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Leadership and Corruption in Governance: A Case Study of Liberia

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LEADERSHIP AND CORRUPTION IN GOVERNANCE

A CASE STUDY OF LIBERIA

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A capstone paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for a Masters of Arts in Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation at SIT Graduate Institute, Brattleboro, Vermont, USA

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May 2016

Dr. Tatsushi Arai

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Student Name: Theresa Dumebi Okpokwu

Date: May 2016

DEDICATION

This Capstone is dedicated to my Mother, Mrs. Juliana Odiwe

I love you mummy- for you have always been there for me

Your price is far above the rubies

You give the warmest and sweetest smile

Your presence is like the sunshine on a cold day

Like the ray of light in times of helplessness

You are God's blessing to me....and us!

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ABSTRACT

Writers like Mutasa (2009) and Ebegbulem (2012) argues that Africa is both the poorest continent in the world and one of the richest in terms of natural resources. Consistent with this observation the history of Liberia indicates that corrupt leadership deprives the general population of its fair access to Africa's rich resources while exacerbating ineffective government bureaucracy and underdevelopment. The bureaucratized central government in turn entrenches corrupt practices which give rise to more serious underdevelopment as well as insurgencies and a possible state failure.

Given this background, this study examines how leadership and corruption in governance affects socioeconomic development. To this end it explores the effect of leadership and corruption on development in Liberia. It also identifies possible ways to curb corruption in public office. Relevant review of literature in the field of Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation along with extensive research into the history of governance in Liberia to develop inclusive appreciation of key elements that hinder development and growth in Africa. This paper employs qualitative analysis of literature to clarify the complexities of the effect of corruption and leadership in development. The United States Agency for International Development Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) in Liberia is used to develop an understanding of key elements that hinder development and growth. It is hoped that this study will enable program developers and advocates to better understand some of the reasons for the sustained underdevelopment in Africa. It is also hoped that the recommendations will aid decision-makers and legislators in their effort to create more effective development policies and ensure state stability.

INTRODUCTION

The Transparency International Human Development Index Report (2013) argues that development is slower in countries with higher levels of corruption. Corruption hinders growth (Tanzi 2002; Svensson 2005; Gyimah-Brempong 2002 cited in Ebegbulem 2012). Sub-Saharan region ranks very poorly in growth when compared with other regions in Africa (UNECA 2008). Governance standards in developing countries are generally lower when compared with developed countries. However, it is worse in African than other developing regions (Ndikumana 2007 cited in Baliaoune-Lutz and Ndikumana 2009). Africa is very rich in both human and natural resources. Yet the continent ranks low in human development index. The pitiable state of the continent can be attributed to leadership and corruption in governance. Corruption has tragically hindered economic development and growth in African and most people live on less than \$2 per day. Like a spider's web the tentacles of corruption are spread in every African country, Transparency International (2013). Corruption Watch (2014) explains that corruption is prevalent in every administrative office of government. It can also be found in the private sector. Lack of purposeful leadership is blamed for the high rate of corruption in Africa's administrative offices and governance. This is attributed to the abuse of power in the management of public funds which is prevalent in Africa. The report reveals that it constitutes 41 per cent of all complaints received in 2014. Corruption and leadership have been identified as the root causes of underdevelopment borne out of socio-economic and political problems in Africa.

Ebegbulem (2012) posited that where corruption is present, society suffers. Justice is denied the common people and policies that are not for the good of the citizens are formulated to perpetuate the unlawful use of power by those in government. The rule of law is weakened and the voice of the people silenced. Africa has long been perceived to be the most corrupt

continent¹. Some argue that corruption can be traced to the historical legacy of colonialism, which has set the tune for the current political culture of most states in Africa (Ogbechie 2000).

There is need for cogent measures against corruption, and everyone has a role to play in stopping corruption. The governments, donors, the private sector, civil society, the United Nations, and transnational companies all have to work together to curb corruption in Africa.

Ebegbulem(2012) quoted Kofi Annan, Former United Nations Secretary-General in his statement on the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations Convention against Corruption as saying:

“Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government’s ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid”- Kofi Annan. Liberia leadership history was characterized by lack of administrative direction, neglect and insensitivity to the need of its citizenry by those in political positions, fraud and drift. While the people of Liberia were suffering under economic hardship and poverty, Liberian leaders were working out strategies on how to siphon public funds and stay in office example is the Interim National Government. “They opposed all intervention for accountability and transparency to move the country forward” Gariba(2011).

¹ Report from Transparency International 2013: <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2013/results>

Discussion of Concepts

For the purpose of clarity key terms such as governance, basic human need, and conflicts will be explained in order to provide an indispensable background for readers interested in the field of Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation.

Governance

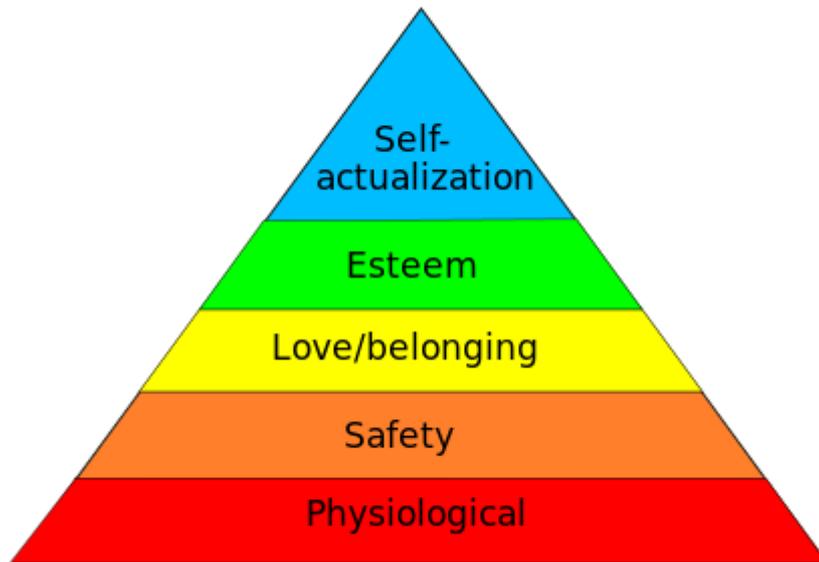
World Bank (1993) defines governance as the means through which power is exercised politically in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Governance has been defined also by Diedhiou (2007) as involving interaction between the formal institutions and those in civil societies. It refers to a process whereby those in political positions use power and authority to influence and formulate policies and decisions concerning public life and social upliftment. Governance is therefore much more than regime or state but includes the act of good government.

Government failures are the major and current challenges facing Africa states. A leadership position in Africa has constantly been used to control the population and extract resources from the countries rather than to serve the people. The legitimacy of the governments in most Africa countries have been undermine because of their inability to carry out public services for the common good of the populace. The culture of 'clientelism' where political leaders are only accountable to their party members is a common practice in Africa and this is what drives administrative abuse of office. Administrative abuse of power has enforced a vicious cycle of corruption and group centeredness. Governing as been reduced to party politics and officials are only concerned about their members while the basic human needs of citizens are neglected or undermined. As a result, public positions have become very lucrative and attractive. Groups struggle for the chance to hold power, while those in power hold tenaciously to it even at the detriment of national development and peace.

Basic human needs

When needs of the citizens are unmet, development and growth is denied and the society suffers. This can be a reflection of leadership failures. Maslow (1943) in his hierarchy of needs stated that it is motivation that drives the desire to want to achieve certain needs and when one need is fulfilled then the desire to fulfill the next need is stirred up in a person. In other words, the desire to achieve higher need comes up after achieving an immediate need. I deduced from his explanations that when much of the need of one category is met the need of another higher category begins to gain attention as being more important. The most common version of Maslow's (1943, 1954) hierarchy of needs are classified into five motivational needs; the pyramid is used to explain these hierarchical levels. The model is divided into basic needs also known as deficiency needs and they include physiological, love, esteem and safety. Second is the growth need which is also known as the self-actualization. The basic need motivates people to take action when they are unmet. When such needs are denied, the desire to fulfill them becomes even stronger.

The shape of a pyramid is usually used to illustrate Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The largest which is the most fundamental is represented at the bottom levels while the needs for self-actualization is at the top of the pyramid.



Maslow's hierarchy of needs: Adopted from: <http://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html>

He explains that physiological needs are human's physical requirement for survival. The body cannot function properly without these needs. Also the body will eventually fail if these needs go unmet after a period of time. Food, air and water are essential needs for metabolism in humans and animals. Clothing and shelter provide protection from the weather conditions. Second in importance to these needs is the individual's safety needs. When economic safety needs are unmet, reactions such as grievances, anger and irritation manifest themselves. Personal, health and financial securities are all part of safety needs. Third in importance is the interpersonal needs and this involves feelings of belonging. This need is met through group identity. The need to belong and identify with a particular group, often result to cultural violence in time of conflict. Respect is an essential need for all humans. Esteem presents the human desire to be accepted, cherish and valued. Maslow classified esteem into two needs. He describes the two versions of esteem needs as the lower version and a higher version. The lower version of esteem is the individual need for respect from others. This may include a need for status, recognition, fame, prestige, and attention. Self-respect is the higher version.

A person that is denied of self respect may experience inferiority complex, anger, weakness, helplessness, and ultimately violence. Maslow describes self-actualization as the aspiration of a person to accomplish his/her full potential.

Burton (1993) explained that deep-rooted social conflict springs from unsatisfied basic needs. Increase in violence around the world can be attributed to the increase in scarce resources. Brown (2011) explains that the major reason for failing state and global instability is the lack of basic human needs.

Conflict

Michelle and Pillay (2006) describe conflict as a difference between two or more people that touches them where they make meaning and experience their identity. Galtung defines it as incompatibility of goals pursued by two or more parties. There is need to incorporate conflict sensitivity in development approach in order to break the cycle of violence and prevent a reoccurrence of one. It is necessary to help the people feel secure and safe. This will create an enabling environment to pursue economic development.

The overall study explored Leadership and Corruption in Development of Post-conflict Liberia; and ways to overcome corrupt practices of public officials. In order to get a good understanding of the discussion, the paper examined the effect of governance in Liberia before and after the civil wars; the causes of the Liberia Civil Wars between 1983-2003; and analyzed the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) anti-corruption strategies in Liberia ministries.

1.2 Inquiry Method

This Capstone is a Course Linked Capstone. The research is based on the framework of the Theory and Practice of Conflict Transformation. It examines how leadership and corruption

in governance affect socioeconomic development. It also identifies ways to curb corruption in public officials. Relevant review of literature in the field of development and conflict transformation along with extensive research into the history of governance in Liberia to develop inclusive appreciation of key elements that hinder development and growth in Africa. This paper employs qualitative analysis of literature to clarify the complexities of the effect of corruption and leadership in development. The United States Agency for International Development Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) in Liberia is used to develop an understanding of key elements that hinder development and growth

My capstone topic was based on the motivation to find out why Africa is the least developed continent despite its richness in natural resources. It also has a record of the largest number of failing states and civil wars. The choice of case study was based on a careful study of Africa countries that had experienced civil wars within the last 20 years. A study of the cause(s) of the civil wars led to my working proposition that corruption and leadership problem is at the root of it all. After the selection of these countries, it was narrowed down to Liberia because of the availability of documents at my practicum site that could best reflect government documented efforts in curbing corruption in the public sector. The literature under review addresses corruption in governance, reasons for failing state and best practices in anti-corruption strategies.

A careful review of the literature indicates that corrupt leadership in governance is responsible for the Liberia Civil Wars. Also the abuse of public funds by public officials is a major hindrance to development in Liberia.

I believe these merit further research in the future. Outcomes of research could assist program developers and advocates to better understand the reasons for underdevelopment in Africa

and it will also serve as a guide while interacting with decision-makers and legislators in creating policies and design that will aid development and growth.

The remaining paper is outlined in the following order: Section 2 talks about the literature review; section 3 is about the inter-relation between leadership and corruption and how each can influence the other; and section 4 discusses the history of Liberia and GEMAP successes and limitations, and section 5 draws out best practices in combating corruption and ends with a conclusion.

The literature review section seeks to make a causal or correlation analysis between leadership and administrative abuse of public office. How does this corrupt practices affect State development and finally what best practices can be drawn to ensure that citizens' need for good governance is achieved?

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Since I seek to better understand the correlation between leadership and corruption in state development, and to draw out best practices in governance to ensure state development, I reviewed literature that provided answers to the reasons for failing states in Africa; the effect of leadership in State's development and growth; and deduction was drawn to support the discussion.

Literature reviewed is centered on the following questions: How can good governance improve development? What roles do leaders play in development? What fuels corruption in public administration? How can corruption be curbed in governance and administrative positions?

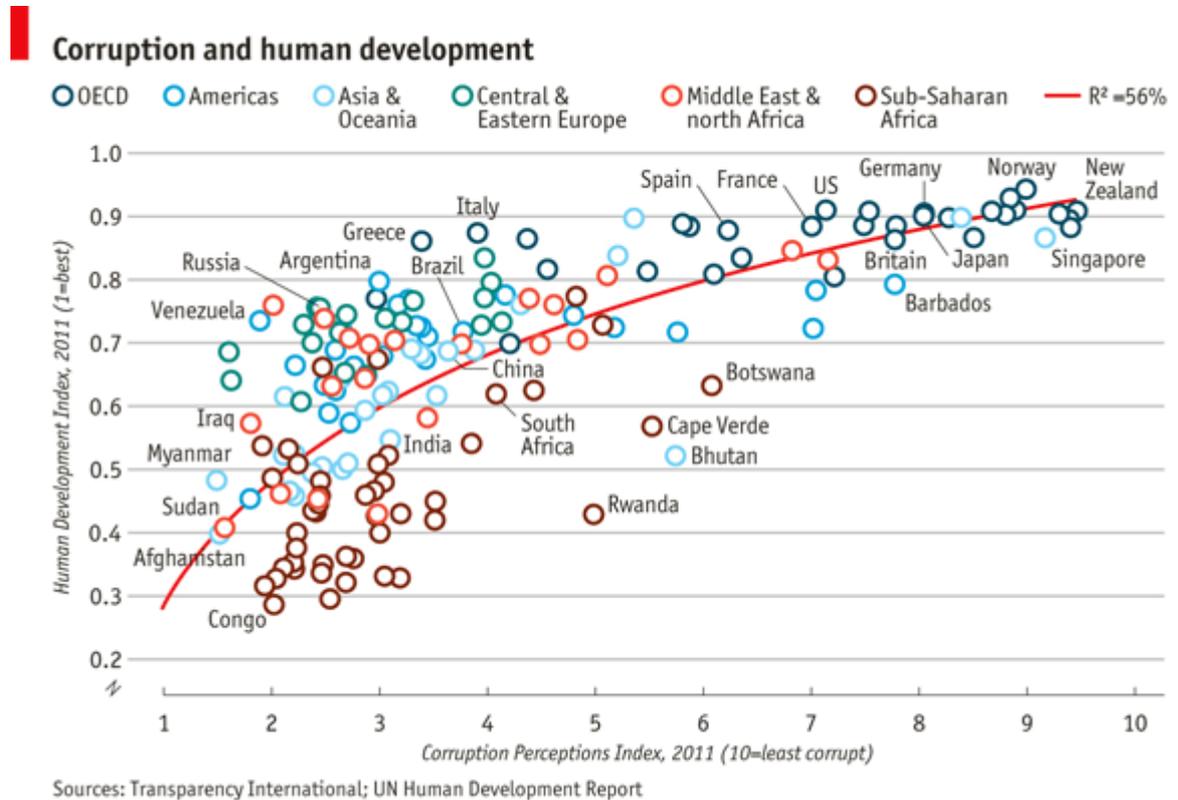
From the literature review emerged the deduction that the major reason for corruption in Africa is the abuse of power by public officials. Economic interest of the Western world in the African continent was mentioned as another contributing factor to failing states in Africa

(Gasper, 2005). Generally, the literature under review argues that corruption of leaders and bureaucratic procedures are the key themes identified as root causes of underdevelopment in Africa. The inability of government to meet the basic human needs of their citizens undermines their legitimacy in governance and drives violence and conflicts.

UNDP Anti-Corruption Initiative 2014-2017 Policy Report

The literature review discusses the effect of corruption on state development, the need for accountability and transparency in governance, and the effect of anti-corruption initiatives in national and global development. The report argues that some years ago, anti-corruption strategies were not considered as an important element in development project and design neither was it considered as an essential element in policy plan. When present, it is like brushing the surface because it was minimally included in discussion on millennium development goals. The increase in demand for transparency and accountability in public offices by citizens has made it indispensable to inculcate anti-corruption initiatives in global development agendas more intensely. The high number of states who has ratified the United Nations Conventions against Corruption (UNCAC) is evidence of the global glamour for transparency and accountability in governance. By 29th January 2014, one hundred and seventy state parties were added to the global anti-corruption movement. Development indicators show that anti-corruption efforts are contributing to the promotion of transparency and accountability in decision making processes even if there is still no concrete evidence as to whether corruption is on the decline as a result of anti-corruption initiatives. Corruption is difficult to measure due to its complexity yet there is more evidence showing the correlations between corruption indicators, and economic and human development indicators, (p 9). The report discussed the case of Latin America and the Caribbean. From the discussion it was observed that “countries scoring low on corruption prevalence or perceptions tend to be countries that enjoy greater prosperity, opportunity, individual liberty and stability” (Berthin,

Gerardo and Sandin Lotta (2011) cited in UNDP (GAIN) 2014-2017). Below is a graph showing the relationship between corruption and human development.



Corruption hinders economic development by crippling the economy. A corrupt society is surrounded by uncertainty, unpredictability, declining moral values and disrespect for constitutional institutions and authority. It fosters anti-democratic practices and hinders development and state stability. Corruption is a reflection of governance deficit on democracy and human right that impacts human security negatively and promotes poverty.

Corruption is a governance issue. The report concludes by stating that tackling corruption is not a ‘one size fits all’. Every country has its context. It is important for project designers to understand the causes of corruption in a particular country context (culture plays an important role in tackling corrupt practices) to ensure that any planned interventions or reforms address the roots of the problem and does not help to aggravates it.

World on the Edge

When a government is unable to provide the basic needs essential for state's development its legitimacy becomes undermined. Brown (2011) explains that public hostilities often arise in host communities where the citizens' welfare needs are unmet by the government. Brown is of the opinion that this trend can fuel insurgencies in defense of the deprived rights of the people. Underdevelopment is the major reason for failing states in the continent. Brown (2011 p67) quoted an Ethiopian in the book as saying: "The foreign companies are arriving in large numbers, depriving people of land they have used for centuries. There is no consultation with the indigenous population, the deals are done secretly; the only thing the local people see is people coming with lots of tractors to invade their lands". Study reveals how lack of basic human needs fuel conflict. It is the responsibility of the government to provide safety and security to its citizens. Its inability to do so signifies government failure. Good governance improves service delivery thereby enhancing human security of its citizens.

Tools to Support Transparency in Local Governance

The toolkit argues that transparency is paramount to good governance. Poverty is seen as more than a lack of access to livelihood and basic necessities' but also viewed as exclusion from the decision-making process. Improving lives of citizens irrespective of whether they live in the urban or rural areas is a vital element in good governance. This will help reduce poverty and promote development. Transparency was mentioned as a key principle of good urban governance.

Inclusive citizen participation is a way of giving voice to the vulnerable. The lack of citizen inclusion means that the poor will not have a choice in determining their own developmental needs. Stringent bureaucratic and complex administrative practices hinder development because it leads to lower revenues, results in less spending on development programs and projects that benefit the poor in the society. When revenues are discriminately allocated, it

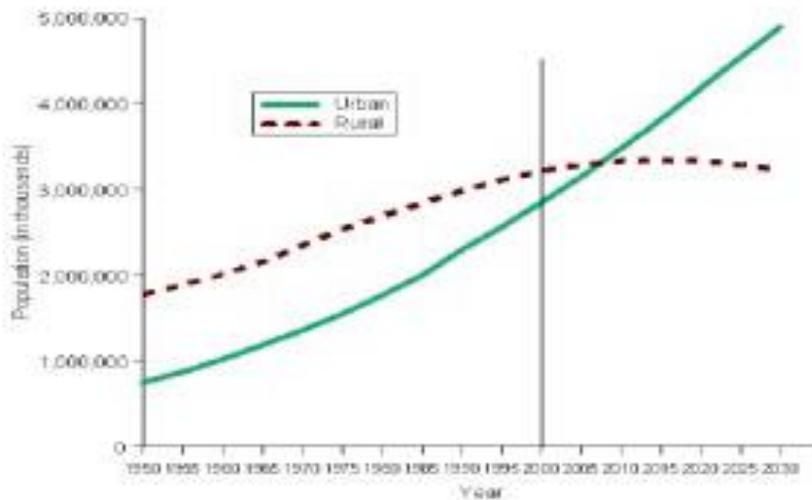
challenges the citizens sense of belonging, fosters insecurity of the marginalized group and it could lead to state instability.

Transparency and accountability of government is essential to gain public trust. (p14). Transparency help to foster good relations by building trust between local governments. It also eliminates the possibilities of corruption to the minimum because it engages all stakeholders in identifying development needs and participation in decision making. They are therefore responsible in setting their own priority. This will improve the effectiveness of service delivery. Service will be available to all concerned on equitable basis. When citizens know that their taxes are being used to improve their quality of life, there will be increased motivation to pay tax. The increase in tax payment will generate increased revenue for the government. World Bank (2003) “the quality of a city’s governance will determine whether cities are able to maximise the benefits from urbanisation while minimising the potential negative effects of urbanization”². Equitable development of all regions is essential to discourage rural-urban migration. United Nations Population Division (2002) statistics report on urbanization explains that the trend in migration from the rural to urban centres is increasing on a global level. While only thirty percent of the world’s population was urban in 1950, the proportion increased to 47 percent in the year 2000 and it is estimated that 60 percent will be by 2030³.

Rural-urban migration is higher in developing countries thereby putting more pressure in the already scarce resources in cities. This trend could result in the breakdown of rule and order.

² World Bank (2003) *Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World: Transforming Institutions, Growth and Quality of Life*. World Bank and Oxford University Press, pp. 108-110.

³ Tool to Support transparency In local Governance Report: United Nations Population Division (2002) *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2001 Revision*. New York, p.1.



The Urban Transition

Source: Tools to Support Transparency in Local Governance, a UN-HABITAT and Transparency International Document 2004.

A citizen's immediate environment is fundamental to his growth and wellbeing. His life is predominately affected by factors that are determined at the local level. Inadequate governance at the local level is very detrimental to security and peace at this level. It affects the poor in many ways and this exacerbates exclusion and marginalization. The prevailing conditions in a country are determined by the level of corruption prevalent in that country. This is because corruption affects development negatively. Improving governance and enhancing transparency and public participation should be the prerogatives of any good governance. It will go a long way in improving development.

USA/Africa Dialogue: Critiquing and modifying the Abaka Doctrine

Ogbechie (2000) argues that the need for Africa leaders to live up to the standards of their western contemporaries' drive them towards corrupt practices resulting in dishonesty and abuse of office. His argument is that westernization is a major problem in Africa.

According to Ogbechie, putting a stop to Western influence which perpetually puts the continent at a disadvantage position in the global economy will help curb corruption in government. He argues that Western communities are constantly seeking ways to exploit Africa countries. He believes that the illegitimate contract deals carried out with trans-national companies is a deliberate attempt to undermine development of Africa. He explains that when these deals are contracted, it is usually irreversible because their new corporate owners are backed by military might of the international community. His opinion is that corrupt leaders in Africa are provided a safe haven by the western community to stack away the embezzled public funds gotten through illegal contracts deals while in office. He defends his argument by explaining that Nigeria President Abacha and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire both stacked away the funds stolen from their countries while in offices at Swiss banks. He agrees that accountability in governments bring about development in Africa but he believes that good purposeful leaders are eliminated by the help of western powers if the leaders are not serving the purpose of the western community. He strongly feels that African leaders rely on Western support and backing to maintain their hold on power, therefore a leader without this backing is hoisted out of office even if he/she has the best of intentions. Example of a bad leader with western support is Mobutu Sese Seko a former DRC president⁴. He argues the power imbalance between the developed community and the developing

⁴ Mobutu Sese Seko sold the entire mineral rights of the Congo to Western (mostly American and French) corporations. Mobutu's 4 billion dollars of Zairean loot was staked away in Swiss bank, Swiss banks only accounted for less than \$10,000 at his death. Abacha stashed more than that amount in Swiss banks of which not more than 150 million has been negotiated for return to Nigeria.

community is maintaining this unequal structure of power (structural violence). He attributes the incarcerating of 40% of all males of color in the US to this unequal structural power. His opinion is that the western community economic interest in Africa helps fuel corrupt practices. He believes that no amount of good governance will work in Africa if the Western community does not stop their interference in governance in Africa because the Western community will always work to ensure that no leader emerges in Africa who will bring about full independence of the Africa region.

Conclusion

There are those who argue that leadership matters in the development of a state, and corrupt leaders contribute to the increase in failing States in Africa. There are writers who argue that global governance should not only be driven by economic profit of the foreign investors but also by the need to secure human security for the general good of humanity. Those who believe that development should involve decision making at the local level and citizen involvement in determining their development needs and priorities.

The literature under review essentially argues that the major reason for failing States in Africa is due to corruption in governance, mismanagement of public funds and administrative abuse of office. I believe that the international community can positively influence this trend by criminalizing certain transnational contracts that help to perpetuate this trend.

The deduction is compelling and merit further research in the future. It will assist civil society organizations and the international community in their roles as lobbyists, watchdogs and advocates while interacting with decision makers, policy makers and legislators of Africa governments in policy formation and implementation that will bring about accountability, transparency, economic growth and stability in Africa.

The next section explains in detail the meaning and effect of corruption and leadership. It explains how leaders can influence State development and growth. It will demonstrate the importance of transparency and accountability in good governance and their roles in development and growth of a country

3.0 CORRUPTION AND LEADERSHIP

Corruption is all encompassing. The following are different assertions by authors on the meaning of corruption. Some explain it as a negative relationship between the governed and their elected officials. Where the governed are expected to pay bribes for services they are entitled to and the public officials use extortion and nepotism to enrich themselves. Some describe corruption as the misuse of political position for illegitimate private gains Aiyede (2006). Corruption was also described as an illegal way of securing power or wealth through a privileged position in the society against public good. (Lipset's and Lenz's 2000 cited in Ebegbulem 2012). Such an abuse of public power may not necessarily be for one's private benefit alone but it may be for the benefit of one's party, class, tribe, or family. Corruption exists differently in countries. Corruption is higher in the developing countries than the developed countries. The structures put in place to control corruption in developed countries account for the minimal level of corruption. These control mechanisms account for the development and political stability they enjoy while the lack of anti-corruption mechanism in Africa account for the lack of development and increasing failing state.

Corruption erodes public trust in the government. It deprives the citizens of basic services as members of the society by transferring the public funds into private gains of few individuals. It is the betrayal of public trust by those in positions of power. Corruption is also about putting people who lack the necessary qualifications in prime positions. When favoritism

governs good judgment in carrying out one's responsibilities in office, it is corruption. Corruption is an obstacle to Africa's development.

I believe corruption is worse than murder because its' devastating effects are felt for many generations long after the act has been committed. Corruption destroys thousands of lives over multiple generations from avoidable diseases and penury. It takes land and money meant for public good to build a private mansion and buy a private jet for a few individuals at the expense of the majority.

Encyclopaedia Americana identifies three types of corruption in governance as Political, Bureaucratic and Electoral. For the purpose of this discussion I am classifying corruption in public affairs into these three types identified above. Political corruption is explained as taking place at the level of political authority. It occurs when politicians and political decision-makers indulge in corrupt practices. It also takes place when policy formulation and legislation are manipulated to benefit a small group at the expense of the larger society. Political corruption also refers to greed, it affects ways decisions are made in the political arena. It manipulates rules of procedure in the political arena, and government offices. Bureaucratic corruption is encountered daily in the Africa society. Bureaucratic corruption is prevalent in government establishment. It is found in places like government hospitals, public schools, administrative offices and ministries, police stations, taxing and licensing offices and other public services centres. It occurs when one obtains a transaction or contract from the public sector through inappropriate procedure. Electoral corruption undermines the citizens right to freely select who they want to govern them. It includes the purchase of votes with money, rigging of elections and the use of force or intimidation to win elections.

Corrupt leader can manipulate administrative or judicial decision, or governmental appointment. Corrupt practice is also expressed through bribery. Bribery may be initiated by a person who offers a bribe or by an official who requests one.

Bribery is the exchange of money or gift in order to gain a benefit that would otherwise be denied, and the exchange of cash or gift to improperly influence a decision. It can be initiated by either the giver or the receiver. It is used to describe a payment extracted by a public official from member of the public in order to receive the service to which the person is entitled.

Article 15 of UN Convention against Corruption (<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC/signatories.html>) states the following with respect to the briberies of national officials:

Each State Party shall adopt such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offences when committed intentionally:

(a) The promise, offering or giving, to a public official, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage for the official himself or herself or another person or entity in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties;

(b) The solicitation or acceptance by a public official, directly or indirectly of an undue advantage for the official himself or herself or another person or entity in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties.

Corrupt practices such as economic mismanagement of natural resources and administrative abuse of office result in infrastructure collapse, the lack of basic human needs of the citizens, political tensions resulting in the breakdown of rule and order that threatens State security.

3.1 Do Leaders Matter?

President Ellen Sirleaf during one of her press conferences on her anti-corruption strategies lamented that she ought to have sacked Liberia government when she first came into power but that her failure to do that was because she underestimated the problem of graft in Liberia governance.

Leadership is defined as “an individual appointed to a job with authority and accountability to accomplish the goals and objectives of the society” (Ayodele 2006 cited in Ebegbulem 2012)

A leader must be able to manage the available resources for the general good of all. A leader must possess the ability to create in the followers the necessary enthusiasm/motivation for selfless service by leading by example. A leader must be assessable to his followers.

Correlation between Leadership and Development

Leadership is essential to growth and development therefore the prevailing condition of a country is majorly determined by the type of leadership in governance. Leadership can influence to produce positive action through vision thereby bringing about a positive change or it can lead to discouragement in followers resulting in inaction. “All over the world, leadership is the most important number one factor that determines whether a nation can develop. He explains further that “a leadership that is free, brave, patriotic, people-oriented, destination-bound; the leadership that understands the psychology of leading and applies it to the development of the people must be at the affairs of men” (Ibid) (Eze 2002 cited in Ebegbulem 2012).

The role of national policies in economic growth of a nation cannot be undermined. These policies are determined by those in leadership positions. Eze explains that leadership roles affect national growth as well as national institutional change which can further influence the growth environment.

Since leaders matter, the decisions they make also matter. If national policies are the expression of broader social forces, ultimately this explains the role of national policies in economic growth of a nation. Leadership roles affect national growth as well as national institutional change which can further influence the growth environment.

The tendency to steal, corrupt, and make war are means through which leaders can adversely affect growth negatively. Examples of Liberia's autocratic leaders and the consequence negative effects on the country are former presidents of Liberia, Samuel Doe and Charles Taylor.

This section reviewed literature on corruption and leadership in governance. It argued that leadership in governance matters in development and growth of a country. It also argued that administrative abuse of power aids corrupts practices and leads to mismanagement of public funds. Section 4 will focus on the case study of Liberia with a view toward exploring/examining how these concepts and empirical trends is related to this specific case.

4.0

LIBERIA

This section will review the historical background of Liberia; effect of governance on development before the civil wars; causes of Liberia civil wars; and what lead to the peace accord of 2003. It will also examine the post-war reconstruction efforts and administrative reforms in the public sector with a view towards exploring how the concept of corruption and leadership affected development and growth in Liberia before and after the GEMAP.

Moore (1996) explains that “while it is true that Liberia faced serious security challenges through multiple wars, the post war socioeconomic development cannot be addressed in isolation of the root causes of the crisis”. It is important to understand the historical and political roots of the crisis if the society is to attain positive peace.

4.1 Historical and Geographical Background

American Colonization Society (ACS) was founded in 1816 to deal with the challenges of the growing number of free black. The search for a settlement began in 1818 when two representatives were sent to West Africa to find a suitable location for the colony. They initially were unable to persuade local tribal leaders to sell any territory. In 1821 the search was resumed by a U.S. Navy vessel. They encountered again resistance from the local leaders. It is recorded that the Navy officer in charge, Lieutenant Robert Stockton, coerced a local ruler to sell a strip of land to the Society. The Scherbo Island group moved to this new location and were later joined by other blacks from the United States. The new colony was continually attacked by the locals until 1824 when the settlers built fortifications for protection. In that same year the settlement was named Liberia and its capital Monrovia. This was in honor of President James Monroe who had procured more U.S. Government money for the project⁵.

⁵ US Department of State: Office of Historian -Founding of Liberia 1847, available at <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/liberia>

Also see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Liberia;
http://www.mattlesnake.com/Gemap%20paper_files/Peace_Corr_Mar%2022%5B1%5D.pdf



Map of Liberia

Liberia is bordered by Guinea to the north, Cote d'Ivoire to the east and Sierra Leone to the northwest.

Liberia has a total area of roughly 111,000 km only 579 km. Only 3.4 percent of the land is arable and only 1.98 percent is used for permanent crops. Geographical features include mangrove swamps, lagoons, and sandbars, hills and some low mountains in the northeast part of the country. These low hills are covered by rainforests. Liberia's topography is predominantly flat.

Summer in Liberia is characterized by warm temperatures and high humidity, frequent rain and it's usually cloudy. Winter is also warm with cool to cold nights. The air is much drier

and this increases the risk of dust storms. The St. Paul River near the capital city of Monrovia and the St. John River are the major suppliers of water to the population. Liberia irrigation is roughly 30 square km per million people.⁶.

4.2 Political Background

Documentation from History World (<http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad44>) reveals that Liberia was dominated by two political parties until 1980. The True Wing and the Liberia party (Republican). These parties were controlled by the small minority of black colonists known as Americo-Liberians. Through systemic structures in government, indigenous Liberians were prevented from voting in elections. The Liberian Party dominated the political scene from the first presidential election in 1847. The Republican lost the presidential election in 1869 to the Wings under Edward James Roye. The Republican deposed him of power after two years and the Republicans returned to government. In `1878 the Wings regained power and held power afterwards. The Republic of Maryland was forced to join Liberia after the insurgency of the Grbo and the Kru people the newly independent African-American state in the region in 1854.

End of Americo-Liberian rule

Protest demonstrations followed the dissatisfaction over government plans to raise the price of rice in 1979 in the streets of Monrovia during President William Tolbert's regime. Many people were killed because Tolbert ordered his armies to shoot the demonstrators. This led to a coup which marked the end of Americo domination in Liberia.

4.3 Social background

⁶ See: <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad44>;

see also Liberia Geography at: <http://liberiamediacycenter.org/geography.html>see

The Americos maintained American way of life in the way they build their infrastructures, and their religious practice was modeled in Christianity. Even though they were the minority group constituting just five percent of the population, they controlled key resources that allowed them to dominate the indigenous people. They maintained strong ties with many American institutions, including the American government. The Americos opposed the migration of the indigenous people to the coastal regions. This continued until the World War 11.

4.4 Economical Background

Rubber is the main natural resource of Liberia at the time. According to the information from the website of History World, in 1926 Firestone an American rubber company created 25,000 jobs when it started the world's largest rubber plantation in Liberia. Rubber accounted for 40 percent of the national budget in 1950. Liberia signed concession agreements with in the 1930s with foreign investors. In 1971 Liberia had the world's largest rubber industry and was the third largest exporter of iron ore due to the increase level of exportation of iron, timber and robber between 1946 and 1960.⁷.

4.5 Liberia Civil Wars

4.6.1 The First Civil War 1989

In 1980 Sergeant Samuel Doe became the first native president of Liberia through a military coup. This coup ended the 133years of the Americo- Liberian political domination. His government was authoritarian. Doe established good relations with the United States during

⁷ See: <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad44>

President Ronald Reagan tenure in 1981. This alliance ushered in increased financial aid. The financial aid grew from the \$20 million in 1979 to \$95 million per year. This alliance served the purpose of the US government as well. Liberia protected important US facilities and investments in Africa, and counters the spread of Soviet influence on the continent. Doe opened up Liberian ports to transnational shipping firms from American, Canadian, and European which brought in considerable foreign investment to the country.

His government was discriminatory and abusive. He violated human rights laws. Efforts were made to overthrow him but he overcame all coup attempts. He marginalized people from other ethnic groups by placing people of his own ethnic Krahn background in key official positions. The economy deteriorated. After another failed coup attempt, Doe retaliated against other tribes.

Second Civil War

Charles Taylor's attack under the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in 1989 gained control of most of the country in 1990. Yormie Johnson split off from Charles Taylor's group in July. He formed the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) based on the Gio tribe. Though Yormie's group overthrew Doe's regime, peace was not restored until the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group, mediated between the two parties. Afterwards, Dr. Sawyer was appointed as acting interim president until 1997 when election was conducted. Charles Taylor won the election.

Another civil war began with two rebel groups two years later. The groups were the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). This fighting destabilized the country. ECOWAS again intervened and Charles Taylor was compelled to resign in 2003. He was arrested in Nigeria in 2006 and

transferred to the Special Court for Sierra Leone to face war crimes charges. He was transferred to Hague for his trial. He is now serving jail terms in UK.

4.6 Women of Liberia

In 2002, the Christian women led by social worker Leymah Gbowee organized the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET). The organization of the Muslim women formed alliance with them to protest against the war. Their demonstrations were non-violent and they wore white to symbolize peace. They met with President Charles Taylor and after the meeting; he agreed to attend peace talks in Ghana in 2003. A few of the women were delegated to represent them in Ghana to witness the peace talk. When the talk was at a stale point, they staged a sit-in outside of the presidential palace where the talk was held to prevent anyone in the meeting from leaving until decisions were reached. The peace talk ended successfully bringing an end to the years of war. Vice President Gyude Bryant was chosen to act as interim president when Taylor went into exile in Nigeria until the 2005 when Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected as president. She was sworn in in January 2006.

4.7 Post-Conflict Challenges and Development

Post -Conflict Challenges

It is a known fact in the Peacebuilding field that at the end of violent conflict, newly established authorities have to deal with several major post-conflict challenges to get the country back to a functional state. Short-term measures such as preserving peace and ensuring security of individuals and properties have to be taken immediately after the peace accord to prevent a relapse of conflict. Some immediate measures include actions such as resettling internally displaced persons and the reintegration of ex-combatants to prevent a relapse to conflict. Destroyed infrastructures have to be rebuilt and the economy has to be

revived amongst others. In the long term, mechanism for transitional justice and rule of law must be established.

Socioeconomic Contest of Post- Conflict Development

Insecurity made reconstruction efforts, resumption of basic services, and the re-establishment of administrative services and government authority at the local and private levels very difficult after the war. Insecurity was high because the fragile bonds of trust and social exchange were destroyed during the long civil wars. The fight for legitimacy amongst political stakeholders resulted in the citizens' lack of confidence in the government. Economic activities grounded to a halt. Assets were destroyed, resulting in the reduction of economic production.

Political Contest

The political atmosphere was fused in tension. This situation further eroded accountability and transparency in public offices as officials began to ignore the governance norms and structures necessary to bring about growth and development. Bad governance, embezzlement and economic mismanagement became the order of the day as they focused instead on enriching themselves from public funds.

Efforts were made to conduct trainings, restructuring and reforms in the police and military. Management of natural resources and the creation of a national security strategy were also being pursued with little progress. Each of these activities faced considerable challenges. In March 2005 U.N. Secretary-General Ban Kimoon, citing what he called "limited progress in meeting the benchmarks for the consolidation and drawdown of the Mission," recommended

a year-long extension of the UNMIL's existing mandate⁸. By mid-March 2007 the United Nations reported significant progress in meeting key benchmarks.

Security Contest/ Violation of Human Rights

Security system as explained by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001:119) refers to the working together of all stakeholders in both public and non public administrative positions, their roles, duties and actions in working together to manage and operate the government in a way that will encourage good governance and functional security framework. This means that promoting the security of the State is the joint responsibility of the legislature, judiciary, executive, armed forces, police, and civil society.

Without security there can be no development. Economic development requires that people can move around safely and have access to prompt justice, and that the economy is stable enough for people to have a degree of confidence in their ability to predict future economic developments for investment and business purposes. According to the statistics from the Bureau of Corrections⁹ half the country's 1,524 prisoners were held at Monrovia Central Prison waiting endlessly for their cases to be called. There was no ombudsman system to serve on behalf of prisoners and detainees.

The August 30, 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), was signed by the three warring factions and 18 political parties. A guideline for the peace process was laid out in the signed agreement. The guideline provided for the creation of the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL). The NTGL was given the mandate to re-establish

⁸ See information on Liberia's Post-War Development: Key Issues and U.S. Assistance: available at <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33185.pdf>

⁹World Prison brief: available at <http://www.prisonstudies.org/country/liberia>

functioning government authority and prepare for national elections. The Elections were held in mid-October and November 2005.

Safety of Vulnerable Person

Rape was a major challenge during and after the war. Women and men were sensitized on the prevention, treatment and prosecution of rape. The Sexual Pathway Referral program was a combined effort of the government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to provide assistance to victims.

4.7.1 The National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL)

There were reports of corruption within the NTGL governance capacity building efforts during the transitional regime. The UN Secretary-General reported in mid-March 2005 that there was a lack of NTGL transparency in the collection and use of revenues aimed at fighting corruption (S/2005/177). Alleged acts of corruption were notable in the context of import-export transactions, the issuance of commodity marketing or land, government contracts and budgeting, natural resource and concession rights. World Bank and bilateral donors made similar observations¹⁰.

ECOWAS corruption investigation team funded by the European Commission faced obstacle in carrying out the investigation by the NTGL. The Liberian Institute of Chartered Accountants sued the ECOWAS team. The institute claimed that auditing the government was the sole prerogative of Liberian auditing agencies. After the lawsuit was resolved, ECOWAS investigators still reported a significant lack of cooperation from members of the NTGL. IMF cited concerns with sales of scrap iron ore, abuse of foreign travel, and other

¹⁰ Document on World Bank Final Report on Liberia, available at: <http://ieg.worldbank.org/Data/reports/gacliberiawpfinal.pdf>

governance deficiencies requiring immediate attention. The IMF noted that strengthening economic governance was indispensable for Liberia's medium-term recovery¹¹.

4.7.2 President Ellen Sirleaf's Anti-Corruption Strategies

To curb corruption, Ellen Sirleaf announced an audit of the previous transitional government and dismissed all transitional government political appointees. She laid-off the staff of the Ministry of Finance, and ordered the screening of employees' qualifications and level of probity. She revoked the timber concession contracts because it was claimed that it was contracted under an environmentally unsustainable manner. This attracted the approval of UN Security Council's and the ban on Liberia timber exports in June 2006 was lifted. Sirleaf also initiated reviews of other contracts and concessions granted by the transitional government. Her administration released audit reports of several state agencies to the public.

Sirleaf realized that to ensure development and growth and improve human security in Liberia there was need to curb corrupt practices hindering development in the country. She was determined to take forceful action against corruption. She required public officials in key positions to declare their assets and follow a national code of conduct. She not only endorsed but she also enforced the Governance and Economic Management Program (GEMAP). GEMAP was mandated to deal with serious economic and financial management deficiencies and pursue an integrated capacity building initiative.¹²

¹¹ International Monetary Fund Liberia: Staff Report for the 2005 Article IV Consultation

¹² Inaugural Address of President Ellen Sirleaf, available at: allafrica.com/stories/200601170106.html

4.8 Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP)

This part of the section will explore the actions taken during GEMAP to ensure transparency and accountability in public sector in order to curb corruption. It will also explore the successes recorded and the challenges experienced.

The United States, European Commission, Ghana, Nigeria, France, UK, Germany, Sweden, African Union, World Bank and ECOWAS were signatories to the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) in September 9, 2005.

GEMAP was created in September 9, 2005 to assist the government to curb corruption and improve overall governance. GEMAP program was initiated by US Government and supported by the Government of Liberia. It was executed by USAID. Its' execution was during President Sirleaf's first tenure in office. GEMAP goals were first, to secure Liberia's revenue base by improving budgeting, expenditure management, procurement practices and concession grant-making, establish mechanisms to control corruption in the public sector; and second, to build the capacity of government agencies involved in financial management and economic governance reform. GEMAP supported public accountability-focused access to government information by journalists, civil society and citizens.

The approach used was more of a reformist policy approach; officials were mandated to follow laid out new procedures and rules made by Internationally Recruited Financial Controllers. Rules were made on how revenues were allocated and spent; and procedures to be observed by officials in the executions of their duties were spelt out. Managing Directors that did not compile were either removed or transferred.

Liberia was faced with the key policy question of how to ensure macro-economic stability, generate employment and restore growth. It sought to establish transparency and

accountability reestablishing systems for the management of public finance as well as monetary and exchange rate policy. The government aimed at restoring basic infrastructure and services and reviving the economy. The administration decided on a trade policy geared towards restoring exports of timber.

A contract-based management of the revenue and expenditure flows of key public sector entities was pursued. It was designed in such a way that international financial comptrollers with co-signing authority regarding key fiscal management mechanism assumed duties at the Central Bank of Liberia, and major ministries. The support of President Sirleaf ensued that the contractors were able to overcome the challenges and resistance by top government officials that would otherwise have truncated the program.

GEMAP was implemented in the Ministry of Finance, the Bureau of the Budget, the Ministry of Lands Mines and Energy, and the General Services Administration. State-owned enterprises that were also affected by the GEMAP program were the National Port Authority (NPA), the Roberts International Airport (RIA), the Liberia Petroleum Refining Company (LPRC), the Forestry Development Authority (FDA), the Ministry of Public Works (MPW), the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs (MPEA), and the Monrovia City Corporation (MCC).

The following are performance objectives of GEMAP:

- Secure Liberia's revenue base.
- Ensure improved budgeting and expenditure management.
- Improve procurement practices and granting of natural resource concessions.
- Establish effective processes to control corruption.

- Support the central institutions of government.
- Foster cross-cutting capacity building.

4.8.1 *GEMAP's Contributions*

GEMAP addressed the issue of the loss of revenues and illegal procurements in ministries and state owned establishments.

GEMAP's key benchmark to promote accountability, responsibility and transparency in fiscal and financial management (www.gemap-liberia.org) was met in September 2009, when GEMAP's international comptrollers relinquished co-signatory authority to the Liberia government public officials in those agencies.

It is recorded that the processing of the national budget became faster and more accurate under GEMAP. Administrative spending became aligned with laws and according to plan. International standard mechanism for concession framework and mineral deposits introduced measures to maximize sustainable contribution of mining to the national economy. Capacity building through in-house training of staff led to successful negotiation of the \$2.6 billion Bong Mines. According to the report an analysis of fuel usage based on a detailed vehicle and generator inventory completed by the GSA resulted in savings of over \$9.3 million in the FY 2008-09 National Budget and \$6.5 million in the FY 2009-10 National Budget.

The national GDP increased under GEMAP as the Government made progress in reforms under expenditures, revenue allocations and savings. This development helped restore the public faith in their government.

4.8.2 Development and Growth in Liberia after GEMAP

Liberia improvement in financial accountability and economic matters was evident in the 2013 GDP of \$1.95 billion. It ranked 94 in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index out of 174 countries. The index gave Liberia an overall score of 52.4 for government accountability, wealth gap between richest and poorest citizens, and labor and business freedom. The improvement in health is attributed to investment in infants and children, driving infant mortality down from 144 babies out of 1,000 dying before age one in 1986 to 54 out of 1,000 in 2013.

4.9 Remaining Challenges in Curbing National Corruption

There is no doubt that Liberia has made great progress in its anti-corruption strategies at curbing corruption in the public sector but its' corruption level is still very high. Corruption accounts for the socio-economic imbalance in the country. Widespread corruption is still being viewed as one of the country's biggest challenges. The following has to be addressed to curb corruption:

Low Incentives to Service Delivery:

Liberia needs to provide incentives to deliver government services transparently and determine citizen priorities between cycles. The salaries of government workers remain poor and this drives them to look for alternate means to meet their basic human needs.

Capacity Building to Improve Overall Production:

Capacity is integral to overall production. USAID annual report on GEMAP reveals that in-house training was used in improving ministries employees' overall production when low capacity among some government officials was used to defend non-compliance for implementing change. There is need to build Liberian citizens' capacity to improve overall

production in all sectors; the private and civil society services delivery also need improvement.

Inability to adequately Prosecute Offenders:

The inability to adequately prosecute offenders is responsible for the public sector corruption. The government approach to addressing corruption is through preventive reformist approach. It had difficulties in prosecuting indictments. Public officers often hide under the impunity provided by their positions or office to escape punishment.

Section 5 is not limited to the Liberia situation. It addresses how to curb corrupt practices in governance. It explores how to prevent the abusive use of power for personal gains amongst Africa leaders. It also examines possible action that can be taken by international community to help Africa curb administrative abuse of office by those in power.

5.0 BEST PRACTICES IN CURBING CORRUPT PRACTICES

Present Anti-corruption strategies in Africa

African countries have begun to take more positive anti-corruption steps against corrupt practices in public office. They have signed anti-corruption laws and conventions and some have adopted these laws. Rise in political pluralism in countries as resulted in public accountability. Corrupt practices are becoming increasingly difficult to cover because of the multi-party system. Political party oppositions, independent newspapers, civil society organization and citizens' participation all make it difficult to cover corrupt practices in governance. This had also made it easy to punish officials caught in siphoning public funds.

Example is the prosecution of the Nigeria's immediate past regime's corrupt officials after the 2015 election¹³.

Measures to check mate corrupt practices are now being put in place. Some of these measures include commissions, inquiry or investigative panels, laws clearly stating expected codes of conducts for public officials amongst others. Regional cooperation among African countries has been encouraged to curb corruption. Regulations regarding the flow of illegal funds across African borders have also helped to curb corruption.

5.1 The Way Forward

A top-to-down approach is ineffective because it fails to generate popular support in any government. Inclusion of all groups will strengthen democratic governance, accelerate development and make for a more transparent and accountable leadership. Strong governance mechanisms and strong institutions can serve as means to keep leaders in check. Decentralizing power is a good way to curb corruption in governance. Removing the monopoly of power by decentralization authority to the local governments will help improve service delivery and curb corrupt practices. In a democratic setting, grassroots' organizations and civil societies are better able to perform their functions as lobbyists, advocates and watchdogs to ensure good governance. The positive effect of such participation is evident in the steps taken by the Liberia women's action in restoring peace leading to the Accra Peace Accord.

Development and growth is more rapid in society where citizens' participation is encouraged. This is because citizens' participation helps in scrutinizing government activities. Citizens have the opportunity to debate on policies before they are adopted into law. Press freedoms

¹³ Nigeria Arms Deal Saga: Top 10 People who has been Implicated. Available at: <https://www.naij.com/665081-arms-deal-saga-top-10-prominent-people-implicated-responses.html>

will help create public awareness of government programs resulting in the ability of the citizens to make informed decisions that will shape the context for reforms. First when elected officials know that there are laws to punish corrupt practices, second that the citizens are aware of these laws and there are people that will ensure that the laws are implemented. And lastly that punishment is inevitable when found guilty irrespective of their positions in the society, then it will become more difficult to embezzle public funds.

Effective system of budget control will aid development and growth. Therefore, it is important to strengthen grassroots organization and civil societies to play active role in governance. This will encourage transparency in administration of public funds. It can be an effective way of combating corruption.

The under listed are my recommendations of anti-corruption strategies to curb corrupt practices and administrative abuse of office:

Citizen Participation on Policy Design and Implementation:

Public participation through referendum should be encouraged to generate public opinion during policies formulation and their adoption into law. Such steps will reduce the risk of imprudent or corrupt decisions. Auditing of government accounts should be encouraged. This can be done through needs supervision of financial intermediation to avoid corrupt practices. Governments also need to guard against the risk of administrative monopoly by certain groups and the marginalization of others in a society because this will reduce the ability of citizens to organize as a possible countervailing force.

Making the Adverse Impact of Corruption More Visible:

Public awareness on how corruption hinders economic development of the nation will help discourage corrupt practices. Also, laws clearly stating that corrupt practices will be punished should be adopted. It is essential to promptly punish corrupt practices irrespective of the

offender or the sector from which it was perpetuated. Awareness creation can be used to discourage the giving and receiving of bribes. It can also be used to create public awareness of the punishment that can be incurred when caught in corrupt practices. The use of the radio, television, newspaper and social media should be employed to create public awareness. The public also need to be informed on how to report public officers that demand bribes in the process of providing public services. It is also important that such report be promptly handled and the culprit made to pay for his/her corrupt actions. This will discourage corrupt practices in public administration.

Encouraging Transparency in Allocations and Spending:

Stringent bureaucratic measures aid corrupt practice because it distorts service accessibility and delivery. By eliminating unnecessary regulations that make service delivery difficult to access by the citizens will increase transparency and accountability in public administration. Doing Business presents quantitative Indicators on business regulations and the protection of property rights that can be compared across 189 economies from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe over time¹⁴.

The process of regulations to open up a new business, register property, engage in international trade, and obtaining licenses in Africa countries often give room for corrupt practices of public officials. The process is often very burdensome and there is no channel in place for the public to bring their complaints against corrupt officials. This results in citizens' willingness to pay for services through bribes that they cannot get from other sources.

Governments should re-examine whether the purpose for which some of these regulations were introduced is at all relevant and being met. Rose-Ackerman (1998) cited in Lopez-Claros (2010) report on the World Bank website suggests that the most obvious approach is

¹⁴ Six Strategies to fight Corruption: <http://blogs.worldbank.org/futuredevelopment/six-strategies-fight-corruption>

simply to eliminate laws and programs that breed corruption in bureaucratic procedures. Example is the case of Liberia GEMAP, cash payments were discouraged in ministries and all transactions were done via bank payment when it was realized that cash payments led to corrupt practices. The use of invoice to record all transactions was also mandated. The co-signatory method was an effective way to curb corruption in the ministries. The delay in release of allocation and procurement was also eliminated¹⁵.

Unfortunately, in Liberia as in most other Africa countries, the civil service was not subject to regulations to prevent nepotism, cronyism and negative patronage. In my opinion, I believe that privatization of some government services can be a good way of making these services readily available to the citizens. This I think will help curb corrupt practices and administrative abuse of government office.

International Criminalization of Corrupt Practices and Corrupt Officials:

There is need for persecution of corrupt, high-profile, public figures, multinationals, and institutions (domestic and foreign) found guilty of corrupt practices. This will encourage accountable and good conduct in the handling of public funds by those entrusted with it. Governance is service to the people and not a means of acquiring illicit riches. Criminal penalties and punishment should be provided by international laws and adopted by countries as a precondition in continued membership to international community and transnational transactions.

There is need for change in attitudes by multinational companies, many of which are wealthier than the nations in which they operate. Ogbechie (2000) explained that “most of the transactions between multinationals and the state where they were contracted are poorly documented, the terms of the contracts are not clear and are shady; also, the benefits to the

¹⁵ See the full report in USAID GEMAP Project

public are undermined while the leaders of said countries enrich themselves to the detriment of the public good whose interest they are meant to represent”. Trans-national companies found cutting corners to maximize profits with the aid of corrupt government officials in the countries where these businesses are conducted must be made to account for every improperly transacted contract. The China mining company mentioned in the Liberia case study is a good example. In Nigeria the Shell multinational company business transaction in the Niger Delta is another example of corrupt practices of multinational business in Africa. They do business without adequate measures to protect the environment and ensure safety of lives and properties even when provisions for such protections are contained in the agreement. Unfortunately, these bridge of contracts are overlooked by the public officials meant to ensure their enforcement. The concession rights given to them are so distorted that it promotes corrupt practices. Such corrupt practices by multinational companies should be prosecuted.

Removal of Impunity and Punishment against Corrupt Leaders:

The local laws should criminalize corrupt practices and provide punishment for any public official and members of their family or anyone affiliated with them found to be corrupt. Africa leaders are often not made to account and pay for corrupt practices. They enjoy impunity from office. Once impunity is removed as a benefit of office, most of them will become mindful of their attitude towards corrupt practices. The state should require that all officials like Presidents, Ministers, Legislative officers, Central Bank governors, Police and Customs Chiefs, Senior military officers and all those in high level positions sign a pre-appointment agreement granting permission to banks (both local and foreign), real estate or investment house to disclose any personal assets they may hold. Diamond (1992) argued that breaking this veil of secrecy is crucial. Assets verification and declaration will aid accountability and curb corrupt practices. Scrutinizing individual depositors of huge sum of

money by financial institutions for sources will discourage the looting of national treasury by civil servants. In Nigeria there is now law in place that sources of deposits of funds over a million naira must be disclosed and recorded while making such deposits.

International Sanctions against Countries Where Embezzled Funds are banked:

Most corrupt leaders in Africa keep their ill-gotten wealth in international banks outside their countries. They also use funds embezzled from the public to buy properties in these countries. It is a common practice for top government officials in government to own Swiss accounts in Switzerland and buy houses in states in America, Dubai, London, and Paris among other regions. The former president Abacha of Nigeria is a good example. At his death his account in Switzerland was revealed and the country was able to retrieve some of the money he staked away. Why must it be until their deaths before such accounts can be revealed? How many more Africa leaders have such accounts?

If international sanctions criminalizing such transactions are passed into law, then countries will develop the habit of properly scrutinizing the inflow of funds from other countries.

Preventive Approach:

Children should be taught from early grades that corruption is destructive to the nation. They should be taught how to recognize unethical dealings that contributes to corruption. They need to know that corrupt practices attract punishment. If they are taught that corrupt practices are punishable then at least we can start developing a perspective that will gradually gain momentum and make an impact in some years' time in Africa.

The use of comic, story books and literatures can be an effective way to create such awareness amongst children. Civil rights and duties of citizens on issues relating to corruption should also be introduced to the school curriculum; it will help develop a sense of civil responsibilities in children.

Conclusion

Eze (2002) stressed that “all over the world, leadership is the most important number one factor that determines whether a nation can develop”. Poverty is worsening in many populations particularly in Africa. Corrupt activities contribute significantly to the perpetuation of poverty and to the continued underdevelopment of many countries. In a society where corruption is a daily normal occurrence; the citizens suffers because human security is denied. Corruption in office involves the negative use of power for personal gain.

From the paper, it can be concluded that corruption in leadership affects development. The mismanagement of power, administrative abuse of office through bureaucratic procedures and the mismanagement of natural resources are evidence of corrupt practices in government. These factors contribute to failing states in Africa. The paper reviewed literature on corruption and leadership in governance.

This study demonstrated that leadership in governance matters for the development and growth of a country. Furthermore, it illustrate that administrative abuse of power aids corrupt practices and leads to mismanagement of public funds.

The paper explored and examined the effects of Liberia Civil Wars, causes of Liberia civil wars; what lead to the peace accord of 2003, the leadership of the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) and that of President Ellen Sirleaf and their effects on development and growth. Finally, from the deductions, I suggested best practices in curbing corrupt practices in public administration in Africa and possible anti-corruption laws that can be put in place to discourage corrupt practices.

Deductions from the literature review indicate that major causes of the Liberia Civil Wars were abuse of administrative positions by those in government especially the presidents in

each regime. Administrative abuse of public office and economic mismanagement are major hindrances to development and economic growth in the Liberia.

There is need for further research on corruption and leadership in governance in Africa. Research should explore further anti-corruption strategies that could be adopted to curb corruption in public administration. Roles that civil society organizations could play in combating administrative abuse of power in governance, and strategies that could be explored to ensure that governments live up to their mandates as elected officers. It is essential to also conduct a study on electoral corruption and socioeconomic development. This is because governance is service to the people and therefore the citizens choice of whom they want to govern them should prevail; secondly, if a person fraudulently attains leadership position, then there is no doubt that he seeks the position for his/ her selfish gain and not for the populace benefit. It is hoped that future students in the department will take up this study.

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