

Working Paper 2015-2

## **Tax Bargains**

Understanding the Role Played by Public and Private Actors in Influencing Tax Policy Reform in Uganda

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prepared for the UNRISD project on Politics of Domestic Resource Mobilization

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The project seeks to contribute to global debates on the political and institutional contexts that enable poor countries to mobilize domestic resources for social development. It examines the processes and mechanisms that connect the politics of resource mobilization and demands for social provision; changes in state-citizen and donor-recipient relations associated with resource mobilization and allocation; and governance reforms that can lead to improved and sustainable revenue yields and services. For further information on the project visit <a href="https://www.unrisd.org/pdrm">www.unrisd.org/pdrm</a>.

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### **Acronyms**

CSOs Civil Society Organizations
DRB Domestic Relations Bill

FOWODE Forum for Women in Democracy

GDP Gross Domestic Product

IFIs International Financial Institutions
IMF International Monetary Fund

ITA Income Tax Act

KACITA Kampala City Traders Association

LRC Law Reform Commission

MOFPED Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development

MPs Members of Parliament

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PAYE Pay As You Earn

PSA Production Sharing Agreement PSF Private Sector Foundation

PVOC Pre-import Verification of Conformity to Standards Programme

SAP Structural Adjustment Programme

SEATINI Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations

Institute

UGIETA Uganda Import and Export and Traders Association

UMA Uganda Manufacturers Association

URA Uganda Revenue Authority

VAT Value Added Tax

#### **Summary**

With the exception of the role played by International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund, there is little documentation of the role, if any, played by actors other than the state in influencing tax policy reform in Uganda. This paper conducts an investigation into the extent to which actors such as IFIs, members of parliament, the private sector, civil society organizations (CSOs) and noninstitutionalized actors write their voices into tax legislation. We also seek to understand the mechanisms used by these actors to influence tax policy reform. Our findings reveal that more organized and economically powerful actors have more opportunities for contributing to the authoring of tax laws. These actors frequently use institutional channels, even though the technologies employed are rarely publicized. There is another group of institutionalized actors (particularly CSOs) who have not traditionally engaged with tax matters but who are increasingly seeking audience in tax debates. CSOs have the potential to influence legislation but their interaction with tax issues is too recent to result in any visible reforms. Non-institutionalized groups for their part use less formal (or extra-legal) means to engage with tax issues. As a result, their bargaining processes are often less coordinated, more reactionary and less sustainable.

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