an avenue for career growth and development as well as institutional growth and prosperity. It is through research that Makerere University as an institution can promote herself to respond to the global agenda and gain visibility. It is noted that these challenges are

gendered; therefore institutions are being forced to re-examine themselves internally with a view to pursuing the global agenda vis-a-vis their own visions and missions, if they are to remain relevant nationally and internationally Thomas, (1988), Santiago et al (2002), World Bank (1999) and Castells (2001) note that to aim at development without addressing inequalities that exist in institutions is cosmetic. Knowledge production, accumulation, transfer and application have become major factors in socio-economic development and are increasingly at the core of national development strategies, in order for any country to gain competitive advantage in the global knowledge economy. Higher education institutions must be seen as playing a key role in generating and delivering the knowledge requirements for development. Nico et al. (2011) note a strong association between higher education participation roles and levels of development. Makerere University is aware that research is the pathway for universities to become the loci of scientific discoveries that drive economies forward through knowledge production, innovations and effective utilization of research outputs, as well as being a prerequisite for growth, competition and visibility. Makerere University has positioning herself to become a research-led university. Enhancement of research production has been one of the strategic objectives in the successive University strategic plans (University Strategic Plan 2008/09 -2018/19; Makerere University Annual Report 2012).

Makerere University has positioned herself uniquely among public universities in Uganda and Africa in general to engage the global challenges, namely; gender mainstreaming internationalization, privatization, decentralization, liberalization of the economy, and the increasing competition generated from the global policies (Magara, 2009; Makerere University Annual Report, 2012). Creating an enabling environment and capacity for knowledge generation, innovation and utilization have been significant drivers in the re-positioning process. All academic and a number of the senior staff in administrative units are eligible to research production and publication (Makerere University Strategic Plan, 2008/09-2018/19). This is amidst Government of Uganda policy shift in national spending priorities towards Universal Primary Education (UPE), Universal Secondary Education (USE), Business, Technical and Vocational Education (BTVET), science, technology and innovation and, above all, women empowerment.

Makerere University being a public institution for long enjoyed monopoly status as a sole provider of higher education in Uganda and full support from the Government until 1987. The government paradigm shift to privatization, liberalization policies and the general global trend, and the changing priorities in education sector spending has led to the creation of more private and public universities, impacting negatively on the government funding towards Makerere University. Currently, there are over thirty universities in Uganda, both private and public, providing similar products (National Council for Higher Education 2012). Through the public -private sector partnerships the private universities are eligible to government support, and hence compete with Makerere University for government support. Makerere University has responded to this policy shift by transforming to a collegiate system of governance with a view to increasing effectiveness and efficiency in her core functions of teaching, learning, research and service to the community, among others.

This cannot be business as usual for Makerere University if it is to play the leading role in higher education, become a center of excellence, while at the same time being seen as

egalitarian and equitable in service delivery - a double-edged sword which many interpret as women gaining at the expense of men. This research interrogates the interface between research funding pattern and the effect of these paradigm shifts at Makerere University, Uganda, and the international agenda, and how this translates into human resource and institutional development, with a view to establish whether gender matters.

Theoretical Perspectives

The study is situated within the feminist organizational theory, economic resource-based theory of the firm and human capital theory. Feminist writers on gendered organizational processes have elaborated gender as a concept to mean more than a socially constructed, binary identity and image (Connell, 1987; Harding, 1986; Scott, 1986). Accordingly, gender as an analytic category is an attempt to find new avenues into the dense and complicated problem of explaining the extraordinary persistence through history and across societies of the subordination of women. Scott (1986) defines gender as a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and argues that gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.

Cockbum (1985), Game and Pringle (1984), Knights and Willmott (1985), Phillips and Taylor (1986), and Sorenson (1984) observe that new approaches to the study of waged work, particularly labour processes, view organizations as gendered, not as gender-neutral. Organizations are conceptualized as one of the locations of the inextricably intertwined production of both gender and class relations. Acker (1988) studied class and gender and noted that class is constructed through gender and that class relations are always gendered. The structure of the labour market, relations in the workplace, the control of the work processes, and the underlying wage relation are always affected by symbols/images of gender, processes of gender identity, and material inequalities between women and men. These processes are complexly related to and powerfully support the reproduction of the class structure.

For an organization, or any other analytic unit, to be gendered, advantages and disadvantages, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculinity and femininity Gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived as gender-neutral. Rather, it is an integral part of those processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender (Connell, 1987; West & Don, 1987). It is noted that gendering occurs in at least five interacting processes that may be analytically distinct, yet in practice, are parts of the same reality. First, is the construction of divisions along lines of gender - divisions of labour, allowed behaviour, locations in physical space, power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labour markets, the family, the state as well as often obvious to casual observers. Kanter (1977) documented that although there are great variations in the patterns and extent of gender division; men are almost always in the highest positions of organizational power. Cohn (1985) argued that managers' decisions often initiate gender divisions and organizational practices maintain them, although these also take on new forms with changes in technology and the labour process.

Secondly, there is the construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce, and/or sometimes oppose those divisions. These present in many sources or forms- language,

ideology, popular and high culture, dress, the press, television. Lipman-Blumen (1980) and Kanter (1975) note that the image of the top manager or the business leader is an image of successful, forceful masculinity. Men workers' images of masculinity link their gender with their technical skills, such that the possibility that women might also obtain such skills represents a threat to that masculinity.

The third set of processes that produce gendered social structures in organizations are interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission. West and Don (1987) observe gender differences in conversation analysis through interruptions, turn-taking, and setting the topic of discussion. These recreate gender inequality in the flow of ordinary talk such that men are the actors, women the emotional support (Hochschild, 1983).

Reskin and Roos (1987) note that these processes help to produce gendered components of individual identity, which may include consciousness of the existence of the other three aspects of gender such as: in organizations choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing, and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization.

Lastly, Clegg and Dunkerley (1980) and Smith (1988) note that gender is implicated in the fundamental, ongoing processes of creating and conceptualizing social structures. Gender is obviously a basic constitutive element in family and kinship, but, less obviously, it helps to frame the underlying relations of other structures, including complex organizations. It is a constitutive element in organizational logic, or the underlying assumptions and practices that construct most contemporary work organizations. It is further noted that as organizational logic appears to be gender-neutral, then gender-neutral theories of bureaucracy and organizations employ and give expression to this logic. However, underlying both academic theories and practical guides for managers is a gendered sub-structure that is reproduced daily in practical work activities and, somewhat less frequently, in the writings of organizational theorists. The argument is that organizational logic has material forms in written work rules, labour contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations, including systems of job evaluation widely used in the comparable-worth strategy of feminists. Job evaluation is accomplished through the use and interpretation of documents that describe jobs and how they are to be evaluated. These documents contain symbolic indicators of structure, the ways that they are interpreted and talked about in the process of job evaluation reveals the underlying organizational logic. In light of the above, as long as the University structures, programming and organizational logic is gender-neutral, it is unlikely to respond positively to the aforementioned paradigm shifts in a gender-responsive way.

The resource-based theory of the firm is a blend of organizational economics and strategic management (Barney, 1991; Conner, 1991). The fundamental assumption is that organizations can be successful if they gain and maintain competitive advantage. It is noted that organizations and nations which promote the full and equal partnership of male and female leaders tend to be amongst the most humane, economically vibrant and environmentally friendly (Porter, 1985; Kate, 2010). Competitive advantage is gained by implementing a value-creating strategy that competitors cannot easily copy and sustain and for which there are no ready substitutes (Barney, 1991). For competitive advantage to be gained, two conditions are needed; first, the

resources available to competing firms must be variable and these resources must be immobile, something that is not easily obtained. Three types of resources associated with organizations are: physical -including technology, equipment and geographic location; human - including employees' experience and knowledge; and organizational structure -including systems for planning, monitoring, and controlling activities; social relations within the organization and between the organization and external constituencies. Human resource management greatly influences an organization's organizational resources and so can be used to gain competitive advantage (Schuler & MacMillan, 1984). Kate, (2010) revealed that women's distinctive approaches to business and leadership were chiefly responsible for changing the rules for business success because of the unique gifts they possess. Wright et al., (1994) argued that the extent to which human resource management can be used to gain competitive advantage, and the means of doing so, are partly determined by the environments in which organizations operate. This theory highlights the different skills and organizational attributes possessed by both male and female employees and presents an argument for building of synergies between top male and female employees for the success of the organization.

The human capital theory refers to human capital as the productive capabilities of people's skills, experience, and knowledge. According to Becker (1964) human capital has economic value to organizations as it is an enabler to productivity and adaptability. Therefore people constitute the organization's human capital. Like other assets, human capital has value in the market place, but unlike other assets, the potential value of human capital can be fully realized only with the cooperation of the persons. All costs related to eliciting productive behaviour from employees, including those related to motivating, monitoring, and retaining them, constitute human capital investments and are made in anticipation of future returns (Flamholtz & Lacey, 1981). Organizations can use human resource management (HRM) in a variety of ways to increase their human capital (Cascio, 1991; Flamholtz & Lacey, 1981). For example, they can "buy" human capital in the market by offering desirable compensation packages or develop it internally by offering extensive training and development opportunities. Investments of either type have associated costs, which are justifiable only to the extent the organization is able to productively utilize the accumulated capital (Tsang et al., 1991). Contextual factors such as market conditions, unions, business strategies, and technology are important as they affect the costs associated with alternative approaches to using human resource to increase the value of the organization's human capital and the value of the anticipated returns, such as productivity gains (Boudreau & Berger, 1985; Russell et al., 1993).The human capital theories assume that men and women provide similar products in terms of labour and labour productivity once motivated and availed with an enabling environment. From this perspective it is implicit that labour is gender-neutral.

The European Commission (2005), presents a framework that demonstrates that effective use of resources is only sustainable by using a people-centred and resource distributive approach. It is argued that inputs in an organization, coupled with outside influence, are what determine the organizational outputs. These inputs together with the existing internal capacity and external influence interact to enhance the capacity of human and social capital eventually leading to institutional development as conceptualized in Figure 1.
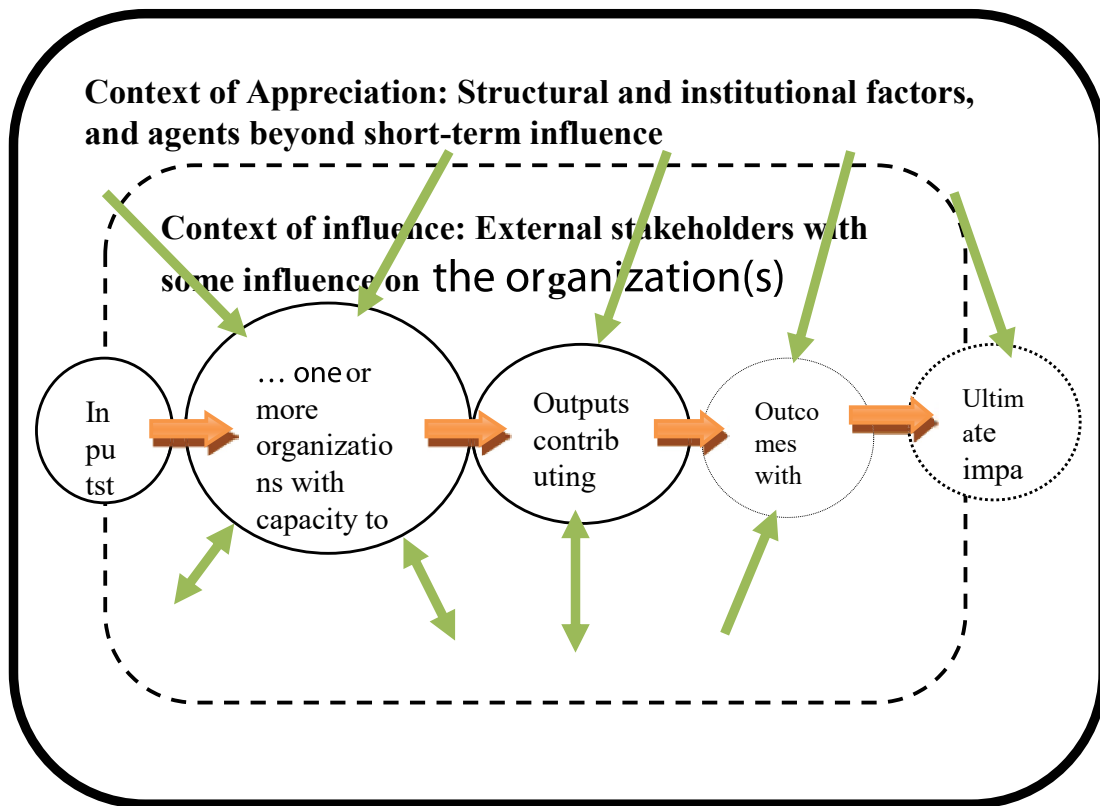
Figure 1: Analytical framework of Organization(s) as open system(s)
Source: (European Commission (2005)

This research adopts the feminist organizational theory, economic resource-based theory of the firm and the human capital theory and the EU conceptual framework to show that organizations are open systems, with many factors, actors and inputs, internal and / or external, each with their own reaction functions towards the achievement of organizational objectives. Some of the pressures may be detractive, complementary or competitive.

The organization may be competing for the same inputs, markets, to gain visibility over its competitors and /or eventually drive the competitors out of the market. Organizations are expected to formulate reaction functions subject to the human resource and how this resource is to be harnessed and mobilized for the achievement of organizational objectives, and the mix of external environmental factors including international commitments like gender mainstreaming, globalization, competitors' reaction functions and government policy to remain relevant. From the Makerere University perspective, research is considered as an input to boost the University's capacity to produce outputs. Makerere University is expected to deliver a dual agenda, that is, efficiency and effectiveness in order to remain relevant to national and international agenda. This requires building an organizational logic in programming and organizational processes to engage and take advantage of external and internal forces in order to counteract the gender question. This could be by incorporating gender into its programming and organizational processes, consciously or otherwise, through mentorship, targeted research funding, and the creation of a targeted enabling environment for research

productivity for both male and female academics. It is anticipated that this could result into increased research outputs for both male and female staff, balanced institutional development, international visibility, increased influence national development trends, as well as meeting global challenges.

Methodology

Secondary data, generated annually by different accountability centres of the University, during annual performance reviews for purposes of reporting to the Uganda Parliament was used. Each accountability centre submits a report to the Planning and Development Department of the University in line with her mandate. The Planning and Development Department then compiles the data into a University-wide annual report for submission to the University Council. In addition, the Planning and Development Department compiles a Fact Book annually highlighting the status of standard performance indicators in line with the relevant University Strategic Plan. These documents are available at the Planning and Development Department, the University Library, and all accountability centres of the University. This was supplemented by reviews of theoretical and empirical studies on the contribution of research to human resource and institutional development from an economic and feminist perspective. Being secondary sources, compiled purposely for reporting, there could have been data bias and inaccurate reporting, Besides, the study being longitudinal in nature, analysis was stretched as far as data was available. Data gaps were filled by taking averages of the lower and upper years. The data that was available provided a good ground for analysis, the result of which will provide a reference point for future studies of a similar nature. The above notwithstanding, it did not significantly affect the results of the research.

Results

Makerere University Research Funding Sources

The University has three major sources of funding: government subvention; appropriation in Aid/ Non-tax revenue - internally generated; and donor support. Donor support falls into two categories, mostly in form of grants for institutional capacity building focusing on teaching and learning, and capital development. The research focused on donor support for capacity development in the areas of teaching and learning. This support comes predominantly through government bilateral support and foundations. The international organizations Makerere University relates with in terms of financial support include: Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, MacArthur Foundation, Sida-SAREC, NORAD, individual and /or external universities, among others. These organizations are gender-responsive and support women empowerment.

The financial spectrum over the last ten years indicated that total funding mounted to Uganda shillings 960b, with government contributing Ushs 346 billion and Ushs184 billion from the donors. The major funding sources were internally-generated funds, followed by government and donors' sources with 45 per cent, 36 per cent and 19 per cent, respectively. Internal private sources showed an upward trend, an indication that Makerere University's financial base will for some time be supported from internal sources than from donors and government. The trend of donor support is unpredictable as donors' ideology has significant influence on the trend of programming and organizational processes in Makerere University. Makerere University donor agencies are emphatic on gender mainstreaming. This has been

reflected in the support to Makerere University to establish the Gender mainstreaming division, currently a Directorate of Gender Mainstreaming of University and the establishment of the School of Women and Gender Studies, a national and institutional lead agency for gender mainstreaming, among other activities.

Research Funds Availability and Use

The total amount of research funds over the period 2001 - 2011was Ushs3.4b to finance research and related activities. Ushs 1,7b (50 %) was spent of doctoral training, Shs 282,9m (8%) was spent on Masters training, Ushs 755,9m (22%),was spent on conference and travel, Ushs3.6m (18%) was spent on postdoctoral research. Uganda Shilling 6m was spent on organizing conference activities, Ushs4m was for inaugural lectures and Ushs 38.6m was spent on research-related activities (Makerere University Fact Book, Third Edition, 2012). Funds from donors were targeted to colleges, research themes and/or functions. Science-based colleges were the biggest beneficiaries. The College of Health Sciences topped, followed by the College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, the College of Natural Sciences benefited least with US$73,273,555, US$15,858,727 and US$14,952,594 respectively. US$ 6,546,029 was for institutional development (Makerere University Fact Book, 2014/15).

Distribution of Research Funds by Research-related Activity

It was observed that the distribution of research funds followed the University strategy - to enable her to strategically position herself to becoming a research-led University, emphasizing building capacity for research at PhD and post-doctoral training as indicated in Figure 2. It was noted that PhD training carried the highest weight in the distribution of research funds compared to Masters, post-doctoral research and other related activities. The idea was to put resources to the most efficient use by building staff capacity in proposal writing, a skill necessary for competing for international research grants. It is assumed that a PhD holder is competent enough to write competitive papers and proposals that can attract funding. Other activities that research funds were spent include, hosting conferences and travel to present research outputs to conferences. These activities increase visibility of the University.
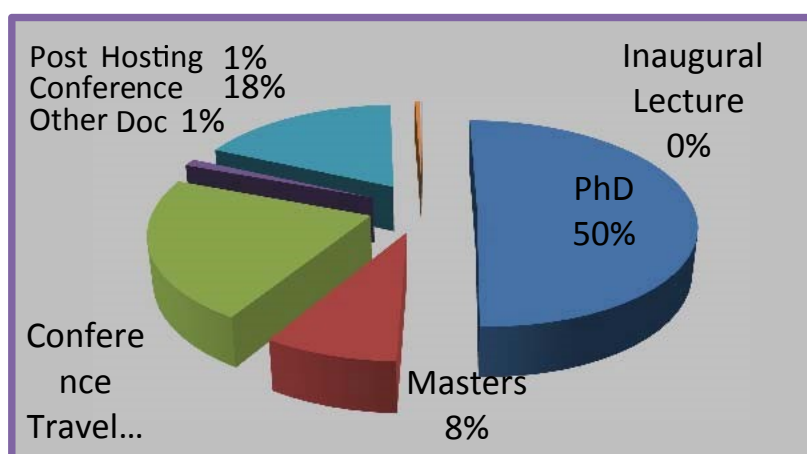

Figure 2: Distribution of Research Funds by Research-related Activity
Source:Makerere University Fact Book, Third Edition, 2012.

Access to Internally Generated Funds by College

It is University policy that one percent of the internally-generated funds is earmarked for staff development. This is meant to support research in the needy colleges or schools, especially at PhD level. Figure 3shows the percentage share of internally-generated funds by colleges, schools, administrative units by gender. It was observed that over the decade, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, College of Education and External Studies and College of Business and Management Sciences were the main beneficiaries to this fund for the period ending 2012 for equity reasons. However, the distribution of the internally-generated funds exhibited gender gaps by colleges and between academic and administrative units.
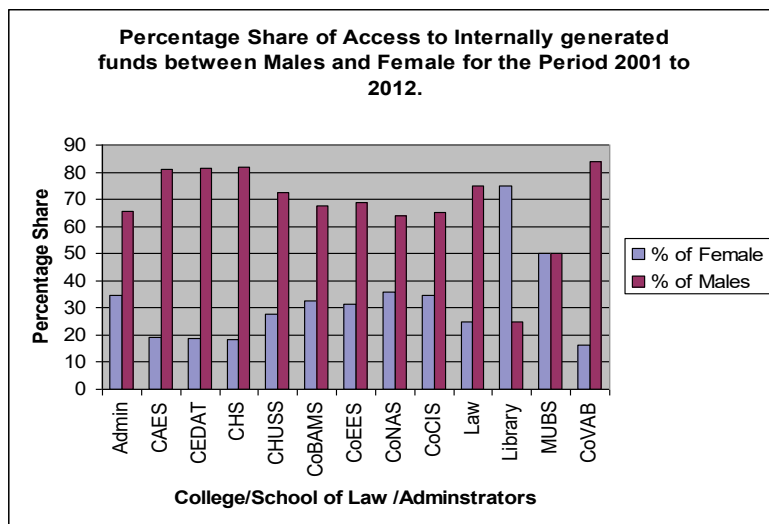
Source: Makerere University Fact Book, Third Edition, 2012

The percentage of female staff that benefited from the staff development stood as 37, 34 and 40 percent for financial years 2012/13, 2013/14 and 2014/15 respectively (Makerere University Fact Book, 2014/15).

Furthermore, it is University policy that 40 percent of staff development fund should be targeted at female staff. The University Library presented the largest number of female beneficiaries. The colleges that benefited least were the College of Health Sciences, College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology, College of Agriculture and Natural Sciences and the College of Veterinary Medicine, Animal Science and Bio-Security. A gender analysis presented interesting results - an inverse relationship in access to research funds between academic staff, with gender gaps greater in the colleges with core science disciplines compared to humanities-based colleges, as if to justify the meagre number of female staff in the core science disciplines. The access of female academic staff to internally-generated funds stood at a meagre 28 per cent against 72 per cent for male academic staff over the decade. It was evident that although senior administrators, who were Master's degrees holders, were

eligible to access research funds, only 34 per cent female staff accessed these funds during the decade. None of the colleges hit the 40 per cent institutional female target as per University regulation for affirmative action. It was observed that access to research funds was feminized between science-based and humanities disciplines, between female and male academic staff and between administrative and academic staff.

The distribution of staff development funds at academic level is shown in Figure 4. In financial year 2010/11, 72 per cent of staff development fund went for doctoral training, 23 per cent for Masters, 3 per cent for Bachelors and 2 per cent for related activities. The distribution highlighted the weight Makerere University puts on capacity building for research production and publications, by prioritizing PhD training to any other level. However, meagre funds were allocated to research-related activities. This could imply that staff have to find own support to attend and present papers, peer network and publish, and this could justify the low level of publication of research outputs.
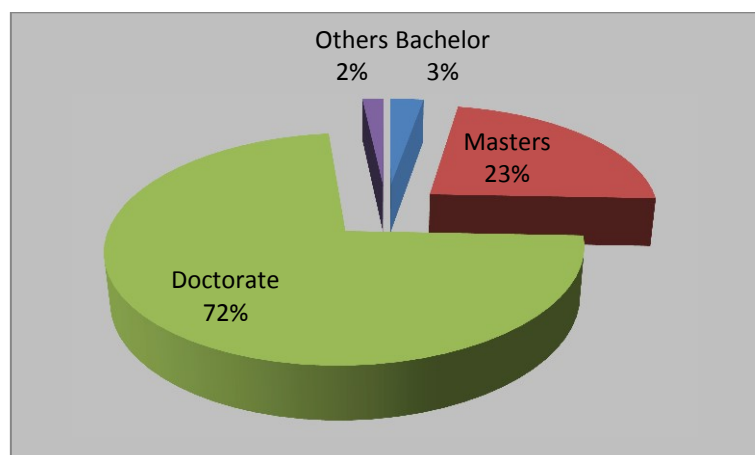

Figure 3: Distribution of Staff Development fund at academic level
Source: Makerere University Fact Book, Third Edition, 2012.

By financial year 2014/15, 26 per cent of staff development funds supported Masters compared to 76 per cent that went for PhD training. By level of training, 167 teaching assistants, 347 assistant lecturers and 121 lecturers benefited from the staff development fund. These figures were not gender-disaggregated (Makerere University Fact Book, 2014/15).

Institutional framework for Management of Research Fund

The University Council, the highest organ of the University is responsible for discussing and enactment of policy at the University. Currently, University Council is constituted by seventeen members, six of whom are female and eleven are male. Below Council are major committees of the University that oversee development and implementation of gender mainstreaming at the University, including the Senate, the Appointments Board, the Staff Development Committee, among others. The Senate is composed of 36 members, seven of whom are female - 27 are representatives of schools, one representative of principals of colleges, nine representatives of colleges and the School of Law, and five members of

University management. The Appointments Board is composed of nine members, five of whom are female. This committee is responsible for appointing and retirement of University staff, The University Staff and Development Committee is responsible for the management of the internally generated staff development fund. The constitution and technical capacity of these committees have significant influence on the pattern of research funding, either directly or otherwise. Besides they drive the gender agenda of the University in recruitment, promotion and retirement. The University staff development policy requires that every academic staff acquires a PhD qualification in order for him/her to be eligible for recruitment to the rank of lecturer and provides for conditions for promotion of academic staff.

A gender analysis of these committees showed that only the appointments board had more women than men and the rest were male-dominated. The University Council is male-dominated, as well as the Senate. These are the two most influential policy committees of the University. The constitution of the Council and Senate determines the organizational logic towards the gender agenda, ceteris paribus. Although the representation of women on these committees may not matter, it is important to point out that the technical capacity the staff representatives to deliberate on and implement gender issues may be wanting in their mind-set. A case in point is that, currently, some of the data that is generated in not gender disaggregated. It becomes difficult to argue out a case, the above notwithstanding, the observable gaps may not be data related, but a result of time constraint within the female research production functions, although further investigation could address this issue more conclusively.

Besides, these committee representatives have undergone training and worked in environments and structures that are masculine in nature, and hence appreciate masculine values as the standard norm. They are unlikely to advocate for gender mainstreaming, let alone women empowerment. In addition, the selection of membership to these committees is determined by their respective constituencies, outside the control of Makerere University. The representatives from such constituencies may not have the technical capacity in gender analysis even when the University requires so. The result from such committees is likely to be sub-optimal and could explain the gender differences in access to research funds, research output and gender representation in the academic and administrative structure. For example, the committee of appointment and promotions has failed to integrate gender in promotion. A case in point is to assume that both men and women have equal amount of time for research production. The reality is that women's time is encumbered between reproductive and productive roles, making the ground for competition in research productivity unlevelled between men and women. It would be gender responsive if the men and women followed different time structures for promotion.

Implication of Research Funding Pattern on Human Resource Development

The impact of Mujaju report on research and publication at Makerere University cannot be over-emphasized. The report recommended that for one to remain relevant in academic growth, there was need for continued research, evidenced by one's research productivity. To operationalize this, recommendation, research output was mandatory for academic staff recruitment and promotion. In order to become a lecturer, one must have acquired a PhD. This process ensures that staffs build their respective research skills. This has contributed to the

high ranking of Makerere University in terms of research outputs and potential internationally. Makerere University ranks among the top 20 universities in Africa. By 2012, Makerere University had a total of 1,650 academic staff, of whom 1,496 were full time and 150 part time. Seven hundred fifty-five staff from the rank of lectures held PhDs, distributed in all colleges. Assuming a research takes two years, and given the teaching schedule of these lecturers, and assuming further that each staff outputs one article, then the University would be producing on average 377 research outputs annually. This would come with increased staff promotions, University visibility, resource mobilization and international ranking (Makerere University Fact Book, Third Edition, 2012).

By the 2014/15 academic year the University had 9female against 77 male professors; 23female against 122 male associate professors;63female against 128 male senior lecturers; 130 female against 318 male lecturers; and 176 female against 383 male assistant lecturers; 22 female against 55 male teaching assistant (Makerere University Fact Book 2014/15). The distribution shows that the gender gap increases by level. There is a challenge of female academic growth after attaining the PhD. This challenge needs to be investigated with a view to finding a solution.

The distribution of staff by college out-turn indicated that the College of Health Sciences had 265, the College of Engineering Design, Art and Technology had 142, the College of Education and External Studies had116, the College of Computing and Information Sciences had 80, the College of Business and Management Sciences had 109, the College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences had 166.Among the campuses, Jinja had 88, Fort Portal had11. The School of Law had 43, the College Veterinary Medicine, Animal Resources and Bio-Security had 89, the College of Natural Sciences had 148, and the College of Humanities and Social Sciences had 270 (Makerere University Fact Book, 2014/15). These figures could not be gender disaggregated pointing to the significance of a positive organizational logic.

Besides, there was the challenge that staff capacity was not well distributed through the colleges in proportion to the number of students. There were fewer students in the science disciplines compared to the number of lecturers. The formula for computing the teaching load considers teaching and laboratory-based practical load per lecturer. This formula does not reflect the staff effort in marking volumes of scripts that exist in humanities related colleges and attendant student academic support services. These support services render heavier workloads to the academic staff in the humanities disciplines. In most cases the numbers of students admitted is higher than those admitted for the science disciplines. This is translated into heavy marking, evaluation, guidance to students, and impacts negatively on the availability of time for the academic staff from the humanities discipline. On the contrary, it provides more time for the staff in the science disciplines to write scholarly articles and proposals for research funding than staff in the humanities and social science fields. This scenario is even more challenging for the female academic staffs that have to combine academic programming with their reproductive roles. It should be noted that research productivity is one of the pillars for promotion at the University. This pyramid shape of female staff in the academic ranks is explained by the differential research outputs between the science and humanities disciplines in favour of the male academic staff compared to the females as per requirement for promotion as collaborated in the Table 1.

Table 1   **Comparison of Academic Staff by College and Rank as at February 2011/12**

College /Academic Rank	P	AP	SL	L	AL	T.A	Total	Part-time	Total
College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences	10	22	24	42	48	19	165	30	195
College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology	3	9	21	39	51	34	157	19	176
College of Education and External Studies	1	3	14	40	42	16	116	8	124
College of Health Sciences	13	23	33	101	58	42	270	20	290
College of Humanities and Social Sciences	10	23	41	74	90	40	278	19	297
College of Business and Management Science	2	1	11	18	58	11	101	28	129
College of Natural Science	12	12	15	42	37	33	149	13	162
College of Computing and Information Science	3	2	9	6	43	21	84	9	93
College of Veterinary Animal Resources and Bio-Security	11	7	12	15	19	38	102	4	106
School of Law	3	5	2	10	27	1	48	4	52
Makerere Inst. of Social research	1	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	5
Library	1	0	3	2	0	15	21	0	21
Total	70	107	185	393	473	268	1496	154	1650

Source Makerere University Fact Book Third Edition, 2012

It was noted that in general, there were fewer professors, associate professors compared to senior lecturers, lecturers and teaching assistants for both female and male academics in all academic Units of the University. This scenario emphasized the University priority of support to PhD training. With this policy in place, more and more lecturers would be promoted and hence more female and male professors and associate professors would most likely become available, ceteris paribus. However, due to a policy shifts requiring the University to engage only staff with PhD, and doing away with teaching assistants and assistant lecturers, then this condition would persist as fewer and fewer women would be able to execute research and compete for the positions in the academic ranks. Time will tell how this is likely to be sustainable in terms of internal staff capacity development and the challenge of gender mainstreaming. This is aggravated by current policy shift by government to promote science and technology. Government research funds are directly focused to science disciplines. This further feminizes the humanities and social science disciplines where most of female academic staffs are concentrated.

The other gender dimension is the feminization within the science disciplines. More professors were reported in the College of Health Sciences, the College of Engineering Design Art and Technology, the College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, the College of Natural Sciences than the College Veterinary Medicine, Animal Resources and Bio-Security. Makerere University will need to revisit her research support strategy, focusing research support towards the feminized disciplines if she is to realise her aspirations of becoming a research-led University and at the same time remain relevant to national development. The above notwithstanding, Makerere University ranking has been improving at least on the African continent, with a rank of eight in 2012 and third in early 2016. The feminization of research funding by gender within the science disciplines needs further investigation.

Implication of Research Funding Patterns on Institutional Development

Gender mainstreaming is one of the strategic areas in the University Strategic Plan 2008/09 – 2018/19. The University considers gender as a crosscutting strategic area through the University structures, programs and functions. It is Makerere University's Endeavour to make women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs for development. The overall goal is to mainstream gender in all structures, programs and functions of the University.

A rapid gender appraisal of research funding of the Makerere University institutional framework showed that, to some extent, gender issues were integrated in the programming and organizational processes. The Directorate of Gender Mainstreaming and the School of Women and Gender Studies were part of the organization's structure. The Directorate is responsible for mainstreaming gender in administrative and support functions of the University. The School of Women and Gender Studies offers cross-cutting courses to different colleges of the University on request. These courses are meant to introduce gender in the academic programming in the respective colleges. Academic programming takes cognizance of gender concerns in the curriculum development while integrating it into the existing curriculum. At the University level, it responsible for mainstreaming gender in educational processes including teaching and learning and research among the programming activities. The effect of the introduction of the Directorate of Gender Mainstreaming and the School of Women and Gender Studies in reducing the gender gaps in academics progression of female and male at all levels is yet to be established.

However, prior to the Mujaju report, the policy on promotion allowed promotions based on teaching experience and publications, irrespective of their level of academic achievement or level at which one was seeking promotion. This was especially so in the College of Health Sciences and School of Law. Through this policy, eight male compared to one female professors had Master's degrees as a basis for promotion to professorship. Similarly, three females compared to 15 male associate professors and 18 female compared to 57 male senior lecturers followed the same track, On the other hand, four females compared to 50 males had a doctorate as their highest educational level of training as a basis for promotion to professor, 14 females compared to 67 males followed the same track, while 25 females compared to 72 male senior lecturers followed the same track. This arrangement for promotions seemed to be permissive for anybody, both male and female, to progress academically. However, the constant factor is the gender gaps in promotion in favour of male staff (Makerere University Fact Book, Third Edition, 2012; 2015).

The current structures of promotion, staff development, appointment, and Council committees are a product of a masculine system that sets policies and criteria developed using masculine values. These criteria assume fulltime staff engagement in teaching with no interruptions imposed by domestic and reproductive roles in which women invest a lot of their valuable time, including: maternity leave, child care for the family, among others. The gender reproductive roles tend to introduce time as a variable and binding constraint to female research production function and exacerbates gender gap in research. Besides, the recruitment, retention and retirement procedures were developed without gender equity

consideration. The criteria tend to appreciate characteristics that do not take into account of the effect of reproductive roles in the research function. For instance going to the fields for data collection for a long time away from the family, caring and nurturing of children, among others. The implication of this is that many female staff fail to publish and get promotion to associate professor level within the standard period set by the University of sixty years and retire at senior lecturer level compared to their counterparts that can take advantage of time to source extra contracts up to seventy years. This further denies the female students especially undergraduates the role models they need to emulate. There is need to investigate the criteria for recruitment, research scholarship awarding procedures and promotion and retirement with a view to consider the time element that is a binding constraint to female research productivity and give more time to female staff after sixty years to publish in order to be promoted, with a view of closing the gender gap.

The organizational logic assumes that administrators remain administrators and therefore do not need very high-level training and participation in research. This approach to research fund allocation that prioritizes academics and makes it difficult for administrators to switch careers compared to their counterparts–the academic staff - who easily switch from academics to administrative careers wherever it is convenient and economically viable. This has gazetted some jobs in the University structure to certain ranks of staff, and feminizes administrative and other academic staffs who may have a wealth of their administrative skills built. Given the discrimination in research support between administrative and academic staff, female staffs who are mainly in administrative ranks cannot access research support to build their careers to professor level. One needs to be a professor to be a vice chancellor, experience in administration notwithstanding. This could be responsible for dismal female representation in the higher echelons of the University administrative structure. Consequently, these posts have been carved out to the advantage of academic staffs who happen to take advantage of the meager research funds to upgrade their professional experience unlike the administrative staff. The posts of vice chancellor and deputy vice chancellors are administrative positions. This could explain why it has been difficult to find female competitors for the posts of vice chancellor and deputy vice chancellors at Makerere University and the masculinity in outlook in the top structure. This mode of operation and procedures of restricting administrative staff access to research funds feminizes administrators in their own field of specialty, where they developed experience over a long period and is a binding constraint to their career growth. Unfortunately, women constitute the majority of administrative staff in the University structure.

This organizational logic is gender-neutral and assumes that career paths for administrative staffs are a linear progression and that administrative staff cannot switch career from administrative to academic compared to academic staffs who are permitted to switch careers from academic to administration. The implication of this mental logic is that no sooner than the academic staff attain professorship than they cross to administration, without the regard that academic staff are prioritized in access to research resources with a view to build capacity in research, teaching, and learning that places them at an advantage over the administrative staff. This creates a skills gap in research and teaching, frustrating the very objective of prioritizing capacity building in research. The other challenge is that career paths of administrative staff are stifled due to the absence of upward openings for promotion after a certain rank in the

University structure (M4). This negatively impacts on self-actualization on the part of the administrative staff. It would be interesting for both administrative and academic staff switch careers for balanced academic and administrative career advancement by reconsidering research support to administrative staff in their pursuit of career development. In the light of the above, Makerere University has a lot of unfinished business if gender parity is to be achieved by gender, levels in administration, academic ranks, between colleges and disciplines and research productivity. This has implications on the institutional development that is likely to follow a masculine mode and therefore remain gender unresponsive. It would be interesting to investigate the barriers to women's research productivity and publications on the basis of which a strategy could be formulated to promote and increase women's advancement in research and publications and institutional development.

Discussion and Conclusion

The study investigated how the research funding pattern at Makerere University translates into human resource and institutional development with a view to ascertain whether gender mainstreaming matters. The analytical framework was anchored within the feminist organizational theory, economic resource-based theory of a firm and the human capital theory. Within these paradigms, Makerere University was expected to deliver a dual agenda of efficiency and effectiveness, where if she chose efficiency, this would come at a high price of gender inequality. If on the other hand she chose effectiveness, Makerere University would remain relevant to the national and international agenda - building an organizational logic in programming and organizational capacity to engage / take opportunity of external and internal forces to counteract the gender imbalance question. Secondary data was used in the analysis focusing on funding sources, research fund availability and distribution; access to internally generated funds; institutional framework for management of research fund; implication of research funding pattern on human resource and institutional development.

The results indicated that Makerere University has charted a middle position, and to a good extent and she is a gender-responsive institution. It has several funding sources with government being the biggest funder. Most of the funding sources are emphatic on gender mainstreaming and women empowerment. The total amount of research funds available over the decade to finance research and related activities has been growing. Likewise is the trend of access of females to this fund, although this is rather slow. This corroborates with the theory of organization as advanced by European Commission (2005) whereby institutions are not independent entities. They get feedback from the environment outside the organization that may affect its behaviour. Funds from donors are usually targeted to colleges, research themes and functions, with science-based colleges being the biggest beneficiaries; PhD training is given a higher weight in the distribution of research funds than Masters, post-doctoral research and other related activities. One percent of the internally generated funds at Makerere University is earmarked for staff development. This supports colleges and schools with insufficient support for research, especially at PhD level; although its distribution exhibited gender gaps by colleges and between disciplines and administrative units.

None of the colleges hit the 40 percent institutional female target for access to research funds as per University regulations for affirmative action. It was further observed that this translated into Makerere University's high ranking regionally and internationally. This was in line with arguments by Flamholtz and Lacey (1981) and Becker (1964) that organizations use their human resources available to their advantage. This is contrary to Cascio (1991) and Acker (1988) who note that class and gender and noted that class is constructed through gender and that class relations are always gendered. The structure of the labour market, relations in the workplace, the control of the work processes, and the underlying wage relation are always affected by symbols/images of gender, processes of gender identity, and material inequalities between women and men. These processes are complexly related to and powerfully support the reproduction of the class structure. From this perspective, the challenge is that staff capacity was not well distributed through the colleges, with more PhDs represented in the Science-based colleges. Feminization in access to research funds between science-based and humanities-based disciplines, between men and women academic staff, between administrative and academic staff, between research productivity and publications was observed compared to other research-related activities. Government research funds are directly focused to science disciplines, further feminizing the humanities and social sciences where most of female academic staff are more concentrated.

A rapid gender appraisal of research funding of the Makerere University institutional framework revealed that, to some extent, gender issues are integrated in the programming and organizational processes; with the Directorate of Gender Mainstreaming and the School of Women and Gender Studies being part of the organization's structure. The constant factor is the gender differences in promotion that favors male academic staff. The organizational logic is yet to be mainstreamed in structure, functions and programmmes. The current organizational structure and criteria for promotion, staff development, appointments, retirement, research funding procedures and Council memberships is a product of masculine systems. Time was the most constraining factor for research productivity of female academic staff. The career paths of administrative staff are stifled due to the preference given to academic staff capacity building and therefore lack of space for upward mobility of the administrators. Makerere University has to tried to address this dual agenda as proposed by European Commission (2005), but with a lot of room for improvement. There is some level of efficiency as reflected in the high rankings internationally, bur she scores comparatively less on gender responsiveness especially in female research productivity. Makerere University is yet to consider the issue of providing for role models for the female students in its academic ranks. This finding shows that Makerere University puts minimal emphasis in creating openings and enabling environment for academic advancement of administrative staff in general and female staff in particular after a certain level of service.

In conclusion, it is apt to deduce that gender matters in human resource and institutional development, if Makerere University has to achieve the dual agenda of efficiency and effectiveness as well as remain relevant to national and international agenda. To some extent, Makerere University has to tried to address this dual agenda, but with a lot of unfinished business. This includes addressing the gender concerns that cause the gender gaps between female and male academic staff at all levels in the University programming and structure, the

feminization of other disciplines, feminization of science against the humanities disciplines, and feminizing administrators against academic staff. Above all, the mental logic of the institution is built on masculine norms. All this will need to be addressed with a view to creating equity in access to research resources for a balanced institutional development.

It is recommended that Makerere University reconsiders the research funding pattern by sourcing for more funding sources to support all its staff, be it administrative or academic staff, both female and male. This will create a level ground for competition. In the absence of adequate funding, targeting should be done with a gender face with equity between male and female, administrators and academic staff, within and across disciplines as the guiding factor The organizational logic of the University will have to change with a view to further integrate gender in the organizational structures and processes by reviewing the criteria for recruitment, procedures of awarding research funds, promotions, staff development, appointments, retirement opening up of top management positions to deserving administrative staff, review of Council committee memberships and mainstreaming the main policy committees of the University both in numerical representation and technical capacity. Above all Makerere University should build a cadre of models for the female students to emulate.

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Accelerating the Fight Against Corruption in Uganda: Strengthening the Coalition Between Anti-Corruption Agencies and the Media

Gerald Kagambirwe Karyeija

Uganda Management Institute

Abstract

This article seeks to examine how the media contributes to corruption, the need to report on corruption with intent to create awareness as a preventive measure, and how the media can partner with anti-corruption agencies to accelerate the fight against corruption in Uganda.In order to achieve these objectives, the article used documentary analysis, literature review and interviews. The argument in the article is that the media has a big role to play in the fight against corruption, beginning with acknowledging that there is manifestation of corruption practices – cash for news, staged or fake news, gifts and advertisement, nepotism and media capture. Therefore the media has to overcome corruption within its own ranks. Other means through which the media can contribute towards the fight against corruption include both tangible and intangible ways. It also emphasizes that there is urgent need for the media to participate in corruption prevention, throughthe launching of investigation by authorities, the scrapping of laws or policies promoting opportunities for corruption, the impeachment or forced resignation of corrupt politicians, the firing of officials, the launching of judicial proceedings; and since the fight against corruption is a collective responsibility, then the media has to partner with anti-corruption agencies to accelerate the fight against corruption in Uganda. We cannot ignore the critical role of the media in the fight against corruption, and together the various actors can curb corruption in the country through a coalition of willing anti-corruption crusaders.

Key words: **Uganda, corruption, media, prevention, collective responsibility**

Introduction

The media is often referred to as the fourth estate or pillar in a democracypolity. It plays a critical role as a watchdog, agenda setter and gatekeeper. The media frames the discussion about corruption as a public problem, suggests solutions to curbing corruption, lends voice to a wide range of perspectives and arguments, and empowers citizens to fight corruption. Varied studies have shown a strong positive correlation between freedom of the press and control of corruption (Fardigh et al., 2011; Brunetti and Weder, 2003). The media in Uganda has made a fundamental contribution towards fighting corruption too in various ways, and can still do a good job by unveiling corruption. However, it has also been observed that as far as corruption is concerned, no one is innocent and the media is not immune to corruption. So, there is need for the various actors to work together to accelerate the fight against corruption as a collective responsibility. After all, the public perception in Uganda is that corruption is heavily entrenched in society and has to be curbed (Inspectorate of Government, 2014). This articlehas five sections after the introduction: the first section details the research methodology used. The second section seeks to shed light on *corruption in the media and how it can be fought*. The third section seeks to answer the question – *Can the media contribute to the fight against*

*corruption? If so,how?*The fourth section focuses on *Steps toward forming a coalition between anti-corruption agencies (ACAs) and the media to accelerate the fight against corruption in Uganda,*and the last section is the conclusion. We are thus going to look at each section in turn.

Methods

The study is a qualitative exploratory study. It relies heavily on a number of documents including newspaper stories, reports on media work, and reports from international bodies like Transparency International, and previous studies. A total of 18 interviews were also carried out, and the participants were selected through snowball sampling; the participants include officials from anti-corruption agencies (Police, Inspectorate of Government and Auditor General), members of parliament, journalists and editors, trainers of journalists, development partners, government officials and the civil society. The data was analyzed through a number of techniques: classification, constant comparison, logical analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis. Care was taken to ensure that the ethical values of beneficence, justice and respect for person were upheld. This was done though allowing free participation and exit, non-disclosure of sources of information and informed consent.

Corruption in the Media

According to the Inspectorate of Government Fourth Annual Report, 2014, corruption in Uganda is widespread and is a major constraint on economic development and cause of poverty in Uganda. The public perception is that corruption is heavily entrenched in society and has to be curbed. Corruption has been variously defined, the simplest definition being *the abuse of public power for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance.* It occurs when public office is abused by an official accepting, soliciting, or extorting a bribe (Langseth, Stapenhurstand& Pope, 1997).

In Uganda the media is faced with a number of factors that may foment corruption. These include lack of journalistic skills, unprofessionalism, limited funding, inadequate and undemocratic legal frameworks. As a consequence, some journalists and media houses are notimmunized against corruption. Elsewhere, there are many examples of journalists, editors and media houses accepting bribes and publishing paid material disguised as news stories, or extorting money either for publishing favorable stories or for not publishing damaging ones (Ristow, 2010). Other types of corruption in the media include cash for news, staged or fake news, gifts and advertising, nepotism, and media capture.

Cash for News

The concept of "cash for news coverage" is where journalists agree to publish positive news against payments. This is done in a number of ways; 1) at the interpersonal level – where cash is handed directly to the journalist by a news source; 2) at the intra-organizational level - where the editor tells the journalist what to write or not write, due to some sort of internal pressure such as from advertising; and 3) at the inter-organizational level, where there can be fairly formal arrangements, and even a legal contract under which a company pays a news organization a monthly amount in exchange for having a certain number of articles published about that company (Ristow, 2010). In Uganda, we have labeled it the *Khaki (Brown) Envelope*

Syndrome. Two years ago, two *Daily Monitor* headlines "Journalists arrested over extortion" and "More Ugandan Journalists Arrested in alleged Extortion", attest to this phenomenon. The hope is that it is not widespread.

Staged or fake news

It is also possible for some journalists to work it out with some news sources and end up publishing fake or staged news. This can be in form of exaggerated comments from consumers of a product, exaggerated numbers of people attending apolitical rally and support for a politician.

Gifts andadvertisements

Giving gifts and placing advertisements as media corruption often results from the widespread collusion between journalists and public relations and advertising organizations (Spence, 2008). For example, some media organizations report on the growing trend of public relations companies using pseudo independent and objective news release to promote their clients' products. Similar to such media release, the practice of cash for comment involves presenting paid advertisement as editorial comment or opinion (Spence, 2008). In Uganda, currently, there are many PR and advertisingfirms which are owned by former journalists. They know the industry in and out and if not well managed, can be a vehicle for promoting corruption in the media. Lastly, there is also arm-twisting from major advertisers such as big business empires and the government.

Nepotism

Nepotism in the newsrooms may occur while hiring or firing staff or publishing a feature article. In the United Kingdom, for instance, "media is rife with nepotism. Parents secure internships and even teen columns for their student offsprings" (Corkindal, 2007). The extent to which we have nepotism in the Ugandan media is an empirical question that we need to investigate.

Media capture

All those that want to shape public opinion for private or political interests look at the media as the key to that. It is likely that low salaries make journalists more susceptible to accepting bribes, and an individual with a low salary will benefit more from a given bribe than one with a higher salary (Klitgaard, 1988). It is observed that journalists are not well paid, and are thus susceptible to capture. Moreover, most journalists have limited possibilities of advancement in the hierarchy, and this makes corruptionattractive.

Fighting media corruption

Fighting corruption in the media includes raising awareness of ethical standards, strengthening media independence through adequate media policies, promoting media accountability through increased oversight and controls as well as investigative journalism training. A number of actorshave a fundamental role to play;mediadevelopment organizations should: a) Promote ethics training as an integral part of professional standards of journalism, with specific training

on why and how to avoid taking cash for news coverage, b) Support the creation of media accountability systems such as ombudsmen and other complaints mechanisms to increase transparency and accountability of media operations(Arnold and Sumir, 2012)

Arnold and Sumir (2012) further argue that news media owners, managers, and editors should: a) Adopt, publicize and implement a firm policy of zero tolerance for any form of cash for news coverage–from simple "facilitation" payments to reporters to paid advertisements masquerading as objective news. This can include reviewing pay policies to remove incentives for journalists to indulging in unethical practices, b) Acknowledge that pay can have an impact on ethics, c) Create accountability systems for establishing more transparent relationship with their audiences,

The Public Relations Association of Uganda should encourage their members to practice zero tolerance, declining the sometimes too-easy path of paying in the hope of getting the best spin on their clients' stories, and helping them with strategies to do so without hurting their business.Lastly, we could encourage media oversight and accountability through the available regulatory bodies to monitor the media and ensure that ethical standards are upheld by the profession.

Given that the Media is prone to Corruption; can it contribute to the fight against Corruption?

Having observed that the media is not immune to corruption, it is imperative to note that it can play a significant role in combating corruption by exposing and reporting the facts relating to corruption particularly in high places, in the private and in the public sector, without fear or favour.So far, the media in the Caribbean has played an important role in at least one key area – exposing, editorializing and analyzing corruption in public contract awards, in abuse of corporate power, in bringing to light external influences in campaign financing and party funding across the region.

The role of the media in the fight against corruption can be seen in tangible and intangible ways. The impact of media reporting on corruption can be "tangible" and "intangible" (Stapenhurst, 2000). It is tangible when some sort of visible outcome can be attributed to a particular news story or series of stories—for instance, the launching of investigation by authorities, the scrapping of a law or policy promoting opportunities for corruption, forced resignation of a corrupt politician, the firing of an official, and the launching of judicial proceedings. It is intangible when checks on corruption arise from the broader social climate of enhanced political pluralism, enlivened public debate and a heightened sense of accountability among politicians, public bodies and institutions that are inevitably the by-product of a hard-hitting, independent news media.

Fighting corruption through investigativejournalism

Investigative journalism can help as a powerful tool to fight corruption and uncover corruption in the media. For instance Makerere University with the support from GIZ has been building capacity in investigative journalism, and African Centre for Media Excellence (ACME) offers an investigative reporting grant.

Investigating and exposing corrupt officials and office-holders

When corrupt officials are exposed, this may promptACAs to initiate formal investigations into the reported allegations of corruption. Furthermore, themedia disseminates ACA findings thus reinforcing the legitimacy of ACAs and putting those who hold power and wish to implement their corrupt wishes on check.

Prompting investigations by official bodies

In Uganda, for instance, the purchase of "junk helicopters" story was first broken by the *New Vision* in 1997.This led to a judicial commission of inquiry in 1999 to investigate which recommended that several officials, including Gen. SalimSaleh and Colonel Kizza Besigye, be triedfor corruption. The cabinet also directed that the implicated army officers should face an army court martial. Unfortunately, neither the commission's report northe findings of the court martial were ever made public, but the media did its role (Global Corruption Report, 2003).

Reinforcing the work and legitimacy of the state's anti-corruption bodies

Journalists have a symbiotic relationship with ACAs that investigate or prosecute corrupt officials. It is at times a transactional relationship and instrumental in value, whereby journalists' benefits are in terms of strong, dramatic stories and ACAs have their activities reportedon. Additionally, the publicity may encourage witnesses to do wrong and in some cases mobilizethe public pressure for corrupt officials to be heldto account.

Strengthening anti-corruption bodies by exposing their flaws

One of the key assets for a journalist is the source. However, journalists may become too close to the ACAs and as such refrain from punchy, dramatic stories about them. More so, some journalists may hesitate to consider that these very sources can themselves turn out to be corrupt, or tainted by corruption. No public body—or private entity, for that matter—can be immune from corruption, after all.

Helping to shape public opinion hostile to "sleaze" in government

The Ugandan media has done a lot in reporting sleaze in government. For instance, quite often, according to the IG, in 2012, the OAG conducted a special audit into allegations of financial impropriety and irregularities involving diversion, fraud, unauthorized approvals of payments and irregular withdrawals of funds. As a consequence of these irregularities, funds to an estimated value of UGX 58 billion had been misappropriated between 2011 and 2012. In 2012, the OAG audit established that a number of financial controls had been deliberately circumvented, resulting in the misappropriation of funds to a value of approximately UGX 165 billion. All of these cases have resulted in widespread media coverage, increasing citizens' awareness of the scale of corruption (Inspectorate of Government, 2014: 10). Theensuing uproar is widely believed to contribute to public disgust over "sleaze" in public life and may lead to attitudinal change towards corrupt behavior.

Pressure for changes to laws and regulations that create a climate favorable to corruption

Hard-hitting journalism can also expose flaws in policy, laws or regulations that foster a climate ripe for corruption, thus creating pressure for reform. For instance, the IG has pointed out the need for Government to set up the Leadership Code Tribunal to facilitate the full implementation of the Leadership Code Act 2012. Second, the passage of the Anti-CorruptionAmendment Bill 2013 containsa clause to facilitate the recovery ofmisappropriated funds and assets. Theintroduction of a law that empowersanti-corruption institutions to confiscateassets and to recover misappropriatedfunds will act as a strong disincentiveto those who may engage in corruptpractices. Additionally, Government should set up theLeadership Code Tribunal to facilitatethe full implementation of theLeadership Code Act 2012, and also government should consider thebenefits of implementing theExtractive Industries TransparencyInitiative (EITI). The media should thus champion the campaign to popularize these recommendations from the IG.

Anticipation of adverse media publicity prompting a preemptive response

Journalists nosing for news and prodding even in the absence of evidence may lead to the generation of stories from the affected. Journalists should be vigorous in chasing stories and prompting sources to come up with responses. They can as well work with the ACAs to get out stories that are still cooking, and also represent well the sources.

Steps toward forming a coalition between Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs) and the Media to accelerate the Fight against Corruption in Uganda

Largely drawing from Byrne, Arnold, and Nagano (2010) and Arnold and Sumir (2012), I propose the following.

First, there is need to specify the issue: It is necessary for the ACAs, through a number of avenues, to clearly define their objectives in the fight against corruption to achieve an effective media campaign. The issue determines which media are most relevant: petty corruption is likely to be an issue of the local media, while grand corruption might more successfully targeted through the elite media. Social media complement all media campaigns.

Second, Map relationships and stakeholders: Each media house has some well-known journalists whose passion or assignment is to cover corruption. The ACAs need to familiarize themselves with editors that have a reputation to reveal corruption in their news outlets. While profiling the media to rely on, such variables may be useful; the place of the media practitioners in the national power hierarchy, dedicated, knowledgeable, and eager to reveal corruption and has some public clout.

Third, Form the coalition: Identifying media partnersisone thing, and winning them over to join the coalition is another. Media partners have to be convinced that it is in their interest to cover and criticize corruption. The ACAs need to conduct background conversations, host media breakfasts, and come up with joint CSR projects as instruments to inform journalists about the ongoing anti-corruption efforts and also as a way to forge relationships of mutual benefit.

Fourth, Sustain the coalition: Anti-corruption coalitions with the media should not be limited to an issue or event. It should be continuous through, for instance, regular meetings, ACAs becoming reliable sources of stories and co-hosted events.

However, when forming a partnership with the media, some constraints of the media industry should be understood. Media partners may be given a story, and they do not cover it. The story may be covered, but it may not have a big audience or make a big change. The media industry operates under a number of constraints, including, freedom of the press, protection of journalists, and access to information, journalism culture, journalism capacity, competition and capture, Motivation, short media cycle, and tight deadlines.

With regard to freedom of the press, according to the UHRC report 2013, in that year there was a closure of four media houses, in the wake of the controversial letter reportedly authored by the former coordinator of intelligence services. With regard to the protection of journalists, in the same year Human Rights Network for Journalists – Uganda documented 110 attacks on journalists, doubling those of 2010. Two radio journalists, BasajaMivule and Simon KaggwaNjagala were suspended from their shows on Radio 1 and Akaboozi respectively; Thomas Pere and Alex Kule died mysteriously; and media practitioners have been under pressure from various state agents and other elements to reveal their sources. Such also affects the access to information, regardless of the legal framework. Indeed, the UHRC found out that there were still gaps in the access to information, which is the duty of the state to guarantee.

Journalism culture also varies and may affect the way particular journalists behave and report corruption. It has been observed that some journalists considerthemselves as mouthpieces for the government or particular entities. This calls for intense engagement with journalism associations and journalism schools to let journalists appreciate that they are pillars of democracy.

Journalism capacity is sometimes overestimated. It is true that some the ability to conceptualize corruption and utilize investigative techniques significantly is not universal. Other than investigative journalism techniques (ACME, Journalism Schools etc.), it is helpful to have workshops and seminars that improve on sector knowledge, public policy and anti-corruptionstrategies (like at UMI) to help some journalists distinguish between petty corruption, grand corruption, political corruption,collusion and extortion, and inefficiency. Additionally, avenues like annual conferences and media conventions should be exploited; to explicitly focus on the theme of corruption. Media partners can be enabled toconduct their tradein an ethical manner that respects privacy and avoids litigation.

Competition and media capture: Media partners may hesitate to cover corruption if it involves important and powerful political figures or companies that are their advertising clients, and in the Ugandan case, government Ministries, Departments and Agencies MDAs which are the biggest advertisers. As much as a breaking story sells, it also matters on who is reported on. Some business empires have penetrated some of the news rooms so much that mention of a story concerning them either invokes fear or reprimand from the gatekeepers-editors and sub editors.

Motivation: Media partners who do their job well should be motivated for successful anti-corruption investigative journalism. This can be done through awards that are organized and funded, inter alia, by the ACAs, civil society organizations, universities, private corporations, and MDAs. These awards must be designed in a way that they are publicly acclaimed, since the country is now awash with award-giving bodies with suspect intentions —and possibly corrupt.

Short media cycle: The ACAs' level of tolerance should be also lifted higher, to know that the pressure of storytelling may be responsible for shallow analysis, short sound bites that are reported out of context, and a disregard for complexities. This is not to promote unprofessional behaviour, but to invite ACAs to appreciate media constraints and design ways on how to manage them. This is closely related to the issue of tight deadlines whereby journalists have to finish their stories in the early evenings for them to be included in next day's paper or a story to be included in the evening television news must be filmed and edited in the afternoon. Radio is the fastest and a radio journalist wishes to be the first to make the world know. ACAs therefore must know when to time their information releases and be accessible to reporters when needed. It is imperative to focus on stories that can sell, which calls for better framing of stories.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is evident that the media can cover up or uncover corruption. However, it has a twin role in contributing to the accelerated fight against corruption in Uganda. First, by being alert to any corrupt elements within its own ranks, and second by exposing corruption through extortion—when government officials refuse or delay a service to extract a rent, and collusive corruption—where client and bureaucrat have a mutual interest in the corrupt act as in instances of tax evasion (Brunetti and Weder, 2003). For corruption through extortion, the press provides a platform for voicing complaints. The incentives of exposing collusive corruption lie in opportunities of investigative journalists and media institutions to achieve fame and larger audiences, as profit-making media firms seek to expose corruption to sell their product (Suphachalasai, 2005: 3–4).The Ugandan media, together with the ACAs can play a significant role in accelerating the fight against corruption while, at the same time, achieving its reason for existence.

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