KRC UGANDA
Research, Advocacy & Development

A REPORT ON THE ASSESSMENT OF
SOCIETAL NORMS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES
THAT PROMOTE OR FIGHT CORRUPTION IN RWENZORI REGION

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of tables

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CAARD	Centre for Action of Applied Research and Development
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CSOs	Civil Society organizations
DCDO	District Community Development Officer
DEO	District Education Officer
DGF	Democratic Governance Facility
FDGs	Focus Group Discussions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IGG	Inspectorate of Government
KRC	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
LC	Local Council
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NACS	National Anti–Corruption Strategy
NEMA	National Environmental Conservation Authority
NGOs	National Governmental Organizations
NRM	National Resistance Movement
RAC	Rwenzori Anti–corruption coalition
S/C	Sub–county
SACCO	Savings and Credit Cooperation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TC	Town Council
UPDF	Uganda Peoples' Defense Forces

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study sought to find out the societal norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption in Rwenzori region. The study was commissioned by Kabarole Resource and Research Centre (KRC) with the funding from Democratic Governance Facility (DGF). The scope extended to include the eight districts (Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Bundibugyo, Ntoroko, Kamwenge, Kyegegwa, Bunyangabu, and Kasese).

Corruption has manifested in many ways and the society has a big role in promoting or fighting it. The society praises and holds in high esteem individuals who acquire wealth quickly without questioning the source. Leaders have also used a lot of resources during campaigns to acquire elective offices while the society still expects more from leaders in form of support to social functions and events without questioning the source. Influential leaders continue to be arrested over corruption grafts, embezzlement of funds and in turn the communities they represent end up carrying out demonstrations seeking their release terming it as marginalization and/or witch hunting individuals from specific communities.

This study sought to achieve the following objectives; 1) To identify the existing societal norms, values, behavior and practices that promote corruption in Rwenzori region 2) To identify the existing societal norms, values, behavior and practices that mitigate corruption in the Rwenzori region, and 3) To identify the ways through which the society can nurture values and norms that can enhance the fight against corruption in the Rwenzori region.

The study used four data collection methods: Document analysis, Focused group discussions, semi–structured interviews and quantitative interviews to document the existing societal norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption in Rwenzori region.

Findings from the study, revealed that societal norms, values and attitude such as selfishness, greed, gift giving, favoritism, the need for more money to make a living, lack of morals, the ambition to become rich quickly, disregard of the law, I don't care attitude, abuse or misuse of power and un realistic bureaucracy were drivers of corruption in the society. Norms, values and attitudes that promote corruption were rather being accepted by the majority respondents asserting that there is a high level correlation between norms, values and attitudes and the propensity of individuals in the community to indulge in corrupt behaviors.

The revealed propensity of individuals in the society willing to indulge in corrupt behaviors and/or practices was seen as a clear indicator of corruption promotion in the society.

The study findings still revealed that, there were little efforts put to mitigate corruption in the society. When respondents were asked about their reasons for not committing corruption, about 35% indicated that they were ethical, this being an indication of majority gives the margins of the other population that did not value ethics represented by 65%. Other respondents represented by very small percentages indicated they would not be involved in corruption because they were law abiding citizens, satisfied with their salaries, morally upright, transparent, spiritual, loyal and manageable lifestyles. Comparably, such responses represent the little efforts and attitudes by the community members in fighting against corruption at different levels.

From the study, a representation of the majority 21%, indicated that corruption would be reduced by building the value of abstinence from bribes as the common form of corruption in the society. Other respondents revealed that nurturing norms, values and attitudes such as reporting corruption, naming and shaming, participating in awareness campaigns were among others were the norms and values that would enhance the fight against corruption.

To conclude, there is reported evidence generated from the research findings, such attitudes being related to the perceived ineffectiveness and even corruption of the law enforcement agencies, which reinforces mental models where corruption and impunity are accepted as normal becomes a big challenge for mitigating corruption in the society. Therefore, the study recommends improving the public image of law enforcement agencies as significant challenge that must be addressed in order to overhaul attitudes that are at the minimum permissive towards corrupt behaviors. In this regard, it is clear that decisive reforms to curb down corruption from within the law enforcement agencies and to adequately support the competencies to investigate and prosecute corrupt behaviors in the society.

CHAPTER ONE:

BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

1.0 BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Kabarole Research and Resource Center (KRC) in her interventions has been involved in conducting stakeholder–based researches that will inform her interventions focused on the factors that have/and are leading to poor participation of citizens in their local development ventures. The intended researches also thought to find out the perceptions that are related to lack of ownership and participation by citizens in local government development interventions. To achieve this, KRC was also interested in conducting a study in one of the critical areas that are hindering development and this critical area is; *"Assessment of societal norms, values, and attitudes that promote or fight corruption".* This study, was carried out in the Rwenzori region in western Uganda. The scope extended to all the eight districts (Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Bundibugyo, Ntoroko, Kamwenge, Kyegegwa, Bunyangabu and Kasese).

Corruption has been and continues to be a big challenge affecting the growth of Uganda's economy. Uganda as a nation has formed bodies such as Inspectorate of Government (IGG), the Ministry of Integrity and Ethics, Auditor General Office, these were formed to regulate corruption acts especially among the civil servants. The society has taken corruption to the extent of regarding it as a normal behavior worthy of adoption by the young generation in both urban and rural areas. This is evidenced by the common scenarios in the society where it has been easy to notice a mob lynching a chicken thief and praising a political leader and/or a civil servant who has been involved in squandering tax payer's money. In instances where politicians/civil servants who are corrupt are apprehended, community members take up to the police or courts of law seeking their release, an indication that the society praises individuals who are successful in such quick methods.

During general elections, corruption tendencies increase where politicians dish out a lot of stolen money to the same citizens who praise them for such ridiculous acts of vote buying with the same stolen money. In the same way, elective officers are also viewed as great pillars during the social events such as fundraisings

A REPORT ON THE ASSESSMENT OF SOCIETAL NORMS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES THAT PROMOTE OR FIGHT CORRUPTION IN RWENZORI REGION

1

where they expect them to contribute a lot of money contrary to their mandate, roles, and responsibilities in leadership.

Corruption poses one of the major societal challenges of our time. Considerable advances have been made in understanding the concept of corruption at a macro level, yet the psychological antecedents of corrupt behavior remain deeply rooted in the settings of the society. This current study, sought to find out the existing norms and values, behaviors and attitudes that promote and/or fight corruption in Rwenzori region. Corruption has also manifested in several ways such as petty corruption, corruption at work and corruption done within social networks of government institutions. According to Ostrom (2000), the social norms that facilitate corruption are those typically understood and as shared understandings about the actions that are obligatory or forbidden within the society. The social norms are shared by other people and sustained by the approval and disapproval of members of the same society. The guilt caused by failing to adhere to the social norms is a great determinant of behavior in the society that can discourage corruption in the society (Budge et al. 2009).

In the study conducted by (Camargo et al, 2017) on the behavioral influences on attitudes towards petty corruption focusing on the social norms and mental models in Uganda, referred to the World Bank Uganda Governance Assessment and Risk Matrix (2010), highlighted the negative trends that are existing in governance in Uganda that are enhancers of corruption among the civil servants. The quality of governance is a great determinant of high cases of corruption from time to time. In the same study, it was also revealed that corruption was a hindrance to the growth in governance and the entire development of the economy and structures within the government institutions.

Corruption still manifests among the citizens themselves, weak public procurement procedures, clientelism and poor management of pay rolls and notwithstanding corruption associated with human rights abuse. Uganda's National Anti–Corruption Strategy (NACS) 2014–2015 outlines the government's interventions to address corruption in the country acknowledged that the global and national assessments and surveys indicate that corruption were deeply embedded in the social norms and almost becoming the culture of the people.

In the anti–corruption context, many studies have been carried out to explore the extent to which social norms have an impact on shaping behaviors and attitudes around corruption. Some even attempt to induce specific societal characteristics that can influence individual behavior on corruption, such as the degree to which interpersonal trust and informality are common in a society (Rose–Ackermann 1999). However, most studies focus on attempting to prove whether there is, in

fact, any verifiable link between norms and corruption. The literature remains somewhat inconclusive on the correlation between social norms and corruption. It is against this background that, the study sought to assess the existing societal norm, values, behaviors, and attitudes that promote or fight corruption in the Rwenzori region.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Uganda has an estimated total population of about 47 million people (UBOS, 2014), the majority of the Ugandan population belong and/or subscribe to social institutions that teach morals, attitudes, and values such as churches, Mosques among others. Majority Ugandans also belong to kingdoms and cultural institutions whose roles and mandate are embedded in teaching values and culture. Despite this background, on the other hand, corruption and many other crimes have continued to rise leaving one wondering about the existing moral decadence and the deteriorating morals and values in the country. Corruption is one of the critical vices that is hindering development to take place in the country and the Rwenzori region is not exceptional. Corruption continues to manifest in many ways as communities get more sophisticated with the digital migration movement where transparency and privacy are discouraged by the freedoms offered by information communication technology.

Corruption has manifested in many ways and the society has a big role to play in fighting it. The society praises and holds in high esteem individuals who acquire wealth quickly without questioning the source. Leaders have also used a lot of resources during campaigns to acquire elective offices while the society still expects more from leaders in form of support to social functions and events without questioning the source. Influential leaders continue to be arrested over corruption grafts, embezzlement of funds and in turn the communities they represent end up carrying out demonstrations seeking their release terming it as marginalization and witch hunting individuals from specific communities.

According to Fisman et al (2006) in the study, that was conducted about the parking tickets given to diplomats in New York City. In this evaluation, it was revealed that diplomats from highly corrupt countries committed parking violations more often. Other studies, on the other hand, have provided information that there is a relationship between the social norms and the tolerance of corruption and its increase in a given country. There is a big link between social norms, attitudes and behavior and the prevalence of corruption. Most people become corrupt because they have seen others being corrupt. Other people have become corrupt because of the weak governance structures.

A salient topic that comes out of the research findings that links reported experiences with petty corruption to behavioral factors refers to the impact of sociality and social norms as expressed in the dynamics of informal social networks. Majority citizens belong and express their attitudes towards it. There is no clear documented evidence on the societal norms and values associated/attached to corruption which can be instrumental in defining appropriate measures for society involvement in fighting corruption. The study will be interested in finding out norms, values, and attitudes that influence citizens to indulge in corruption or resist it.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The research was guided by the following objectives;

i.   To establish and document the existing societal norms, values, behaviors, and practices that promote corruption.

ii.   To establish and document the existing societal norms, values, behaviors, and practices that mitigate corruption.

iii.   To establish the ways through which the society can nurture values and norms that can enhance the fight against corruption

1.4 Research questions of the study

The research was guided by the following research questions;

i.   What are the existing societal norms, values, behavior, and practices that promote corruption?

ii.   What are the existing societal norms, values, behavior, and practices that mitigate corruption?

iii.   What are the ways through which the society can nurture values and norms that can enhance the fight against corruption?

CHAPTER TWO:

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

2.0 RESEARCH LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Documents were reviewed to give a broader picture of the norms, values, behaviors, and attitudes that promote and/or fight corruption. Several documents were reviewed to give cross–cutting ideas on the manifestation of corruption in society. The study required to find out more about the norms and values that are rooted in the lives of the societies to inculcate the behaviors that are promoting corruption.

2.2 Understanding Norms and Values that promote or fight Corruption

Corruption is a deep–rooted undesirable and destructive act as described by many societies in the world. Corruption as a behavior has taken shape and rooted in the lives of the people at various levels of interaction and their social lives at large. Hindess, (2012), describes corruption as the *"decay"* or impunity that has entered in all functional aspects of humanity and in the social institutions. In the modern history, corruption has been viewed as the enemy of humanity and development. Many social institutions such as the governments, religious institutions, educational among others have always worked hard to put measures to curb down any practices that would pave way for corruption to take place.

A number of policies are put across to reduce the chances of individuals in society to be corrupt. These policies often include various anti–corruption measures as well as good governance principles, codes and the like, which are all produced with the aim of abolishing corruption. Yet corruption has made its entrance into the lives of people in different societies and cultures. It is asserted that the concept of corruption began to manifest at the international level around the 1990s in what some social researchers referred to as "corruption eruption". There was an overwhelming call, locally and globally at that time, for the eradication of corruption. This call was led by international development agencies, particularly the World Bank, (Naim, 1997). On the other hand, Koechlin (2013), presents corruption as the negative effect that has led to the significant efforts by many researchers in trying to demystify the manifestation of corruption and its complexities in the ways

in which it is increasing in the human interactions at various levels. He presents the research that was conducted on the Web of Science portal revealed that there was a significant increase in the number of studies on corruption, starting with 1125 articles in the year 2000 but increasing to 18,604 academic articles published by end of the year 2017.

Studies have been conducted in the field of management and others done by a number of scholars mostly social scientists in examining the concept of corruption and/or on the norms and values that are increasing it in the society. Their results have revealed that corruption is deeply rooted in the operation of the social structures in many countries. Most researchers revealed the manifestation of corruption in government structures and even in the social setting of the communities. Researchers about corruption have also revealed that it is high mostly in countries with authoritarian regimes than in democratic regimes, however, there are mixed results on the levels of democracies reducing the manifestation of corruption that may occur in such countries (Blake and Martin, 2006).

According to Brown (2011), presents the hypothesis that the effect of democracy on corruption is nonlinear and thus the results describing the effect of democratization on corruption are mixed. According to Pellegata's analysis, countries that are moving from non–democracy to democracy (hybrid mode) have the level of corruption higher at the beginning of the transformation than they had in the non–democratic regime. Researchers suggest that the transition come hand in hand with distortion or even absence of the former rules, which brings more possibilities to corrupt activities. However, over time, the levels of corruption should start slowly declining thanks to enforcing new rules and laws (Pellegata, 2012). This theory is supported by findings of Triesman, whose regression model shows that the current level of democracy in the world does not have any effect on the level of corruption, but long exposure to democracy lowers corruption (Treisman, 2000). From the above discussions, one can deduce that corruption can as well take place in countries that are experiencing some levels of democracy.

In managerial and organizational perspectives, corruption has been considered and organizational misbehavior and/or the misuse of office for self–gratification (Ackroyd and Thompson 1999), a type of crime (Aguilera and Vadera 2008), and the dark side of organizations (Linstead et al. 2014). They also viewed corruption in rationalistic terms in that they perceived corruption as the result of rational agents exercising their rational thinking so as to maximize individual gains. However, this perspective detached the individual from his or her social relations and circumstances. Moreover, it also viewed corruption as an 'objective' fact of life and sought to uncover its true causes and consequences (Sonenshein, 2007; Martin and Parmar 2012). This kind of manifestation of corruption is a common

type in Uganda where many individuals in governance and in civil services have been implicated in graft because they squandered huge sums of money because of self–gratification.

A deeper examination of the works in governance and administration reveals that there is still a lot to be done pertaining to the manifestation of corruption in the society which need to be addressed. The areas of reflection and concern lie in whether the corrupt behavior should be considered mindful and/or mindless as regards the extent to which social dimensions influence the individual engaging in corruption and whether the ethical issues associated with corruption are given and/or identifiable objectively by the individuals in the society with the identifiable social setting of individual. The manifestation of corruption in the society is concerned with the behaviors that people have adopted by the actors engaged in the social relations at various levels including families as the platform where norms and values are inculcated in the lives of the young generation of the communities. In understanding corruption, an anthropological approach can be applied in understanding the reactive tendencies of individuals towards the behaviors and attitudes to contribute to be a corrupt person in the community.

2.2.1 Norms and Values that promote or fight Corruption.

Norms

Norms are defined as shared understanding about actions that are obligatory, permitted, or forbidden within society (Ostrom, 2000). Theories referencing to norms in the research of corruption are usually combining micro and macro perspectives. Norms exist on the level of society, however, there are internalized by an individual, an individual's behavior is reciprocally influenced by norms and values. The individual takes the personal responsibility in furthering and/or adopting a norm that can facilitate them to indulge in corruption. From the individual perspective then corruption graduates to be a behavior of public officials that is deeply embedded in the norms and values that will have adopted to smoothen their corrupt actions using their offices for personal gratification.

The literature in studying the relations between norms and corruption is inconclusive, some authors argue that social norms influence corruption (Fisman & Miguel, 2007; Rose–Ackerman, 1999), however, there are also results showing that the relations between corruption and norms are not that straightforward (Cameron, Chaudhuri, Erkal, & Gangadharan, 2005; Kapoor & Ravi, 2012).

There are many theories that attempt to explain the causes of corruption and to answer the question of why in some societies corruption is more widespread than in others. Many of the texts dealing with corruption are connected to theories using either norms or values. The first group of theories is connected to norms

include criminological theory, the theory of social disorganization, the theory of 'bad apples' and 'bad barrel', and rational choice theory. Theories connected to values are those that promote corruption in the society seen at various levels of the society.

Values

The motivations for one's inclination to be corrupted can be studied from the point of view of values. According to Weber, values are "the actions of persons who, regardless of the cost to themselves, act to put into practice their convictions of what seems to them to be required by duty, honor, the pursuit of beauty, a religious call, personal loyalty, or the importance of some cause' ... value–rational action always involves commands or demands which, in the actor's opinions, are binding on him." (Weber, 1920).

Table 1: **Showing examples of norms and values and their manifestations**

No	Values	Manifestation of values in the society	Interpretation in Relation to corruption
1.	Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life. (daring, a varied life, an exciting life)	Exciting corruption tendencies occur when individuals are stimulated with the unpunished behavior that pave way for them to be corrupt. Positive values will stimulate behaviors that will shun corrupt tendencies
2.	Self–Direction	Independent thought and action–choosing, creating, exploring. (creativity, freedom, independent, curious, choosing own goals	Individuals in the society who have a sense of self–direction act as good examples in their offices or families in inculcating positive values that can help them shun tendencies of corruption in their families and/or their offices
3.	Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. (broadminded, wisdom, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, protecting the environment)	Leaders who have the sense of universalism in them will value community resources and have less chances of engaging in corrupt tendencies. Also, at the family level family, heads who believe in equality will treat all members in their families if equality

No	Values	Manifestation of values in the society	Interpretation in Relation to corruption
4.	Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. (helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible)	Benevolent leaders will always care for their people, they will have close connections with them in all aspects of their developmental priorities. Such leaders will always give accountability to those that they represent
5.	Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. (humble, accepting my portion in life, devout, respect for tradition, moderate)	Leaders who have a great sense of respect for the tradition and/ or respect for the people they represent will have less chances of engaging in corrupt practices since they are already bound by their tradition and have a deep sense of respect and service
6.	Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms. (politeness, obedient, self–discipline, honoring parents and elders	Conformity is a great value but can as well be misused by an individual who conforms to the negative value of embracing tendencies of corruption such as "Others are doing it, I can also do it"
7.	Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. (family security, national security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favors)	The value of security is broad that communities rely on it all the time. Leaders who are security conscious will always seek to protect their people and will shun corrupt activities that would compromise the security status of their people. On the other hand, corrupt leaders compromise the security of their people.

Source: Document Analysis and Field data

2. 3 Theories in understanding values and norms that promote or fight corruption

2.3.1 Rationalist Approaches on Unpacking corruption

One dominant approach to studying corruption might be termed *'rationalist'.* This includes theory and research that takes both a macro and a micro perspective. The macro (i.e., country–level) view has been adopted by many scholars in law, economics, and politics, looking at corruption and its effects on a host of variables such as a country's political processes, economic performance and other measures of development. The micro perspective has been adopted, in particular, by management and organization scholars who discuss corruption as a type of unethical behavior which may be analyzed at individual and organization levels. Both perspectives tend to assume that corruption is in and of itself inherently harmful to society. They also regard it as behaviorally dysfunctional. Central to these rationalist views is the assumption that corrupt individuals are rational actors seeking to maximize their gains. We have described each of these perspectives and the findings that have been generated from these assumptions.

'Rationalist' research maintains that corruption is in and of itself inherently harmful or dysfunctional to society and many scholars describe it in negative terms (Torsello and Venard 2016) as a generic *'social problem'.* They commonly argue that corruption hurts economic growth and retards development. Adopting the World Bank's definition of corruption as the 'abuse of public office power for private gain', they adopt the public–private dichotomy that underpins much of the mainstream corruption research. These scholars, assume that there is a similar division in markedly different societies with contrasting cultures between what is considered as public and private goods. Meanwhile, other studies have shown that these important factors, rather than being universal, are historically determined and locally specific (Rothstein and Torsello 2014).

The rationalist perspective further maintains that corruption is detrimental to investment, productivity (Lambsdorff 2003) and, therefore, a country's economic growth rate (Mauro 1995). It has been argued that its effects are weaker in the less developed nations, possibly because the scale and type of corruption found there is considered 'more predictable' when corrupt governments behave as expected by those seeking favors. Hence there is a less negative impact on investment (Campos et al. 1999). Other rationalists contend that corruption leads to the unfair allocation of resources and a poor quality of infrastructure (Klitgaard 1988). At the same time, they speculate that this hinders a firm's growth because paying bribes increases costs but does not always guarantee an increase in profits (Fisman and Svensson 2007).

Other researchers have found that corruption is inversely linked to the degree of democracy. Countries which have fully democratized have lower levels of corruption than those only partially democratized because of the lack of competition between political actors (Montinola and Jackman 2002). These authors contend that in fully democratized countries, officials or politicians have lower incentives to engage in bribe–taking because they can be replaced rather easily by their constituents through democratic processes. Countries which are considered more democratic have lighter regulation for entry for start–up firms thus lower levels of corruption (Djankov et al. 2002) due to the assumption that more democratic governments face more pressures to not create burdensome regulations.

Finally, when looking at the quality of democratic institutions, which is the extent to which there is competition and openness in the electoral systems, Bhattacharyya and Hodler (2010) maintain that corruption is higher in cases where the quality of democratically controlled institutions is below a certain threshold. They argue that it is inversely lower where these institutions are stronger because they are effective barriers to a government's and politicians' rent–seeking activities. The above assertions are very evident in developing democracies where corruption tendencies increase during elections that corrupt politicians are mostly involved in vote buying the same money they squandered from the public funds. When they are voted in, then the whole cycle of corruption tendencies begin once again contaminating the people in the communities they serve.

There are some counter–arguments to this negative view of corruption. For example, Lui (1985) proposes that bribery 'greased the wheels' of the economy, therefore benefitting governments. Meon and Weill (2010) also argue that corruption is beneficial in a weakly governed country, particularly where governments are considered ineffective and prone to producing burdensome regulations. Corruption, this argument runs, helps economic growth in these countries but can prove costly in others which do not suffer weak governance. Similarly, a recent study by Huang (2016) which looks at 13 countries in the Asia Pacific using data from 1997–2013 challenges the conventional wisdom that corruption is bad for economic growth.

The author contends that corruption plays a positive role in stimulating growth in South Korea while it has had an adverse effect on growth levels in China, suggesting there is not a universally linear relationship between the two variables. This school of thought is also held by the people in the Rwenzori region where this current study was carried out. The study also sought to establish societal norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors that promote or fight corruption.

From the findings as we shall see later it was revealed that some members of the society believed that corruption helped them achieve what they wanted to achieve in time and they were satisfied. From this observation, it is easy to deduce that most members in the society have taken corruption to be a norm for them whenever they want to access a certain service refereeing to it as, ***"the order of the day"***

In some studies, carried out about corruption it has been either referred to as 'Dysfunctional' or 'functional', depending on the institutional settings. This points to the importance of considering the corresponding political and   economic systems as well as the cultural and legal environments (Girling 1997; Dela Rama and Rowley 2017). A related body of literature discusses 'state capture'—how businesses capture the state by making private payments in order to influence laws, rules, decrees or regulations. 'State capture'—or corruption—is beneficial for the captor firms' performance but detrimental for the rest of the economy (Hellman et al. 2003; Rijkers et al. 2017). Recent work supports this view by questioning the extent to which corruption harms as opposed to benefits a firm's competitive position. Instead of viewing corruption as inherently destructive, the corporate political strategy literature suggests that corruption benefits corporations by way of developing political ties and exploiting regulatory processes (Galang 2012; Nguyen et al. 2016). For example, some studies have looked at how former politicians or cabinet members are recruited as board members, suggesting that firms are increasingly aware of the benefits of having political ties to influence policy and regulations (Hillman 2005; Lester et al. 2008; Zheng et al. 2015). This is also linked to the findings in this study where majority respondents believed that paying a bribe made them be served easily and for that matter they cherished because it saved them time especially while undertaking some registrations with the government institutions and corporations.

2.3.2 Application of Rationalist theory in Institutional and Organizational Corruption

The management and organization literature discuss corruption or unethical behavior both at individual and organization levels. Corruption has been studied as a form of unethical behavior, which harms the organization and society as a whole (Cleveland et al. 2009; Rose–Ackerman and Palifka 2016). Many of these studies are built upon the assumption that corruption occurs due to some kind of moral deficiency located within self–interested individuals (Bracking 2007; Gyekye 2015). The moral deficiency of the individual who is corrupt in an institution is taken as a norm and/or common behavior that other members in the institution can adopt for their own individual benefits from misusing their offices. This kind of deficiency is not void of the officers in public offices in Uganda and Rwenzori region in particular.

Researchers interested in unpacking corrupt behavior employed a variety of methods, including interviews of different kinds, and narrative analysis. In so doing, various explanations have emerged either focusing on the idea that corruption arises because of 'bad apples' such as corrupt individuals, or because of 'bad barrels' as in certain types of organizations which encourage corruption. Extending the 'bad barrels' argument, scholars highlighted the importance of understanding the 'bad larder' (Gonin et al. 2012) or the context of the organization and its influence on corruption. The researcher begin by summarizing the findings from this body of literature under the metaphors of 'bad apples', 'bad barrels' and 'bad larders'. And then identified three emerging articulations emanating from the experiences and how corruption manifests in the society especially in public services. The manifestations of corruption in public office can properly be viewed through a number of lenses to draw conclusions in the norms, attitudes in which it manifests. There a number of arguments that can help us understand

The 'bad apples theory' argument stresses that unethical behaviors in organizations are due to the personal characteristics of differing individuals (Brass et al. 1998). In other words, some people are just born 'bad' or raised to be 'bad' and they are unable to stop themselves from doing bad things (Fleming and Zyglidopoulos 2009). For example, individuals are more likely to engage in a corrupt behavior when they are ambitious (Jackall 1988) or have a stronger external locus of control—the tendency to assign responsibility for a situation to something beyond the control of the individual (e.g., Reiss and Mitra 1998). Others maintain that those who have a relativistic morality (that is situation–dependent) as opposed to idealistic (universal morality) (e.g., Elias 2002); or have low empathy with others' situation (Detert et al. 2008) are more prone to corruption than those who do not.

Other ethical decisions are made by females compared to males, by older people compared to younger people (O'Fallon and Butterfield 2005), and by people who are more religiously committed compared to those who are not (Singhapakdi et al. 2000). Initially, it was also argued that women appear to be less tolerant of corruption than men, especially in Western culture (Alatas et al. 2009) while a more recent study found that women's representation in government reduces corruption (Esarey and Schwindt–Bayer 2017). More recently, using the organization identification perspective, Vadera and Pratt (2013) argue that individuals who over–identify—have a sense of strong attachment to the organization—are more likely to commit corrupt acts with the intention of benefitting the organization. From the study, it was also clear that females were not easy to be seduced to the acts of corruption compared males who were much prone to the behaviors of corruption tendencies in the public offices.

While the 'bad apples' argument draws attention to the role of individual attributes, the 'bad barrels' argument highlights features of the organization/ institution in facilitating corruption. These arguments complement and, at the same time, challenge the previous 'bad apples' argument. In the first instance, they question the ability of individuals to escape from corruption as well as the role of cognition and ethical reasoning in deciding the agent's responses. Second, they acknowledge the possibility that even 'good apples' might engage in corruption and develop 'mental strategies' to cope with the possible disagreement felt after committing a questionable act (Fleming and Zyglidopoulos 2009). This might, for example, involve producing an account which helps one to feel better about acting corruptly. Instead of viewing corruptors as individuals having perfect agency, the proponents of the 'bad barrel' argument suggest that corruption occurs due to factors within the organization, including the organization's ethical climate, culture and leadership. In the same spirit, the study sought to find out the how corruption is facilitated by weak policies that guide public offices in Uganda and Rwenzori region at large.

The ethical climate is the collective organizational normative structure (Victor and Cullen 1988) which influences ethical decision making. An egoistic climate, for example, correlates positively with unethical behavior (Peterson 2002), and more specifically corruption (Gorsira et al. 2018), while a positive ethical climate has a positive influence on ethical behavior (O'Fallon and Butterfield 2005) through collective empathy—that is caring about others likely to be affected by the behavior, and a sense of a collective efficacy—the belief that the behavior will have the desired effect (Arnaud and Schminke 2012). An ethical culture can also reduce unethical behavior (Schaubroeck et al. 2012). Culture refers to formal (e.g., reward systems, ethics training programs) and informal systems such as peer behavior and identity–building stories (Schaubroeck et al. 2012). Most individuals in institutions become corrupt because the environment in which they are operating to facilitate them to be corrupt and there are no measures to reprimand individuals who commit corruption acts. The current study sought to find out the how such norms and/or attitudes can be enhancers of corruption.

Through practicing ethical leadership, a set of traits that will promote the development of a shared understanding of what constitutes an ethical culture, unethical behavior such as corruption can be reduced. This is consistent with the findings that when an organization's leaders are perceived to be ethically positive, there are lower reports of counterproductive employee behavior (Mayer et al. 2009). One of the ways to promote the shared understanding is to tell powerful stories about ethics which others can replicate, or through delivering formal speeches to communicate

an organization's expectations (Schaubroeck et al. 2012). In contrast, when leaders downplay the negative consequences of misconducts, or in other words they become morally disengaged, employees' ethical behavior is negatively affected (Bonner et al. 2016). Sensible leadership foster behaviors that can limit the chances under which individuals can choose to be corrupt using their offices. Responsible leadership can reprimand corrupt tendencies that can reduce corruption among themselves and members using their offices for self–gratification.

Focusing more on relationships, scholars argue that relationships lead to corruption when there is a felt obligation to reciprocate others' treatment (Palmer 2008). Moreover, language becomes an important facilitator in helping individuals understand interactions in reciprocal relations; naming a gift as a 'bribe' signals higher expectation for reciprocity (Lambsdorff and Frank 2010). Other scholars have studied the role of government whereby more intrusive regulations (Treisman 2007) and more ties to government agents increase the likelihood of firms opting to bribe because these ties assist managers in undermining rules regarding questionable practices (Collins et al. 2009). Looking at the influence of social norms on corruption, two norms are particularly relevant: reciprocity and a high achievement orientation. The former makes firms' managers more tolerant to exchanging favors which may have ethical implications (McCarthy et al. 2012), while the latter makes an organization become more prone to bribery (Martin et al. 2007).

Ethical distance (Zyglidopoulos and Fleming 2008)—which refers to the distance between one's action and its consequences—is useful in explaining systemic corruption—the kind of corruption that is said to be common in non–Western societies (Breit and Vaara 2014). Researchers argue for two types of distance: Temporal and structural. In each type, an accompanying rationalization may be activated. In the temporal distance, individuals perceive that corrupt acts have no immediate effect because no penalty has ever beset the individual or the organization using in it, therefore engaging in corruption is not so perplexing. The rationalization that may be triggered in this case is, for example, the denial of injury— "it does not hurt anybody". In the structural distance, individuals are insulated from the sense of moral obligation of corruption because they see their role in it as a small part of a larger whole. Within the organization, the individuals perceive that moral obligation is distributed amongst the individuals involved, which means the more people involved the easier it is to escape any moral burden. In collective systemic corruption, individuals perceive their practice as no different to others', so it reduces the dissonance that may surface. In this case, the rationalization that is being triggered is, for example, "everybody's doing it".

2.3.3 Unethical Behavior: Mindless or Mindful towards being corrupt

The first assumptions stem from the rationalistic approach to corruption and consider whether corruption should be assumed to be a mindful act or whether it should be considered as the possibility that corrupt behavior flows from mindlessness. Mindfulness or heedfulness (Weick and Roberts 1993) refers to the state of being careful, critical, purposeful, attentive and vigilant, a kin to the condition required in being rational or using reason: The individual has intent, is putting in effort, and able control the process Mindlessness is characterized as non–conscious processing of repetitive behavior (Smith–Crowe and Warren 2014), representing "a failure to see, to taken note of, to be attentive to" what is going on. Similarly, intuition is used in describing the psychological process that occurs "quickly, effortlessly, and automatically, such that the outcome but not the process is accessible to consciousness" (Haidt 2001).

When individuals act mindlessly, they act "with little or no real problem solving or even conscious awareness" (Ashforth and Anand 2003, p. 14), therefore the corrupt act is not an outcome of moral reasoning, a process which is intentional and effortful (Langer and Moldoveanu 2000). Mindlessness can occur due to social influence and organizational structures (Palmer 2008). Social influence includes the authorization of corruption by leaders, the socialization of corruption itself or an escalation of commitment, in which organization members engage in corruption to reduce dissonance over past decisions which subsequently appear to lack merit. For example, instead of trying to rectify a decision that is later found to be defective, organization members increase their commitment towards the decision in question, simply because they want to avoid continued dissonance (Palmer 2008).

Social influence processes such as consensus put pressure on individuals to believe that their decisions are meritorious, while organizational structures limit individual capacity to make the right call concerning ethical issues. Organizational structures refer to how tasks are distributed across different parts of the organization as well as the routines developed to guide these tasks. For example, the recall division at Pinto (the car company which failed to recall faulty products in the 1990s) was separated from its safety test division in such a way that the company's information flow was badly managed, which subsequently impaired decision making. In other words, corruption is enacted mindlessly because people experience pressures from their superiors or peers, or because people are 'locked' in within certain organizational rules, scripts and schemas which make them 'fail' to deliberate and choose a different course of action (Palmer 2008).

Rather than seeing corrupt acts as the outcome of deliberate 'mindful' reasoning, some scholars argue it is more likely to be the result of mindlessness (Sonenshein 2007). Social psychological research notes that "moral reasoning is rarely the direct cause of ethical judgment" (Haidt 2001). Individuals' ethical or moral judgment is instead derived from a quick evaluation or intuition, which in turn is influenced by social and cultural factors (Haidt 2001). Scholars question whether rationalization precedes corrupt behavior, as opposed to occurring after the act and there appears to be no relationship between rationalization strategies and the desire or the intention to act corruptly (Rabl and Kuhlmann 2009). If mindlessness really prevails and rationalizations only occur after the fact, implications exist for the way scholars study corruption. Furthermore, Palmer's (2008) thick descriptions of corruption narratives and detailed information of actors' thought and emotions, show that there may be alternative explanations of corruption because of mindless as opposed to mindful processing.

2.3.4 Ethical Behavior: Atomistic or Embedded approaches to corruption

The second debate promotes the idea of exploring the notion of the 'barrel' or 'larder' more deeply. It highlights that, instead of treating corruption in isolation from its context, scholars should give it more attention to social aspects of corruption as well as to how social relations influence the meanings of corrupt practices (Misangyi et al. 2008). Business ethics researchers, in particular, tend to overlook the effect of social factors on ethical decision making (Bartlett 2003). Therefore, researchers argue that factors such as business culture, industry characteristics or societal norms demand greater consideration. For instance, unethical practice is influenced by a weak business culture which tends to lead to non–transparent practices and strong potentially corrupt connections between business and politicians) (Vaiman et al. 2011). A market that is characterized by concentrated ownership of firms in the hands of several wealthy families similarly encourages rent–seeking behaviors between businessmen and the government (Fogel 2006). Others suggest that high scores in the cultural dimension of power distance (the extent to which people accept an unequal distribution of power) and masculinity (the extent to which people stress materialism and wealth) correlate with corruption (Getz and Volkema 2001).

The above assertions seem to have only scratched the surface of what other scholars refer to as the social context. These other scholars suggest that explanations for corruption lie beyond culture or structure and that they are intrinsically bound up with the meanings and identities of people and their practices (Misangyi et al. 2008). These meanings and identities are reproduced in ongoing social relations (Sewell 1992), shaped by interactions between social actors who continuously

interpret, carry out and enact them (Zilber 2002). They are also the "way(s) of how a particular social world work"). In other words, the meanings and identities are the 'driving forces' for behavior and they have rarely been explored by corruption researchers. Seeing corruption as embedded in meanings and identities is particularly important in the case of systemic or institutionalized corruption (Misangyi et al. 2008), where corruption is widespread and treated as legitimate or no longer questioned. Misangyi and colleagues (Misangyi et al. 2008) argue that in systemic corruption, corrupt practices are interpreted differently by individuals. Therefore, to change an already corrupt system one needs to change the meanings assigned to the practices within that system.

2.3.5 Ethical Issues: Objective or Constructed towards corruption

From the rationalist perspectives, it is asserted that corruption is objectively identifiable and takes the idea of meaning even further to suggest that unethical or deviant behavior (such as corruption) is socially constructed. Scholars have acknowledged the importance of decision–makers' perceptions in deciding to engage actions. For instance, individuals' perception of uncertainty within their environment will have an impact on internal and external networking activities (Sawyerr, 1993) which may include ethically questionable practices such as gratuity and bribery (Mele, 2009). Similarly, managers' perceptions of financial constraints and of competitive intensity in a market influence firms' decision to bribe (Martin et al. 2007).

Apart from arguing that interpretation of decision–making variables varies, some scholars have also acknowledged the importance of actors' perceptions in determining whether the behavior under study constitutes 'misbehavior', 'deviance' or indeed 'corruption'. Scholars who argue for this view make largely objectivist assumptions—that individuals interpret their environment in a similar manner and that they are uncovering cues from their environment as opposed to actively constructing their own situations or problems. Martin and Parmar (2012) further contend that interpretation works in a more complex way than what is described in rationalist studies. Rationalist corruption studies rarely problematize the possibility of a more varied interpretation of the proxies for 'cultural practices', 'financial constraints', 'competition' and 'government intervention' in their survey items.

2.3.6 Anthropological Approaches to Corruption

In addition to the dominant rationalist approach to studying corruption, there is a growing and diverse body of research which looks at corruption based on a different set of assumptions. Researchers use the term 'anthropological' approach to describe this work, although it is by no means a clear–cut body of literature and

encompasses studies in fields covering not only anthropology but also sociology, discourse, and human ethics.

The anthropology and sociology literature overlap in terms of their treatment of corruption as a social construction. However, further engagement with both kinds of literature shows that they are often different in terms of the focus of their analysis and their theoretical orientation when analyzing corruption. For example, sociologists tend to be more interested in the 'causes and processes' (Hodgkinson 1997,), the structural elements (institutions, organizations, and policy) or the macro–societal context and different scenarios of corruption (Numerato 2009), whereas anthropologists are less so.

Instead, they tend to focus more on the meaning–making, also linguistic aspects of experiences of corruption, to which this assertion draws attention, among others. As a result, there are more empirical materials from the anthropology literature that speaks directly to the mainstream organizational literature, compared to the sociology literature. On the other hand, the field of anthropology itself is vast and can often be classified into two: Cultural and organizational anthropology, which are also different in regard to their level of analysis. In line with the above anthropological approach, the current study also sought to find out what people at various levels understood as corruption and what caused it both at house hold level and institutional level in Rwenzori region.

CHAPTER THREE:

DESIGN AND METHODS USED IN THE RESEARCH

3.0 DESIGN AND METHODS

To achieve the aims of this research a combination of four methods were employed for data collection as indicated below:

3.1 Document analysis

Several available written resources through researches, government policies, and the constitution of Uganda, Local government Act, President, and Parliamentary Act, Newspapers, other researches among other documents were consulted to have a strong background of the study. The analyzed documents brought out clearly the perspectives of the societal norms, values, and attitudes that promote or fight corruption in the Rwenzori region.

3.2 Focus group discussions

As a qualitative method of data collection, focused group discussions were used to collect data from community members who were randomly sampled from the selected sub–counties and districts visited in the Rwenzori region. Questions for this category of respondents were developed to be similar in language to the quantitative survey's questions, but with an open–ended structure. Where possible, we tried to have a similar type of respondents so as not only ensure conformity and privacy of participants but even free discussion and expression of views. In each district 3, FGDs were selected and participants were carefully selected and prioritized to enable the enumerators to acquire the most accurate, precise and in–depth responses regarding the topic under study. We conducted focused group discussions among general community members including male and female adults aged 18 years and above.

3.3 Semi–structured Interviews

Semi–structured interviews were administered to key informants drawn from the selected districts, sub–counties and villages. One–on–one or face–to–face interview approach was used in private settings that assured the confidentiality of information provided by the interviewed respondents. Participation in this study was voluntary and respondents were free to abandon interviews at any time

they wished. Participants were engaged in a face to face interview for in–depth discussions on the assessment of societal norms, values, and attitudes that promote or fight corruption in the Rwenzori region.

3.4 Quantitative interviews.

A questionnaire was used to collect data from the selected households in each district. Questionnaires were administered to 40 households in every Sub–county. The questionnaire was designed to capture the three thematic objectives this research intended to achieve. Questions with Likert scale were developed and administered to the selected households in the Rwenzori region. All research assistants were thoroughly briefed and trained on the use of the tools and went through mock practices before actual data collection. Only competent and proficient data collectors were retained and deployed for data collection. They were well supported and supervised during the data collection exercise.

The number of respondents who participated in this study using interviews, focus group discussions and quantitative interviews questionnaires are indicated in the table below:

Table 2: **Distribution of Respondents who participated in the study per district interviews and FGDs and questionnaires**

District	District Technocrats /CSOs	Politicians & Households, FDGs, Religious & Cultural persons	Sub Counties/ Town councils	Total no. of respondents
Kabarole	CAO	1 LCV Chairperson	Hakibale	48
	DCDO	3 District councilors	Bukuku	
	Personnel Officer	3 LCIII Chairpersons	Kicwamba	
	District planner	3 Sub county chiefs		
	2 CSOs (RAC, Tweryaneho)	2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 3 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		
Bunyangabu	CAO	1 LV Chairperson		
	DCDO	3 District councilors		
	Personnel Officer	3 LCIII Chairpersons		
	District Planner	3 Sub county chiefs		

District	District Technocrats /CSOs	Politicians & Households, FDGs, Religious & Cultural persons	Sub Counties/ Town councils	Total no. of respondents
	2 CSOs	2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 3 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		
Kyenjojo	CAO	1 LCV Chairperson	Butiiti	41
	DCDO	3 District councilors	Bugaki	
	Personnel Officer	3 LCIII Chairpersons	Kyarusozi	
	District planner	3 Sub county chiefs		
	2 CSOs	2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 2 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		
Kasese	CAO	1 LV Chairperson		41
	DCDO	3 District councilors		
	Personnel Officer	3 LCIII Chairpersons		
	District Planner	3 Sub county chiefs		
	2 CSOs	2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 2 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		
Ntoroko		1 LV Chairperson	Karugutu TC	41
		3 District councilors	Kanombe	
		3 LCIII Chairpersons	Bweramule	
		3 Sub county chiefs		
		2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 2 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		

District	District Technocrats /CSOs	Politicians & Households, FDGs, Religious & Cultural persons	Sub Counties/ Town councils	Total no. of respondents
Bundibugyo		1 LV Chairperson	Bubukwanga	41
		3 District councilors	Nyahuka TC	
		3 LCIII Chairpersons	Bundibugyo TC	
		3 Sub county chiefs		
		2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 2 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		
Kyegegwa		1 LCV Chairperson	Kakabara TC	41
		3 District councilors	Hapuyo	
		3 LCIII Chairpersons	Kyegegwa TC	
		3 Sub county chiefs		
		2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 2 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person		
Kamwenge	1 LV Chairperson	Kahunge		41
	3 District councilors	Kamwenge		
	3 LCIII Chairpersons	Nyabani		
	3 Sub county chiefs			
	2 LC I Chairpersons 25 Households 2 FDGs 1 religious person 1 cultural person			
Total no. of respondents				342

3.5 Pre–testing (Validity and reliability)

All instruments used in this research were tested with some of the target respondents. Thereafter corrections and adjustments were effected before the actual data collection dates.

3.6 Procedure of Data Collection

Upon presentation of the inception report, developed tools were pre–tested and revised. Refined tools were presented at a KRC meeting consisting of invited stakeholders. Valid comments were incorporated in the final tools. The research team was briefed on these tools and about the study scope and objectives.

3.7 Data Analysis

The generated data for this research were both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The analysis for qualitative data was based on the study objectives. Qualitative data from FGDs and face to face personal interviews were transcribed by competent third parties to avoid bias and prejudice. Qualitative data was subjected to coding, thematic content analysis, and presented in narrative text punctuated with verbatim respondent quotations. Quantitative data was analyzed by the use of SPSS version 25. Descriptive statistics were used to determine the general perceptions of respondents on the norms, values and practices that promote or fight corruption in the Rwenzori region.

3.8 Ethical considerations

For both quantitative and qualitative data, the contracted research company, field supervisors and research assistants ensured that the ethical regulations of the project that guarantee voluntary participation and confidential data management were met. All interviews and face to face interviews were carried out in private settings that ensured confidentiality of information by respondents. The protocol, consent forms, questionnaires and Focus group and interview guides were approved by the Research Ethical committee of CAARD.

CHAPTER FOUR:

STUDY FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this study, the researcher adopted a mixed research design approach due its numerous advantages. Mixed methods research has the potential of providing broader, deeper, and/or more useful information, no single method is without its limitations, and different methods can provide complementary information that makes up for the shortcomings of using only one method. It also assists to increase findings' reliability and credibility through the triangulation of the different results. Through this, the generalization of the study findings can be proposed.

Based on the research findings, this section describes the different norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors associated with promoting and/or fighting corruption in the Rwenzori region. The societal values and norms, attitudes and behaviors obtained from the field have given the picture that is associated with the manifestation of corruption in the society from the family level to the institutional level. The evidence about the prevalence of such practices, the enabling circumstances in which they take place, and the various corruption cases are all discussed in this report.

4.2 Demographic Information

Figure 1: **Showing distribution of the respondents according to their sex**
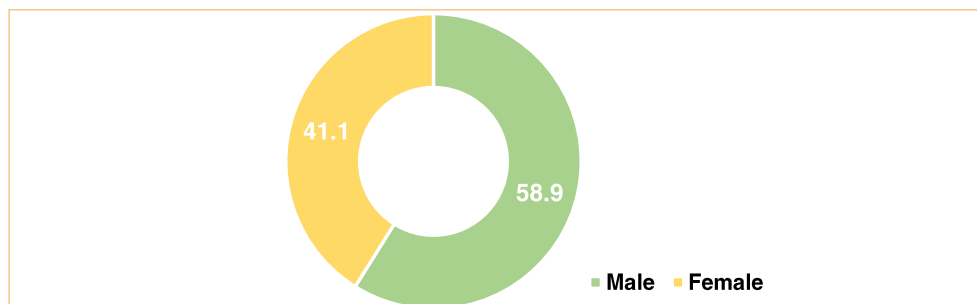
Source: Field data

Figure 1 above illustrates the distribution of the respondents in this study according to their sex. Figure 1 revealed that majority 59% of the respondents were male, and

41% were female. It was vital to establish this aspect as it was to give a significance representation in sharing the norms, values, attitudes, behaviors and practices that promote or fight corruption from a gender perspective in Rwenzori region.

Figure 2: Showing distribution of household heads by sex

Note: n=209   No responses = 7
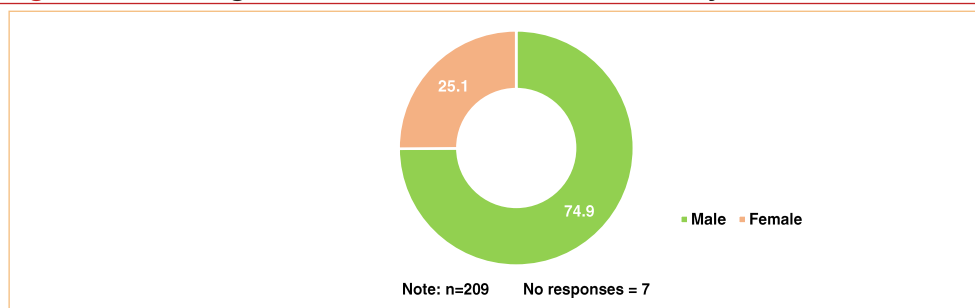
Source: Field data

Figure 2 above illustrates the distribution of household heads by sex. It was revealed that majority 74.9% of the household heads were males and only 25.1% were females. This can be explained by the cultural perspective where most household heads are males. The female participation gave the sense of gender understanding of norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption at the household level.

Figure 3: Showing distribution of the respondents' age category
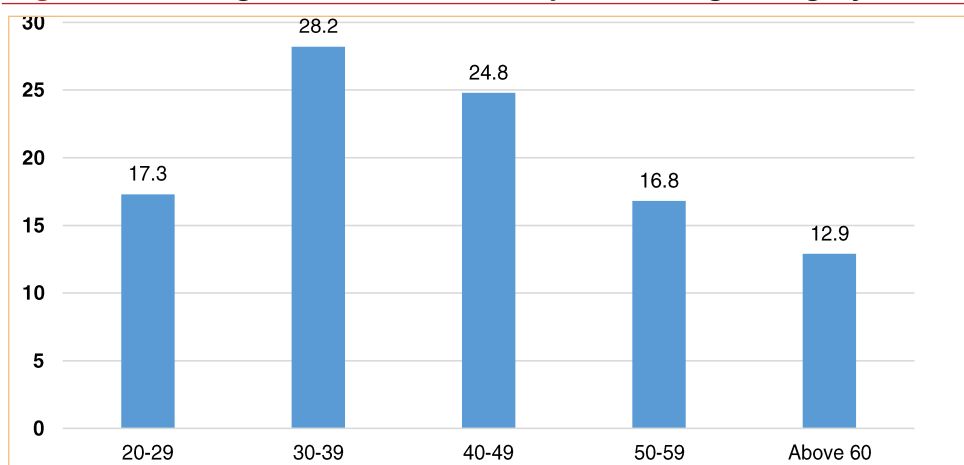
Source: Field data

From figure 3 above, it was revealed that majority 28.2 % of the respondents reported that they were between 30 and 39 years, followed by 24.8% who were aged between 40 to 49 years, 17.3% who were between 20 to 29 years, about 16.8% of the respondents reported that they were between 50 to 59 years and only 12.9% reported that they were above 60 years. The age category of respondents was significant as to establish responses that were representative from age

categories depicting their understanding and experience of norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption in Rwenzori region.

Figure 4: Showing respondents' main occupation
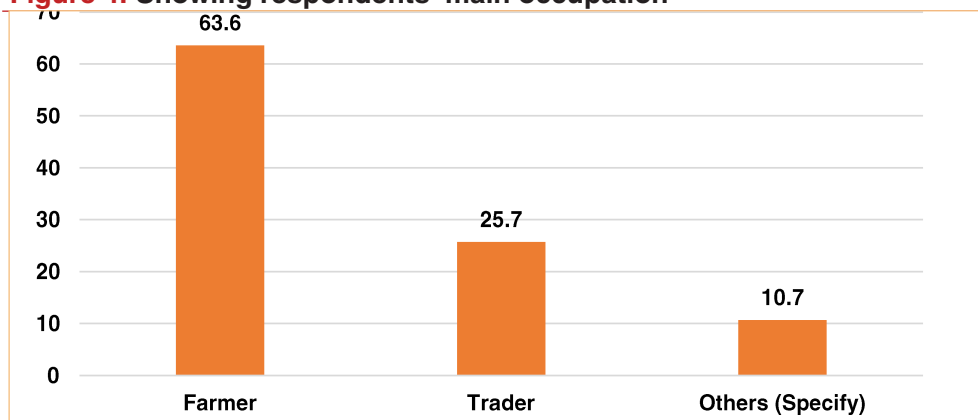
Source: Field data

Figure 4 above, gives the representation of the respondents by their occupation. Majority 63.6% of the respondents reported that their main occupation was farming. This was followed by 25.7% of the respondents who reported that their main occupation was trading. Only 10.7% of the respondents reported that they are involved in other livelihood activities. It was vital to establish the occupation of the respondents with the view of discovering more on how the norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption were manifesting with the occupations of the respondents.

4.2 Societal understanding of corruption

This section contains the qualitative and quantitative findings regarding community people's understanding of corruption. Participants at various levels were asked to give their understanding of corruption. In both rural and semi–urban areas where the research was conducted, most respondents concurred that there was a great manifestation of corruption in the society, especially when accessing services from various public and some private sectors. The behavior manifests because most people seek to obtain services within the shortest time possible without considering the quality desired and because of this desire they end up resorting to the informal actions that have been regarded as norms and values in the society. Before giving the actual definitions of corruption, participants in the study concurred that it is common today not to access a service without 'performing some action' to the public service providers. Overall, participants in the study agreed that you cannot define corruption without reflecting first on

how it does manifest especially when seeking services. Under the same section, we asked participants to indicate the current status of corruption and show the comparison of the current status of corruption compared to the past corruption in their communities. You will find the quantitative findings in the next section.

From the face–to–face interviews and FGDs, participants were asked to give their definitions of corruption basing to their understanding and how it manifests in their communities and the following responses were given as shown below:

4.2.1 Local definitions of corruption

The under listed definitions were drawn from 142 interviewees and FDGs and they depict their understanding of corruption

1. Changing the decisions of the agreed parties
2. It includes bribery/embezzlement of funds
3. Corruption is the bribing of leaders to misuse their offices and authority for the personal gains
4. Paying for the service which is supposed to be free like paying to receive the stamp from the LC I C/P.
5. Denial of entitlements such as NAADS enterprises.
6. Falsification–hiding the truth from the individual and making them pay.
7. It involves giving and taking to gain favor, common in public offices
8. Stealing/ misappropriate of governments funds
9. Corruption is the way of how people use their responsibilities especially in government
10. Corruption involves using unclear procedures in leadership and governance. I am UPDF Veteran since I retired in 1992 I have never received my retirement package and those who have retired after me have already received theirs
11. It's a bad act. Not acting ethically. For example, I have my daughter whom I educated and spent all the monies I had on her education. She is jobless now because I do not have enough money to bribe such that she can get a job.
12. Corruption is when public servants misuse public funds for personal benefits. At the family level, corruption can be equated to being greedy
13. Paying money for a free service either by influencing one to be influenced to pay for a free service

14. Corruption means either bribing someone either with words or money to give you a service or to change his mind on something in favor of you.

15. Corruption is likened to when you go to the hospital and you are asked to buy the medicine even when the medicine is available and free

16. Corruption at the family level, it is the misuse of power and authority by family members.

17. Corruption is when the people in leadership positions do themselves favors at the expense of others

18. Corruption is when the leaders fail to fulfil their responsibilities and taken money for their own services

19. Lack of truth /transparency in the offices of work, homes and country.

20. Corruption is acquiring money from people with great pretense.

21. Corruption is failure of the services to reach the lower rural people and swindled by the top government officials

22. When someone has committed a crime and pays to be acquitted from the crime committed

23. Corruption begins from the family taking upper stages to reach government officials. Everything needs money to be solved

24. When you are a leader and you are not trustworthy

25. It is theft, stealing someone's money for your own benefits

26. Corruption is misunderstood, as a game it has no meaning but rather it includes unfair treatment of others.

27. Corruption is taking advantage of others and influencing people to pay for a free service

28. Giving privileges to a member of the household

29. Failure to give accountability.

30. Corruption is the way of humiliating and denying people from presenting their views, calling the right wrong and the wrong right

31. Corruption is when the educated eat money from uneducated

32. When someone asks me money to do something he/she is supposed to do for me.

33. Corruption means the bribery or paying money for some for a favor, the act of acquiring the service illegally. Corruption means telling lies and not doing what one ought to do. Doing something against your will.

Source: Field Data

Figure 5: **Showing the extent to which giving money to civil servants is a form of corruption**

To a large extent	66.5
To a small extent	19.6
Not at all	12.4
I dont know	1.5
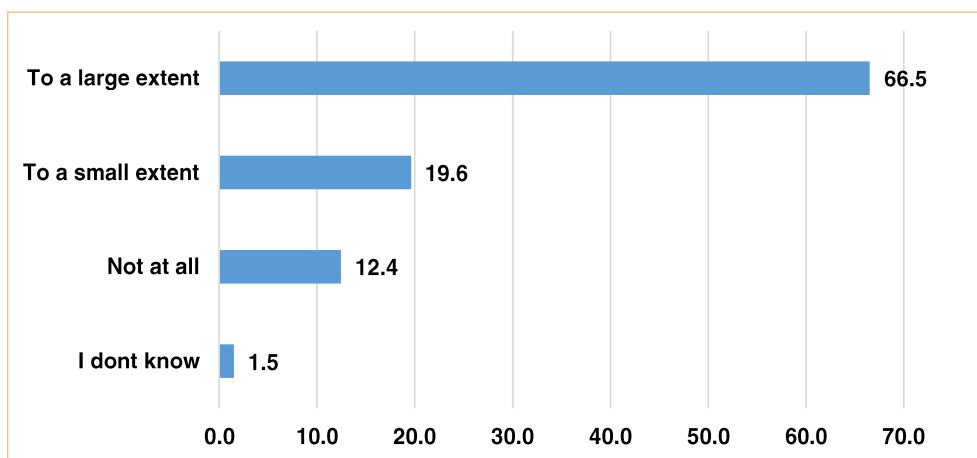
Source: Field data

Respondents were asked to give their understanding of corruption; researchers asked them to give their local understanding of corruption. The intention as well, was to dig deep into what the community people regarded as corruption within the local settings and disposition. Majority 54% of 200 respondents believed that bribery was the great manifestation and/or a form of corruption in the community, 16% believed corruption manifests as favoritism, 10% believed corruption manifested in form of selfishness. While others believed corruption as greed, theft, betrayal, misuse of office, dishonesty, shortcuts in life, unfair treatment and others believed corruption was a mistreatment of those who search for services.

4.2.2 Is the giving money to civil servants' corruption?

Respondents were asked about their perspective of corruption; the researcher asked them if they think giving money to civil servants in return of a service is corruption. Here researchers intended to understand what the community people think corruption is. From figure 5 below, the study revealed that majority 66.5% of the respondents reported that giving money to a civil servant in return of a service is to a large extent corruption. Further analysis revealed that 19.6% of the respondents reported that giving money to a civil servant in order to get a pubic service is corruption however to a small extent. The study also revealed that 12.4% of the respondent reported that giving money to a civil servant in order to access public services is not corruption at all and about 1.5% of the respondents reported that they don't know. This indicates that the community have a clear understanding of what corruption is, an indication that for those who indulge in corruption tendencies, do it with full knowledge of what they are doing.

Figure 6: Showing status of corruption in respondents' areas
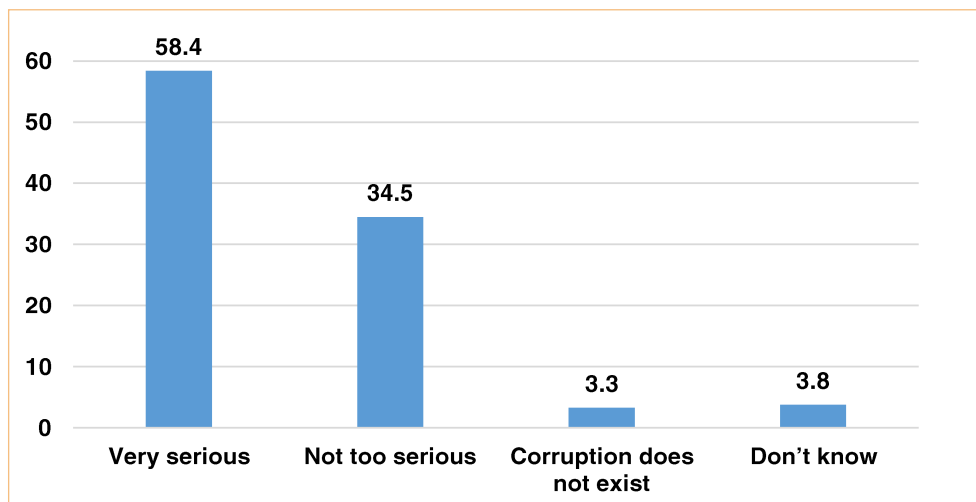
Source: Field data

4.2.3 Status of corruption in respondents' areas

As a way of assessing community people's understanding of corruption, researchers asked them to give an overview of how spread corruption is in their society, respondents were asked about the status of corruption in their society. From figure 6, more than half of the sample size, 58.4% reported that corruption is very intense or serious in their area. This was followed by 34.5% of the respondents who reported that corruption is mild in their area. Only 3.3% of the respondents reported that their communities are corruption and 3.8% reported that they don't know whether the vice of corruption exists in their community. This big percentage does not only explain the existence of corruption but shows how entrenched and widespread corruption is in our society.

Figure 7: Showing current status of corruption compared to Past status of corruption
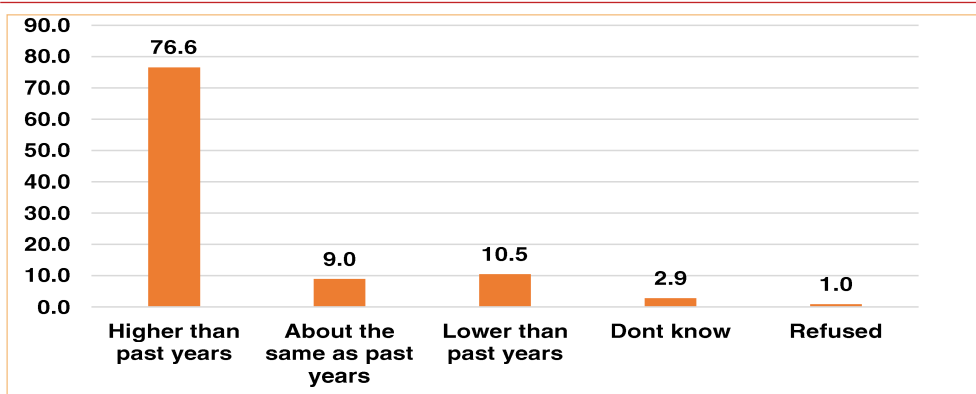
Source: Field data

4.2.4 Current status of corruption compared to Past status of corruption

Since there has been debate among researchers and community people that the current corruption is incomparable, researchers solicited the views of respondents on the seriousness of current corruption as compared to the one in the past. Their responses are indicated in Figure 7. Majority 76.6% of the respondents pointed out that the current corruption is much higher than that one of the past, only a negligible percentage 10.5% of the respondents indicated that the current corruption is much lower than the one in the past.

Figure 8: **Showing cases of when someone ends up paying a bribe**
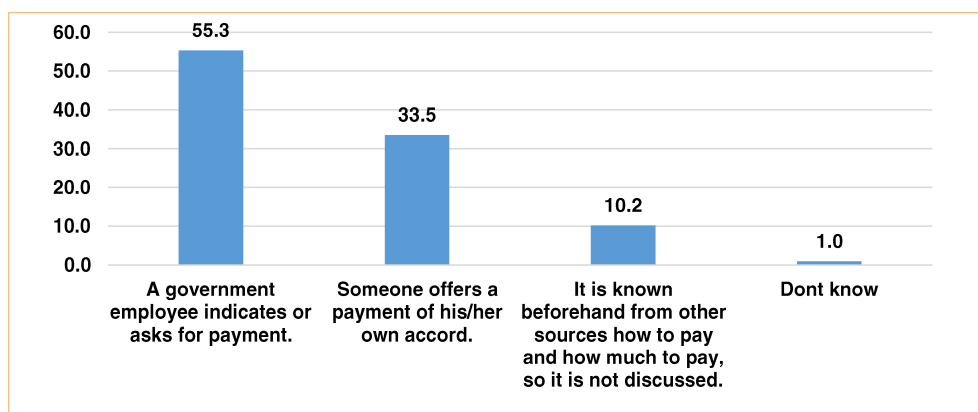
Source: Field data

4.3 Actions that may constitute corruption

In order to establish if community people have a clear understanding of corruption, researchers sought to know the actions that constitute corruption, they were asked to state whether it is ok or not okay to get involved in each of the under listed actions. Responses in table 3 indicate that despite high levels of corruption in society, people know the actions that translate into corruption. Almost all responses indicated that it is not okay to get involved in these actions. However, surprisingly some community members still believe that it is okay to get involved in some corruption actions if the actions benefit them as individuals.

Table 3: Showing respondents understanding of corruption

Please, tell me what you understand about corruption?	Frequency	Percent
Betrayal	3	1.4
Theft	7	3.3
Greed	12	5.7
Selfishness	22	10.5
Bribery	115	55.0
Favoritism	6	2.9
Misuse of power	34	16.3
Dishonest	6	2.9
Others	4	2.0
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Field data

During the study, the research team was interested in knowing how respondents understand the term corruption. The intention was to dig deep into what the community people regarded as corruption within the local settings and disposition. From table 3 above, it was observed that majority 55% of the respondents believed that bribery was the greatest manifestation and/or a form of corruption in the community. This was followed by 16.3% of the respondents who believed that corruption manifests as misuse of power, 10.5% believed that corruption manifested in form of selfishness. While other respondents believed corruption as greed, theft, betrayal, favoritism, dishonesty, shortcuts in life, unfair treatment and mistreatment of those who search for services.

4.4 Circumstances under which corruption may occur

Respondents were asked to state, to the best of their knowledge, which of the following is most often the case when someone ends up paying a bribe to a governmental employee. The quantitative findings in figure 8 indicate that more than half (54.5%) of the interviewed respondents stated that when a government employee asks for a payment, you may end up giving a bribe but also (33.0%) indicated that someone offers a payment on their own accord. This shows that corruption is two-sided, sometimes it is asked for and other times the person seeking the service offers it on their own.

Figure 9: **Showing certainty of obtaining a service after paying a bribe**
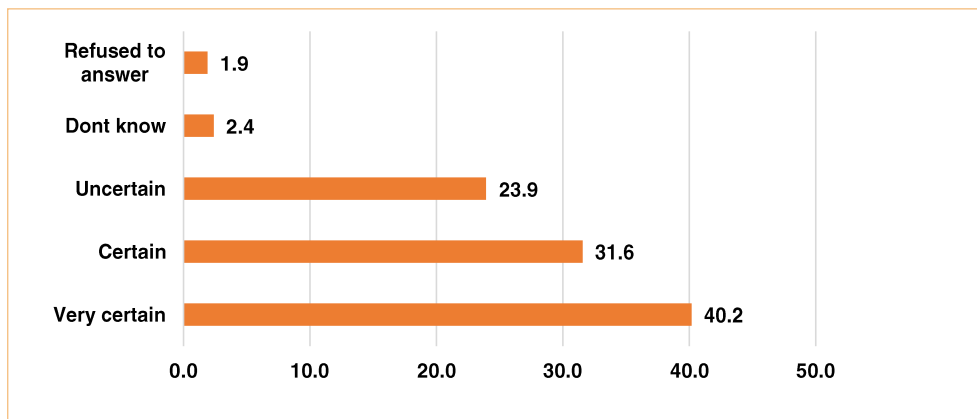
Source: Field data

4.4.1 How certain does one obtain a service after paying a bribe?

Respondents were asked to indicate how certain they are that one will obtain a service or their problem will get solved after paying a bribe. Majority 40.2% of respondents indicated that they are very certain that they will get the service after paying in a bribe and 31.6% showed that when you pay a bribe you are certain that a service will be obtained. About 23.9% of the respondents reported that when you pay a bribe it's not a guarantee that you will obtain a service. These responses as shown in Figure 9 indicate that corruption yields fruits, an indication that fighting corruption is not an easy job as many people benefit from it.

Figure 10: **Showing respondents reaction if they were offered a bribe**
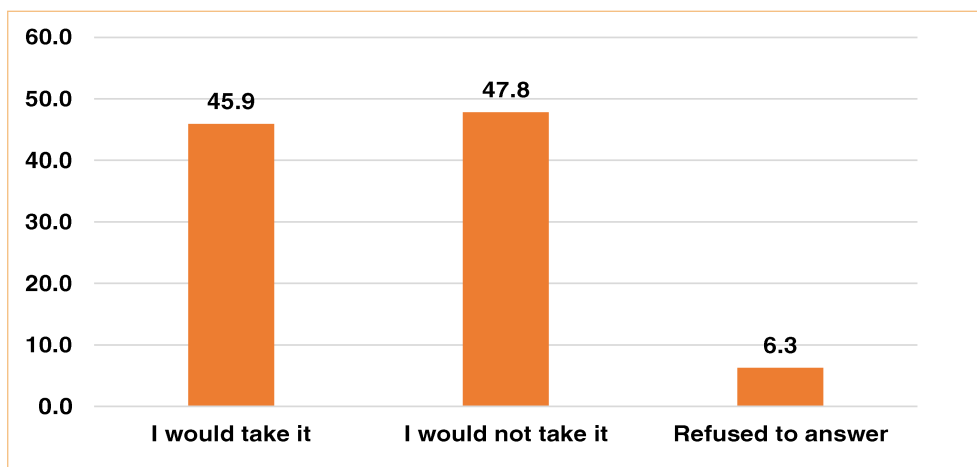
Source: Field data

4.4.2 Justification for committing corruption

When asked about justification for committing corruption, a fairly big number 41.1% of respondents showed that there is no other way of getting things done. This was followed by those who reported that they are involved in corruption acts to avoid punishments or sanctions. About 18.7% of the respondents reported that people get involved in corruption scandals because one wants to speed up the process or cut short the long beauacratic procedures of certain offices. This indeed shows how deeply rooted corruption is in our society. People think that you cannot get things done without corruption. Corruption appears to be a driving force behind service delivery both in government and private sector.

Figure 11: Showing reasons why respondents would take a bribe
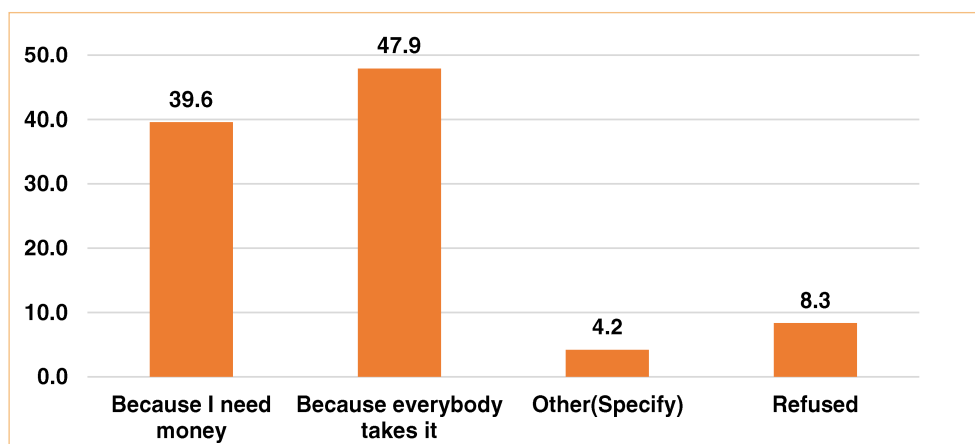
Source: Field data

4.4.3 How would you react if offered a bribe?

Here the researchers sought to get the reactions of respondents when offered a bribe. Their responses are indicated in figure 10. Almost half 45.9% of the respondents indicated that when offered a bribe they would take it. However, more respondents showed that if offered a bribe they would not take it. This appears a contraction because in the earlier responses they looked at corruption as a gateway to things. They showed that there is no any other way of getting things done.

Figure 12: **Showing reasons Why respondents would not take a bribe**
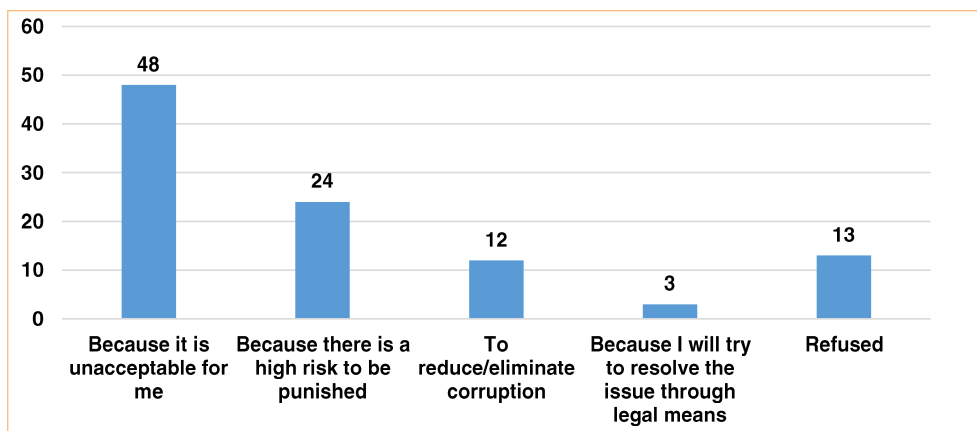
Source: Field data

4.4.4 Why would you take a bribe?

Findings in Figure 13 below revealed that majority 54.1% of the respondents reported that they know the institutions where they can report corruption cases and 45.9% of the respondents reported that they don't know the institutions where they can report corruption cases. This shows that there is still a need for sensitization workshops and seminars on corruption. Community people need a lot of awareness on corruption and where they can report corruption cases.

Figure 13: **Showing whether respondents know institutions to report a corrupt public official**
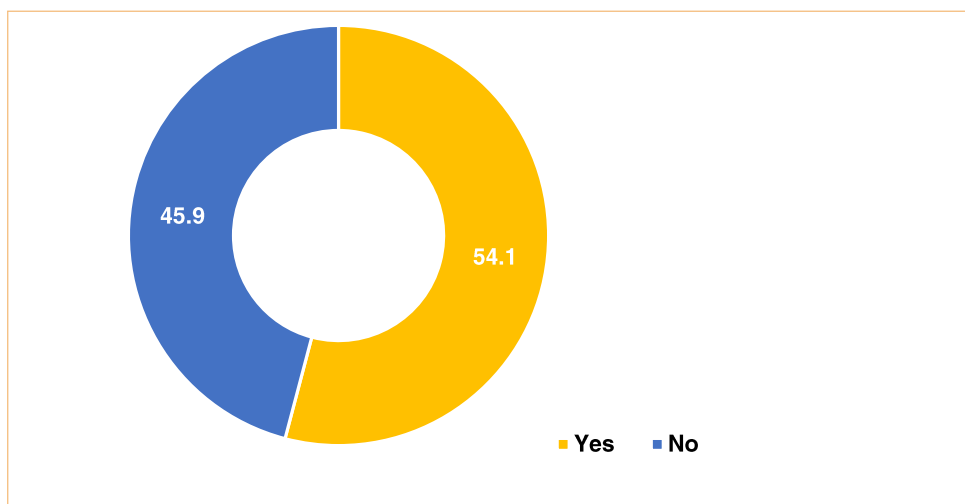
Source: Field data

4.4.5 Why would you not take a bribe?

During the study 48% of the respondents who reported that they would not take a bribe because it is unacceptable for them, 24% revealed that they would not take a bribe because there is a high risk to be punished and only 12% reported that they would not take a bribe in order to reduce or eliminate corruption. These responses indicate that people know the evils of corruption and for those who are strong hearted try to avoid it.

Figure 14: Showing institutions to which respondents can report cases of corruption
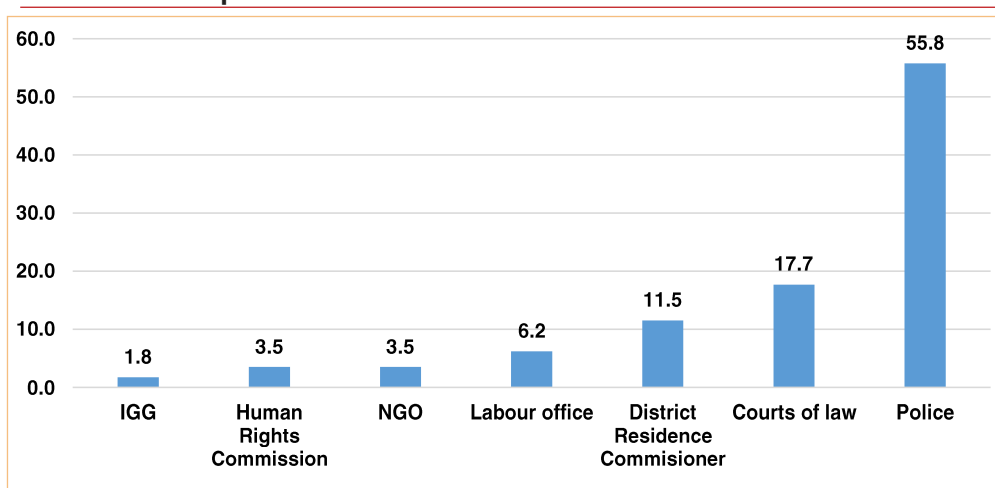

Source: Field data

As indicated in Figure 14, majority 55.8% of the respondents reported that they would report corruption cases to police although they had indicated that the police is the most corrupt institution, still some respondents showed that they would go there to report corruption cases. About 17.7% of the respondents reported that they would report to courts of law any cases of corruption and only 1.8% of the respondents reported that they would report corruption cases to the IGG. These responses show that the community people mention institutions that are available in their communities and they can easily access them. This means that their responses do not only have to do with trust but also availability and accessibility of the institutions.

4.4.6 How would you react if asked to give a bribe?

Researchers sought to know the reactions of respondents if they were asked to give a bribe. As indicated in table 5 below, it was revealed that majority 47.8% of the respondents would give a bribe. It was also revealed that 34.0% of the respondents reported that they would not give a bribe if they were asked to do so

and 18.2% of the respondents were undecided. This demonstrates that corruption has almost become a norm in our society and that is why all the government and international efforts to fight corruption have not yielded much fruits.

Figure 15: Showing whether people who report corruption cases will be subjected to retaliation
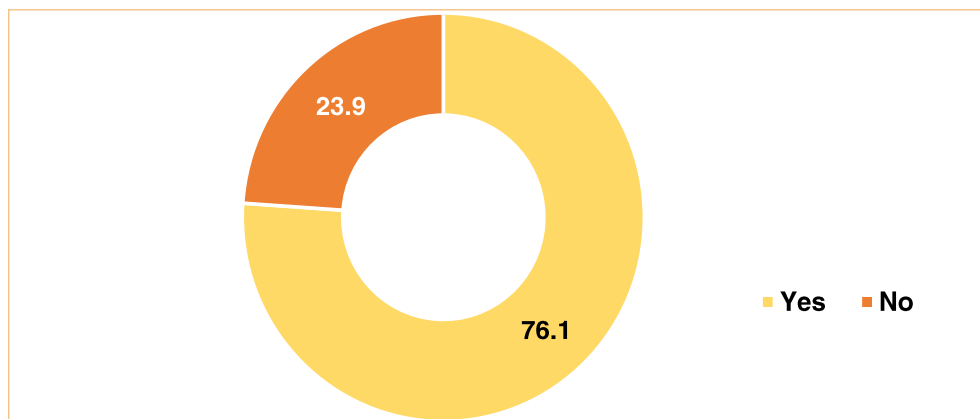
Source: Field data

4.4.7 Do you know any institution to report a corrupt public official?

Findings in Figure 16 show that (87%) of the respondents at least know the institutions where they can report corruption cases, it is only (13%) who indicated that they don't know where to report corruption cases. This shows that there is still a need for sensitization workshops and seminars on corruption. Community people need a lot of awareness on corruption.

Figure 16: Showing if no action would be taken if you reported a corruption case
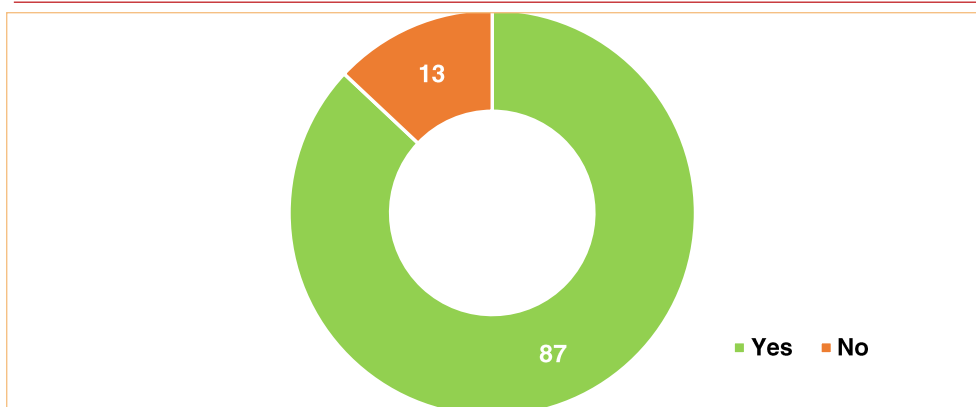
Source: Field data

4.4.8 Institution to report corruption

From figure 17 below, it was revealed that majority 77.1% of the respondents reported that it is not worth to report a corruption case if you are not personally hurt by it and only 22.9% of the respondents reported that it is worth reporting any corruption case even if you are not personally affected. This shows there is no unity and teamwork when it comes to fighting corruption. This is contrary to the findings from the qualitative data where it was unanimously pointed out that corruption can only be fought through teamwork..

Figure 17: **Showing respondents perception on whether it is worth to report a corruption case if they are not personally hurt by it**
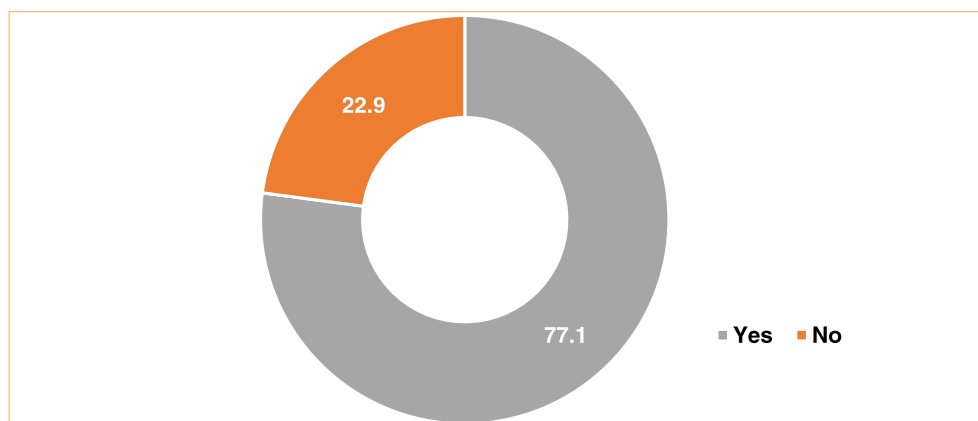
Source: Field data

4.4.9 Do you think those who report corruption cases will be subjected to retaliation?

We asked respondents to indicate if those who report corruption cases would be subjected to retaliation and as indicated in Figure 18 (73%) responded in affirmative that indeed those who report corruption cases cannot go away with it. Those who are reported revenge on them. Actually, those who report and have evidence risk death. It is only a small section of people (27%) who said that there is no retaliation. This shows that many cases go without being reported because people fear for their lives.

Figure 18: Showing whether there is always lack of clarity about corruption proceedings
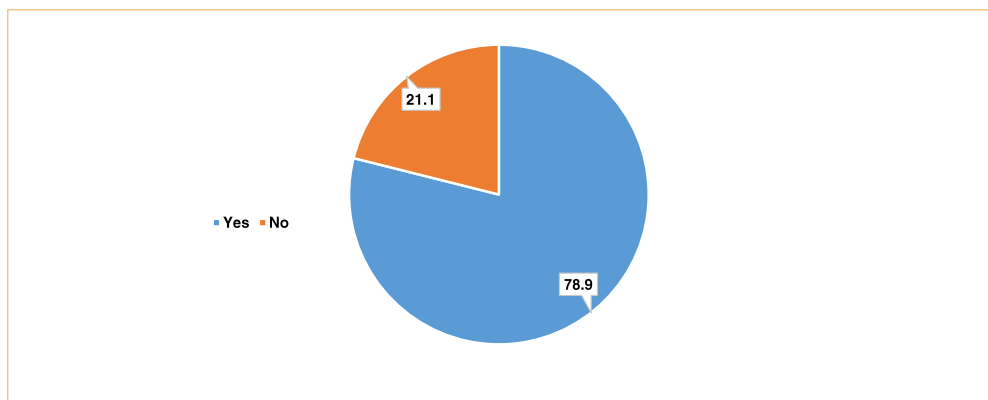
Source: Field data

4.4.10 Do you think no action would be taken if you reported a corruption case?

During the study, the researcher asked respondents whether economic hardships contribute to corruption and figure 19 below revealed that majority 69.1% of the respondents reported that economic hardships is one of the causes of corruption and only 30.9% of the respondents reported that economic hardships does not contribute to corruption. This is true because most of the big cases of corruption involve billions of money, the culprits are already rich people. So, there could be other reasons but not economic hardships. Findings from the qualitative data indicate that such people are involved in corruption because they are never satisfied with what they have.

**Figure 19:** Showing whether people are corrupt due to economic hardships
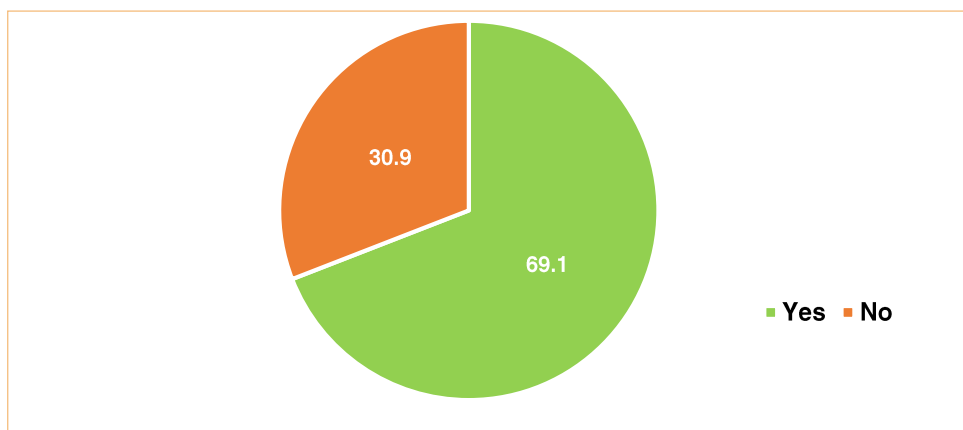
Source: Field data

4.4.11 Do you think it's not worth to report a corruption case if you are not personally hurt by it?

The researcher asked the respondents whether society rewards people who report corruption cases and from figure 20 below, it was revealed that majority 81.5% of the respondents reported that society does not reward people who report corruption cases and only 18.5% reported that society rewards those who report corruption cases. Failure for society to reward people who report corruption cases could be one good reason why the community is never bothered to report such cases.

Figure 20: Showing whether society rewards those who report corruption cases
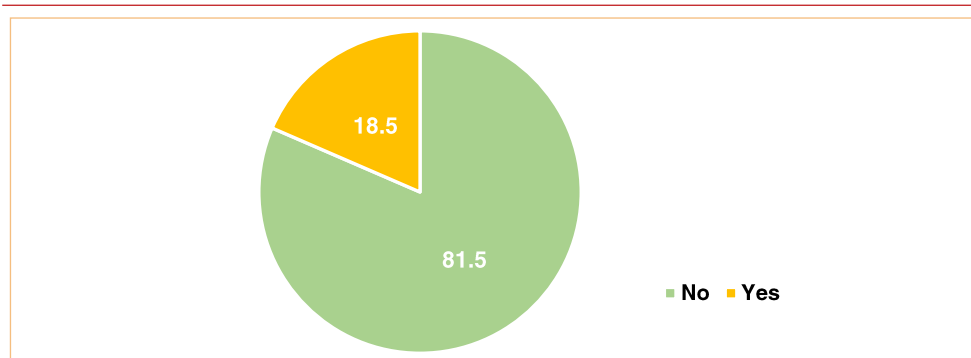
Source: Field data

4.4.12 Do you think that there is always lack of clarity about corruption proceedings.

Although government put in place the whistle blower policy as one way of fighting corruption, responses from respondents indicate that there is no whistle blower protection for those who report corruption cases; this is evidenced by almost all the respondents (90.3%). It is only a few 9.7% of the respondents who said that there is protection.

Figure 21: Showing whether there is whistle blower protection
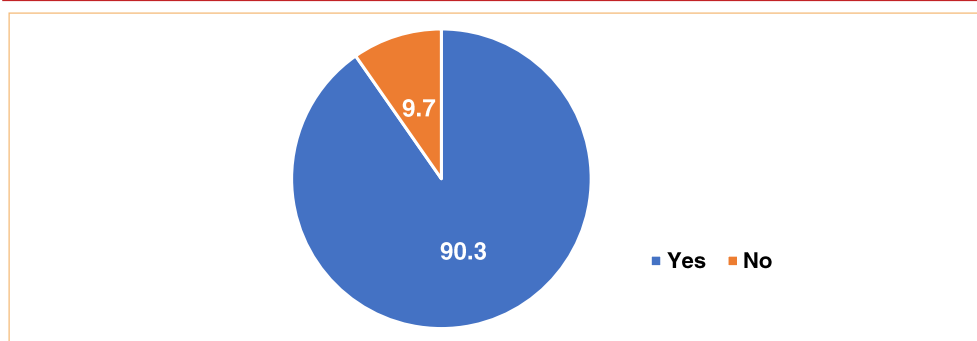
Source: Field data

4.5 Cases of Corruption In Rwenzori Region

Participants were asked to give their experiences on how they were induced into corruption and/or whether they gave corruption willingly. Most respondents revealed that they were victims of corruption in one way or the other because most times they wanted to receive services fast and/or they were induced and/or intimidated to give bribe as the form of corruption to both public and private service providers.

Participants in both areas considered women to be the group most vulnerable to petty corruption due to discriminatory attitudes around what a female participant called "our culturally perceived inferiority." Participants from both rural and semi–urban areas where the research was conducted revealed that they were asked to give bribes as a form of corruption while they sought health services, police bonds, judiciary services, education services among others. Participants argued that women were especially vulnerable to corruption during the moments of giving birth since this is always a critical moment for them that if delayed they can face death situations, as a result, they become victims to extortion if they lack a social connection that can help them, or they cannot afford a bribe. Some participants in the study acknowledged the vulnerable position of women but for different reasons, namely that based on their role as mothers and caretakers they simply come more often in contact with the health system to receive antenatal care and by bringing children for checkups, immunizations as well as curative care.

Participants from various settings stated further that women are prioritized in the service provision when they "contribute to an appreciation of the service through their bodies". In fact, the question of sexual corruption emerged as a central topic in the research. Participants in various settings revealed that women were also prone to sexual corruption since they are in most urgent need of services. Many comments were shared in this respect when discussing access to health services in the rural area: In agreement with this, one respondent observed: "she may provide something so that she may get the services, what she offers is different than in the case of a man." It was recounted that service providers may ask a female service seeker for her telephone number so that she may provide a favor later. If the woman rejects such advances the consequences can be dire, as an FGD participant said: "I would say that her sex might be her downfall because of her principles". Generally participants reported having been involved in a form of corruption some stating that some forms of corruption began in their families as one respondent retorted: "Also corruption exists in families, especially from parents raising their children through corruption, for example, a parent sends a child to bring some water and promises to buy bread for the child thus that is bribe as a

form of corruption in families". Another participant revealed the corruption case in which she was involved as the case is presented below;

> *"We experienced corruption as a group. Our group from Butiiti was dealing in nature conservation. We were expecting money from NEMA (National Environmental Conservation Authority). Unfortunately, the people that were bringing money delayed. So, at the district, they convinced us to sign before we had received the money. However, when the people we were waiting for arrived, they gave false excuses and gave us only one million and five hundred thousand (UGX 1,500,000=) only instead of Ten million (UGX 10,000,000=), though they convinced us that they would give the full amount of money later. It was a district program to conserve nature, even the district chairperson was aware of it, but that money was consumed". We have never received it up to now.*

The above statement really reveals that there are number of corruption cases that take place in the society and majority of the community members lack knowledge and information on reporting such cases to the necessary offices instead they keep quiet in resentment and oppression. It reveals that community members have also become comfortable with the corruption practices that are committed against them.

Below is a summary of some other corruption cases that participants were involved in;

4.5.1 Reported Corruption Cases In Rwenzori Region

Participants were asked to state whether they have ever experienced corruption or not. Table 4 below shows their responses:

Table 4: **Showing reported corruption cases in Rwenzori region**

Justification for involving in corruption acts	Frequency	Percent
There is no other way to get things done	86	41.1
To avoid punishment/sanctions	52	24.9
To avoid higher official payments	6	2.9
To speed up the processes/procedures	39	18.7
To be treated (served) appropriately	5	2.4
To get preferential treatment/privileges	6	2.9
To have alternative source of income	8	3.8
Don't know	3	1.4
Refused to answer	4	1.9
Total	**209**	**100.0**

Source: Field data

4.6 Community people's opinions regarding the causes of corruption in the society

Social norms and values can be understood as the standardized generalizations concerning the expected modes of behaviors and attitudes among the community. Members in the community therefore represent the importance source of guidance on how to act in particular situations that individuals in the society will always seek to adopt the measures in which a certain condition was handled as repeated social interactions and extended exposure to a given social structure leads to certain behavioral patterns becoming internalized and normalized, thereby forming collective social norms and practices (World Bank, 2015). Individuals will get accustomed to some sense of corruption in the society at various levels as it has manifested and such practices in which corruption has manifested will be perceived by the members of the community as the norm and in such a way it becomes a socially accepted behavior and/or attitude. Individuals adopt such norms that they seem prescribed in the hearts and minds of the community members consider some corruption practices and acts as the way to go beneficial to direct personal benefits since in most cases those who have been corrupt in the society are not punished.

In this section, the study presents the findings associated with the social context and the manner in which accepted norms and values shape behaviors linked to the prevalence of corruption in the Rwenzori region. The social norms as the outstanding drivers of corruption in the society are presented as follows;

Participants from various categories of people revealed a number of drivers of corruption that manifests in different avenues. The drivers of corruption in the society are deeply embedded in the societal norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors that are generally acceptable by the communities and these range with the type and manifestation of the corruption practices ranging from individual to individual. One respondent revealed that:

> *"I experienced this corruption when I was working with the whites, and for instance, if one would take a Whiteman's vehicle for repair, the Whiteman would give something (money) to the mechanic so that he should not steal some parts / metals from the vehicle. In my opinion corruption was bought".*

From the FGDs, participants retorted that most people in the society are induced and/or asked to indulge in the practices of corruption due to the ignorance of the laws, lack of awareness about their rights. Most people in both rural and urban areas where the research was conducted believed that a big segment of the

population lack knowledge about their rights and are not aware where to report in case corruption cases are committed against them, some participants who seemed to know where to report corruption cases demonstrated the unwillingness citing that the police and/or judiciary were public offices where most officers are corrupt and they would feel comfortable paying the corruption than reporting those asking them bribes or gifts. Lack of information / ignorance of the laws was also coupled with the high illiteracy levels among some community members something that has rather enhanced corruption in their specific communities.

In FGD discussions it was revealed that the most driver of corruption in the society is the low salaries and/or underpayments to the public servants. It was revealed that today the lifestyles and standards of living have changed and yet the salaries of the public servants are not increased. The said low salaries and government grants delaying yet public servants are meant to deliver services to the communities, prompts them to indulge in corruption practices seeking money and incentives for their facilitation. Working in such conditions public servants resort to asking for payments for free services. There was also a general observation from the research participants who believed that if all public servants were motivated while offering public services, the rates of corruption would be minimized. It was also observed that lack of supervision by those charged with such responsibilities paved way for most corruption practices. An example, was given,

> *"that if the District Education Officer (DEO) does not visit schools to know what actually takes place in schools, chances are high that head teachers can provide any fake report and he/she accepts without much scrutiny, and examples of the kind are many in the public offices where there is a lot of laxity by those meant to do the supervisory role".*

Politics was mentioned as one of the greatest drivers of corruption in the society and the county at large. From the FGD discussions participants observed that politicians are the most corrupt especially during the time of elections whereby they involve in vote buying, a practice that has been regarded now as a norm in the society, that during election seasons those contesting for specific positions sell their properties to get money for vote buying. The practice of vote buying drives the politicians already in offices to squander public funds such that the can raise funds to support themselves in maintaining their political offices. Participants still observed that most politicians who contest for these offices are selfish and greedy that fight hard to further their personal interests other than those of the communities they are representing.

The research findings especially from a number of office bearers observed that individuals in the society were corrupt because they were greedy. They asserted that they are some public servants who earn relatively good salaries but occasionally such people get involved in corruption practices, the reasons for this were related to greed and self–gratification at the expense of community members they are meant to serve. Some participants commenting on this kind of greed they referred to it as the *"poverty of the heart".* On the other hand, some participants in the study attributed the increasing corruption practices to the increasing poverty in the society. Individual who can find accessibility to public funds and/or opportunities use them to cover their poverty gaps without caring out others. Examples related to this articulation were that some local leaders give themselves operation wealth enterprise to themselves at the expense of the people they serve.

Oppression that is experienced at various levels in the society is said also to increase poverty in the society, examples were given such as bosses in public offices oppress their juniors denying them freedom of expression and decision making, once the junior get chances to be exposed to the positions of responsibility end up being corrupt as a means of covering up their long term oppression in junior offices.

Existing social networks among various informal and formal structures in the society were identified by majority of the participants in the FGDs a big driver of corruption in the society. Participants observed that members of the society are attached to a number of social networks that smother procedures that lead to corruption in the society. The existing social dynamics in the society fuel corruption practices from individual to individual when it comes to accessing public services. The research findings illustrate how informal social networks based on relationships of reciprocity seamlessly extend beyond the private realm, penetrating the public sphere. As a consequence, social networks can be associated with the incidence of a variety of corrupt behaviors.

 In fact, the findings from majority participants in FGDs emphasized how social obligations play a key role in framing the manners in which duty bearers, their families, associates and society at large understand the expected behaviors associated with holding a governmental position. In this light, public sector employment becomes a resource for immediate problem–solving for the people associated with the public servant, which in turn explains the prevalence of favoritism in the provision of public services among the community members in Rwenzori region in particular and Uganda in general. As it has been mentioned above, the degree of proximity to the service provider is a strong determinant of

the quality of treatment received. In the users' FGDs, participants considered a scenario in which a service provider is approached by a relative requesting a favor. Overwhelmingly, the conclusion was that the provider has no choice but to give the relative what he or she wants; it as an obligation. Even if it would be a request for a job and the relative had none of the necessary documents or qualifications to be eligible to apply for it, the consensus among the discussants was that the document would be issued simply out of the obligation to the relative without considering critically the requirements for the job. One participant from the FGD articulated on hoe family obligations override legal prescriptions indicating that the police officer will not bring the brother or sister to custody even when the law requires him or her to do it.

Focusing critically on the social networks, from the study also emerged the need to conceptualize the separation of family ties from the public services. It was observed that you find in some instances individual in public offices offer public services with the influence from their family influence. Public servant allows family ties to override the public duty causing damage in that specific offices. The practical irrelevance of the distinction between private obligation and official duty points to the social roots that account for the prevalence of practices such as nepotism and patrimonialism that have been a big driver of corruption in the Uganda and Rwenzori region where the study was conducted. Beyond the family, pattern emerges where people seek the assistance and solidarity of the social network for receiving services.

As one participant put it: ***"I will ask myself if I know an employee from the URA [Uganda Revenue Authority] or I ask my friend if he knows someone from URA to help me to get those documents."*** As was mentioned before, friends and acquaintances will tend to receive preferential treatment, although they may still be asked to pay a bribe.

The fact that service providers may also ask friends for bribes underscores the extent to which a bribe is not seen necessarily as an expression of abuse of power but rather as something entirely normal; a necessary fee for quicker service. This is important because the evidence from this study indicates that, while having a personal connection with a service provider opens the door to the possibility to get a favorable treatment, exchanging a bribe ultimately makes the transaction a fair one. This understanding about the fairness that underpins the social interaction means that words are sometimes not even needed to solicit the exchange. As one public servant elaborated:

"We are really facing a difficult time because when a person comes needing your services, explaining their distress, you help that person but you have to remember that you are not that well off, and you won't tell that person that you need something directly to provide your services, what happens is that you will help them and then they themselves will feel that they need to give you something for the services you provided."

While the statement above illustrates the reality on the side of some public servants; similar considerations are embraced by community members who will acknowledge that some public servants are poor and therefore will need to be given something in return to the service given.

4.6.1 Quantitative findings regarding the causes of corruption

From table 5 below, it was revealed that majority 25.8% of the respondents reported that people are involved in corruption cases due to need for money to make a living. This was closely followed by those who reported that people are involved in corruption cases due to having lower salaries compared to their daily expenses as reported by 23.0%. The low salaries are being experienced among both the government and private officials. These responses revealed that people especially at the local level get involved in corruption because of harsh economic conditions or poverty. This echoes well with qualitative findings where majority of the respondents reported poverty as one of the major causes of corruption. Other reasons for people involving in corruption cases are lack of ethics among the population 15.8% and ambition to become rich as quick as possible 13.9%.

Table 5: **Showing causes of corruption in the respondents' communities.**

What are the causes of corruption in your area?	Frequency	Percent
We need money to make a living	54	25.8
The salaries are lower than every day's needs	48	23.0
No ethics or moral	33	15.8
Ambition to become rich as quick as possible	29	13.9
Take the opportunity	15	7.2
Other (Specify)	13	6.2
No law	5	2.4
Long or unclear procedures of the service	5	2.4
Abuse or misuse of power	4	1.9
Refused to answer	3	1.4
Total	**209**	**100.0**

During the study, the researcher was interested in knowing the attitudes, values and lifestyles that promote corruption. From figure 22 below, it was revealed that majority 28.1% of the respondents reported that people who are involved in corruption cases have the I don't care attitude. This was followed by those who are involved in corruption cases because everyone does it as reported by 23.8% of the respondents. Other attitudes included selfishness among the people (19.4%), seeking for quick gains (11.3%) and being non patriotic (10.6%).

Figure 22: Showing attitudes of people who commit corruption

Note: n=209, no response = 49
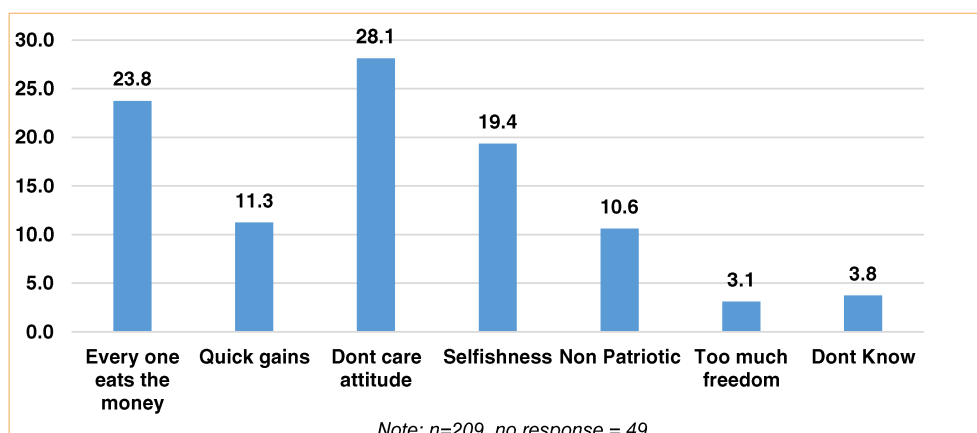
Source: Field data

4.6.2 Are most people corrupt due to economic hardships?

During the study, respondents were also asked to point out the kind of lifestyles that people who commit corruption have. Figure 23 below revealed that majority 40.1% of the people who commit corruption have a lifestyle of give and take. This meant that before some one offered you a service, you must first give something. This was followed by those with a lifestyle of becoming rich easily as reported by 19.0%. Surprisingly favoritism which many people think is key to causing corruption was reported by 5.4% of the respondents as shown in figure 23 below.

Figure 23: Lifestyles of people who commit corruption
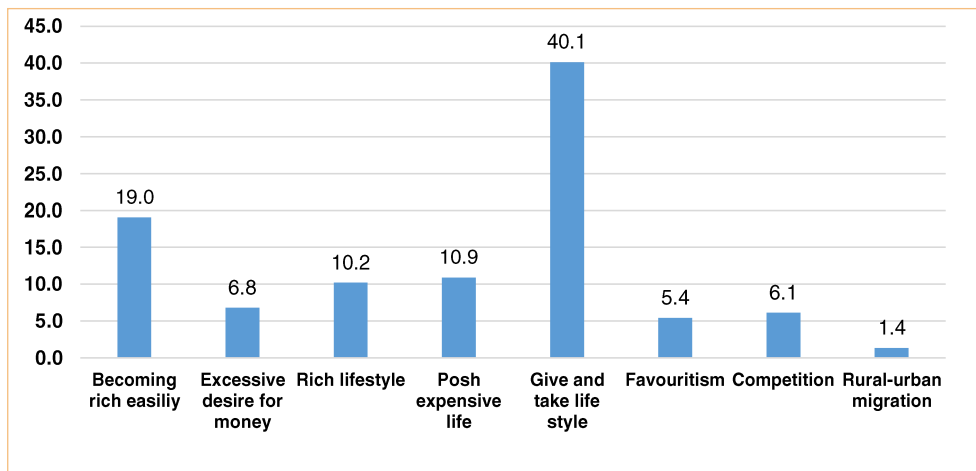
Source: Field data

4.6.3 Does society reward those who report corruption cases?

Respondents were also asked about the negative values ever noted in their community. Quantitative findings in Figure 24 below signpost indiscipline as the most negative value noted in the community as reported by 21.3% of the respondents. This was closely followed by dishonesty and hate as reported by 20.2% and 17.5% of the respondents respectively. These findings are congruent with findings from the interviewed respondents and responses from FGs where members noted that injustice, indiscipline and dishonesty are some of the negative values that promote corruption in our communities.

Figure 24: Showing negative values ever noted in the community
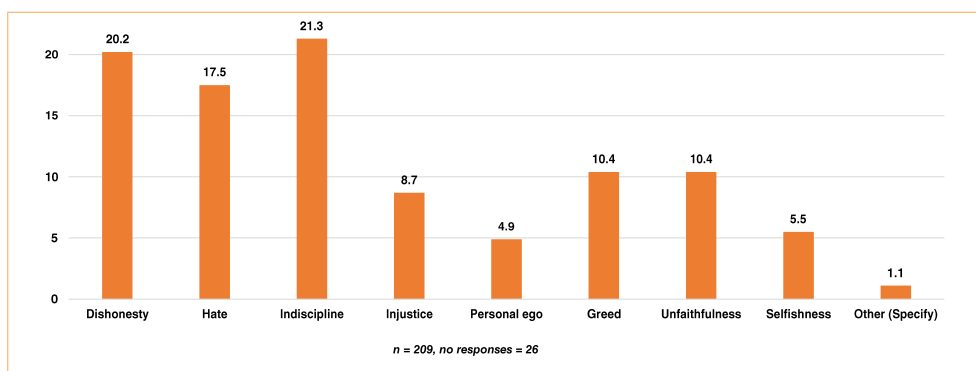
Source: Field data

4.6.4 There is no whistle blower protection.

Research has shown that people who are upright and cherish positive values such as honesty and transparency are always received with cold feelings in society whereas the dishonesty, non-transparent and swindlers are held with high esteem. Based on this background, we wanted to know if a similar situation exists in the Rwenzori region and thus respondents were asked to state how community members reward individuals who cherish positive values. As shown in Figure 25 below, more than half 77.2% of the respondents reported that such members are rewarded by praising them. It was also indicated that they are rewarded by giving them gifts as reported by 8.9% of the respondents. These responses indicated that positive values are highly cherished in society and people who cherish them are held with high esteem. However, some section of people reported that such people are just ignored, nobody cares about them.

Figure 25: **Showing how community members reward individuals who cherish positive values**
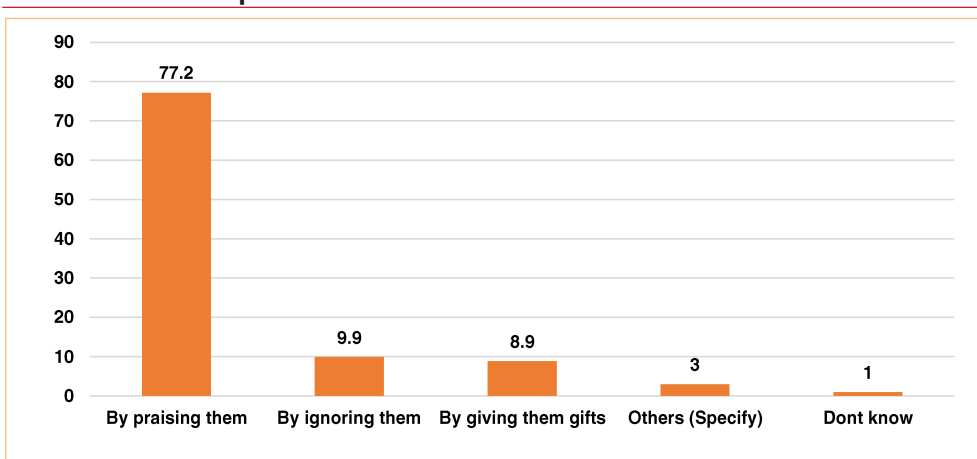
Source: Field data

4.6.5 There is no whistle blower protection

During this research, the researcher was also interested in finding out how individuals who cherish negative values are treated in their households. From figure 26 below, majority 34.4% of the respondents reported that people who cherish negative values are denied love by household members. It was also reported that also people who cherish negative values are rewarded by isolating them (27.6%), rebuking them (18.2%) and also physically beating them (10.9%). This indicates that negative values invite negative responses from the community.

Note; n = 209, no responses = 17
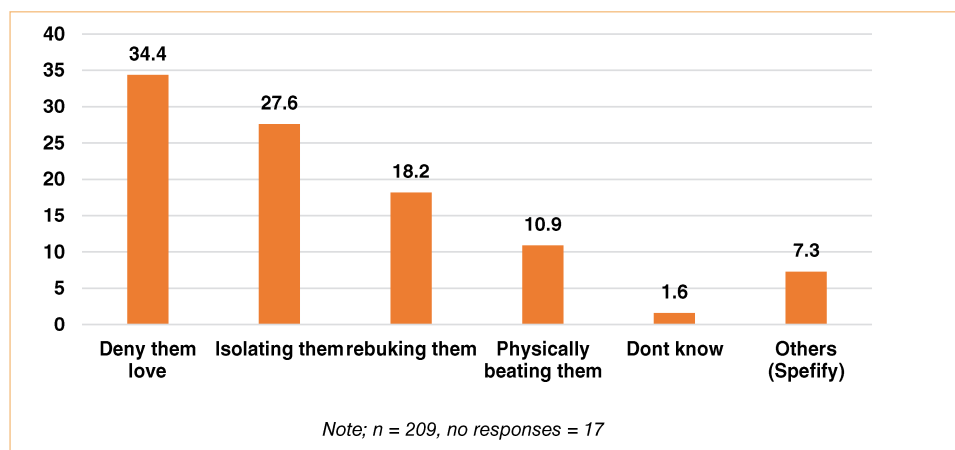
Source: Field data

4.6.6 Summary of Community people's opinions Regarding the Cause of Corruption

The summary in Table 6 below shows community people's opinions regarding the causes of corruption in the Rwenzori region. The causes are put in their specific categories and are well explained.

Table 6: Showing reactions of respondents if asked to give a bribe

How would you react if you were asked to give a bribe.	Frequency	Percent
I would give it	100	47.8
I would not give it	71	34.0
I would not give it	71	34.0
Dont know	38	18.2
Total	209	100.0

Source: Field data

5.0 SOCIETAL NORMS, VALUES, ATTITUDES AND LIFESTYLES THAT PROMOTE CORRUPTION

The study sought to find out the societal norms, values, and attitudes that promote corruption. The study was specifically focused on establishing the existing societal norms that the socially has socially accepted as good practices and yet they promote corruption in the society at various levels. To come out with relevant responses participants in the study were sampled ranging from household heads, office bearers, politicians, religious leaders, and media, among others to establish crosscutting norms, values, and attitudes that promoted corruption in the society. According to Sambaiga et al (2016), societal norms such status, respect, shame,

guilt, reputation, and others are socially reinforced through normative constraints that are critically important social variables in the deterring and/or fueling corrupt behaviors in the society. From the study, it was revealed that societal norms, values, and attitudes that promoted corruption were spreading through the informal and formal social networks of people. People at different levels of expositions demonstrated norms and values that were simultaneously related to their societal social settings that promoted corruption in the community.

From the FGDs, it was also realized the societal norms manifested in two dimensions that affect the patterns of behaviors in the society on the level of personal decision making to indulge in corruption among the citizens. The first dimension focuses on the social networks that lead many people into the corruption of a kind for purposes of the welfare of the entire social network; the second dimension focuses on the levels of individuals and networks involved corruption to reciprocate the favors and gifts received. At this level, the individual seeking the service will always be ready to receive it and the giver of the service will always be willing to give the service since they are motivated.

Crucially, the social norms are recognized as binding by most people in the society embracing them, not just because of a personal conviction that they are morally correct, imperatives, but also because the adherence to these social norms is socially enforced by means of rewards and punishments. It was also realized that rewards and punishments were crucial in the determination of norms and values in society. Participants in FGDs revealed that most people were corrupt because they saw nothing happening in terms of arresting corrupt officials in the public offices this prompted the individuals in the society. Incentives that are given in any form of corruption were also associated with the status, respect and the reputation, as well as shame and isolation of the individual accepting corruption. On the other hand, shame and isolation were highly recommended as means that are highly effective in enforcing social controls on the willingness of individuals in society to indulge in corruption practices.

It was also revealed from the study that, public servants who maintained ethics and observed working on principles and failed to favor relatives in service provision or rejected bribes and gifts stood on grounds of destroying their personal social standings, rather such individuals are shunned and isolated from their communities. Public servants with such personalities are regarded by the community as misusing their positions for personal gains in the view of the society. Such public servants are labeled as individuals who have forgotten their backgrounds, individuals with cold hearts, conservative and the ones who are not planning for themselves well. As one participant expressed this in the local language;

" Ogu tokumurabaho oti oti, tayanguhire, musaija agendera hakiragiro, obwaraguma ati office egi takwija kwihamu kantu (literally meaning that, That man is principled you cannot just bypass him like that, he is not easy, the man follows laws, rules and principles. If he is not careful he will gain nothing from that office)"

From the above assertion, it can be deduced that, the society has accepted such norms where public servants doing the right things are rather regarded as failures and those doing the wrong things instead are seen as doing the right things. Also, from the consensus by the participants in FGDs, it was revealed that such selfish behavior would in the end affect most trust–based relationships. Because of what is deemed a social behavior range from shaming, destroying personal reputation and social exclusion to even physical threats and bodily harm to the public service provider who does things in proper way. In one FGD, a participant revealed that;

"…such public servants are even isolated by their family and friends for refusing to accept bribes and gifts and to some extreme cases such individuals are threatened with death, an example, was given of principled traffic police officer who was occasionally threatened to be knocked with cars. On the other hand, those public servants who accept bribes and favors either from the family or the social groups, the society will love him/her and even recommend other people to them and because of this such public servants are respected and gain prestige in the society compared to the strict ones".

Generally, such behaviors in the society are promoting corruption to the highest levels since majority of the society has branded those public servants doing the right practices wrong and those doing the wrong practices right, by those norms increasing in the society, as corruption is being promoted from even family levels to other levels of the society.

Laziness was revealed from the study as a behavior that is promoting corruption in the society. It was learned that there are a number of people who are too lazy to work for themselves and their families requiring them to seek free things. An example was given by participants that today you find a number of students who dodge classes and later will seek to buy exams such that they can pass and continue with their studies. This, coupled with parental neglect, where parents have no time for their children to teach them good societal morals has made the situation worse. Because of this, children grow up without proper upbringing and lack the required morals and these are the people who end up in offices and to

such corruption is a normal thing. In the long run, the cycle of corruption continues in society. Laziness is also linked to alcoholism where all the time people are in bars and have no time to work, this surely leads to corruption. In some places here in our country people start drinking alcohol in bars as early as 7 am. This is ridiculous and such people cannot avoid being corrupt given an opportunity.

There was reported consensus from the respondents in the FGDs and interviews that corruption is increasing in the society due to moral decadence. People in society have lost moral fiber. People in the society today are always seeking to obtain wealth no matter what procedures used leading to some of them in swindling public funds. Participant revealed that today people have lacked, *"Baragira kiki ekaajaha?"* literally meaning that if I misbehave how other will people see me? People have lost moral conscience. That is why even money for the most disadvantaged members of our society, for example, the refugees, HIV/AIDS, and malaria patients has not been spared. Lack of moral conscience has led to a lack of complete role models at almost all levels in our society, even the young generation has no one to emulate. To make it worse those who try to be upright, are not respected by society. For example, holding a big office and you die poor, society will look at you as a failure in life, whereas the one who prospers through corruption is praised and looked at as a hero. Such norms have been accepted and adopted as the means to live a life which have rather promoted the vice of corruption in the society.

Lack of patriotism and empathy for most Ugandans was presented by most participants as the greatest norms and/practices that are promoting corruption in the society. The country is full of individuals who cherish personal interest at the expense of national interests. The government has tried to initiate patriotism training programs to the communities which have been also shunned all the time. In situations where individual are rather selfish, it is easy for them to be corrupt at all costs since they don't have anything to lose. Expensive lifestyles which force people to live beyond their means was highlighted as a big driver of corruption in the society. This is common especially among the newly employed young people, who at all costs want to be like their colleagues. When they feel that ends cannot meet, then they resort to corruption, selling the services that are in the actual sense free.

Greed and ungratefulness of the people, most Ugandans have the unquenched desire to acquire more and more wealth. They cannot get satisfied with what they have, this explains the reason why most of the corruption cases involve people who are already billionaires. *"Obutamaarwa bwingi mwihanga"* literally meaning that we have high levels of unsatisfaction in the country. Instead of people being grateful to the almighty for the provision, they are stealing from the

poor of the poorest in our communities. Apart from some leaders being greedy, most leaders exhibit self–ego where the majority want to be on top that they can swindle whatever amount of money they come across to satisfy their own selfish interests. That is why the gap between the rich and the poor is ever widening. It is not known whether that gap will ever be bridged in a society where everyone cares for his or her own stomach. For example, members of parliament are ever agitating for their salary increment.

Un–reasonable bureaucracy in most government institutions is a cause of corruption, the prolonged procedures before a service is given tempts services users to quicken the process normally called *"oiling the system".* By paying the service provider the system chain is softened and the service easily acquired. It was revealed that most public servants will always create unnecessary delays while offering the service because the delays the service user will opt to pay some money and/or give some gifts to the service givers such that the service can be delivered to them in time. When the situation is perceived in such a manner then one wonders whether the quality of service will be considered with such great compromise. This is rather debilitating service provision and promoting corruption in the society.

Biting levels of poverty for most Ugandans, nowadays due to high standards of living even if you are employed it is as if you are not. Everything is expensive in Uganda. In order to make ends meet, if one has an opportunity of swindling money or using his/her office to gain something, will not hesitate to do it.

The habit of comparing oneself with others. Some Ugandans have a habit of unhealthy competition, they desire to be like others without knowing what others did to get to where they are. We cannot be the same, people should learn to be happy and satisfied with the self. *"Engeso ya nanka atankira isire ensi"* literary meaning that they should not be greater than me is a vice that has accelerated corruption. The habit of being impatient and living luxurious lifestyles, people are not living within their means and this conduct forces them into corrupt tendencies.

Excessive love for the power and authority forces people especially leaders at different levels but especially politicians to bribe the electorate to keep them in power positions even when their performance is questioned. One participant stated; if you want to understand this watch what happens during election time. You will see politicians going around splashing people with money. In Uganda, politicians buy their way into office. As a result, they operate in the vicious cycle

of corrupt practices and/or tendencies that even young leaders adopt when they assume some offices making it a pathetic situation. It was also revealed that there a general feeling that individuals feared to report corruption cases, people in this region have a habit of **"kitandugaho"** meaning that it shouldn't be me to reveal. Because of this many people watch as corruption is eating up their societies. Such tendencies where individuals are not willing to report corruption cases, then they promote a lack of transparency since no one will be willing to report. By implication, once leaders and public servants learn about the unwillingness of the citizens to demand accountability then this norm opens doors for more corruption.

5.1 Quantitative findings on Attitudes, Values and Lifestyles that promote corruption in our communities

Respondents were also asked to state the positive values that promote wellbeing at household level, such values also mitigate corruption not only at household level but at community level too. Quantitative findings in Figure 27 revealed that majority 29.4% of the respondents reported that honesty is one of the positive values that mitigate corruption, and this also promotes wellbeing at household level. This was followed by love reported by 22.9% of the respondents. These responses indicate that love and honesty are core values as regards promotion of wellbeing at household level. This quantitative finding resonates well with qualitative data where it was indicated that honesty and love are values that mitigate corruption in society.

Figure 27: Showing positive values that mitigate corruption and promote wellbeing at household level

Note; n = 209, no responses = 8
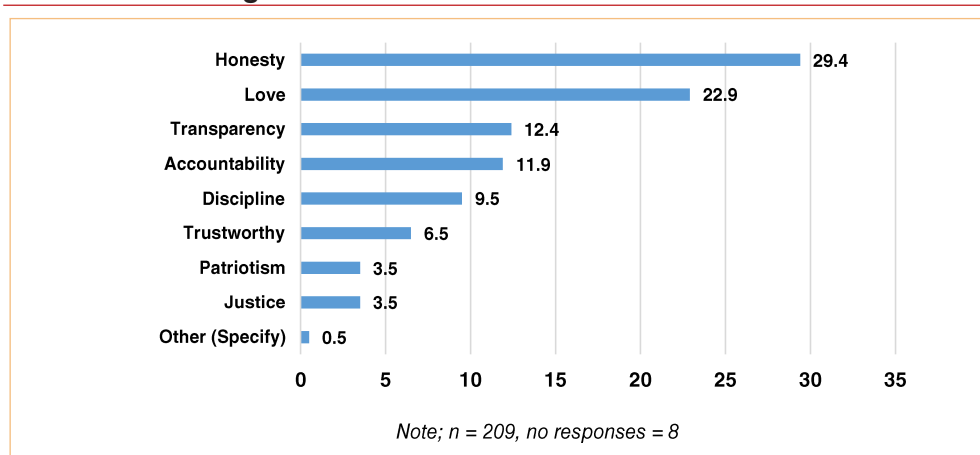
Source: Field data

5.2 Lifestyles of people who commit corruption

Respondents were asked to mention the positive values that encourage welfare of the community. Quantitative findings show that just like at household level (see Figure 28), Honesty with (21.1%) and love with (18.1%) emerged as the preferred values. However, accountability was highly preferred with (24.6%). These results point to the fact that accountability is key to fighting corruption in our communities. This has been an outcry for most community people where by the taxpayers' money is not properly accounted for.

Figure 28: Showing positive values that promote wellbeing at community level

Note; n = 209, no responses = 8
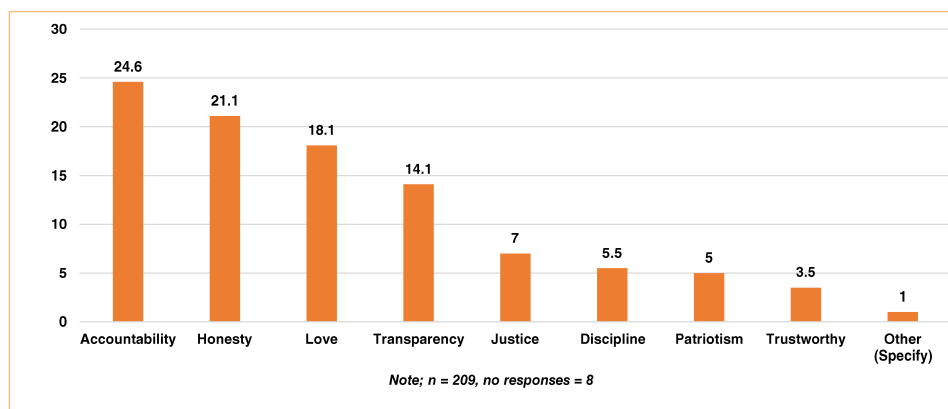
Source: Field data

5.3 Negative values ever noted in the community

Respondents were also asked about the negative values ever noted in their community. Quantitative findings in Figure 29 signpost hate with (26.3%) as one of the negative values noted in society. Dishonesty also scored high with (19.6%). Indiscipline and injustice tied with (15.3%). These findings are congruent with findings from the interviewed respondents and responses from FGs where members noted that injustice, indiscipline and dishonesty are some of the negative values that promote corruption in our communities.
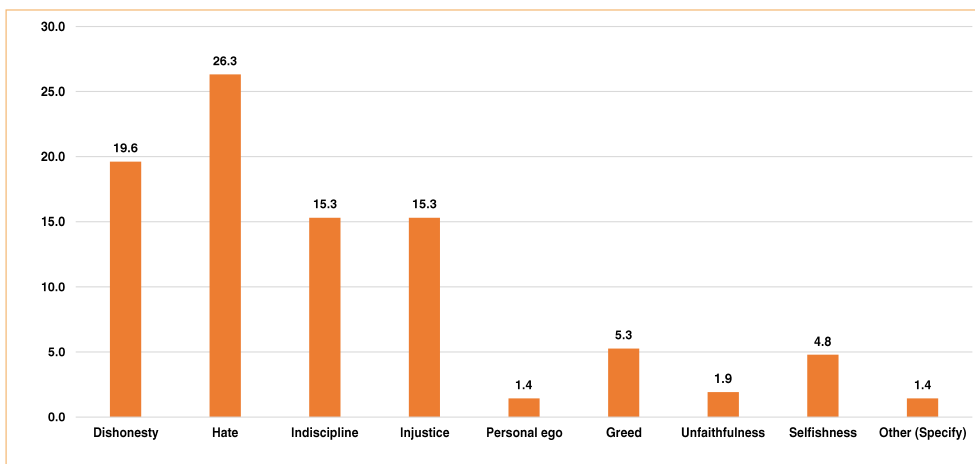
Source: Field data

5.4 Implications of Negative values at household level.

During the study, respondents were asked the implications of the negative values at household level and table 7 below revealed that more than half (55.3%) of the respondents indicated that negative values lead to family breakages and 17% of the respondents showed that negative values result into disunity among household members. About 9.4% of the respondents reported that negative values also lead to violence in households. According to these responses negative values lead to many other negative implications including the increase of corruption and thus there is need to avoid such values for the better of the community.

Table 7: Showing implications of the negative values at household level.

Implications of the negative values at household level	Frequency	Percent
Family breakages	88	55.3
Disrespect	14	8.8
Disunity	27	17
Violence	15	9.4
Poverty	7	4.4
False accusation	3	1.9
Lack of accountability	5	3.2
Total	159	100
n = 209, no responses = 50		

Figure 30 Below shows the responses of interviews regarding the implications of negative values. Almost half (42%) of the interviewed respondents indicated that

negative values lead to family breakages and (21%) showed that negative values result into disunity. According to these responses negative values lead to many other negative implications including the increase of corruption and thus there is need to avoid such values for the better of the community.

Figure 30: Implications of Negative values
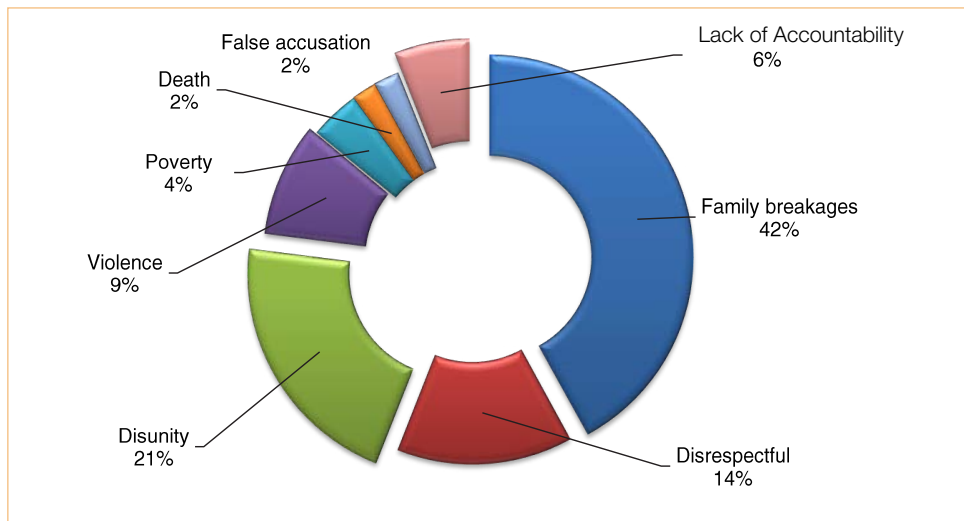
Source: Field data

5.5 How community members reward individuals who cherish positive values

Research has shown that people who are upright and cherish positive values such as honesty and transparency are always received with cold feelings in society whereas the dishonesty, non–transparent and swindlers are held with high esteem. Based on this background, we wanted to know if a similar situation exists in the Rwenzori region and thus respondents were asked to state how community members reward individuals who cherish positive values. As shown in Figure 31 more than half (66%) of the contacted respondents indicated that such members are rewarded by praising them. It was also indicated that they are rewarded by giving them gifts (19.1%). These responses indicate that positive values are highly cherished in society and people who cherish them are held with high esteem. However, some section of people indicated that such people are just ignored, nobody cares about them.

Figure 31: How community members reward individuals who cherish values
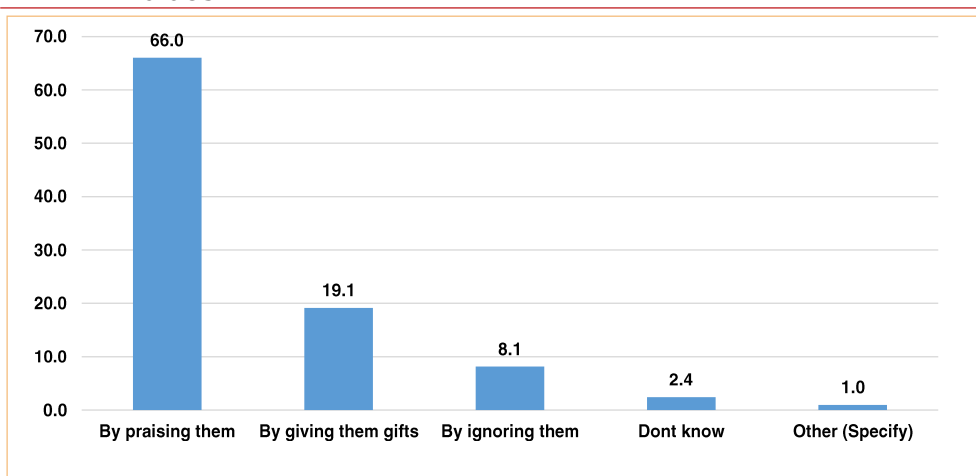
Source: Field data

5.6 How households punish individuals who cherish negative values

In this research, we also wished to find out how individuals who cherish negative values are treated in their communities. According to the responses in Figure 31, people who cherish negative values are denied love (34%) and others are isolated (28%) while others are rebuked (18%). It was also indicated that some members are physically beaten by community members and this is shown by (11%). This indicates that negative values invite negative responses from the community.

Figure 32: How households punish individuals who cherish negative values
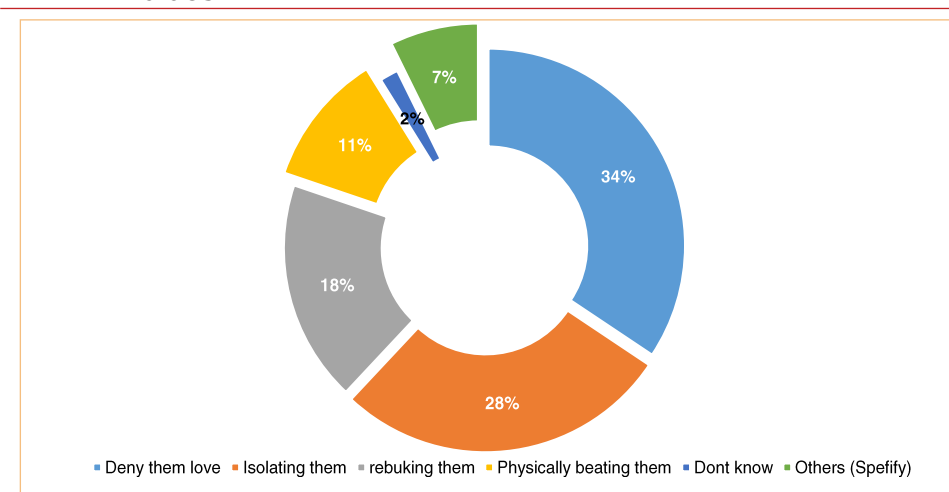
Source: Field data

6.0 BRIBING AND GIFT GIVING AS NORMS THAT PROMOTE CORRUPTION IN THE SOCIETY

The study sought to find out more on societal norms, values, and attitudes and practices that are promoting corruption in the society. Bribes and gift giving were identified as common norms that are promoting corruption in the society. Some scholars such as, Gephart et al, (2009) asserts that people have been enculturated into different worldviews (or mental models) about the role of the individual in the community and the relationship to the legitimate authority figures. Such understanding has promoted individual freedom that even lead society members to indulge in deterring behaviors in the society. From the study, participants were able to link social norms and cultural values in some way some community values would promote corruption, values such as hospitality, gratitude, condolence, congratulations, these values if not carefully looked at can be used to camouflage in breeding corrupt intentions and behaviors in the society especially gift giving.

From the study especially FGDs and interviews, responses indicate that participants were able to strike the difference between corruption and bribing so as to articulate well the norms that are promoting corruption in the society. The views of the participants looked at bribing as away or a component of corruption that is most common in public offices and regarded as a prodigious norm, though it is normally given in private environments. With such articulation it was clear that participants in the study understood the difference between corruptions and bribing related to gift giving as ways that the society has accepted to promote corruption.

Furthermore, respondents displayed a rather cultured understanding about the negative impacts of corrupt practices on social welfare. For instance, one participant said: ***"if you give somebody money in form of a bribe it is the same as corruption because you want to buy somebody's dignity. You are causing this person to make things easy but it affects the community."*** Others in the personal interviews made some straight forward statements such as:

> *"How does poverty come about? So many families are poor because of the bribes, maybe the kid had done well in the exams to go to school but was not able to because this kids' position was taken by another kid [who paid a bribe]." This may appear strange, but it is true.*

Participants of the FGDs in order to remain focused on the subject were asked to differentiate between a gift and a bribe. A gift is understood to be "given out of goodness"; it is given openly after the service has been provided out of appreciation and without an explicit agreement. A bribe on the other hand, is either given unwillingly or comes along with an expectation of a favor or a service

and has therefore an ulterior motive. Therefore, a bribe is used instrumentally, for example to buy one's right to a service that formally has been rejected, while a gift is not. It was intentional to establish the differences between bribing and gift giving for in some cases their intentions are interchanged where by it was revealed by the participants some people offer brides in form of gifts. However, it was still clear that both norms and/or values can be used interchangeably in promoting corruption in the society.

As regards duty bearers who are service providers agreed that they are used to receiving gifts from service users in form of material goods, air time and money that is normally given through mobile money and mobile banking. Such gifts normally put service providers in a critical condition and on pressure to deliver the service after receiving a gift from them. In most cases, after the service providers have taken the gift from the client, they always feel indebted to them, something that compromises the quality of the service being given to the client. In an interview with a senior duty bearer, it was revealed that:

> *"Sometimes we receive gifts that are anonymous at some later time to be reminded by a stranger about the gift who continue to state their case of presence in your office, in such a situation you find that your hands are tied that you cannot deny such an individual the service even though there some other people on the waiting list ….. you find that the gift has granted the client preferential treatment.   In another case, I sent someone for a workshop. There was only one position and I selected him specifically because he had never attended any workshop. However, he thought that because I gave him that opportunity he should return the favor and so he came with a present. I told him he shouldn't worry, that was an opportunity [he was entitled to] but he then insisted and sent me two hundred thousand shillings (200,000=) through mobile money, because of my good intentions I sent the money back to him. Even when the money was sent back but the gentleman remained indebted to me that he began sneaking some material gifts in my home with his names inscribed on them when they was no one in the house".*

This story holds important lessons about the manner in which the deeply entrenched logic of reciprocity obscures the meaning of entitlements as an inherent right, one that does not require the return of anything but is rather dependent on meeting certain, legally defined criteria. The meaning of a gift is therefore inherently ambivalent in practice and as a result the distinction between a bribe and a gift

becomes blurred and yet the two have been adopted as norms and/or values, practices that are promoting corruption in the society.

Gifting and/or bribing become contentious in most FGDs as a norm that is promoting corruption from the family. It was revealed that the behavior, culture of gift giving is deeply rooted in the lives of many communities. Several participants asserted that:

> *"It is easy to find yourself promising to give a certain gift to a child before sending them for something, this is the beginning of corruption. Another woman revealed that at some time she demanded gifts from her husband such that he could enjoy his conjugal rights. On the same note another woman demanded a kilogram of pork such that she could extend conjugal rights to her husband".*

The above articulation presents cases that reveal the deep rootedness of corruption in the society especially the depiction of those norms, values, and practices at the family level. Critically, such behaviors in the society require great interventions in dealing with corruption in the society. From another look, it is easy to connect corruption only with service providers forgetting other social settings where norms and values that promote corruption breed from. Corruption is deeply entranced in the cultures of the peoples in Uganda.

7.0   SOCIETAL NORMS, VALUES, ATTITUDES AND LIFESTYLES THAT MITIGATE CORRUPTION

In normal circumstances, individuals make choices and decisions that will generate the next course of action in their lives. Choices may also be made on the basis of default options, which comprise the modal patterns of behavior prevailing in any given social context an individual operates in at a given point in time. Another key behavioral principle postulates that individuals' decision–making is influenced by the mental models prevailing in their culture (World Bank 2015).

Mental models refer to categories and stereotypes that people use to make sense of the world and to shape their views. Mental models are also relevant to the extent that they shape the roles of different societal actors on the basis of what those actors believe is expected of them. Shared images and ideas about social roles – including what constitutes being a 'good' politician, service provider and public official – determine how people come to expect themselves and others to behave in different situations (Kotzian, 2011). These collective images legitimize behaviors and attitudes that may have no correlation to formal roles and legal

mandates, thus opening the way for illicit actions to be tacitly tolerated and even generally accepted by majority of the population.

This study among others intended to find out the existing societal norms, values and attitudes that mitigate corruption. The following norms, values and attitudes were suggested by respondents as the ones that can mitigate corruption in our society:

Proper accountability not only in terms of money but also in actions, duties and responsibility assigned to any official. It should be authentic accountability and not faking around. This can indeed mitigate this monster called corruption

Transparency is the act of doing everything in the open. Officials at all levels of government and those outside government should do everything in the open. For example, if it is a community project, the beneficiaries who are the community members should know how much has been allocated to the project, who the contractors are and how much will they be paid and what is the quality of work expected. In this regard the community members should also be informed of their roles.

Hardworking is needed if the vice of corruption is to be checked. People should not settle down for a minimum, they should work hard to sustain themselves and their families. Leaders at all levels should encourage their people especially the youths to desist from free things and work for themselves.

An official from the department of education in Kasese district pointed out that corruption is highly entrenched in our society and thus it needs concerted effort, his opinion on this is shown below: ***Teamwork is needed to fight corruption, teamwork in the sense that the community members become "guardian angels" of each other.*** Every member of the community should be concerned not only to guard and watch but also report all corrupt tendencies to the concerned authorities without fear or favor.

In most of the sub–counties visited, almost all respondents indicated that honesty is the only sure way to either reduce or completely keep corruption out of Uganda. One respondent from Kibiito Town council, had this to say:

> *"Honesty among people can help reduce corruption. This is needed right away from the smallest unit of society; the home and it should spring upward up to the highest office in the land. With honesty, corruption cases will not be concealed, with honesty courts of law will show justice, with honesty the police and all other institutions of government will desist from all corrupt tendencies."*

Regarding norms, values and attitudes that mitigate corruption one respondent had this to say:

"… one of the greatest tools to fight corruption is respect for self and respect for others. There is no doubt about this, if I respect my self and respect others, I cannot for heaven's sake swindle money that is meant for community development. I cannot take what does not belong to me, no that is out…"

One respondent from Kyarusozi Sub–county in Kyenjojo district observed that:

"People need to be satisfied or contented with what they have, there is need to know that human needs cannot be satisfied; Man is born crying, lives grumbling and dies complaining; this is the fact of life. We need to learn to appreciate and be satisfied with what we have. This is a sure way to reduce corruption."

When asked about what norms, values and attitudes that mitigate corruption, one respondent from Bugaaki sub–county in Kyenjojo District had this to say:

"There is need to have deep faith in God, people involved in corruption are the cases that have either given up on issues of God or are in churches just for pretense. How can one swindle money meant for refugees, the sick and other disadvantaged members of society and then claim to be a God–fearing person? Religious leaders should intensify their preaching against corruption."

Some leaders in Nombe sub–county in Ntoroko district mentioned that:

"There is need to avoid and completely disassociate oneself from bad–peer groups, these are the groups that tempt people to start making comparisons with others, a habit that breeds corruption tendencies. It is unfortunate we are born originals but many of us will die photocopies. There is need especially the youths to avoid such temptations".

At Hapuyo Sub–county in Kyegegwa district, the interviewed religious leader had this to say about norms, values and attitudes that can help mitigate corruption:

> *"There is need for fairness in our operations if we are to fight or completely eliminate corruption from our communities. Everyone should be treated with fairness and dignity. If you appreciate fairness, then you will not ask for money from an applicant looking for a job"*

Although they say that integrity is a personal choice, the perspectives of the community people indicate that, cultivation of integrity especially among the young generation of our time is a sure way to reduce corruption. This echoes very well with the thinking of one respondent from Busiriba sub–county in Kamwenge district, who insinuated that:

> *"Integrity should be built right from home, children should not only grow up with an idea of what we mean by integrity but should be persons of integrity themselves. They should be seen to be persons with strong ethical and moral principles and this should be the principle role of parents, guardians and other care takers"*

7.1 Positive Values that mitigate corruption and promote wellbeing at household level

Respondents were also asked to state the positive values that promote wellbeing at house hold level, such values also mitigate corruption not only at household level but at community level too. Quantitative findings in Figure 33 show honesty with a high score of (28.2%). This was followed by love with (22.0%). These responses indicate that love and honesty are core values as regards promotion of wellbeing at household level. This quantitative finding resonates well with qualitative data where it was indicated that honesty and love are values that mitigate corruption in society.
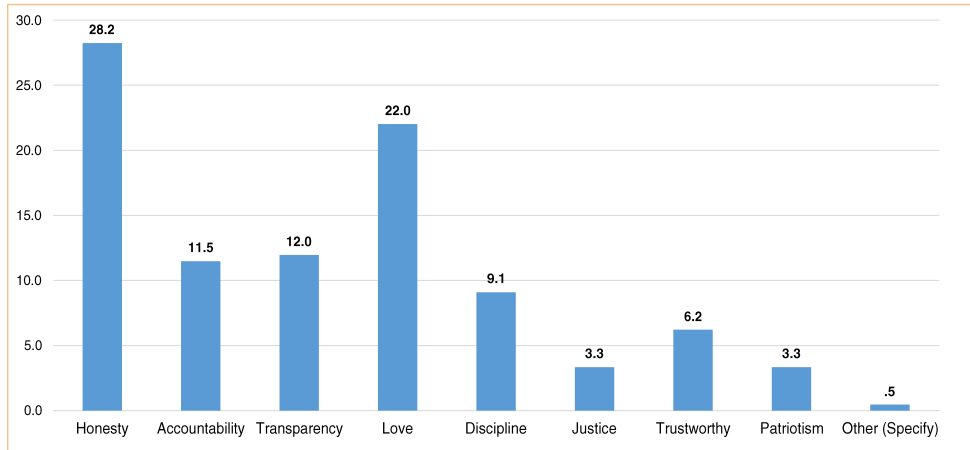
Source: Field data

7.2 Positive Values that promote wellbeing of community

Respondents were asked to mention the positive values that encourage welfare of the community. Quantitative findings show that just like at household level (see Figure 29), Honesty with (20.1%) and love with (17.2%) emerged as the preferred values. However, accountability was highly preferred with (23.4%). These results point to the fact that accountability is key to fighting corruption in our communities. This has been an outcry for most community people where by the taxpayers' money is not properly accounted for.

Figure 34: Positive values that promote wellbeing of community
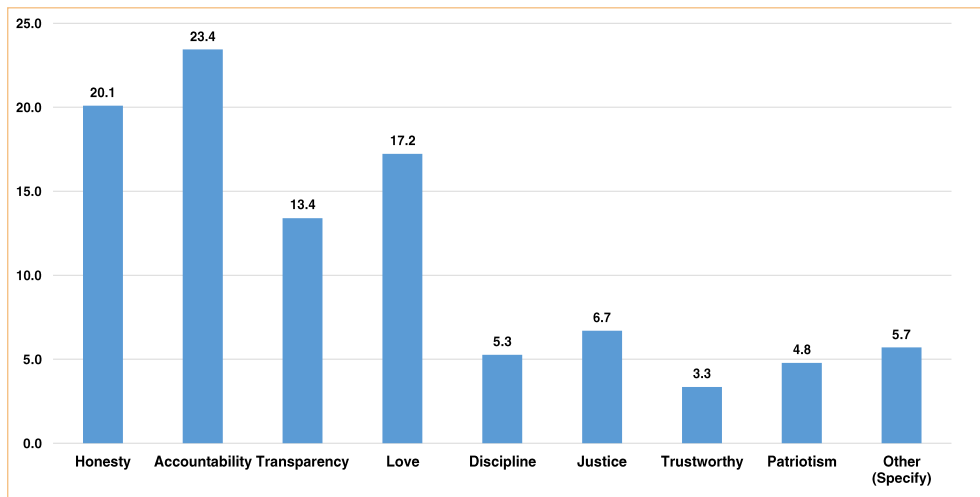
Source: Field data

7.3 What can be done to reduce corruption?

Respondents were asked to state what they think can be done to reduce corruption. Out of the total respondents, (21.5%) showed that there is need to abstain from paying bribes for public services and the others stated that there is need to report corruption cases in the press and report the behavior of corrupt officials to concerned authorities as evidenced by (16.3%) and 14.8%) respectively.

Figure 35: What can be done to reduce corruption?
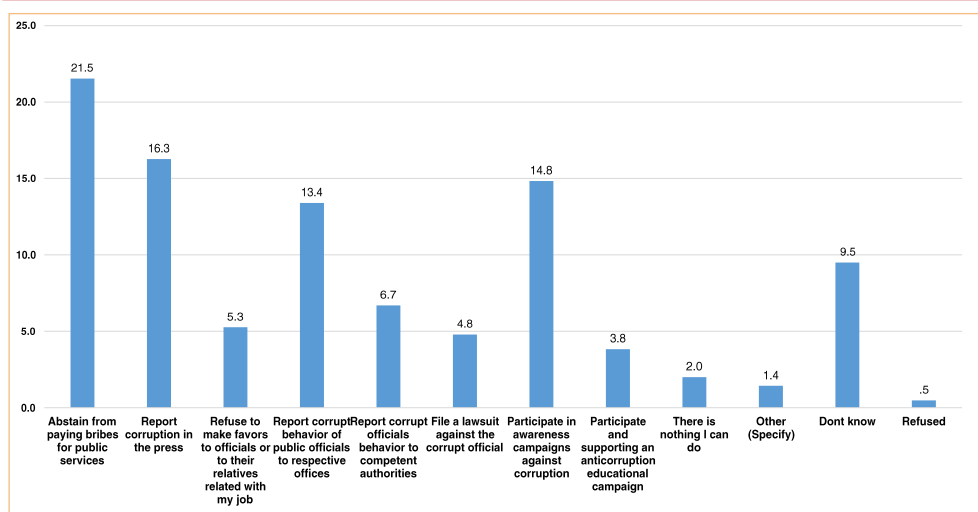
Source: Field data

8.0 WAYS THROUGH WHICH THE SOCIETY CAN NURTURE VALUES AND NORMS THAT CAN ENHANCE THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

The under listed are the views of respondents from the Rwenzori region regarding the various ways through which we can nurture values, norms and attitudes that can enhance the fight against corruption:

The National development curriculum centre should consider integrating corruption studies into the curriculum of schools starting from the primary and secondary sub–sectors. This is beginning the anti–corruption campaign with untainted minds. One respondent in Hapuyo Sub–county in Kyegeggwa district intimated that:

> *"There is need to include corruption as a subject in the curricula of primary and secondary sub–sectors. Corruption can be included in religious studies and Cristian Religious Education as one of the themes. This will help learners to grow up not only knowing the dangers of corruption but to be agents in its fight."*

There should be anti–corruption campaigns in all places of worship. The religious leaders should include in their programmes corruption campaigns. Places of worship are places where you can easily pass on your message to a wider cross section of people. This campaign can be done without spending even a single coin. Churches should refuse gifts and offerings from church members who have been involved in corruption. Government should institute strict anti–corruption rules and regulations, and these should be applied to all corrupt officials without exception. Such rules should include but not limited to corruption culprits being forced to refund the swindled money and confiscating and selling off all their wealth in case they fail to refund the money. One respondent agreed with this and thus she added:

> *"If we want to breed values and norms that can fight corruption, then there is need for stringent sanctions for the corruption culprits including but not limited to publicizing their names in the media, public execution, and dismissal from jobs. Such sanctions act as deterrent measures for impending corruption."*

Government should scale up salaries of all workers to assist them avoid temptations of corruption. The money saved from a corrupt free country can indeed help government meet expenses resulting from increased salaries. Government should also avoid salary delays for civil servants and other government officials. Some officials are forced by conditions to be corrupt, it is not their own will. How can you sleep on un empty stomach when you have the chance of taking corruption money?

Since most people especially those at the grassroots level fall into corruption traps because they don't know their rights and entitlements, the constitution of the republic of Uganda which spells out all these rights should be translated into the local languages and copies should be distributed up to village level. Citizens should read it and know their rights. For example, police bond is free, but many local people pay for it.

Sensitization of community people about corruption at the grassroots level, this can be done in in a variety of ways, for example through music, dance and drama. Household heads should also create awareness about corruption through storytelling to the children concerning rightful values, trustworthiness, uprightness and other values and norms that can help fight corruption. We need to focus on the young generation if we are to change society. One respondent quoted the Book of Lamentation 5:7:

"Our ancestors sinned and no longer exist, yet we continue to bear the consequences of their sin. This is a curse that has been following us for generations, we can save the future generations by inculcating rightful values into the young "Train the child in the ways of God, even when the child grows will not leave those ways" We need to show them that any form of corruption is sin before God. They must grow knowing that corruption is bad. You know 'akati bakagema kakyali kato', literally that the tree is bent while young, when it is old it will break".

The community should be involved during the declaration of accumulated wealth by private and government workers, so the community should be there not only as witnesses but also confirm what has been declared. The community can know whether what has been declared is the actual or under declaration. The declaration should not be only certain categories of public servants to declare their income, assets and liabilities but all citizens in high ranking positions both private and public. This practice is properly done, it will contribute enormously in the fight against corruption in public offices. In support of this one respondent stated that:

"Declaration of income should start right away from our homes. Husbands and wives should declare their incomes. It is a shame in certain homes spouses under declare their incomes– If we have failed to give proper accountability in our homes, how can we account for public funds? Let us start from our homes and this gives a good example to our children"

A culture of accountability and openness should be instilled into the population starting with our homes. In a home everyone should be accountable not only for the money received but even for the day today actions. This can be done by having family meetings with children in which the dangers of corruption are discussed and for the community there should be regular refresher courses and sensitization workshops addressing issues of corruption. This spreads awareness among community people. People who fail to account should face the wrath of the law.

The creation of voluntary corruption committees at village, parish and sub–county levels for community advocacy campaigns. These committees can monitor government programmes and report any fake work to relevant authorities. These committees can also act as whistle blowers and community people who cannot access higher offices can run to these committees. Such committees during village meetings can extend their services to families to help inculcate rightful

values and norms that can help reduce corruption into the children. For wide and quick circulation of corruption information government and CSOs should buy radio airtime for these committees. Local voices can be respected that foreign ones.

Good examples from parents and leaders at all levels. Children cannot learn good values, norms and practices if they have no one to emulate. That is why Chinua Achebe said that "when the mother cow is chewing grass, its young ones watch its mouth" young children learn from elders. Proper parenting means living by example, actions speaker louder than words. Good values, norms and practices can be nurtured through actions and not words.

There is need to reward corrupt free individuals in our society and at places of work. For example, politicians and ministers are the icon of integrity and who are found upright at the end of their term of office and have not been involved in corruption scandals should have public recognition by awarding them medals or certificates of recognition.

8.1 How good and bad behaviors are rewarded in society

Respondents were asked to indicate how good and bad behaviors are rewarded in society and the under listed are their responses: Society appreciates people with good behavior when they are dead. When such people die, it is when the society enumerates all their good actions. Our society rarely appreciates a living person. ***"Basiima ogenze"*** [literally meaning that, they appreciate and praise you when you are dead]. However, when such people are still alive, the community puts trust in them. One respondent from Busiriba Subcounty in Kamwenge district indicated that:

> *"If you are good and successful, society looks at you as a hero,*
> *for example Mr. Mutabazi, the Managing Director of Springs*
> *Water, we see him as a blessed man and we love him. He has*
> *helped many people in our community".*

People with bad behaviors are feared in our society, it is only a few and especially the drunkards who come out to openly condemn them. In some communities such people are never respected, they are a laughing stalk. Such people's life profiles are negatively affected. Surprisingly in some places good people in our society are hated and are referred to as pretenders and useless people. However, the few who are also good praise such people of good will but these are just a handful.

In political circles if you are a person with bad behavior, they will wait for you and when time comes they will vote you out of office. For civil servants the community requests the office of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) to transfer such people. However, this is also not good, because it is transferring a problem from one place to the other.

Often people with good conduct receive no physical rewards but a lot of appreciation is accorded to them. If they are politicians, the reward is to re–elect them into offices. For civil servants if transferred, the community will even write to the CAO to reconsider the transfer.

Nevertheless, it is sad to note that good people in our society are over loaded with duties. Because people have trust in them, everything that comes up is loaded unto them. Sometimes it ends up becoming a burden.

In some societies, if you are good and you tell the truth, society will always hate you. *"Owamazima bamuhiganiza kandi bamuharana"* meaning that a truthful person is de campaigned. However, many times the corrupt are rewarded and such people are the ones needed in some offices. People tend to associate more with the corrupt than the trustworthy. A respondent in support of this noted:

> *"If you are not corrupt, you don't give or receive bribes, you cannot work here even for a year. People will refuse you, will accuse you of all sorts of things. They will do all within their powers to make you fail. Indeed, they often succeed. And in a home an upright man who gives accountability and is honest, normally people will say; 'ogu omukazi akamuroga' meaning that he was bewitched by the wife."*

People with bad behavior are not respected in some places and such people are always shut down even in meetings. They can never be accepted to talk in a meeting. They will tell them, *"Naiwe nobazaaki"* meaning that, what do you have to say? Shut up…

In our society people who have amassed a lot of wealth are highly respected irrespective of how they acquired that wealth and someone who is genuine and not corrupt is taken as a fool. For example, if you are involved in a certain project and you remain upright don't steal anything from there. You will hear people say, 'Caali nanka ogu mu project ataihemu kantu, maawe!!!' it is like a way of mocking you for having not earned or accumulated wealth from the project.

At the level of government, bad behavior like corruption is punished though sometimes it is selectively done. Some civil servants have been dismissed and others demoted due to involvement in corruption cases and those of good conduct have been considered for promotion to bigger offices.

9.0 OTHER OBSERVATIONS OR SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THIS TOPIC

At the end of every interview and focus group discussions, we asked the respondents to state any suggestions or recommendations they had regarding the research topic and the following is what they stated:

Corruption is highly entrenched into our society, it is part of us and some people say that corruption is part of us. People think that is the way to go, some people give corruption even before the duty bearers ask for it. One respondent from Bundibugyo town council had this to say on corruption:

> *"Corruption is two–sided, it has the good side and a bad one, if you urgently need something from most offices here in Uganda, even if in the normal procedure it takes a week you can get it in one day if you 'oil the system'. Corruption nowadays is like a normal thing, you will hear an old man or woman in office asking; **'Mwaana wange hati nkolenta'?** meaning, my son/daughter what can I do in the circumstances? Literary meaning how much can he/she pay to quickly receive a service".*

When you go into an office in need of any service and you hear one say; 'this is Uganda', then you know corruption is at play; This attitude of 'this is Uganda' is on the increase and it is eating up a few morally upright citizens. Sometimes when you are not corrupt you find yourself an odd man out, you look funny, it is as if you are from another planet. A respondent on the same issue observes:

> *"Our people have been conditioned to an extent of accepting and embracing corruption! There are few individuals still left that have the moral fabric and sense to notice and discard the evils of corruption... no wonder some argue that corruption is a necessary evil. It is a necessary evil for those who thrive from it".*

There is need for government, NGOs and CSOs to do a lot of sensitization to change the mindset of community people. People need to know that even without paying money in the form of bribes, they have a right to be served. The mindset should be changed because sometimes it is those who need to be served who propose bribes to the duty bearers. Together we can fight corruption, we need teamwork, and everybody should know the bad sides of corruption. There is

invisible corruption in our society today where there is no exchange of money for physical things or services, this is called bribe or corruption of the mind. This type of corruption is dangerous for it eats up the mind. It is not easy to fight, fighting it you need to change the mind set of involved parties which is not an easy job but doable.

Although institutional frameworks to fight corruption have been established by the NRM regime, there seems to be insufficient political will to completely kick corruption out of Uganda. This is demonstrated by the way corruption culprits especially those around political circles are handled. They are handled with soft gloves after swindling billions and billions of tax payers' money, whereas the low cadres who get involved in petty corruption cases are harshly handled. President Museveni's declaration of Zero tolerance to corruption in 2006 seems to be mere rhetoric. There is nothing serious that has been done that demonstrates zero tolerance. There is need to handle all corruption cases equally irrespective of status and political affiliation.

There is need for team work or collective responsibility when it comes to fighting corruption, if the public does not cooperate and report corruption cases to responsible institutions, nothing much will be done to end corruption in Uganda. In addition, citizens should be bold enough to ask for accountability from duty bearers. The spirit of 'kwetinirra' or self–pity should stop. In support of this, one respondent who is also a political leader in Bundibugyo town council pointed out that:

> *"Fighting corruption is not a one man's activity, it needs concerted effort. Community people need to come out and condemn shoddy works, report corrupt officials, desist from giving corruption to duty bearers. We should work together as a team to end this monster that is proving to be endemic". If we don't, we are the ones, the common people to suffer–you will find no medicine in the hospital, you won't even get there given the nature of our roads".*

Inner personal traits such as selfishness, greed and excessive love for money and material things drive people into corrupt tendencies. It is these selfish desires that force people who are already rich by Ugandan standards to acquire more money and wealth through corruption practices. Such people have no regard for the poor masses of our communities.

This government should prioritize the fight against corruption because it destroys people's trust in a democratically elected government. A disgruntled population cannot make any headway towards the fight of corruption.

10.0 CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS ON CORRUPTION

This report has shed light into the norms, values and attitudes and experiences of corruption by citizens in the Rwenzori region. The research data suggest that corruption is deeply rooted in the social settings of communities. Corruption is expected to take place in the encounters between citizens and public officials and that formal rights and entitlements are perceived to lack relevance for the provision of public services. Rather, access to services seems to be informally regulated by the personal relationships of the service providers and the ability to provide a bribe or a gift. The results are embedded in a regressive system that is enacted on the basis of behavioral patterns emanating from societal norms and values that promote corruption in the society. The society has rather generally accepted the norms, values, and attitudes that lure them into corruption traps.

The findings support the concept that social norms, values, and attitudes make people uninformed about the meaning of corruption and its negative connotations. Quite to the contrary, research participants displayed an understanding of what norms and behaviors constitute a corrupt act and about the consequences of corruption in the society. From the research it is clear that societal norms, values, and attitudes are closely linked to the enforcers of corruption in the society since the concept of reward and punishment as regards corrupt behaviors is unnoticed in most occasions at the social and institutional levels. However, there was also an understanding that most community members thought of corruption as happening at the institutional level than conceptualizing it even at the family level.

From the findings, it was realized that societal norms, values, and attitudes that promote corruption are deeply rooted in the relevance of the willingness of the individual to commit corruption acts within the social networks. Individuals get accustomed to corruption practices that they reach a level of initiating other society members into the same. Norms, values, and attitudes were also very much articulated in the areas of buying favors through giving gifts to the individual to whom the favor is being sought who in turn will feel the pressures to reciprocate within the shortest time possible.

Two key societal norms that stand out for their relevance are; the obligation to contribute to the welfare of one's own group and the duty to reciprocate favors and gifts received. Both norms are pragmatically articulated through the actions of informal social networks and translate into practices of favoritism and bribery (often camouflaged as gift–giving) common in the provision of public services. The social norms also determined the acceptability of different types of corrupt actions. In particular, corrupt actions that promote socially justified goals (i.e. paying school fees for a relative or repaying a favor) are rewarded but actions

deemed to stem out of greed and selfishness (i.e. not helping a relative or friend in need), are punished even if pursued in adherence to a legal mandate but rather research participants did not view it in that manner. Participants revealed that adhering to corrupt actions is inevitable since they would not be patient with the bureaucracy that is involved in service provision.

A significant insight came from the manner in which research participants described a situation in which a provider does not favor family and friends and does not accept bribes and gifts. According to the collected views, this provider would be denying his networks of the advantages that public–sector employment offers, and would, therefore, be considered to be misusing his or her position for individual gain, which is strikingly similar to most definitions of corruption. This underscores the importance of recognizing the impact that the coexistence of two normative frameworks has on addressing practices of corruption. In the first instance, making a value judgment of any given action requires understanding with regards to which normative framework such an evaluation is done. Thus, it could be said that in some cases what is considered correct and honest behavior with respect to the normative framework that is socially enforced can be considered corrupt from the perspective of the formal legal order and vice versa. This insight strongly emphasizes the challenges arising when the socially accepted and the legally formulated normative frameworks are far away from each other.

The tensions and contradictions that stem from the juxtaposition of a formal and an informal set of rules are resolved in practice in several ways. For instance, narrow frames that confirm that norms, values, and attitudes that cause corruption represent the normal state of affairs and mental models of weak law enforcement reinforce the social motivations to give in to bribery and favoritism. The same can be said about mental models concerning the typical attitudes of public servants that prompt users to prepare in advance with money to facilitate corruption practices when coming to the service point. Similarly, work environments that are perceived as permissive, if not encouraging, of corrupt actions end up creating peer pressure to join in corruption practices. Interestingly, while the reasons to resort to acts of corruption might be deliberately clear, the recurrent mention about the creation of "environments" conducive to a corrupt exchange show that people still feel the need to set the stage in order to move from one sphere (legal) to another (social or familial) demonstrating an awareness about the illicit nature of the deals that lead providers to corruption. All factors considered, ultimately the result is that adherence to the societal norms has been perceived to be more binding than observing the formal law.

This study has been conducted when the President of Uganda HE. YK. Museveni has been advocating for measures to deal with the rampant corruption in public offices. This has been because even with the core of Uganda's legal anti–corruption framework such as the Anti–Corruption Act, the Penal Code, the Inspectorate of Government Act 2002, the Public Finance Management Act 2015 and the Leadership Code Act 2002 (LCA) corruption has been increasing every day. In his continuous struggles to eliminate corruption in the country again the, *"The Zero Tolerance to Corruption Policy 2018"* has been endorsed by the cabinet proposing various measures in which corruption will be handled among public officials. This policy will be supplementing the other legal frameworks that have been in place to deal with corrupt practices in the country.

From the document analysis, it was revealed that a lot is still lacking on conducting studies on behaviors that are leading to the increase of corruption in the society especially with regard to the societal norms, values, and attitudes that are promoting or fighting corruption. To the larger extent, the established findings reveal that societal norms and attitudes were rather promoting corruption than fighting it. More empirical studies are desired to discover more understanding of the dynamics that are deeply rooted in the behaviors of the people on involving in corruption practices. The results will inform policy formulation on the stringent measures that can help in the eradication of corruption in the society. With the endorsement of the "The Zero Tolerance to Corruption Policy 2018", that presents an articulate procedure that will provide an opportunity where behavioral interventions that will deal with various societal norms, values, and attitudes increasing corruption in public offices will be enforced. The formulation of more anti–corruption policies will provide evidence that will motivate individual decision making that will rather promote societal behavior change that will reduce and/or eradicate corruption in the country.

10.1 Policy Implications And Recommendations From The Research

Table 8: Policy Implications and Recommendations from the Research

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
1.	Mental Models	Firstly, reinforcing and emphasizing actions and messages that challenge conventional wisdom is essential, particularly when it comes to the expectation that corruption is inevitable and that is tends to go unpunished. Secondly, individuals are highly pragmatic, as evidenced by the functionality of the practices of corruption, and for that reason they are more likely to react to messages that clearly outline the hidden costs of corruption that exist beyond a short-term and short-lived benefit	Religious leaders CSOs Media Elders
2.	Culture of Corruption	Challenging conventional wisdom involves the dissemination of strong, consistent and carefully formulated messages on the part of the government and key opinion leaders. Overall, a message that change is possible and palpable should be reinforced. Other concrete actions of the government that should be showcased are successful prosecutions and convictions of crimes of corruption.	CSOs Media Houses Government Police Judiciary
3.	Relative effectiveness of anti-corruption interventions	Developing and strongly disseminating messages via mass media interventions aimed at challenging misconceptions and stereotypes about corruption. Carefully selected government actions and decisions can provide a reference point to developing public awareness-raising campaigns signaling that definitive changes in governance practices are underway.	CSOs Print and Visual Media Government Anti-Corruption bodies

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
4.	Informational Campaigns	That will focus on awareness raising of formal rights and entitlements and building capacity to aid citizens in identifying instances of corruption tend to have only moderate success. When behaviors are influenced by irrational factors such as narrow frames and mental models, the evidence from the review suggests that an effective way to challenge conventional wisdom is by disseminating stories and illustrative examples of how corruption hurts individuals and families and contradicting notions that the corrupt are successful in life. Various awareness campaigns can be launched using various platforms.	Media CSOs Government bodies Religious leaders Household heads
5.	Corruption through Social networks (Friends and Relatives)	Emphasis could be made on the costs of having a breadwinner in the family lose employment and even be convicted for a crime of corruption. Another topic that can be addressed through creative storylines refers to gift-giving and the reciprocation of favors and gifts. As the research evidenced, it would be important to underscore the notion that public services provided represent entitlements and not favors or gifts and therefore need not be reciprocated. The same goes for promotions and opportunities for career development in the public sector, which should be understood as hinging on the basis of qualifications and professional merit rather than personal relations and loyalty.	Homestead heads Police Local leaders Citizens Judiciary Anti-Corruption bodies
6.	Lack of regard to the value of the rule of law to address corruption cases	Participants in the research described this attitudes as being a normal attitude prevailing in their communities. According to the evidence generated by the research, such attitudes are related to the perceived ineffectiveness and even corruption of the law enforcement agencies, which reinforces a mental model where corruption and impunity are accepted as normal.	Police Judiciary Citizens CSOs Anti-Corruption bodies Political leaders

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
		Therefore, improving the public image of law enforcement agencies is a significant challenge that must be addressed in order to overhaul attitudes that are at the minimum permissive towards corrupt behaviors. In this regard, it is clear that decisive reforms to curb out corruption from within the law enforcement agencies and to adequately support the competencies to investigate and prosecute financial crimes are necessary. This will support closing the implementation gap and thereby the successful investigation and prosecution of high level cases of corruption. While reforming the anti-corruption system represents a formidable challenge in any country, requiring time and commitment at the highest levels as well as the right technical approach, the argument made here is that such substantive reform efforts may be successfully complemented with supporting measures informed by behavioral insights.	
7.	Police as a corrupt institution	Citizen have great mistrust about the police due to their openness in committing corruption practices. These habits of corruption and other interventions that can be categorized 'behavioral' are undertaken to enhance the credibility of the police reforms. In this regard, reforming the police especially reprimanding and/or exposing publicly all the corrupt police officers as well as rewarding the outstanding police officers in terms of offering services would rehabilitate the image of the police among the communities. Also, anti-corruption messages can be pinned on their cars and offices as a means to reinforce positive behavior change among the police officers themselves and among the communities.	Police Judiciary CSOs Local leaders Citizens Household heads

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
8.	Formal and Informal Social Networks	Informal and formal networks are effective mechanisms to spread ideas and shape social norms that affect what people believe is acceptable as regards involving in corruption. This has significant implications for the sustainability of social transformation because networks tend to be multi-centric and have therefore a resilience that is independent of particular individuals and therefore allows modal beliefs and behaviors to persist across time. Studies of impurity effects across networks have included instances of transmission of voting behavior and altruistic acts; and there is experimental evidence that indicates the effectiveness of social networks as vehicles for delivering certain interventions. Findings indicated that individuals in social networks offered high allegiance to social networks and the values of solidarity and reciprocity they espouse could be creatively harnessed in pursuit of better development outcomes and the fight against corruption. Also applying such techniques would help in identifying influential individuals within social networks and working with them as anti-corruption champions to diffuse important information and promote certain behavioral changes. This has the potential of maximizing intervention impact by virtue of the intrinsic properties of social networks whereby knowledge and behavior can spread exponentially across interpersonal ties.	CSOs Local leaders Household heads Religious leaders
9.	Corruption in Public Sectors	Interventions that involve positive environmental cues can also be developed to address entrenched habits of corruption in the workplace in specific sectors.	

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
		In particular, the research has generated evidence about high levels of corruption in the health sector that are associated to the conflicting pressures service providers who are confronted with it on a daily basis. The research indicates that peer pressure among health workers can worsen corruption risks along with the unsolicited proactive efforts of users to befriend health workers. The literature suggested that certain changes in the work environment can be useful to combat the narrow frame about the inevitability of corruption, reinforcing macro-level priming about the top-down commitment to enforce a zero tolerance to corruption culture in Rwenzori region and in the country. Small and simple interventions might be effective to propel and reinforce positive changes in organizational culture. Different experiential cues can be explored and tested for their relative effectiveness, examples of which may range from improving the visibility of official rules and procedures (for example by means of displaying citizens' or patients' charters) to smaller symbolic gestures where health workers can wear stickers such as, "I work for the salary not for the gift"). Embracing ICTs to curb down the corruption practice of favoritism-for systems do not know friends and relatives.	CSOs Police Judiciary Management committees Local leaders Political leaders Anti-Corruption bodies Ministry of ethics and Integrity Auditor general IGG
10.	Work Place Corruption	Corruption fighters need to think about innovative interventions by means of which the increased credibility of sanctions in the workplace are reinforced by positive incentives by developing schemes that actually reward honesty.	

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
		Testing different interventions involving awards, bonuses and recognitions that explicitly reward honest behaviors would be a feasible approach to address the issue of the incentives of the social networks.

Operationalizing such an approach would involve developing tools that capture user satisfaction systems and programs that can embrace ICTs. In this regard, citizen scorecards or similar instruments could be used to gather information on performance to determine bonuses, promotions and awards. In addition, the informal sanctioning mechanisms whereby rejecting corrupt transactions lead to loss of status and shaming could be countered as part of mass media edutainment interventions and reinforced by public naming and shaming of individuals proven guilty of corruption offenses. Reshuffling the incentives of the service providers in a way that responds to the conflicting normative   directives they are confronted with would involve introducing positive incentive schemes by means of which honest behaviors and/or attitudes are tangibly rewarded and therefore made relatively more attractive also to the social networks that exist at public work places. This would give them incentives to make sure the service provider acts with integrity, and increasing the social costs on corruption practices by means of shaming individuals at public places that are caught in corruption crimes. | CSOs

Police

Judiciary

Management committees

Local leaders

Political leaders

Anti-Corruption bodies

Ministry of ethics and Integrity

Auditor general

IGG |
| 11. | Sex corruption | Another key topic that came out strongly in the research findings and that is reason for concern is the apparent prevalence of sexual corruption. Although the anti-corruption laws in Uganda criminalize sexual corruption, the research findings confirm the continued prevalence of such practices. | CSOs

Police

Judiciary

Anti-Corruption bodies |

No	Opinions	Policy Implications / Recommendations	Actors
11.	Sex corruption	This deserves special attention, as sexual corruption is hardly comparable to other types of corruption. For instance, one key question is whether in cases of sexual corruption, the actions of both the bribe taker and the bribe giver should be equally criminalized	Ministry of ethics and Integrity Auditor general IGG
12.	Corruption and Gender issues	Raising costs–in terms of criminal sanctioning and social shaming of soliciting or accepting sexual favors on the part of male public officials. Providing information, raising awareness and establishing safe whistle-blower mechanisms for women to denounce unwanted sexual advances, preferably linked to a strong, positive female role model.	CSOs Religious leaders Cultural leaders Police Media
13.	Research on behavioral approaches to corruption and anti-Corruption	The research on behavioral drivers of corrupt behaviors delivers evidence about the processes and areas that are promising entry points for developing interventions aiming at promoting behavioral change in support of better development outcomes. However, adequate contextualization of any development intervention is crucial, especially in the case of behavioral interventions, as it is extremely difficult to predict which precise approach is going to be most effective at appealing and making sense to the intended target groups. Therefore, practitioners must be prepared to experiment and test different approaches to find out to which the target populations are most responsive. Developing pilot interventions to test different approaches to behavioral interventions by means of rigorous experimental methods such as randomized control trials in order to discover the most effective programmer models.	CSOs Research institutions Government

Lastly, it suffices to mention that today more than ever before, corruption is viewed as a major hinderance to national development and thus its reduction is a major priority if development is to be achieved. The effort by KRC to study and establish norms, values, attitudes and practices that promote, or fight corruption is indeed timely given the current escalating levels of corruption in all corners of our society in Uganda. Findings of this study should be used by policy implementers not only to lament about the current deeply entrenched corruption but to put in place strategies and mechanisms at all levels of society that can nurture the rightful values, norms and attitudes that can help mitigate corruption.

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APPENDICES

Introduction:

Dear respondent,

You are kindly invited to participate in this action research where CAARD has been contracted by KRC to conduct a study on the "Existing societal norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption" The research is purely academic and the responses will be handled with utmost confidentiality without at any one time singling out one individual respondent in any analysis in such a way that, their responses could be recognized. Participation in this research is voluntary and thus you can decide not to answer any question or all questions.

If you have further information and questions at any time about this research or the procedures used, you may contact KRC on 0772583938 or CAARD on 0759169182.

Familiarization phase

1. What do you understand by corruption?
2. Have you ever experienced any form of corruption? If yes which ones?
3. In your opinion, what promotes corruption in your society?

Existing societal norms, values and attitudes that promote corruption

1. What are some of the existing norms and values that promote corruption?

2. Reflecting on your community, what are some of the attitudes and behavior that promote corruption?
3. What are the other observations or suggestions that you can share with us regarding this topic?

Existing societal norms, values and attitudes that mitigate corruption

1. What do you think can be done to alleviate corruption in your society?
2. What are some of the existing societal norms and values that can help mitigate corruption?
3. Reflecting on your community, what are some of the attitudes and behavior that mitigate corruption?
4. What other observations or suggestions do you have regarding this topic?

Ways through which the society can nurture values and norms that can enhance the fight against corruption

1. Do you know of any ways through which the society can nurture values and norms than can enhance the fight against corruption? If yes, what are they?
2. Do you know any existing ways that can be used to nurture values and norms to enhance the fight against corruption?
3. What do you think should be done to nurture appropriate values and norms to fight against corruption?
4. How are behaviors rewarded in your society?

---Thanks so much for your precious time---

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4. What do you think can be done to alleviate corruption in your society?

5. What are some of the existing societal norms and values that can help mitigate corruption?

6. Reflecting on your community, what are some of the attitudes and behavior that mitigate corruption?

7. What other observations or suggestions do you have regarding this topic?

Ways through which the society can nurture values and norms that can enhance the fight against corruption

8. Do you know of any ways through which the society can nurture values and norms than can enhance the fight against corruption? If yes, what are they?

9. Do you know any existing ways that can be used to nurture values and norms to enhance the fight against corruption?

10. What do you think should be done to nurture appropriate values and norms to fight against corruption?

11. How are behaviors rewarded in your society?

---Thanks so much for your precious time---

Introduction:

Dear respondent,

You are kindly invited to participate in this action research where CAARD has been contracted by KRC to conduct a study on the "Existing societal norms, values and attitudes that promote or fight corruption" The research is purely action research to inform development decisions and the responses will be handled with utmost confidentiality without at any one time singling out one individual respondent in any analysis in such a way that, their responses could be recognized. Participation in this research is voluntary and thus you can decide not to answer any question or all questions.

If you have further information and questions at any time about this research or the procedures used, you may contact KRC on 0772583938 or CAARD on 0759169182.

Sub-county name	
Enumerator's name	
Respondent's Tel. No.	

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

(Indicate your response using the appropriate number in the answer column)

No	Question/item category	Code/Instruction	Answer
1.	Sex of the respondent	1.Male 2. Female	
2.	Sex of the household head	1.Male 2. Female	
3.	Age		
4.	Educational level of respondent	1. Primary, 2. Secondary, 3. Tertiary 4. None	
5.	Employment status	1. Employed 2. Self-employed 3. Retired 4. Others (Specify)	
6.	Occupation	Farmer 2. Trader 3. Others (Specify)	

PART B: Existing societal norms, values and attitudes that promote corruption

Questions	Options	Answer
7. Please, tell me what you understand about corruption? [OPEN-ENDED]		
8. Is giving presents or money to civil servants to obtain public services corruption?	No, not at all Yes, to a small extent Yes, to a moderate extent Yes, to a large extent I don't know	
9. In your opinion, how serious is the issue of corruption in your area? [Read the options]	Very serious Somewhat serious Not too serious	

Questions	Options	Answer
	Not at all serious Corruption does not exist 6). (Don't know) 7). (Refused)	
10. How would you compare the level of corruption in your area today with the level of corruption past years? Is the current level of corruption… [Read the options]	Much higher than past years Somewhat higher than past years About the same as past years Somewhat lower than past years Much lower than past years Don't know Refused	
11. In your community which of the following sectors do you think are the most corrupt?	Health Education Agriculture Water and environment Transport Social services & probation Justice Electoral commission Police Other (Specify)	
12. What do you think, are factors	We need money to make a living The salaries are lower than every day's needs	

Questions	Options	Answer
causing corruption in your area?	No ethics or moral The ambition to become rich as quick as possible Take the opportunity No law Don't care about the law Abuse or misuse of power Long or unclear procedures of the service Other (specify).	
13. Do you think everyone can commit corruption?	Yes No	
14. Please explain your answer? [OPEN-ENDED]		
15. What type of attitudes or life style of common citizens that are prone to corruption? [OPEN-ENDED] Attitude Lifestyle		
16. What positive values do you cherish or promote for wellbeing of your household? MULTIPLE RESPONSE [DO NOT READ]	Honesty Accountability Transparency Love Discipline Justice Trustworthy Patriotism	

Questions	Options	Answer
	Other (specify)	
17. What positive values does your community cherish or promote for wellbeing of your community? MULTIPLE RESPONSE [DO NOT READ]	Honesty Accountability Transparency Love Discipline Justice Trustworthy Patriotism Other (Specify)	
18. What negative values have you ever noted in your household?	Dishonesty Hate Indiscipline Injustice Personal ego Greed Unfaithfulness Selfishness Other (specify)	
19. What were the implications of these negative values at household level? [OPEN-ENDED]		
20. What negative values have ever noted in your community?	Dishonesty Hate Indiscipline Injustice	

Questions	Options	Answer
	Personal ego Greed Unfaithfulness Selfishness Other (specify)	
21. What were the implications of these negative values at community level? [OPEN-ENDED]		
22. How do the household members reward individuals who cherish the underlisted positive values? Honesty Accountability Transparency Love Discipline Justice Trustworthy Patriotism Other (specify)	By praising them By giving them gifts By ignoring them Don't know Others (Specify)	
23. How does the household sanction/punish individuals who cherish the underlisted negative values?	Denying them love Isolating them Rebuking them Physically beating them	

Questions	Options	Answer
Dishonesty Hate Indiscipline Injustice Personal ego Greed Unfaithfulness Selfishness Other (specify)	Don't know Others (Specify)	
24. How does the community reward individuals who cherish the underlisted positive values? Honesty Accountability Transparency Love Discipline Justice Trustworthy Patriotism Other (specify) 25. How does the community	By praising them By giving them gifts By ignoring them Don't know Others (Specify) Denying them love Isolating them Rebuking them Physically beating them	

Questions	Options	Answer
sanction/punish individuals who cherish negative values? Dishonesty Hate Indiscipline Injustice Personal ego Greed Unfaithfulness Selfishness Other (specify)	Don't know Others (Specify)	

PART C: Existing actions that may describe corruption

I will now read a few types of actions, For each of these actions, please tell me according to your understanding if you think this action is Ok or Not Ok

	Yes	No	DK
1. Offering a tax collector a small gift in order to avoid paying taxes	1	2	98
2 A politician gives a job to your family member even though other applicants are more qualified	1	2	98
3. Your sister gives a government employee a large gift in hopes of receiving a government tender in collecting market dues	1	2	98
4. A government employee awards a tender to your brother because he is also his friend but not capable of delivering.	1	2	98

5. Because of a delay, you or a family member gives a government employee a small gift in order to make sure that your or his/her documents get processed faster	1	2	98
6. You or any other household member gives a school head teacher a small gift in order to obtain for the child to be promoted without passing exams	1	2	98
7. A health worker asks you or a member of family for a small gift in exchange for giving a quick service at health facility.	1	2	98
8. Giving cash to a police officer to cover your violations	1	2	98
9. Accepting money or gifts to cast a vote during elections	1	2	98
10. Paying the judge or magistrate to achieve a favourable treatment	1	2	98
11. You or your relative / friend using an office equipment (Government, farmer group, SACCO, cooperative) for private purposes without formal authorization	1	2	98

PART D: Circumstances under which corruption may occur

26. To the best of your knowledge, which of the following is most often the case when someone ends up paying a bribe to a governmental employee [Read response options and accept only one response]	A government employee indicates or asks for payment. Someone offers a payment of his/her own accord. It is known beforehand from other sources how to pay and how much to pay, so it is not discussed. Other, (specify)…… 5) .(Don't know) .(Refused)	
27. If someone has paid a bribe to governmental employee in order to obtain a service or to resolve a problem, how certain it is that the	Very certain Fairly certain Somewhat uncertain	

service is obtained or the problem resolved? [Read response options and accept only one response]	Extremely uncertain 98) Don't know 99) Refused to answer
28. I will now read you some possible motives behind corrupt practices. What the main reasons that people who participate in corrupt acts use to justify their actions.	There is no other way to get things done To avoid punishment/sanctions To avoid higher official payments To speed up the processes/procedures To be treated (served) appropriately To get preferential treatment/privileges To have alternative source of income The practice of obligatory (illegal) "payments" to supervisors Other, specify 98. Don't know 99. Refused
29. How would you react if you were offered to take a bribe (money, gift, asked for an exchange of favor, etc.)? Would you take it or would you not take it?	I would take it I would not take it Other, specify… 98. Don't know 99. Refused
30. Would you take it? [DO NOT READ pre-coded response options; Mark category that most closely reflects the respondent's answer; If answer not listed, record	Because everybody takes it Because I need money Because I like money Because I have to "share" it with my supervisor(s) Other, specify…

response in category "other"]	98. Don't know 99. Refused
31. Why would you not take it? [DO NOT READ pre-coded response options; Mark category that most closely reflects the respondent's answer; If answer not listed, record response in category "other"]	Because there is a high risk to be punished Because it is unacceptable for me Because I will try to resolve the issue through legal means To reduce/eliminate corruption Other, specify 98) Don't know 99) Refused
32. How would you react if you were asked to give a bribe (money, gift, asked for an exchange of favor, etc.)? Would you give the bribe or would you not give it? [DO NOT READ]	I would give it I would not give it Other, specify… 98. Don't know 99. Refused
33. Why would you give it? [DO NOT READ pre-coded response options; Mark category that most closely reflects the respondent's answer; If answer not listed, record response in category "other"]	Because everyone gives Because there's no other way I can obtain the service I would be able to negotiate a lower price To speed up the process To be sure I get what I need Other, specify… 98. Don't know 99. Refused
34. Why would you not give it? [DO NOT READ pre-coded response	Because there is a high risk to be punished Because it is unacceptable for me

options; Mark category that most closely reflects the respondent's answer; If answer not listed, record response in category "other"]	Because I will try to resolve the issue through legal means

Because I have no money/means

Other, specify

98. Don't know

99. Refused |

SECTION D: Ways through which the society can nurture values and norms that can enhance the fight against corruption

35. In your opinion, what can you personally do to reduce corruption in your area? Please, list concrete actions you can personally undertake to help combat corruption.

[Multiple response; Do not read response options] | Abstain from paying bribes for public services

Report corruption in the press

Refuse to make favors to officials or to their relatives related with my job

Report corrupt behavior of public officials to respective offices

Report corrupt officials behavior to competent authorities

File a lawsuit against the corrupt official

Participate in awareness campaigns against corruption

Participate and supporting an anticorruption educational campaign

There is nothing I can do

Other, specify

98. Don't know

99. Refused |
| 36. Do you know what institutions to contact in order to report a corrupt act by a public official? | Yes

No

98. (Don't know) |

	99.(Refused)	
37. If yes, which institutions do you know? [OPEN]		
38. During the past 12 months, have you or anyone in your household reported a corrupt act by a public official	Yes No 98. Don't know 99. Refused	

39. Some people in your area are unwilling to report corrupt actions because of various reasons. I will list some of these possible reasons; please tell me which of the following you personally consider as a reason for not reporting corruption to the relevant authorities. [Read the options]

Those who report corruption will be subject to retribution/retaliation	1.Yes	2.No	
No actions will be taken even if corruption is reported.	1.Yes	2.No	
It is not worth reporting corruption if I am not personally hurt by it	1.Yes	2.No	
Most people who commit corruption only do so because of economic hardship	1.Yes	2.No	
Our society does not reward those who report corruption	1.Yes	2.No	
No Whistle blower protection	1.Yes	2.No	
Lack of evidence to prove	1.Yes	2.No	
Lack of clarity about corruption proceedings	1.Yes	2.No	
Don't know the relevant institution responsible for corruption cases.	1.Yes	2.No	

Thanks for your participation

A REPORT ON THE ASSESSMENT OF SOCIETAL
NORMS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES THAT PROMOTE
OR FIGHT CORRUPTION IN RWENZORI REGION