



*African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption
Réseau des Parlementaires Africains Anti-Corruption*

Building Parliamentary Capacity for Fighting Corruption

APNAC, Africa Region's Achievements and Lessons
Learned between 2010 and 2013

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List of Abbreviations

ACCU	Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda
ACODE	Advocates for Development and Environment
ACPSP	Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program
AGM	Annual General Meeting
APNAC	African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption
APSP	Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program
AU	African Union
BAU	Budget Advisory Unit
BOT	Build Operate Transfer
BP	Budget Process
CAO	Centre Afrika Obota
CC	Core Country
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CO	Constituency Offices
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DFAIT	Department for Foreign Affairs and International Trade
DFATD	Department for Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development
FONAC	Front des Organisations Nationales Anti-Corruption
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOPAC	Global Organisation of Parliamentarians Against Corruption
MDAs	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies
MP	Member of Parliament
NC	National Chapter
PBO	Parliamentary Budget Office
PC	Parliamentary Centre
PIP	Program Implementation Plan
PP	Partner Parliament
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PSC	Program Steering Committee
TI	Transparency International
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Executive Summary

The DFATD-funded Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program (APSP) for Budget Oversight is a five-year capacity strengthening program designed to increase the capacity and authority of select African parliaments as well as their accountability in the budget process. To realise all of its objectives, the APSP supported the African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC) Secretariat to implement those activities that addressed corruption and leakage reduction from the budget process. The Centre

The APSP approach to addressing corruption was two-fold; the first was to incorporate anti-corruption into certain key activities such as orientation for new Members of Parliament, Post-Budget Workshops and others. The other was to organise anti-corruption training workshops for Members of Parliament of Partner Parliaments. The other objective the APNAC-APSP collaboration was to implement activities to ensure the former's sustainability as an independent Secretariat for the Network.

Consequently, over the last five years, APNAC through APSP has implemented several activities to address these demands of the Program Implementation Plan (PIP). The objective of this report is to document the activities the Network through its Secretariat, under the DFATD-funded APSP, has implemented from 2009 to 2014, the key results these activities have produced, and the challenges that the Secretariat and Network faced during program implementation.

APNAC implemented a total of seventy-six (76) activities over the five year period of Program implementation, making up 18 percent of the entire activities carried out under APSP. These benefitted a total of 1,477 individuals, comprising of MPs, Staff of Parliament, and representatives of CSOs and 7 out of every 10 beneficiaries being male. These figures exclude the direct beneficiaries of the Network's publications carried out under the Program.

Activities implemented were aimed at building the sustainability of the Network, training MPs on anti-corruption strategies and arming them with tools to address corruption, and addressing peculiar corruptible situations in PPs. Overall, Training was the most implemented activity followed by Networking and Sustainability; however this changed over time. In Years 1, 2, and 5, Networking and Sustainability was the most implemented activity. In Years 3 and 4, it was Training. The activities that PPs benefitted the most from were Networking and Sustainability and Research, Publication and Communication. The latter results because some activities benefit more than one PP. For

instance, a Research publication, though considered as a unit of activity, is likely to benefit more than one PP. The Implementation of these activities has led to the realisation of several key results.

First, the APNAC-Secretariat became operational and most of its chapters were revitalised. The implementation of the APSP led to the relocation of the APNAC-Secretariat from Nairobi to Accra and an increase in staffing capacity. Most of the Network's National Chapters that were comatose were revitalised through a series of activities. In addition, the Secretariat worked to ensure its own sustainability and that of the National Chapters. It developed a strategic plan and undertook a series of networking activities aimed at raising funds. Today, most of its National Chapters are recognised and supported by their National Assemblies.

The Secretariat also encouraged its National Chapters to undertake a series of advocacy activities in the form of addressing peculiar corruptible situations in their countries. These were considered to be 'Pilot Projects' and were aimed at putting to practical use the tools that had been given to APNAC Members. These advocacies ranged from the development of brand new Bills for consideration and enactment by parliament, to the review of existing laws and making recommendations for the amendments to be adopted. Advocacy activities were implemented in almost all PPs to successful results.

There were other key results that came about not necessarily as a result of any specific activity implementation but rather from a revived and functional Network. The revitalisation of the Chapters led to a renewed and reinforced commitment towards the fight against corruption in most of the PPs. The incorporation of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) into the Network's activities led to an improvement in the CSO-Parliament dialogue and opened up the negotiation and dialogue space for improved governance.

Regardless of these, the Network is still faced with challenges it must surmount. The sustainability of the Secretariat, in the immediate period after the end of the APSP, is one of such challenges. Even though a lot has been done to make it sustainable, the benefits have not begun to flow putting the immediate survival of the Secretariat in doubt. Linked to this is the survival of some of the National Chapters that had depended on the Secretariat for implementation of their respective work plans. The minimal support the Network receives from the leadership of Parliament and the fact that membership is voluntary have hampered the smooth adoption of some of the Network's recommendations and ideas.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program (APSP)

The Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program (APSP) for Budget Oversight is a five-year capacity-strengthening program designed to increase the capacity and authority of select African parliaments as well as their accountability to citizens in the budget process.

The seven select African parliaments – Benin, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia – are spread somewhat fairly across the continent: West (3), East (3), and Southern Africa (1) and include both Francophone (Benin and Senegal) and Anglophone (Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia) countries. These seven countries were chosen because they have well-established parliaments with which the Centre had worked in the past. They also represented a good balance among countries in terms of the relative strength of their parliaments in the budget process.

Funded by the erstwhile Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA has been merged with the Department for Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD)), the APSP was designed:

- To increase the capacity and authority of select African parliaments (mentioned above) as well as their accountability to citizens in the budget process, thereby contributing to improved democratic governance. Effective scrutiny reduces leakages, and/or corruption, ensuring that resources are used for their intended purposes leading to a reduction in overall poverty levels. Gender equality and the environment were integrated into the Centre's activities and outcomes, the former as part of every activity and the latter as an outcome on its own.
- To increase the capacity of the Parliamentary Centre (Africa) to provide support, in part, by the establishment of a Budget Advisory Unit (BAU) within PC (Africa). One of the expected results of the program is therefore to help build this office as a sustainable and responsive resource centre for parliamentary support in Africa. To realise these objectives, the APSP supported the African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC) Secretariat to implement those outcomes that directly dealt with corruption and reducing leakages from the budget process.

1.1.1 APSP's Strategy on Anti-Corruption

Consequently, within the APSP, APNAC was projected to play a special role in addressing corruption issues in relation to the budget process. However, the first stage of achieving this involved setting up and strengthening the APNAC-Secretariat in order to coordinate activities and work towards building the network's long-term sustainability.

The Network was, under the APSP, to train Members of Parliament (MPs), Parliamentary Committees and support services on anti-corruption measures, and to develop linkages between relevant parliamentary committees and CSOs for enhanced collaboration.

These were to be achieved through a series of independent and integrated training workshops directed at enhancing the capacity of APNAC's country chapters and parliamentarians to effectively address corruption in their respective countries.

1.1.2 APNAC and APSP Outcomes

The third Immediate Outcome of Intermediate Outcome Two of the revised Logic Model and Program Implementation Plan (PIP) (see Figure 1) focuses on increasing the capacity of APNAC to address corruption issues as they relate to the budget process. The PIP outlined two ways in which corruption, in relation to the budget process, was to be addressed:

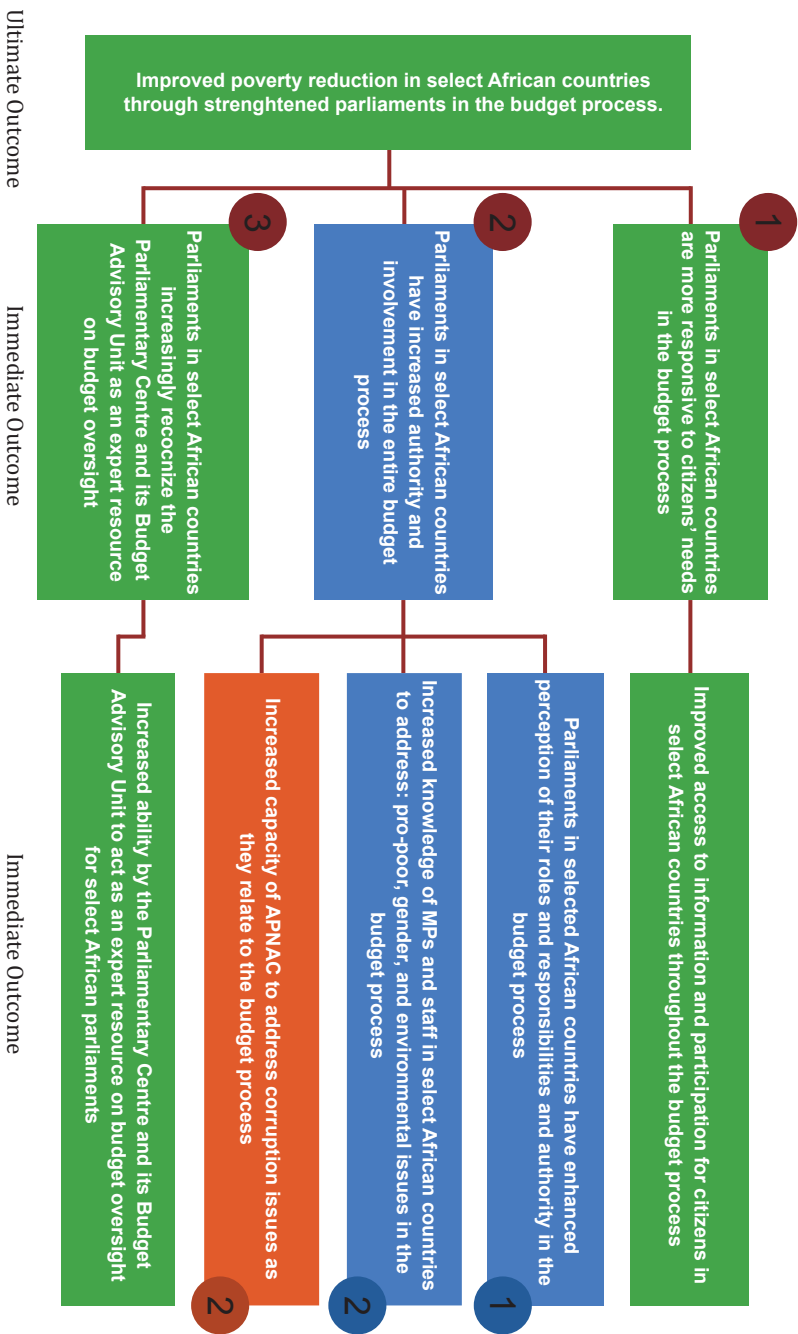
1. *Mainstreaming it into APSP activities (Integrated Activities);*
2. *As stand-alone through various APNAC activities (Independent Activities).*

For the last five years, APNAC has implemented several activities geared towards achieving this outcome. The Network – under the DFATD-sponsored APSP – organised independent training workshops, each addressing specific aspects of corruption in the seven Partner Parliaments such as revising Acts and drafting Bills to address corruptible situations. Anti-corruption was also integrated into many of the APSP's activities such as the Cross-Cutting Themes (of Environment, Gender and Anti-Corruption), Post-Budget Workshops, and orientation programs for new MPs.

1.1.3 Beneficiary Parliaments

Unlike the APSP, APNAC is well-represented throughout the Northern, Central, Eastern, Southern, and Western regions of Africa through national chapters in the various parliaments, and carries out its purpose through exchange of information and best practice between chapters and with other anti-corruption bodies in Africa and the world at large. Its twenty-one National Chapters far exceed the seven APSP PPs. APNAC also engaged a few non-APSP countries on strategic and networking purposes.

Figure 1: APNAC and APSP



Source: The Program Implementation Plan (July, 2009; based on the revised APSP – LOGIC MODEL (April, 2010))

1.2 The Need for a Parliamentary Network on Corruption

The PIP, which is the working document of the APSP, defined corruption as the abuse of public position for personal gain or for the benefit of an individual or group to whom one owes allegiance. It is considered a symptom of weaknesses in political, social, legal and economic systems, for example when oversight institutions such as parliament, the judiciary and civil society are marginalised or have become corrupt themselves.

Through their legislative, oversight, and representative roles, MPs can create the legal framework needed to prevent or curb corruption; oversee the implementation of laws and policies; and constitute an important bridge between the government and the citizens they represent where transparency, accessibility and accountability are promoted.

Consequently, the objectives of the APSP and APNAC, as a network, are not mutually exclusive. Rather they are complementarities that enforce each other. APNAC aims at coordinating, involving and strengthening the capacity of African parliamentarians to fight corruption and promote good governance. Its main objective is to develop, maintain, and promote a network to build the capacity of parliaments and parliamentarians to fight and effectively address corruption in their respective countries.

An MP whose capacity has been built and who has been given the right tools could exercise the needed oversight responsibility ensuring that resources do not leak out of the Budget Cycle. Besides, the fundamental function of oversight (watchdog) committees – Public Accounts Committees, Public Investment Committees, Standing Committee and Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises – is ensuring the efficient use of resources.

The issue of corruption presents one of the challenges to development on the continent. A recent African Union (AU) report estimated that in 2004 corruption costs the continent over US\$ 148 billion per annum. More than 50% of tax revenue, 25% of the continent's GDP and US\$ 30 billion in aid for Africa was eaten up by corruption.

The proliferation of indices to measure the extent and depth of corruption, such as Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index; and those that use corruption as one of the variables in estimating an index, such as The Ibrahim Index of African Governance, are testaments to the importance of corruption and the need to address it. What most of these indices do is to provide a reality check for the people and governments of countries.

It facilitates and accelerates the discourse on corruption, widens the virtual political space through the media, and gives citizens and citizens' organisations the opportunity to question their governments.

Several studies have established the relationship between corruption – public or private – and economic growth. Mauro (1997) presented evidence that corruption may have considerable adverse effects on economic growth by reducing private investment, and perhaps by worsening the composition of public expenditure.

His studies presented evidence suggesting a negative and statistically significant relationship between corruption and government expenditure on education. The implication is that an increase in corruption decreases public expenditure in education in the countries analysed, which also affect economic growth because other studies have also established a significant and positive impact of educational attainment on economic growth.

Besides, whereas the ten least corrupt countries in the 2009 Transparency International Corruption Perception Index had an average real GDP per capita of US\$36,700, the ten most corrupt countries had an average real GDP per capita of US\$5,100.

This persistent trend, which is also observed in household data, has been variously explained. According to Mauro (1995) and Wei (1999), this inverse relationship suggests that corruption discourages investment which, in turn, depresses growth; consequently, tackling corruption could be critical to achieving higher growth economic growth.

The reverse causal effect – that lower economic growth leads to higher corruption – has also been discussed; so that increasing economic growth would cause a decrease in corruption. Regardless of the direction of causality, what is clear is that misappropriation of resources affects the production of public goods because resources are finite. Besides, the two are not mutually exclusive. Addressing corruption will free resources for the production of public goods which will increase the standard of living and the growth rate of the economy.

Alternatively, improving the economic growth will require the efficient use of resources, which implies effective allocation and application of resources, or the elimination of misappropriation and the control of corruption. Thus, whatever side that one takes, corruption is one of the bane to development and the only way to address it is to improve the oversight role of those man-

dated by the constitution to ensure the effective use of a country's resource, or parliament. Passing laws, amending old ineffective laws, monitoring government expenditure and deliverables, scrutinising and auditing the accounts of government, are but a few of the responsibilities of parliamentarians which have direct bearing on addressing corruption.

1.3 The Network and its Secretariat

The African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC), which preceded its mother body GOPAC (Global Organisation of Parliamentarians Against Corruption), was formed in February 1999 for such a purpose – to provide a platform for sharing information on how to address corruption. It was formed in Kampala Uganda during a regional seminar on Parliaments and Good Governance: Towards a New Agenda for Controlling Corruption in Africa.

The seminar was organised by the Parliamentary Centre of Canada, in partnership with the Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament of Uganda and the World Bank Institute, and with support from the British Department for International Development. Thirty parliamentarians from across Africa participated, representing each geographic region.

The formation of the Network was borne out of the need to build upon the observed benefits of African parliamentarians coming together to share information, experience and lessons in strengthening parliament in the fight against corruption. It was meant to serve as a platform through which the participants will maintain contact with each other and reach out to other parliamentarians and parliamentary organisations throughout Africa, and through this draw attention to corruption.

The main objectives set for the Network are to:

1. *Build capacity of parliamentarians to exercise oversight roles, especially of financial matters;*
2. *Share information on best anti-corruption strategies and practices;*
3. *Promote projects to control corruption based on best practices;*
4. *Cooperate with other organisations and civil society members with shared objectives.*

Since then, the Network has grown and several Parliaments across the continent have opened chapters. However, the National Chapters are neither committees of parliament nor caucuses (except in Kenya), and membership is voluntary. Consequently, the Network is an aggregation of fragility and robustness as funding is unequal across the National Chapters.

The DFATD, which has been providing support to the Network through the Parliamentary Centre, saw the need for the establishment of a Secretariat that will coordinate the activities of the National Chapters to ensure sustainability. Consequently, the implementation of the Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program (ACPSP) (2003 – 2007) led to the establishment of an APNAC-Secretariat in Ottawa, Canada, in 2004 with a field office in Kenya.

APNAC's contribution to the program was in the direction of building capacity of MPs in general and APNAC members in particular to address corruption in the budget process. Under the APSP program (2009 – 2014), the Network, through its Secretariat, was once again considered as a key partner to achieving the desired program outcomes. Consequently, the Secretariat was moved to the Centre's Africa Office in Accra, Ghana in 2009.

As part of its mandate, the Secretariat has, since 2010, implemented certain significant activities aimed at entrenching itself to become sustainable and also at addressing corruption through its National Chapters by arming its members with the necessary tools. Besides, under the APSP, the Secretariat was moved from its Nairobi-Kenya office to Accra-Ghana, where it currently operates within the Parliamentary Centre's Africa Office.

In redefining itself as an independent body, the Secretariat has set forth the following as its major functions:

1. *To facilitate meetings and workshops for the network, in addition to planning the Annual General Meetings, ensuring maximum stakeholder participation, and to disseminate the reports and recommendations from such meetings;*
2. *To report to the APNAC executive committee and the AGM on implementation of the strategic plan (yearly work plans) of the network;*
3. *To provide information clearing-house services such as provision of advice to chapters on implementation of the work plan and facilitation of access to information and expertise in support of specific anticorruption actions;*
4. *To keep the records and archives of the organization, including handling the financial and logistical requirements of the organization and reporting of all project-related activities as specified in the yearly work plans;*
5. *To facilitate the development and dissemination of guidance materials (manuals, training courses, handbooks) to support implementation of the work plan by the different chapters;*
6. *To promote the exchange of relevant anticorruption information and sharing of best ideas and experiences between APNAC chapters;*

7. *To promote the establishment and maintenance of a network of anticorruption stakeholders at the national (country chapters), regional (APNAC-wide) and international levels (GOPAC, civil society etc.);*
8. *To provide guidance to APNAC country chapters in the initiation of project proposals for funding; and*
9. *To establish and maintain a working relationship with Parliamentary Centre Africa (PCA) in order to draw upon its expertise.*

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objective of this document is to present the activities the Network through its Secretariat implemented under the DFATD-funded APSP has implemented from 2009 to 2014, the key results that ensued from these activities, and the challenges that the Secretariat and its Network faced in the implementation of its activities.

Chapter Two: Activities

This chapter presents the types and spread of activities implemented by APNAC under the Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program (APSP). The development of APSP incorporated APNAC because of the convergence in their ultimate goals. The collaboration between APNAC and the Centre, under the APSP, was to implement the anti-corruption component of the Program as stated in the PIP and to also ensure that the Secretariat became operational and sustainable. Consequently, most of the activities implemented were directed at these two outcomes.

2.1 Activity Types

The Network over the last five years has implemented several activities to address issues of corruption in the budget process as enshrined in the APSP's Program Implementation Plan (PIP) and the Network's sustainability. The type of activity implementation in each PP was influenced by the status of the National Chapter (NC); that is, whether it is an active or inactive chapter. In parliaments where the NCs were inactive, efforts were first directed towards revitalisation the chapter and making it functional; whereas in parliaments with active NCs, efforts were directed at training and advocacy.

The various activities carried out by the Network under the APSP have been categorised using the Network's system of classification as appeared in its Newsletter (Vol. 1 Issue 1) of May 2010 . The categories are discussed below.

2.1.1 Networking and Sustainability (Secretariat and National Chapters)

The African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC) was formed in February 1999 and the Secretariat to coordinate the activities of the national chapters was formed in 2004, through a DFATD-funded project implemented by the Centre. Until 2009, the Secretariat was hosted at the Centre's headquarters in Ottawa, Canada where all activities were coordinated with a field office in Nairobi, Kenya.

The importance of an APNAC Secretariat that coordinates the disparate activities of its National Chapters cannot be overemphasised. First, the existence of the Secretariat is linked to the sustainability of some of the less-resourced chapters. Further, the Secretariat ensures that there are regular interactions among the chapters.

This encourages peer-learning and the adoption of workable anti-corruption strategies and sustains the purpose of which the Network was formed. It also sustains the efforts towards addressing corruption on the continent.

Regardless of these, since its establishment, the Secretariat's activities have mostly been funded by DFATD. This single-source funding put the Network's – the Secretariat and the National Chapters – sustainability in a precarious position, linked to the continuous flow of funds from this source. However, to ensure that the gains the Network has made are not lost, it is imperative that it is able to broaden its funding sources.

It is in the light of these that the Secretariat implemented activities to network with other institutions and ensure its sustainability and the sustainability of its National Chapters. Such activities included networking conferences, meetings with possible funders and funding agencies, and fund-raising initiatives.

2.1.2 Knowledge Exchange

This involves activities that engendered peer-to-peer learning. Specifically, they are activities that brought different country chapters together to share ideas, experiences, and best practices.

2.1.3 Training and Workshop

To address corruption in the budget process, the APSP sought to carry out capacity enhancement training workshops for parliamentarians – both APNAC and non-APNAC members. Training and Workshop were usually unique in-country activities implemented by the Secretariat or by country Chapters through the Secretariat or were integrated into other activities such as the Cross-Cutting Themes, Orientation for New MPs, Post-Budget Workshops and others.

Some of these training and workshop were directed at revitalising the National Chapters. Each APNAC National Chapter is autonomous and each is funded as an independent entity. They, however, come together through activities implemented by the Secretariat to facilitate interaction among members. Consequently, each NC is at a different level of effectiveness and sustainability. This variability, coupled with the absence of a functional Secretariat, led to the collapse of some National Chapters, especially those that were not able to obtain funding to implement its activities.

Thus one of the objectives of the Network, under the APSP, was to revitalise these inactive chapters. Though this was the focus of the Secretariat in the

early period of the activity implementation, it also became part of its training activities after every electoral cycle in each of the PP. Training and Workshop also involve Pilot Projects aimed at operationalizing anti-corruption tools delivered to APNAC members were also considered to be training activities.

Under the APSP, the Secretariat encouraged the various National Chapters to undertake country-specific activities – referred to by the Network as Pilot Projects – to address corruption in their individual chapters. In most PPs they were related to proposals to amend laws or for specific laws to be enacted or public education on major issues such as electoral funding.

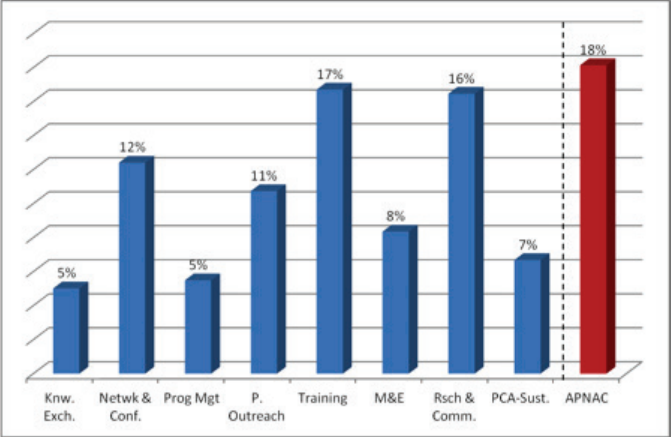
2.1.4 Research, Publication, and Communication

Publications were one of the means through which the Network communicated its objectives, visions, and activities known to its members, the general public, and potential funders. In this regard, publications include research materials, press releases and newsletters published by the Secretariat or the National Chapters through the Secretariat in either hardcopies or on the Network’s website. They also included the development of Coode of Ethics for APNAC Members and Anti-Corruption Handbook for MPs in general.

2.2 Activities Implemented by APNAC under APSP

Under the Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program (APSP) for Budget Oversight, APNAC implemented several activities. In totality, the Network implemented approximately 18 percent of all (419) activities implemented under the Program (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: APNAC's Share of APSP Activities



2.2.1 General Distribution

Figure 3 presents the distribution of the various activities carried out by APNAC under APSP. All Program Management activities were carried out by the Centre (refer to the study on Strengthening Parliamentary Budget Oversight – The Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program Experience). This meant that the Network worked to directly implement its components of the APSP outcomes. The distribution shows Training and Workshop as the activity with the highest frequency of implementation. This is in line with the APSP outcome of equipping Members of Parliament with the tools required to identify and address corruption in the budget process.

Training activities also include the practical application of the tools and strategies the MPs have been provided in carrying-out their Pilot Projects. This was followed by Networking and Sustainability activities; Research, Publication, and Communication; and Knowledge Exchange, in that order. Networking and Sustainability were aimed at diversifying the funding sources for the Network to ensure its sustainability beyond the life of the APSP.

Figure 3: Distribution of APNAC-APSP Activities

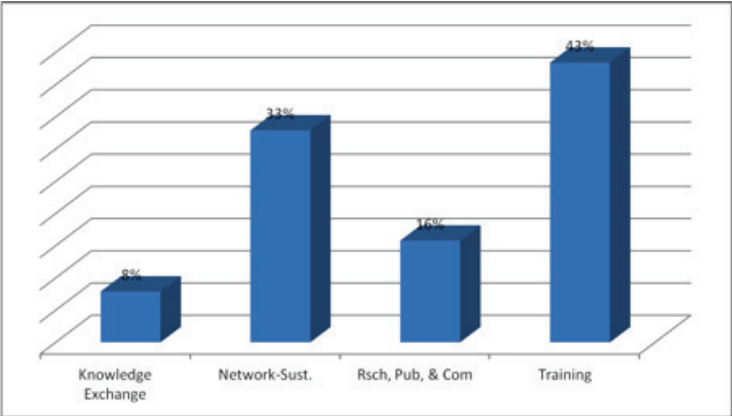
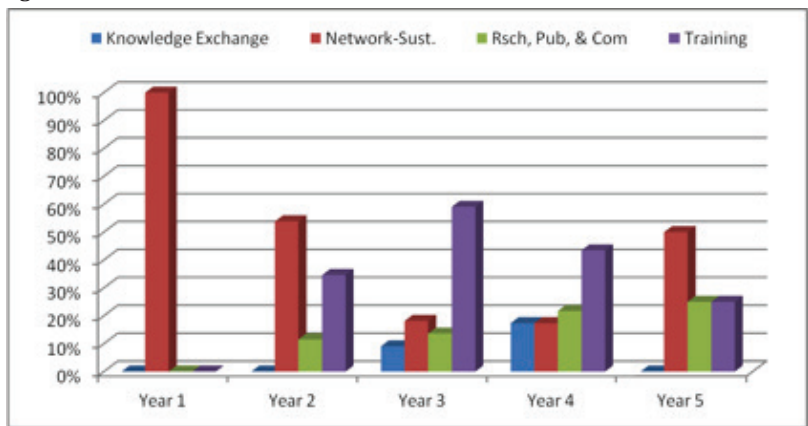


Figure 4 presents the distribution of activities over the five-years of Program implementation. In the first two years, Networking and Sustainability was the major activity implemented. However, between Year 3 and Year 4, the focus shifted to Training. During the last year of program implementation, the Network increased efforts at ensuring that it became sustainable.

It also directed efforts at consolidating APSP outcomes. Consequently, Networking was the most implemented activity followed by Training, and Research, Publications and Communications. The latter involved the publication of a Code of Ethics for the Zambia Chapter of APNAC and the Handbook on Antic-Corruption for Parliamentarians of the National Assembly of Zambia.

Figure 4: Distribution of APNAC-APSP Activities over Time

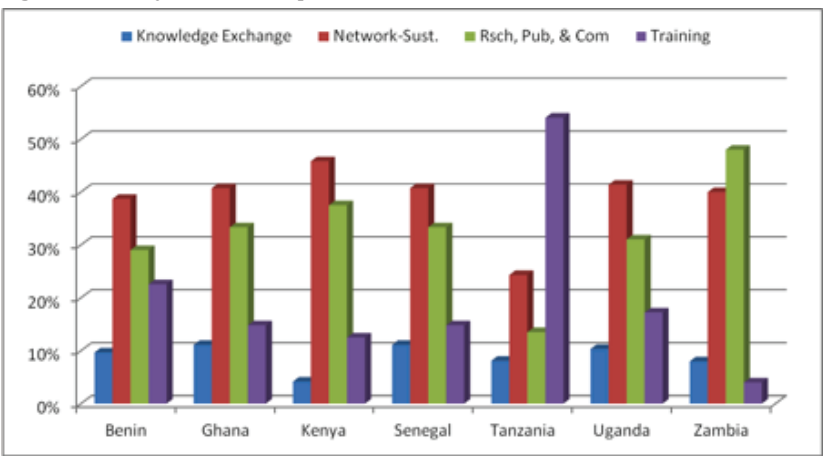


2.2.2 Distribution by Beneficiaries

2.2.2.1 Partner Parliaments

PPs benefitted differently from APNAC-APSP activities (see Figure 4). Though Training was the most implemented activity, Networking and Sustainability benefitted PPs the most. It ranked highest for five PPs – Benin, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, and Uganda – PPs and was among the top two of all seven PPs. This is because a single Networking-Sustainability activity usually benefits all PPs. In Tanzania, Training was the most benefitting activity and in Zambia it was Research, Publication and Communication. Research, Publication, and Communication was also among the top two most benefitting activities for all PPs, except Tanzania. Similarly every Research activity benefits all PPs.

Figure 5: Activity Distribution per Partner Parliament

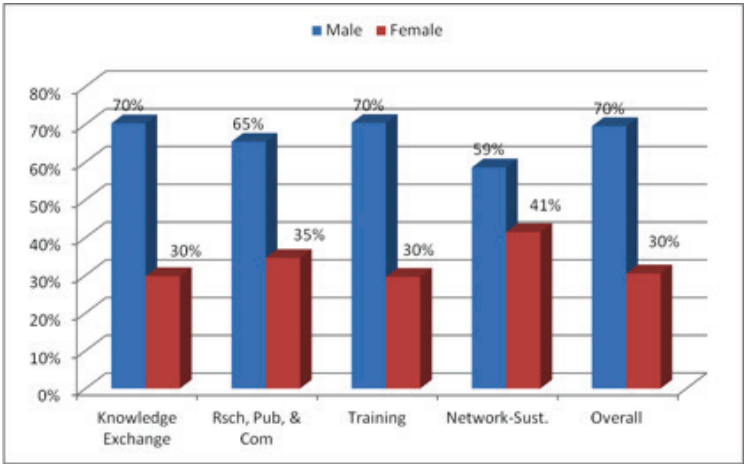


2.2.2.2 **Type of Participants**

Figure 6 shows the gender distribution of the beneficiaries of APNAC’s APSP activities. In all, APNAC-APSP activities benefitted 1,477 individuals, comprising Members of Parliament, Parliamentary Staff, representatives of CSOs, over the last five years. This figure excludes beneficiaries of the Network’s publications. The graph shows that the ratio of male to female participants across all the activities was fairly stable. In all activities there were more males than females. The closest the two genders came was in Networking and Sustainability activities. Overall, 7 out every 10 participants were males.

Though it was the policy of the Centre and the Network to ensure that its activities benefitted both Genders equally, its implementation is always subject to the distribution of the genders in parliament.

Figure 6: Beneficiaries of APNAC's APSP Activities by Genders



Chapter Three: Key Results

The implementation of activities by African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC), under the DFATD-funded Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Program (APSP) for Budget Oversight, has led to the achievement of certain key results. Though these results might not entirely be the outcomes outlined in the Logic Model, they are a natural consequence of addressing corruption and therefore contribute towards addressing the LM outcomes. This chapter of the study discusses some of these key results.

3.1 Revitalisation of APNAC Secretariat and National Chapters

The implementation of the APSP led to the relocation of the APNAC Secretariat from Nairobi to Accra, where they were not only provided with a physical office space, but also recruited three permanent staff – an Executive Director, a Program Officer, and a Program and Administrative Assistant – to man the office. The capacities of these staff were built over time to facilitate its operations and to better coordinate the activities of its National Chapters, especially those in the APSP countries.

Operating from this outfit, the Secretariat was provided with the necessary equipment to make them functional, including keeping an active and independent online presence through its own website.

Once operational, the Secretariat has worked to revitalise some of its inactive National Chapters, especially those within the APSP countries, and has ensured that they are reconstituted after every parliamentary election.

With the exception of APNAC-Zambia which had an active chapter and the Senegal and Kenya whose chapters could best be described as partially active, as they were run by only a few committed members without any clearly defined guidelines with sporadic activities, all the other chapters in the APSP countries were inactive at the inception of the APSP. Currently, all the Chapters in the seven PPs are active and major efforts have been taken to make them visible. As discussed below, most of the Chapters have partnered with CSOs in the implementation of its activities.

3.2 Sustainability of the Network

The convergence in the aims of the APSP and APNAC means that, well-resourced and functioning Chapters would lead to a continuous strive towards the achievement of the APSP outcomes of addressing corruption in the budget process. In view of this, the Secretariat implemented activities that were

directed at ensuring the sustainability of the Network. This included the development of a Five-Year Strategic Plan to provide guidelines for its future activities.

The goals of the strategic plan include:

- *Increase APNAC's presence and participation in Africa and at a global level;*
- *Provide leadership development to APNAC members;*
- *Strengthen APNAC Chapters and their outreach;*
- *Generate interest and identify new financing partners as well as explore innovative ways to mobilise internal resources; and*
- *Undertake research to strengthen capacity of National Chapters.*

The Secretariat took advantage of certain conferences to introduce their strategic plan to possible funders and partners. This was the case at the Regional West and Central Africa United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) workshop in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, on the theme Understanding and Sharing Lessons Learned on the UNCAC Review Mechanism.

At the workshop, the Secretariat, after facilitating the session on Monitoring the Process, Implementing the Recommendations and the Integration of the UNCAC with other Review Process in Africa, discussed possible areas of collaboration with several institutions, including United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and Transparency International (TI), present.

Furthermore, the Secretariat has been registered as an independent entity. This will enable it to operate as within the necessary rules and regulations and make it attractive for funding. As part of its sustainability efforts, the Secretariat validated and reviewed the Network's Constitution for adoption by the National Chapters, who are expected to draw their own constitution from this in a way as it fits their circumstances.

One of the central goals of the Secretariat is to build viable country Chapters that gradually become financially autonomous to ensure that they survive long after the APSP funding is over.

Consequently, individual National Chapters of APNAC have also taken steps to ensure their sustainability. APNAC-Zambia has been offered an office space within the National Assembly of Zambia that is furnished with office equipment to facilitate its operations. The office functions as a sort of secretariat for the Chapter. In view of this, the Chapter has recruited two permanent staff – a Project Manager and a Program Officer – to run the Chapter's secretariat. This will preserve the institutional memory and bridge the programming gap

that appears when some of its members are not returned to parliament. With its well-developed work-plan, the Chapter has been able to attract different funders who have contributed financially towards its implementation. Ghana, Uganda, and Tanzania each has a one-man Secretariat that serves to coordinate the activities of the Network in their various countries. In Benin, the Chapter works with CSO representatives in the implementation of its activities. Forum Civil and TI-Senegal have partnered with APNAC-Senegal in executing the Chapter's activities.

The Kenya Chapter has also become a parliamentary caucus. This recognition and elevation has boosted its sustainability as they are now in a position to receive financial support from the National Assembly. The Chapter is partnered by TI-Kenya in the implementation of its activities. It has also developed a Code of Conduct and membership guidelines for its members.

3.3 Advocacy – Addressing Corruption in Core Countries

The development of tools to identify and address corruption is one of the duties the Secretariat carries out to support the National Chapters and increasing the capacity of APNAC to address corruption in the budget process is a direct APSP outcome. Consequently, the Secretariat, through resources provided by the APSP, carried out a series of advocacy campaigns aimed at addressing a teething problem in a PP.

Sometimes this takes the form of proposals for obsolete laws – laws that have become ineffective because perhaps processes have changed and new approaches have been adopted – to be amended; or the plugging of holes of a new law because its implementation has uncovered gaps, which were previously not considered. In some situations, it means proposing entirely new bills to address a particular concern. They also included creating public awareness about corruption through the mass media and also questioning the Executive on specific corruption issues. These advocacies took the form of pilot projects by APNAC-PPs.

3.3.1 Public-Private Partnership, Benin

To address the need for the control and the oversight of major investments in infrastructure and other publicly funded projects in Benin, APNAC-Benin drafted two bills on Public-Private Partnership with technical support from the Centre through the APNAC Secretariat. The bills explored financing, construction, operation, maintenance, and transfer of infrastructure development by the private sector. Two bills were produced for consideration by the

National Assembly: the Build-Operate-Transfer Bill, which deals with regulating the Public-Private Partnership (PPP); and the Requisition Bill, which deals with the handling of requisition in infrastructure projects. These Bills have been communicated to the National Assembly for action to be taken.

3.3.2 Proposals to Review Procurement Act, Ghana

Members of APNAC- Ghana have reviewed the Public Procurement Act (Act 663) with the aim strengthening it. A communiqué resulting from the process has been communicated to the public through press releases and shared with parliament for the necessary action to be taken. This was carried out to remove bottlenecks and close avenues for corruption.

3.3.3 Transparency Laws, Senegal

The Senegal Chapter of APNAC has taken significant steps to address several transparency concerns including:

1. *Asset declaration;*
2. *Political party funding; and*
3. *Conflict of interest.*

The Chapter began with drafting a bill that demands that public officials declare their assets. This particular bill has made its way to the House and is likely to be passed in the earliest possible time. The debate now is on conflict of interest. Some members demand that there should be a separate law to address this; others are of the view that part is addressed by the Asset Declaration Bill and part by the Constitution of the country.

However, the Chapter is gradually working its way through its priority list. The political will to back these initiatives by the APNAC Chapter is weak. Even though the Network is formed by the different political parties, it is difficult for the executives of APNAC-Senegal to convince the leaders of Parliament to adopt these bills.

3.3.4 Anti-Corruption Manual, Monitoring Tools, and Code of Ethics, Zambia

APNAC-Zambia has taken their advocacy beyond its membership. The Chapter has developed a handbook on anti-corruption for all members of the National Assembly. This is aimed at arming, not only its members but also the wider MP population, with the necessary tools for detecting and addressing corruption. It is also to inform MPs on what constitute abuse of public ethics and therefore corruption. According to the Speaker of parliament, Rt. Hon. Justice P. Matibi-

ni, The handbook will equip parliamentarians with the necessary information to get them started on comprehending fully the issue of corruption. It will assist the Members of Parliament to have, at their fingertips, the legal framework on corruption at the local, regional, and international levels.

Most importantly, it will familiarise Members of Parliament with anti-corruption in Zambia so that they, in turn, can inculcate this knowledge in the minds of their electorates.

To strengthen the oversight function of Parliament and advance the fight against corruption, in accordance with the outcomes of the APSP, the Chapter has developed tools for monitoring and assessing the performance of government programs especially anti-corruption initiatives. Three different tools will be used to assess interventions implemented at three different levels – public agencies, parliamentary committees, and the constituency levels.

The first tool is targeted at assessing interventions implemented within public agencies such as Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs). Specifically, Members of Parliament will seek to monitor and assess the performance of the 'Integrity Committee Initiative', a government anti-corruption initiative aimed at curbing corruption among public agencies, being rolled out in twenty-six agencies. The second tool aims at assessing the performance of Parliamentary Committees that have the core role of guarding the public purse and thereby fighting corruption.

The third and final tool developed will assess government programs and initiatives implemented at the constituency level. Unlike the first two sets of tools which require the direct involvement of MPs, this tool will involve locally recruited personnel from the respective Constituency Offices who will collect information on the relevant programs. To facilitate this process APNAC-Zambia has started the process of negotiating with the Parliamentary Reform Program's department on how best to collaborate with the Constituency Offices to perform this task. APNAC Members and the local constituency recruits will be trained in the application of these tools.

The Chapter intends to pilot these tools on a small scale to allow for fine-tuning and validation. The outcome of these assessments will feed into the design of evidence-based and targeted interventions to advance the fight against corruption.

APNAC-Zambia has developed a Code of Ethics for its members. The Code of Ethics outlines rules and conducts regulating the public and private lives of its members. It calls on MPs, as representatives of the people, to be selfless under all circumstances and should live by example.

3.3.5 Development of Public Finance Management Laws, Kenya

During the drafting of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, APNAC-Kenya worked closely with the Kenya Chapter of Transparency International on the Chapter VII of the constitution which dealt with public finance management. This was to ensure that rigorous laws capable of addressing and preventing corruption were developed and enshrined in the constitution.

3.4 Renewed and Reinforced Voice on the Fight against Corruption

The ultimate mandate of APNAC as an organisation and also in the APSP is to lead the fight against corruption by providing the relevant tools to Members of Parliament and the Public. An active Network is therefore a network that is capable of identifying, exposing,

and fighting corruption. A natural consequence of the revitalisation is the renewed and reinforced voice from parliament on the fight against corruption. Since the inception of the APSP, most of the chapters have admitted new members and have developed the capacity of these members who have renewed their commitments to addressing issues of corruption using tools that have been made available to them. The advocacy activities embarked upon by the members is one example of steps and measures taken by these Parliaments.

In addition, some National Chapters have taken the fight further. For instance, Members of the

APNAC Uganda Vows to Fight Corruption:

A glance at the daily press over the years shows that corruption in Uganda is on the increase; that for every person implicated, there are always influential people and an unsuspecting public ready and willing to defend them. Personal and party interests have been given priority at the expense of national interest. However, it is evident that to successfully fight corruption, all citizens – including civil society – must play an active role. Our resolve as APNAC-Uganda is to recruit more crusaders (be they MPs, civil society, academia, media or ordinary citizens) in the fight against corruption. We assure our country men and women that we will associate with all like-minded Ugandans and we promise to take the anti-corruption crusade to districts and all corners of the country, including academic institutions.

Hon. Gerald Karuhanga (MP Parliament of Uganda and Chairman of ANAC-Uganda, APNAC; Newsletter Vol. 1 Issue 5)

Ugandan Chapter declared their intention to continue the fight against corruption in all spheres of public life. Similarly, APNAC-Zambia renewed their commitments to fight corruption at the launch of its Code of Ethics. These public affirmations and actions are necessary if corruption is to be effectively addressed.

3.5 Leveraging APNAC Membership

The relationship between a Chapter's activeness and the robustness of its membership to attrition is an interesting one. Though this will further be investigated, initial trend is telling. Whereas in countries such as Benin, Tanzania, and Senegal where the Chapter was inactive or partially active most of its members were not returned to parliament during the parliamentary elections, in Zambia the story was different.

Zambia was the only Chapter of APNAC, among the seven PPs, that was very active at the inception of the APSP. It is also the only chapter whose membership has shown some form of robustness to parliamentary elections. The 2011 elections saw a higher return rate of APNAC-Zambia members to parliament as compared to the general population. Of the 30 APNAC-Zambia members, 16 (or 53 percent) were returned compared to 60 percent of the general MP population. This 16 included members from across the political divide, five of which were holders of Executive positions and the other eleven were active APNAC Members.

3.6 Incorporating CSOs in the Fight against Corruption

Fighting corruption requires the pooling together of all possible efforts. It is not an activity that one institution or organisation can handle independently. Consequently, APNAC has over the years, under the APSP, worked with relevant representatives of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in executing its training workshops. This collaboration has improved the interaction between the legislature and these CSOs, providing a space for public concerns regarding corruption and corruptible tendencies to be shared and if possible raised on the floor of the House.

The Network has worked with national chapters of Transparency International in Ghana (the Ghana Integrity Initiative), Kenya, Senegal, and Zambia. Forum Civil in Senegal, and the Anticorruption Coalition of Uganda (ACCU), the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE) and the Uganda National NGO Forum in Uganda, have all partnered their countries' Chapters in the implementation of activities.

APNAC-Benin works closely with its contact group of CSOs representatives like the Centre Afrika Obota (CAO), Front des Organisations Nationales Anti-Corruption (FONAC), Social Watch, and others. One representative from this group was elected together with a Parliamentary Staff on to the Executive of the Chapter as its rapporteurs.

3.7 Dissemination of Information

The Secretariat has, since 2010, produced a semi-annual newsletter. The newsletter was used as a means of sharing information among the Chapters and with the larger society. In addition to highlighting the Network's activities in the various National Chapters, it was also used to spread news, especially emerging tools and strategies for fighting corruption, from anticorruption bodies such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), Global Organisation of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC), Transparency International, and researched papers from individuals on the fight against corruption.

Chapter Four: Challenges

The APNAC Secretariat has oscillated between dormancy and vibrancy. Currently, the Secretariat is in a state of quasi-vibrancy, as its source of regular funds over the last five years has ended. In the last five years of working through the PC-Africa office under the APSP, the Secretariat has carried out several activities. The consistency in funding and the expansion in its responsibilities have provided the platform for learning; however, within the same learning space have come its challenges.

4.1 Institutional Challenges

APNAC Secretariat Sustainability: Failure of APNAC to secure adequate resource (financial and human) to sustain itself beyond the Project was identified as the fourth Development Risk on the Risk Register and was rated as high or likely to occur. Even though the Secretariat has taken significant steps to ensuring that it becomes sustainable, these efforts have not as yet yielded the necessary results. Consequently, though the future sustainability prospects may seem high but in the interim, the end of the APSP threatens to derail this gain.

The end of the APSP will not only affect the sustainability of the Secretariat but will also affect most of the National Chapters as well. The Tanzania chapter, though active with a leadership in place, should at best be described as passively active. These chapters do not initiate their own programs and rely on the Secretariat for training activities. Their fragility will likely affect their sustainability should the Secretariat's existence be threatened.

Fluidity in Membership: The high attrition rate of MPs has affected the smooth functioning of the National Chapters. For instance, the Benin and Senegal chapters had to be reconstituted after those countries' elections in 2011 and 2012 respectively, as almost all of the members were not returned to parliament. In Ghana the attrition was more than fifty percent. The highest return rate the Network has experienced was in Zambia where 16 out of its 30 members (53 percent return rate) were returned to parliament. Besides, membership is voluntary and though former MPs could still hold their membership, they cannot hold executive positions, and with time interest wanes as they settle down to other activities.

Make-Up of APNAC Members: The majority of APNAC members belong to opposition parties rather than the government of the day, though the situation is improving with three of the seven APNC Chapters in PPs showing sem-

blance of a uniform spread of membership. Regardless of these improvements, this phenomenon deserves to be changed if long-term impact is to be made by the Network. This challenge might result from the general inability of the legislature to assert itself from the Executive, which makes most MPs unwilling to criticise their own government and therefore unwilling to be in a network that demands that he or she does. And in situations when governing parties change, membership also changes accordingly. This has been the reason for the delay in the passage of most of the Bills developed as pilot projects in PPs, especially Ghana, Benin, and Senegal.

Minimal Support from Leadership: The perennial skewed make-up of APNAC's membership has resulted in the minimal support the Network receives for its advocacies from parliamentary leadership. Thus, though the Network undertakes several advocacies, there is little uptake of their proposals by the National Assemblies, which have larger and bigger impact on public policies.

4.2 Implementation Challenges

Activities during Election Years: The nature of working with elected parliamentarians is such that during election years, they are unavailable for activities. They move en masse to their constituencies to campaign for re-election. This is a feature in all PPs. Thus unless critically planned, activity implementation in an electoral year is almost impossible.

Slow Change from Advocacy: This is a general challenge that characterises advocacy and or governance. Change does occur, but it does so at its own pace. The structure of APNAC and its activities is such that they can only advocate for laws to be amended or policies to be adopted to address corruption or corruptible tendencies. The Network can only make proposals. The real change lies with the leaders of parliaments and with the ruling government. Change will only come if the interests of all parties involved converge or if they are convinced that their interests are common or if the power from without is stronger to have a huge impact on the decision-makers involved. This lack of convergence of interests makes change a slow process.

Table 1: APNAC Newsletters Published under APSP (2010 - 2014)

Title	Version	Month, Year
A word from the President (<i>Mot du Président</i>)	Vol. 1 Issue 1	May, 2010
Parliamentary Ethics & Accountability	Vol. 1 Issue 2	October, 2010
Call to Partner APNAC in the fight against Corruption- (<i>S'associer au Réseau APNAC dans la lutte contre la Corruption</i>)	Vol. 1 Issue 3	April, 2011
Restore Hope To Your People MPs Urged (<i>Faire renaitre l'espoir au sein des populations: exhortation à l'endroit des députés</i>)	Vol. 1 Issue 4	October, 2011
Ugandan MPs Vow To Fight Corruption- (<i>Les députés Ougandais s'engagent pour la lutte contre la corruption</i>)	Vol. 1 Issue 5	February, 2012
APNAC Members Must Be Role Models – Speaker Tanzania (<i>Les membres du réseau APNAC doivent être des Modèles – Présidente, Assemblée Nationale-Tanzanie</i>)	Vol. 1 Issue 6	October, 2012
DECISION TIME FOR APNAC!...as members elect new leadership at General Assembly 2013 (<i>APNAC A LA CROISSEE DES CHEMINS !... Les membres désignent de nouveaux Responsables à l'Assemblée Générale de Kampala, 2013</i>)	Vol. 1 Final Edition	March, 2013

End Notes

- i. Combatting Corruption, Improving Governance in Africa – Regional Anti-Program for Africa (2011-2016) <http://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/publications/combating-corruption-improving-governance-in-africa-2011-2016.pdf> (also at <http://graphic.com.gh/archive/Politics/over-148-billion-lost-to-corruption-au-report.html>)
- ii. <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/interact/>
- iii. Paolo Mauro (1997) Why Worry About Corruption? International Monetary Fund, February 1997 accessed from www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/issues6/ on February 11, 2014.
- iv. Discussed in Jie Bai, Seema Jayachandra, Edmund J. Malesky, and Benjamin A. Olken: Does Economic Growth Growth Reduce Corruption? Theory and Evidence from Vietnam, September 22, 2013. Accessed from economics.mit.edu/files/8777 on February 11, 2014

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