HOW EUROPE CORRUPTED AFRICA: REFLECTIONS FROM WITHIN

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ABSTRACT: *This paper demystifies world-view that Africa is corrupt. The continent has been perceived as corrupt and no attempt was made to correct this world-view. A new picture about Africa needs to be sought for the continent to attract investors for prosperity and sustainable development. Contrary to this world view, this paper argues that Africa was corrupted by Europe directly or indirectly. This argument follows on the heels of Walter Rodney who traced how Europe underdeveloped Africa. This paper argues that corruption in Africa was sponsored by external factors. The loans granted to developing countries in Africa were instead used to finance buying of commodities from the same capitalist industrialised countries causing massive poverty. A combination of European models and institutions namely Structural Adjustment Programs; New Public Management; World Bank and International Monetary Fund intended to promote economic development, unleashed corruption to its unprecedented levels.*

KEYWORDS: Corruption; African continent; Structural Adjustment Programs; New Public Management; Direct and Indirect rule; World Financial institutions

INTRODUCTION

Corruption has become a contemporary phenomenon due to its potential to undermine service delivery intended to address poverty among the masses. Transparency International's 2010 Corruption Perceptions Index singled out Africa as the worst continent in terms of corruption. The gravity of the problem was underlined by the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, in his statement following the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations Convention against corruption:

Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government's ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustices and discouraging foreign investment and aid.

Put into context corruption has been perceived as the single greatest threat to open and transparent governance, sustainable economic development, and the democratic process, as well as to effective business practice (Salminen et al., 2007:81). However, corruption is not comprised of a single facet but is in fact a multi-facetted phenomenon that combines a number of variables, namely abuse of entrusted power for private benefits, low integrity, e.g. via the taking of bribes, maladministration, fraud and nepotism (Salminen et al., 2007:81). Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) in 2012 found that 50% of African countries scored below 50% (0 signifying "highly corrupt" with 100 being "corruption free"). Corruption is a threat to both the developed and developing countries as they try to promote economic, social and political development in order to create increased wealth for their people and also

to put an end to hunger. It seems that the blight of corruption does not know borders and boundaries of states. The only differences appear to be the levels of corruption in comparative terms. However, Africa has been labeled a corrupt continent and this unfair generalization has become a world-view which is apparently accepted without questioning.

Answers to a question like "is Africa generally corrupt?" tend merely to endorse European perceptions of Africa. In his book "How Europe underdeveloped Africa", Rodney (2012) traces the underdevelopment of Africa as the work of Europe. The implication is that corruption in Africa is also a European export. The external factors that brought corruption into Africa need to be unearthed in an objective manner rather than just to embrace the world-view and see Africa in Manichean terms.

"Administrative corruption" is arguably a foreign and alien practice imposed by colonial governments. According to Azeanya (2013) this type of corruption should not be associated with Africa because of its past values, standards, checks and balances. Gennaioli and Rainer (2005:1) argue that Africa cannot be labelled as corrupt because pre-colonial Africa possessed centralized political institutions which had the capacity to limit corruption even during and post-colonial Africa. However, according to Alemazung (2010:62), while colonialism imposed corruption on Africa, there were internal factors such as greedy and irresponsible leaders whose corruption and mismanagement led to the slow pace of sustainable development in the political, economic and social arenas. In order to demystify the general view that Africa is generally corrupt, this paper traces the factors that contributed to corruption in Africa. According to Rodney (2012):

"to know the present we must look into the past and to know the future we must look into the past and the present."

The objective of this paper is to argue that corruption in Africa is a European export through capitalist administrative and economic interventions. This paper is divided into the following sections: a conceptual framework; the history and culture of pre-colonial Africa; pre-colonial governance in Africa; direct and indirect rule; Structural Adjustment Programmes and New Public Management. This paper therefore, argues against the perception that Africa is generally corrupt but seeks to show that it has been corrupted by western powers.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Before attempting to analyse the factors that contributed to corruption in Africa, it is important to explore definitions of corruption. In Africa corruption is seen to entail level political graft involving millions of dollars (Hanson 2009). Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) (2005) regards corruption as a major cause of poverty: therefore ensure the effectiveness of international aid corruption must be dealt with in order to combat poverty. Osoba (1996:372) defines corruption as:

A form of antisocial behaviour by an individual or social group which confers unjust or fraudulent benefits on its perpetrators, is inconsistent with the established legal norms

and prevailing moral ethos of the land and is likely to subvert or diminish the capacity of the legitimate authorities to provide fully for the material and spiritual well-being of all members of the society in a just and equitable manner. Lipset & Lenz (2000: 112-114) view it as an act of amassing wealth by means of crooked ways at the expense of the same public they purport to be assisting. Treiman (1998:1) views corruption as the misuse of public office for private gain. Relatively speaking therefore, corruption rates are different from continent to continent and from country to country. Transparency International sees it as:

involving behaviour on the part of officials in the public sector, whether politicians or civil servants, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves, or those close to them, by the misuse of the public power entrusted to them.

Corruption may take a number of forms such as abuse of positions for personal advantage or for the advantage of another person; bribery, theft, embezzlement and fraud; evasion of payment of government revenues, taxes, rates fees and other dues; practicing of nepotism, tribalism, clanism; discrimination on the basis of religion, gender and disability; inversion and distortion of social values, including soliciting for and giving sexual and other favours - and negligence in terms of professional ethics.

Transparency International defines corruption as "the abuse of power for private gains". This is consistent with Treisman's (1998: 2) definition, i.e. the misuse of public office for private gain. It is further perceived as the "behaviour of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends" (Huntington 1989:377). There is a type of corruption that takes place where public sector officials are paid bribes in order to act unethically, thereby failing to implement public sector prescripts aimed at promoting service delivery to needy communities. Hellman et al., (2000: 2) refer to this type of corruption as "administrative corruption" since public officials, motivated by private payments they receive, distort the prescribed implementation of official rules and policies.

LITERATURE/THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

History and culture of pre-colonial Africa

 The negative impact of imperialism's consolidation of finance capital continues to undermine their indigenous culture and impoverish Africans in all spheres of life: thus the negative economic, political, social, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world since the days of Berlin Conference in 1884 are immeasurable. This impoverishment has been further aided by the workings of the International Monetary Fund (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:2). Culture is the product of the history which determines the whole self-conception of a people, both individually and collectively. It mediates between a person and his or her self-concept, between individuals and others and also between an individual and nature (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:15). The significance of culture in this case is that it embodies moral, ethical, and aesthetic values which provide them with a tool to view themselves and their place in the universe (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:14). Rodney (2012:3) writes that from time immemorial men have enjoyed coming together in groups to hunt and for the sake of

survival. He goes on to stress the strength of relations within social groups in understanding how their society functions. Moreover Rodney (op.cit.) suggests that every group of people has its own style or model of development which must be respected as such. According to Rodney (2012:4):

all people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature.

A consideration of the character of the African continent is important in addressing the question, "is Africa generally corrupt?" This character has been moulded by her history and culture. An understanding of this character will enable the reader to judge whether Africa is generally a corrupt continent or not. The epochs the continent has passed through will have had a significant impact on shaping its character and assist us in answering the question that has precipitated the penning of this paper.

However, African history and culture are used in contrast with the Western Europe and North American civilization (Rodney 2012:34). Culture is construed as a people's total way of life: it therefore embraces their conduct in terms of eating, walking, talking, and how they celebrate death and the arrival of new-born babies. Culture therefore, should be viewed as critical in the analysis of African behaviour.

Europeans have their own unique culture defined on the basis of their "civilization". Why then do we use the same standards of judgment for different peoples? Clearly this is unfair since this implies favouring value system over the other. Does the concept of corruption reflect how it is understood in Africa? This question is raised here because during colonialism and imperialism both Europeans and Africans did not take into consideration the uniqueness of the features of African. Administrative corruption in Africa has come to be perceived as reflecting a foreign culture since pre-colonial Africa was characterised by strong ethical values aimed at ensuring that social justice bound the society together (Azeanya 2013).

Pre-colonial governance in Africa

Before the colonial era, governance was conducted in such a way that every member of society had to obey the rule of the time (Azeanya 2013). But how did Africa then, implement the laws when there was no writing? Azeanya (2013) asserts that they were "coached in supernatural terms to instil fear and be instilled in the sub-consciousness". To amplify this argument, children would be told that if they stole fruit from someone's field, their hands would cramp up. Similarly, if children walked in the night alone they would meet ghosts. Children were also warned that they should never accept any gift given to them by strangers because they might be ritually murdered. African communities also practiced modes of production which adhered to the principles of communalism according to which African life was administered. Matrilineal and patrilineal frameworks became the organizational structures around which every family member benefitted. The land was also owned collectively by a family or even a clan and no one single person owned it. A leader was recognised because the family or descendants were all interconnected (Rodney 2012:36).

In contemporary Africa, particularly in South Africa, this is still often the accepted practice. The land is held in trust by the king and every member of the community pays a small amount of money to the king or his proxies. Should this be perceived as corruption or bribing? No, this is accepted as such and no one complains. Civic structures have tried to challenge the authority of kings and have allocated residential stands to some residents: however this is not working. Communities continue to respect the authority of kings and chiefs. African communities have benefitted from the traditional communal arrangement. If a woman needed to build a house she would brew mutomboti (African beer) and call men from around the area and they would come and build that house for her. The same applied to a man who wanted to thatch the roof of his house: he would call local men and they would assist him in thatching and he provided them with mutomboti. Can we define this as bribery or corruption while it was integral to a communal way of life?

Communalism produced a classless society where there was equal access to the land and equality in the distribution of that land (Rodney 2013:38). Colonialism sought to control African culture as a way to control its tools of self-definition in relation to others in the following two ways: firstly, destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of the indigenous peoples' cultures, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education systems, oratory and literature while imposing the language of the colonizers, thereby dominating the mentality of the colonized (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:16). While colonizers descended on Africa to conquer and govern with their imposed capitalist markets, pre-colonial Africa was characterised by different stages of development, i.e. low levels of development in terms of productive forces (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:65).

It was clear from the beginning that the colonial powers aimed at dominating African societies. Capitalism inevitably leads to exploitation of the people and treats workers as slaves or pays them meagre salaries. The exploitation and low salaries led to massive poverty which eventually destroys the livelihood of Africans and unleashes corruption s when the poor try to escape the poverty trap. Europeans therefore governed Africa through direct and indirect rule systems which are discussed below.

Direct rule

Direct rule was imposed in order to address the challenge of administering the conquered colonies. Direct rule replaced local governance with European rule which was hailed as "civilized", thus forming a "single legal order" (Mamdani 1996:16). It should be clear that the value system of Africa that embodied its ethical order was destroyed and replaced by one that was foreign to the continent. Colonial government thus perfected the work of the missionaries who laid the foundations that destroyed African culture (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:37). Africa was compelled willy-nilly to copy the European way of life. Thus Africa surrendered itself to an alien culture and its practices (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:100). Leopold Sedar Senghor (cited in Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:19) puts it more explicitly, as follows:

We express ourselves in French since French has a universal vocation and since our message is also addressed to French people and others. In our languages [i.e. African

languages] the halo that surrounds the words is by nature merely that of sap and blood; French words send out thousands of rays like diamonds.

This view reveals how the whole fabric of African culture was collapsing and a new type of man had risen to control every sphere of African life. Yet it was not every African who would enjoy the benefits of being a new man. Only the "civilized" would enjoy those European privileges (Mamdani 1996:16). This clearly created a disjuncture between the "un-civilized" and the "civilized" in the same country. This suggests that Africans were swept of their feet and left floating between the earth and heaven. The destruction of Africans and their culture was became especially evident in the Portuguese and Belgian colonial states where Africans were forcibly removed from their dwellings and forced into what was tantamount to slave labour (Rodney 2012:167). The capitalists dictated poor conditions and forced Africans to become corrupt in order to escape hunger. According to Rodney (2012) this was the cause of the "underdevelopment" of Africa. In order to perpetuate this underdevelopment, anyone who dared to challenge the colonial powers would be eliminated. A case in hand is former Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, who was assassinated after challenging the Belgian and US powers.

After being sworn in as Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba challenged the outgoing Belgian colonizers by proclaiming that, "we will show the whole world what black people can accomplish once they are free…" However Lumumba's government faced a rebellion from some of his own countrymen who were supported by the foreign powers. When Lumumba sought support from the Soviet Union all hell broke loose as a result of this decision.
For example, the US ambassador in Belgium reported to his government in Washington that:

The Lumumba government threatens our vital interests in Congo and Africa generally…[a] principal objective …must therefore be to destroy [the] Lumumba government as [it is] now constituted, but at the same time we must find…another horse to back which would be acceptable in [the] rest of Africa (Van Dijk 2006:145).

The new horse to be backed was Mobutu Sese Seko who became corrupt and a dictator but was tolerated because he did not challenge the foreign powers. His corrupt activities were not challenged as a result. It is clear that anyone deemed supportive and willing to be exploited and manipulated was protected by the foreign powers as it is evident in the case of Lumumba and Mobutu Sese Seko.

Indirect rule

Indirect rule was initiated by Lord Lugard who represented the British colonial governments. This enabled them to get a foot in Africa particularly because they were not familiar with the local populace. The political goal was to implement their colonial policies such as controlling the overall life of the Africans. They also wanted agents who would hand over African resources such as mines, minerals and the land to them.

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In order to accomplish these goals they used traditional leaders to access the continent. This was easy because Africa was mainly under the control of traditional leaders whom the local population generally obeyed. Traditional leaders thus abdicated their duty to their communities, thus surrendering their sovereignty (Ndege 2009:3). Indirect rule removed governance from traditional leaders and their communities. Governance was thus centralized, racialized and ethicised and this arrangement was inherited by the new independent states (Ndege 2009:4). As a result, Africa failed to develop home-grown governance suitable to the continent hence the many tribal wars which also helps to explain the sowing of seeds of corruption. Traditional leaders therefore acted on the instructions and directives of colonial powers and implemented their oppressive laws against their own people.

However, there is also a school of thought suggesting that indirect rule was a result of lack of communications systems to administer all the areas to be brought under the British sphere of influence (Mamdani 1996:73). It would seem that this was not the only dilemma: there was also the relatively small number of British and European settlers to help manage the Africans who outnumbered them in number (Mamdani 1996:73).

Marxist-Leninist commentators view the middle class of the new ruling capitalist class as responsible for corruption (SACP 1998: 14). They are perceived to be linked to international capital. Neo-colonialism feeds on resources found in Africa thereby continuing to under-develop Africa as alluded to by Rodney (2012). To illustrate this argument, Africa today is embroiled in armed civil wars which are clearly being perpetuated by external forces (Fanon 1967:82). This therefore, implies that the ultimate objective is to install puppet governments which provide exploiters with access to the resources of their countries to protect their unpopular regimes. Most of the funds provided to these puppet governments are not accounted for.

Structural Adjustment programmes

Structural adjustment programmes were designed to respond to the debt crisis that kept many a country (and specifically developing countries) in the 19th century in an "under-developing" stage (Jauch 2012). The former colonial masters were of the view that the economies of the former colonies needed to be structured in a manner conducive to growth and creation of job opportunities. Capital flew from such countries to Africa but because the structure of the economy did not take into consideration the needs of the local people it failed dismally. The World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) decided to intervene in order to rescue the African states (Swanepoel and De Beer 2000:255). The WB and IMF devised Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The role of SAPs was to restructure the economies of the former colonial states so that they would grow their economies (Swanepoel and De Beer 2000:255). The political role of the SAPs was to stop the newly established states from pursuing their socialist programmes through the promotion of the private sector. Administratively they wanted to curtail the role of the public sector by eliminating direct control and subsidies (Swanepoel and De Beer 2000: 256).

The SAPs encouraged the countries to curtail social expenditure and jobs in the public sector and also pay meagre salaries (Swanepoel and De Beer 2000:257). It is therefore clear that lower salaries were unable to match the soaring prices of commodities. Some children failed to attend school because the parents were out of work as results of these SAPs. This could also explain the situation in Marikana where a strike lasted for five months when miners demanded R12 500 per month (Twala n.d: 61).

The advent of "globalization" sugar-coats and perpetuates underdevelopment: for example, it unleashed the global financial crisis of the late 1990s and ushered in the economic recession that affected many a country, including Russia and Brazil (New Agenda 2003: 50). According to Nayyar (cited in the New Agenda 2003:54), globalization merely serves to promote "uneven development" since its beneficiaries are the developed countries. The failure of the structural adjustment programmes, according to Rodney (2012), forced recipients of the programmes to implement 'conservative macroeconomic policies', while at the same time 'expanding the role of the private market' (McCord et al., 2005:23).

The programmes of "structural adjustment" were clearly a shift from socialism which was a model African states adopted at independence. These structural adjustment programmes were imposed as bait for further loans to the recipient country. The loans that were granted to developing countries were used to finance the buying of the commodities from the capitalist industrialised countries from the North (Juach 2012). Finally this would suggest that there was no accountability with regard to the borrowed money: this opened the window for corruption by both the giver and the receiver. Thus the World Bank and IMF were key to the underdevelopment of Africa. To illustrate this point, in 1980 Africa's debt was US 567 billion. The interest kept on going up until it became almost impossible to pay it off, thus keeping Africa chained (Jauch 2012). In his "Moving the Centre", Ngugi wa Thiongo dreams of the day that "Africa will come back" (Cantalupo 1995:10). When this time comes, objective history about Africa shall be written and it will be free of label such as corruption. In order to arrive at this stage of liberating Africa, there will be a need for what Ngugi Wa Thiongo calls, "decolonizing the mind". This is the call for liberating the negative attitude about Africa and ensuring that it is freed from its colonial legacies.

The following are the findings of the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN) (2002:2) on the impact of SAPs:

Precipitous and indiscriminate trade liberalization, financial-sector liberalization policies, and the weakening of state support and the demand for local goods and services have devastated local industries, especially small and medium-sized enterprises that provide the bulk of national employment.

• Structural and sectoral policy reforms in the agricultural and mining sectors have undermined the viability of small farms, weakened food security and damaged the natural environment.

• A combination of labour-market reforms, lay-offs resulting from privatisations and civil service reforms, and the shrinking of labour-intensive productive sectors have

tremendously undermined the provision of workers. Employment levels dropped, jobs became more precarious, real wages deteriorated, income distribution became less equitable, and workers' rights and unions have been weakened as reforms allowed employers greater flexibility in establishing employment terms and conditions and public enterprises are privatized, unaccompanied by adequate regulation.

• Privatization of public entities, application of user fees to health care and education, and cuts made in social spending in national budgets reduced the poor's access to affordable services. Increases in school fees led to children dropping out of school. It is clear from the findings that SAPs contributed immensely to joblessness and poverty and this suggests that it should not be surprising that people in Africa engage in corrupt activities to make a living or merely to survive. African governments were forced to comply with imposed reforms which had an adverse effect on the continent. Therefore, this would suggest that the continent would seek means that would enable survival in order to respond to the imposed deadly "reforms".

New Public Management

The introduction of New Public Management (NPM) followed the introduction and failure of SAPs in the so-called Third World and in Africa in particular. The NPM followed the disaster that was created by SAPs which unleashed economic crises in African states. SAPs created economic misery that gave birth to poverty levels never seen before. Its focus was to parachute private management theories into public administration. Maravic and Reichaed (2003:84) are of the view that traditional public administration fomented corruption. According to Osborne et al., (2013:137), NPM's emphasis was on management approaches as opposed to an administrative approach to public service delivery. NPM seeks to eliminate bureaucracy and promote more efficiency by utilizing use of markets, competition, contracting out and setting performance targets (Haynes 2003). These elements of NPM were previously unknown in Africa. The variable of "contracting out" has predominantly been implemented in the public sector.

This paper takes a look at the aspect of contracting out since it is the one that is predominantly used for the procurement of services and goods in the public sector. It is the source of corrupt activities and thus requires attention. Contracting out is being implemented in the public delivery of services. It is predominantly implemented in urban services, and in ancillary health services, namely cleaning, laundry, catering and road maintenance (Larbi 1999:4). Contracting out has been bedevilled by lack of capacity to manage a network of contracts or development of monitoring and reporting systems as a package of public service delivery (Larbi 1999:4).

Corruption in the public sector takes place through a tendering system which is an attempt at outsourcing the purchasing of services and goods for government. Government officials are key in the processing and eventual awarding of such tenders to private or public people or service providers. These officials are tempted to solicit bribes through kick-backs, thus promoting corrupt activities. According to Larbi (1999:4), NPM employed international management consultants as advisors on reforms: these featured predominantly in Africa. The dichotomy between public and private values has the potential to promote corruption, particularly the sole dominance

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of market values. Traditional public sector values and ethical practices are submerged into business practices (Self 2000: 118). Despite the fact that NPM has the potential to undermine corruption through clear accounting principles and a transparent responsibility structure that promotes a better auditing system and creates checks and balances, it "highers the risk of corruption" (Janett 2000:204, cited in Maravic 2007:129). It should be clear therefore that the NPM is an imposition by Western countries on African States (Larbi 1999:5).

Contracting out and tendering processes have the potential of creating an environment that is open to abuse for corrupt purposes (Klifgaard 1998; Rose-Ackerman, 1978 cited in Maravic 2007:130). Corruption flourishes in an environment where government and private firms have commercial contractual relationships (Meny 2000:205).

METHODOLOGY

Research design
Research design is defined as strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the study. They are plans that guide the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose (Sellitz et al., 1965 cited in Blanche and Durrheim 1999: 29). It is a plan to collect and analyse evidence that makes it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions are asked. According to Creswell et al., (2010: 70), research design is a plan or strategy which moves from the underlying philosophical assumption to specify the selection of respondents, the data gathering techniques to be used and data analyses to be done. There are two major designs namely qualitative and quantitative. Actually there are two types design namely qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data are numerically non-measurable (Adams, et al., 2007, 85). Crowther and Lancaster (2009:75) state that qualitative design aim to explore areas where limited or no information exists and or to describe behaviours, themes trends, attitudes, needs or relations that are applicable to the units being analysed. This study therefore adopted qualitative design where the researcher aimed at giving data meaning, translate them or makes them understandable (Neuman, 160).

Data collection

Data are facts and figures collected for records or any statistical investigation. Two main sources of data are used for research purposes namely primary and secondary sources for data (Adams et al., 2007: 85). This study utilised secondary data which are briefly described below.

Secondary data
The researcher had collected a data that were available or collected for other research purposes (Adams, et al., 2007:85). Secondary data are not a new data. It must be examined before any data are collected for the first time. Those data were used because they answered the research questions of the study. Otherwise it would have been expensive to collect primary data for this kind of a study (Crowther and Lancaster 2009:89).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Corruption in Africa is a foreign imposition by the western countries. The SAPs and NPM are a testimony to this. The two are identical twins which have underdeveloped Africa through policies of the World Bank and IMF. They introduced activities which promoted corruption undermining the cultural and historical values that traditionally promoted accountability in Africa. African communities lived a communal life where everything was shared and there was no point in becoming corrupt since no one wanted to accumulate resources for him or herself. SAPS and NPM are without doubt capitalist instruments aimed at indebting Africa to the former colonial masters. NPM has brought with it decentralising systems, thus making it difficult to determine accountability: moreover managers were permitted discretionary power, unlike the Weberian system which promotes accountability through rigid protocol. In this case managers were at liberty to do as they wished. It is clear therefore that tendering and contracting processes are the locus of corrupt activities in the public sector.

CONCLUSION

This study did not focus on arguing whether Africa was corrupt or nor but that Africa was corrupted. It is clear from the literature that Africa was not naturally corrupt but was corrupted. Global financial institutions released loans to Africans states in order that those big countries which controlled them could be able to lay their hands on the African resources. Those leaders who did not oppose big powers were encouraged to plunder those loans which were approved to better the lives of the Africans. Those leaders who did not conform to hegemonic tendencies of the big powers were eliminated and replaced by those who were prepared to follow the instructions. More and more money was given to African states with huge interests which made it impossible for the recipients to pay back and the natural resources of those countries were attached to pay back the loans granted to them. There were strings attached to the releasing the loans to the African states such as reducing the social benefits as well as reducing workers which led to hunger and misery and the citizens looked for ways to survive. The citizens when faced with misery wanted to find a way to survive. NPM was the worst tool to promote corruption due to its emphasis on outsourcing of services as part of privatisation and this opened the door to plunder public resources to date.

FUTURE RESEARCH
There is a need for research that focusses on the pre-colonial public administration structures and the role of traditional authorities in the governance of their societies.

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