THE CULTURAL ROOTS OF CORRUPTION: AN ETHICAL INVESTIGATION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO NEPOTISM.

BY

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Since the demise of colonialism, corruption in Africa has gone from an alarming proportion to a critical stage. There is hardly any sector of the economy that is not ravaged by this hydra headed-monster. The most obvious of these practices is nepotism which is rooted in the culture of the people. This cultural dimension creates some confusion on how to understand nepotism in relation to corruption in Africa. Thus, while some people denounce the high rate of corruption in Africa as it concerns nepotism, there are those who think they have justifiable reasons to engage in the practice. Still, there are others, who engage in the practice without the consciousness of the moral implication.

Those who think that there is nothing wrong with nepotism anchor their argument on the fact that it is embedded in the culture of the people. For instance, many civil servants are involved in corruption because when they come into office, they are obliged by sense of family responsibilities to use their relatives who are not qualified against the qualified applicants who are not related to them, to build up public offices. Hence, while most civil servants are aware of the rules against nepotism, they still go ahead to indulge in the practice because they believe that such rules are contrary to African culture and therefore should not be obeyed. When these three positions are placed side by side, a central problem arises and can be formulated as follows: is there a cultural dimension to the problem of corruption, especially nepotism in Africa? This thesis therefore is a rigorous analysis of the causes, effects and possible solutions to the problem of corruption with special reference to nepotism in Africa. The thesis stated particularly that African cultural practices of gift-giving and the extended family system encourage corruption particularly in the form of nepotism.

It therefore uses African ethical theories of *Ubuntu* or African communalism, alongside cultural relativism and moderate partialism or relationality to argue that corruption in the form of nepotism is the problem of Africa and that to rid Africa of corruption and put her solidly on

the path of sustainable development, merit rather than nepotism should guide public transactions. Critical and historical analyses are used for the methodology.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated in memory of my parents late Mr Raphael E. Otaluka and late Mrs Peace Otaluka.

And

My wife Barr. (Mrs) Fanny Ifeyinwa

Also to my children, Nnamdi, Sobechukwu, Chiamaka and Chioma.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ATM   Automated Teller Machine

CPI   Corruption Perception Index

DET   Department of Education and Traning

JAMB   Joint Admissions and Matriculations Board

ICPC   Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences   Commission

MCP   Malawi Congress Party

MMD   Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

MP   Member of Parliament

NAFDAC   National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control

NEPA   National Electric Power Authority

NIPOST   Nigerian Postal Services

NITEL   Nigerian Telecommunication Limited

NYSC   National Youth Service Corps

POS   Public Opinion Service

PSC   Public Service Commission

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Problem

The Transparency International corruption index has consistently rated many African countries among the most corrupt in the world for various reasons. For instance, in their 2009 statistics, the agency observes that out of the forty-seven countries reviewed in Sub-Saharan Africa, thirty-one of them scored less than three (out of ten), indicating the rampancy of corruption in these countries located in both private and public sectors of Africa's political and economic lives. Thirteen countries out of the forty-seven surveyed scored between three and five (out of ten), indicating less corruption (Transparency International, 2009). The thirty-one countries are Djibouti, Sao Tome Principe, Benin, Gabon, Tanzania, Madagascar, Egypt, Algeria, Mali, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Niger, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Togo, Nigeria, Mauritania, Comoros, Zimbabwe, Coted'Ivorie, Congo Republic, Guinea Bissau, Libya, Congo Democratic Republic, Angola, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Burundi, Sudan and Somalia. The thirteen countries that scored between three and five are Rwanda, Seychelles, Namibia, South Africa, Ghana, Tunisia, Lesotho, Morocco, Liberia, Zambia, Malawi, Madagascar, and Senegal.

Worthy of mention here is that the Transparency International Corruption Index has the range of from 1-10. The countries that scored between 1 and 2 are rated less corrupt while those countries that scores from 3-10 are rated very corrupt. In order words, the higher a country is in the index the more corrupt that country is rated.The argument here is that most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are rated high in the Index, indicating rampancy of corruption.

Now, the basic problem with corruption is that it has a lot of social consequences. Particularly, corruption is associated with social unrest (Schoeman, 2014: 41). Thus, the recent uprisings, in some African countries such as Libya, Tunisia, Egypt,

Cote d'Ivoire and others are seen by some scholars such, O'Donnell (2013: 263) and Danis Asogwa (2013: 116) for instance, as the direct offshoot of corruption. Another social consequence of corruption is that it pitches one part of the society against another by sowing the seed of discord and discrimination (Ilorah, 2009: 698). The discrimination here stems from treating people with unmerited favour because they are friends or members of one's family, tribe or political party. So that others who do not belong to these groups feel left out and unjustly treated.

This thesis analysis here squares up with the views of Chaim Fershtman, Uri Gneezy, and Frank Verboven (2005: 373), on the social impart of discrimination. According to them, discrimination in the distribution of favour family own group characterizes situations in which players treat (negatively) anonymous players and members of other groups identically, while treating identified members of their own group favourably.

This practice of treating members of ones group favourably at the expence of outsiders would appear normal when viewed from the background of African extended family system. However, when examined even within the context of African ethics, it involves injustice since it fails to encourage the good of the general public which is the hallmark upon which Africa ethics is built. Therefore, dealing with the problem of corruption in African, requires a regourous and sophisticated analysis of the complex interaction between corruption and some African cultural practices

Neverthess, it is sad to note that most of the studies (these studies will be examined under literature review) done on corruption in Africa did not take cognisance of how some African cultural practices encourage corruption. The result is not only a lack of literature in this area, but also a very large gap in the study and knowledge of the subject. The motivation and consequently the background of this study is the desire to bridge this lack of literature as well as to generate the interest of more scholars to probe deeper into the cultural root of corruption in Africa.

Since our endeavour on corruption in this thesis comes directed under the radar of nepotism, it is imperative that we create a background for nepotism at this preliminary stage. Nepotism, according to Dike (2008: 1) is the unfair favouring of relatives, household members and friends from the same ethnic group. Elaborating on Dike's observation, Amundsen (2000: 4) submits that people in key positions usually appoint or nominate family members to key political, economic or military positions in the state apparatus at the expense of more qualified non-family members.

Although nepotism is widely considered today as an evil that ought to be eradicated from African (Dike, 2008), there are indications that it will be very difficult to do so due to the complex and subtle interaction between nepotism and some African cultural practices. For instance, as Mogobe Ramose opines "it is unethical to withhold or to deny *botho/ubuntu* towards a member of the family in the first place, and to the community at large. In other words, charity begins at home" (Ramose, 2002: 329). The dilemma however, is that, we see it also as unethical to discriminate against others or deny them of their rights in order to favour members of our family.

The dilemma highlighted above, makes it explicit that nepotism in Africa has a cutltural root. Patrick Dobel supported this highlight when he argues that "corruption is essentially a factor of specific cultural attitude regarding loyalty, morality and usurpation of the public good" (Dobel, 1978: 34). It is therefore without doubt, that the extended family system, as practiced in Africa can serve as a leeway to corruption. For example it can do this by over-burdening a civil servant with family responsibilities so that his or her salary becomes insufficient to provide for the family. This in turn provides an aperture for all kinds of dishonest practices, including taking bribe to make up for the lack in salary.

In the light of this brief background, it is the aim of this thesis to investigate, understand and profer solutions, from the purview of African moral theory, on how Afrian cultural practices and values systems of the extended family system and gift-

giving contribute to encouraging corruption in Africa. Thus, the research question for this study is: how does nepotism enhance corruption in Africa?

1.2   Literature Review

The major operational concepts in this thesis are corruption and nepotism. Since we are treating nepotism as a special subset of corruption, our literature review is focused on corruption but with special orientation on nepotism. So while we generally use corruption, our instances are in the main oriented towards nepotism

Corruption has been defined differently by different scholars. Ajit Mishra defines it as "behaviour that deviates from formal duties because of private gains" (Mishra, 2006: 349). Going further, he opines that the deviation in question is not just any type of deviation. It is, according to him, a deviation from traditional and acceptable ways of doing things in both public and private offices respectively. What is deducible from Mishra's definition is that corruption is deviation but not just any type of deviation. For an act to amount to corruption it must be a deviation from a well established behaviour. Notwithstanding this, we can still argue that Mishra definition is too broad. For instance, he did not tell us the nature of the norms which deviation from amounts to corruption. Are these norms moral, legal or just any type of behaviour that has been in practice over a long period of time?

Nepotism on the other hand, is seen by Dike as refering to "a special form of favouritism. That is a situation where an office holder prefers his/her kinfolk and family members" (Dike, 2008: 1). For Dike, the problem with nepotism does not just consist in a civil servant helping his brother or his sister. The wrong with nepotism derives three different consequences. The first of these is that nepotism does not make the all important distinction between public and private relationship. There is nothing wrong in having kind sentiments towards members of one's family. What is wrong is allowing these sentiments to compromise one's integrity as a civil servant.

The second problem Dike associated with nepotism is the injustice it does to the outsider who in all cases bears the opportunity cost received by the insider. The

injustice here, according to Dike, derives from the fact that civil servants are not running their own affairs. They are employers of the community and should consequently be responsibly to the public. Thus while a public office holder does no wrong if he refuses doing charity with his salary to an outsider but chooses to give the whole salary to a family member, because the salary belongs to him privately as an individual; he commits grave moral injustice, if he does the same with his office as a civil servant (Dike, 2008: 3).

Dike's third problem with nepotism is that it does not apportion rewards according to merits. Rewarding merits is the incentive for hard work and and by extention, the driver for professionalism, innovation and economic growth but this is exactly what nepotism destroys. Dike laments that employing unqualified family members is like signing the death wanrrant to a job that requires professionalism. This according to (Dike, 2008: 4) is because the ignorant employee, who is employed based on ethnic sentiment, will not only kill every hope of progress since he cannont give what he does not have, but his entitlement mentality will make him relunctant to learn, hence collapsing the system entirey

Dike is obviously, on point in his analysing of the ethical and economic consequences of nepotism. A careful reading however, shows that his investigation is lacking in one important area. According to my assessment, his study is particulary supperficail because he only talked about the concept and consequence of nepotism without probing deep to question the source of nepotism. Hence, while this thesis agree with Dike that nepotism is wrong, it will refused to buy his assumption that criticising the wrong without probing into the root cause helps in resolving the problem.

Issacs made some serious attempt to establish a positive link between the extended family system and nepotism. He came into the situation as follows A person is identified right from birth as a member of the group into which he/she is born at that given time in that given place, so he/she is endowed with everything in that family (Isaacs, 1975: 31). Pushing further, he explains that this identification

creates in members of the same community a sense of kinship bondsthat encouraged them to act as their brother's keeper in traditional society. Nepotism for Issacs, therefore, arises from the need to sustain this kingship bond established by the initial sense of community. Issacs believes that when viewed purely from cultural perspectives, nepotism comes naturally to those civil servants who engage on it. These civil servants cannot imagine employing a person unknown to them when they have relatives who have been roaming around in search of means of livelihood.

As this thesis has already acknowledged Issac's effort was quite insightful in tracing nepotism to cultural practices, especially, the practice of the extended family system. However, two basic shortcomings are noticeable in his work. The first shorting is that Issac's work is too sketchy for a work that wants to establish an intrinsic relationship between some cultural practices and nepotism. One would have expected that Issacs would develop the contures and trace the nuances that this relationship entails. However, Issacs did not do this. He only contented himself with mere statements and sketchy demonstrations of how nepotism is linked with the extended family system. Another shortcoming of Issacs is that his work lacks context. It is not enough to say that some cultural practices encourage nepotism. There is most importantly, the need to give this claim content by linking it to a particular culture. Unfortunately, Issacs did not go as far as this.

Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie are not comfortable with the attempt to link corruption with any cultural practice of traditional society. To make such connections, they think is to be especially unfair to the culture and moral beliefs of the members of traditional society. Accordingly, these scholars argue that no traditional society encourages and condones corruption and other immoral conduct as a means to help a member. For example, no society condones cheating and stealing (Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2000: 46).

What should be highlighted here is that Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie seem to confuse the problem of necessary connection with the problem of approval.

Corruption is anti-society. As such, no society, both present and past has ever endorsed corruption as a cultural practice. To do so by any society is self-destructive. This however, is quite different from saying that there are good and well established cultural practices that drive corruption. The attempt scholars who trace the cultural root of corruption make is not to accuse any culture of institutionalizing corruption, but to show that there are elements of some cultures, which though good encourage corruption. And this particularly is the point Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie seemed to have missed.

Unfortunately, there are some scholars who think that corruption has certain favourable effects on the society. Rose-Ackerman is one of such scholars. She approaches her analysis of corruption from a functionalistic perspective. Accordingly, she sees corruption as a means of maintaining existing power structures and systems of political control in society. Thus, she is of the opinion that corruption can improve social welfare and economic efficiency by overcoming bureaucratic hurdles (Rose-Ackerman, 1978). Rose-Ackerman believes that corruption functions as a 'lubricant' or 'solvent' to overcome excessive bureaucratic inflexibility.

While it is true as Rose-Ackerman strongly believes, that one can use his wealth or position to overcome some moral huddles and get things done using dishonest means, but it will be wrong to go from this to say that corruption is to the advantage of the society. In the first place, man's social life itself imposes some moral restrictions and when these restrictions are formalized and use to regulate life, they are done for the overall interest of the society. The circumvention of these restrictions, except in situations where they are generated through corrupt means, can never serve the common good. In fact, such circumvention can only serve the interest of some few, while enslaving a greater majority in the process.

Okeke employs similar logic to argue that corruption fosters economic growth (or at least not undermine it) by facilitating inward investment and by increasing area's 'rents' which can be collected (Okeke, 2002: 130). In simple terms, Okeke is saying

here that corruption drives economic growth in society because proceeds from corrupt practices are most likely ploughed into investment. The thesis response to Rose-Ackerman also goes to Okeke. Stealing from public coffers cannot be justified simple because the culprit invests his ill-gotten wealth back into the society. In addition, stealing public money does not serve public interst. It serves only one interest that of the embezzlers and their cronies.

There are also other scholars who see corruption as the result of the interactions between clients (business people or ordinary citizens) and politicians orcivil servants who are narrow-minded and self-seeking in their behaviour. Coming from this background, Robinson blamed greedy and over ambitious politicians, for the rampancy of corrupt practices in society. He insists that these politicians are so self-seeking that they think only of their comfort without considering the impact of their behaviour on the society (Robinson, 1998: 4). Robinson blames this state of affair on the lack of durable political institutions and political competition, and weak and undeveloped civil society (Robinson, 1998:4). He believes that were these institutions in place, controlling corruption will not be as difficult as it has become today, particularly in Africa.

That Robinson is right in linking corruption to greed among politicians is without doubt. However, what he fails to realise or rather, what he deliberately chooses to ignore, is that greed may not be the only source of corruption.That there could be civil servants who are not greedy but who are corrupt.

Besides the scholars discussed so far, there are still other scholars such as William de Maria (2009), Herbert Ekiyor (2007), Veronica Okeke (2002), and Egbeke Aja (2000) who are of the opinion that corruption is culturally relative. Their argument in sum is that what is corruption has no universal understanding. Based on this, these scholars believe that there is a misunderstanding of African cultural values by the Europeans and that the spill over from this misunderstanding is the identification of some African cultural values with corruption.

Coming from this background, De Maria analysed corruption in Africa from a relationist cultural perspective. He argued that westerners interpret corruption from the perspective of their own economic interests (De Maria, 2009). Hence as de Maria sees it what is considered corruption from a western point of view might not be corruption from the perspective of African culture. To buttress his point, de Maria distinguishes between two African societies: the primordial and the civic societies. While primordial African society represents the time before the encounter between African culture and western culture, civic African society, stands for the period both during and after this encounter. De Maria observes that these two societies have their respective moral values. In this regard, what is termed 'corrupt' in civic Africa may not be so in primordial Africa. On this ground, de Maria believes that it is a misjudgement, to use traditional African values in evaluating contemporary African behaviour or problem.

While agreeing with de Maria's demarcation and basic assessement of the two African societies, Peter Ekeh, unlike de Maria maintains that these societies still exist and interact. His point here is that these societies are not just historical moments but an attitudinal mixture of both the past and the present. According to him:

> While many Africans bend over backwards to benefit
> and sustain their primordial public, they go back to gain
> from the civic public. So, the individual's relationship
> with the civic public is usually in material terms; duties
> are de-emphasised while rights are squeezed out of the
> civic public with the amorality of an artful dodger
> (Ekeh, 1975: 107).

Ekeh was insistent that the unwritten law showcased by this attitude is that it is legitimate to rob the civic public as long as it is meant to strengthen the primordial public. Thus, things like 'fraud' and 'embezzlement' are sanctioned or tolerated as

long as they are directed at the government and not organic clusters like the family or community (Ekeh, 1975:107).

Like Ekeh, Veronica Okeke does not agree with de Maria that the primordial and civic African societies are mutually exclusive and hence should not be judged with the same moral benchmark. According to her the two societies are attitudinal and are constantly interacting with each other. She argues that there are some African cultures with elements that are favourable for the development and spread of corruption; for instance, the customary exchange of gifts. Giving an instance of this, she observes that "African culture has conventions which demand or expect that a person shows appreciation for favours done to him or her" (Okeke, 2002: 131).

Pushing further, Okeke elaborates that there is a very thin line between what is called a bribe and a gift; and this makes it easier for corrupt officials to hide under the cover of gift-giving to extort money from their victims. Okeke on this ground, believes that "those cultural elements that expect the showing of appreciation for favours done favour the existence of corruption" (Okeke, 2002: 132).

Besides the issue of gift-giving, Okeke also identified the extended family system as another in African culture that encourages corrupt practices. To begin with, she notes that the extended family system which is one of the most cherished traditions of Africans, has also contributed to the prevalence of corruption. According to her, this family where it aids corruption act as a sort of parasite on civil servants because it over-burdens them with family responsibilities creating a situation where their salaries no longer meet up with these responsibilties. Accordingly, for Okeke, it is, actually, the attempt by these officials to satisfy members of their family that cause them to engage in corrupt activities such as nepotism (Okeke, 2002: 132).

In a similar vein, and following in the heel of Okeke, Herbert Ekiyor maintains that corrupt practices like nepotism are stimulated by some traditional norms such as the burden of providing for one's extended family (Ekiyor, 2007: 30). He stressed that,

African tradition requires an employed Liberian for instance, to share his money, food and house with a wide circle of relatives. One of the consequences of this traditional practice is that the more the civil servant earns, the more responsibility he/she gets (Ekiyor, 2007: 31). Thus, according to Ekiyor, these civil seervants are compelled to yield to corrupt influences from their kith and kin. Such capitulation to corruption, even among much disciplined civil servants, for Ekiyor usually comes naturally since the "first obligation of a man in traditional society is to his close kin and then to the lineage, clan or ethnic group" (Ekiyor, 2007: 31). In the end, Ekiyor was convinced that these strong traditional obligations to kin, tribe, village or religious sect contribute to corruption.

Hence coming from a similar position as Ekiyor's, Egbeke Aja strongly maintains that nepotism is one of the causes of corruption. To clarify on this, Aja argues that nepotism; an instance of corruption is viewed as something good in Africa. "Though practiced in other parts of the world, in Africa, nepotism is culture bound" (Aja, 2000: 196). Due to the family relationship in Africa, which goes back twenty or more generations of both mother and father, and all relations by marriage within the long line of the family system, if one happens to occupy a public office of high standing, one will be persuaded by pressure from the hundreds or thousands of relations to employ, first and foremost, members of one's family. Aja says that when this is done:

> public opinion, based on traditional African ethics justifies one; and where you go out of your way to employ anyone who is not related to you, (by traditional definition), you are considered as showing special favours for which the newly employed should show special thanks. Some thanks are expressed by giving bribes (Aja, 2000: 196-197).

This for Aja, means that though jobs are opened to every qualified candidate, the cultural and moral background of the African still holds him/ her tightly to his/ her old traditional concept of family, by which bribery, for instance, is not seriously condemned and nepotism as a social evil, is not frowned upon.

Done with analysis, Aja on his part sees nepotism as corrupt and wrong. However, he is of the opinion that from the perspective of traditional people, it is something which must be done for their survival and must be done on time because 'opportunity comes but once'. Once the person perpetrating the act ceases to be in that office or position, those people may never get such benefits again. Aja concludes that this is why in any available job; the ethnic group would always want the position to be occupied by their relatives or friends.

This thesis believes that Aja and the other African scholars reviewed above, who identify some elements of African culture as the drivers behind corruption in Africa are courageous scholars. This is because though Africans, these scholars did not allow their background to intervene in their transaction with the truth. This said, this thesis want to observe that some of these scholars, especially Aja overstretched their analysis by knowingly or unknowingly identifying African culture with corruption. One thing that this scholar failed to do is to distinguish between a culture being corrupt and a culture encouraging corruption. To encourage corruption is not the same thing as being corrupt. That the extended family system encourages corruption does not make the practice corrupt. Just as the best intention can lead to the worst results, a good cultural practice can become perverted and put into the most heinous use.

This thesis believes it is this distortion of equating some African cultural practices with corruption that motivated some African politicians to come out strongly in defence of African tradition. Olusegun Obasanjo (1994) was one of the politicians furious with the attitude of linking Africa or her culture with corruption. Obasanjo argues that corruption is a world-wide phenomenon and should not be particularized with or to Africans. He stressed that the only reason why corruption has thrived in Africa to the level it has, is due to some lapses at the time of independence. According to him, the colonial masters were concerned with their economic exploitation that they did not develop a strong civil society which could have checked the influence of the state and maintain a balance between the leaders

and the led. Thus because the civil society and the state were weaker, rudimentary and largely ineffective, unscrupulous, greedy and ambitious individuals institutionalized corruption throughout the length and the breadth of the continent (Obasanjo, 1994: 60).

Obasanjo's central contribution to this argument is that corruption was not an exclusive preserve of Africa or African cultures as some people think. He was adamant that "the average African is not by nature more corrupt than the European or anyone else from any part of the world" (Obasanjo, 1964: 60). He debunked the claim that corruption in Africa has cultural roots, calling such claim a 'myth'. Accordingly, he insists "personally, I shudder at how an integral part of an African culture, for one, can be taken as a basis for rationalising otherwise despicable behaviour" (Obasanjo, 1994: 65).

In other words, Obasanjo believes that some African cultural practices such as showing appreciation, hospitality and gift-giving, have all been misconstrued by the West and some misguided Africans. He says that appreciation and gifts from a purely African background are not demanded as bribes are. That is why the value of some of these cultural gifts is in the spirit, not in the material worth. They are also done in the open and never in secret. Additionally, unlike in bribery, in some cases, when a gift is excessive, it becomes an embarrassment and it is returned. It is sad to note says Obasanjo, that these values recognized and prized in Africa have been perverted and destroyed. On the issue of nepotism, and the claim that it is caused by family pressure, Obasanjo argues that "such an argument is merely an escape route taken by corrupt officials and corrupt company agents to justify their misdeed" (Obasanjo, 1994: 66).

Obasanjo's position is understandable. It is quite natural that an African leader, a sitting president in the most populous country in Africa, for that matter, to take pride and come to the defence of the cultures of their people when they feel such cultures are under attack. Nevertheless, here again, Obasanjo like some of the scholars interrogated in this review fails to make the very important distinction

between a culture being corrupt and a culture encouraging corruption. As this thesis has consistently tried to demonstrate in the previous pages of this review, Obasanjo's argument is flawed. It is clear that the pressure to take care of extended family members which almost always results in the over-burdening of civil savernts that makes them more suseceptible to corruption. This as Obasanjo misunderstood it, does not imply exornerating these civil servants. It does however, shows that there is a link between the extended family system and the sky-rocketing increase of corruption in Africa. It also shows that any objective desire to cure the scourge of corruption in Africa should do well not to ignore the cultural foundation that encourages corruption.

Kwame Gyekye also maintains that corruption in Africa is partly contributed by the communal structure of traditional African societies. He explains that the extended family system exerts great pressure on civil servants to feed, clothe, set-up business for, employ, give contracts and enrich their family. These responsibilities according to him lead the average African civil servant to acts of corruption (Gyekye, 1997: 76).

By this, Gyekye does not aim to absolve African civil servants who engage in corrupt practices from culpability. His effort was to represent the condition most African civil servants find themselves in. He maintained that without concerted effort to deconstruct the environment that promotes this type of condition and the frame of mind that perpetuate it; the war against corruption in Africa will always come and go as an academic exercise. The merit of Gyekye's contribution to the problem of the relationship between corruption and African culture is that he calls for a more rigorous study into the subject matter. Gyekye understood the sketchy nature of his work and did not in anyway pretend that he has done what is required in the field.

Livingstone Sewanyana began his analysis on the relationship between corruption and nepotism on the one hand and African culture on the other hand with a resounding acceptance that corruption and nepotism are evil practices that are

harmful to society. As he notes, some of the manifestations of corruption, are self-aggrandisement, bribery, incorrect appointment procedures, and embezzlement of public funds, nepotism and sectarianism. Using this list as a premise, he argued that corruption is anti-common good because the intention behind it is to plunder and hustle away what belong to the public into private hands. In order words, corruption spreads dissention and disunity by encouraging the advantage of the few at the expense of the advantage of many. All these point to one fact: that corruption is the number one enemy of every society (Sewanyana, 1994: 103).

Another insight Sewanyana, brought into his analysis of corruption relates to the level of corruption in Africa in relation to other cultural groups. In his submission, "though corruption is a serious problem in Africa, it does not mean that it exists only in Africa" Sewanyana (1994: 103). However, Sewanyana did not altogether ignore the accusation that some of the most corrupt countries in the world are located in Africa. Unlike Obasanjo who describes this as a myth, Sewanyana made some rational effort to explain the reason for this. He argued that Africa seems the most corrupt place on earth because most African countries are economically weak, such that "corruption has become part of everyday life" (Sewanyana, 1994, 103).. This means that, an average citizen of many Africa countries is most likely to be confronted with the challenges of corruption, whether he or she is politically aware or ignorant. This for him does not say anything about who are more corrupt between African and Europeans. It is a social factor and as a social factor, it only explains what happens to a weak economy that is not properly organized at the same time. The point he try to drive home here is that weak economy, weak economic structure and economic policy encourage corruption. Any country in Europe that finds itself in the condition that most African contries currently find themselves will be as corrupt as or even more corrupt than these African countries.

One of the reasons it is so is that nepotism kills the profession of etiquette, which is the moral of work and employment, and whenever this happens it seriously damages the prospects for development. For instance a whole system, according to

him, loses its efficiency if the opportunity to pursue a civil service career is dependent on family ties, religious background or ideological belonging instead of personal skill and competence. Where corrupt practice prevails, it tends to frustrate those who possess the much needed skills, forcing them at times to retire to insignificant occupations or leave the country (Sewanyana, 1994: 103).

Though, Sewanyana, acknowlegs that corruption is bad, that people are influenced into corrupt practices due to the conditions they find themselves, he did not explain whether corruption in Africa has cultural roots or not. His only concern is that Africa is corrupt but not the only corrupt continent in the world. In addition, he believes that where corruption is not promptly and correctly checked, it can become endemic creating its own societal rules which are contrary to those of internationally acknowledged human rights and the rule of law. This for him is certainly what is or has become of Africa.

The last scholar this thesis shall use to end this section is Tagbo Ugwu. Ugwu believes that corruption in Africa is traceable to some cultural roots. He observes that the major roots of corruption in Africa were sown during the colonial period, when the colonial masters created structures which were foreign to the culture of the people for the purposes of administration. Using Nigeria as a case study, Ugwu notes that the pre-colonial society knew little or nothing about corruption but soon, after Nigeria's independence in 1960, there grew in galloping proportions of corruption in every sphere of human life (Ugwu, 2002: 16). Along these lines, the military and civilian regimes have done enormous harm to Nigeria's social fabric, value system and collective psyche. Thus, corruption has entered various dimensions including religious, economic, and political life. The crux of Ugwu's argument is not exactly that corruption in Africa is consequent on cultures indegineous to African people. He was rather arguing that the present corruption being experienced in Africa is consequent on the perversion of African culture brought about by the imposition of western values.

One might disagree with Ugwu and argue as Amadi did on the ground that, in the pre-colonial period it was possible for an elder to receive gifts in order to further the cause of a particular litigant, if the litigant lost the case" (Amadi, 1992: 83). Nevertheless, this thesis shall for the time being allow Ugwu to enjoy the benefit of his conclusion as it believes that the remaining part of this thesis will cumulatively show him how wrong he was. For the time being however, the extant literature on the cultural roots of corruption in African is not comprehensive because adequate attention has not been given to the cultural roots of corruption. Thus, the weakness of the literatures reviewed here is the lack of information concerning whether cultural practices like gift-giving and the extended family system contribute to corruption or not. This study is embarked upon to make up for this lack of literature establishing the cultural link between African values and corruption. The study will specifically, contribute to the debate on the cultural roots of corruption in Africa, with specific reference to nepotism.

1.3 Research Objectives
a.   To determine how culture contributes to corruption;

b.   To investigate the relationship between corruption and nepotism in Africa;

c.   To provide an ethical critique of corruption wihin the framework of African

ethics;

1.4 Research Question
a.   How does African culture enhance corruption?

b.   What is the relationship between corruption and nepotism in Africa?

c.   What contribution can African ethics make towards the deconstruction of corruption in Africa?

1.5   Theoretical Framework

Bearing in mind that theories are concepts that mankind use to explain realities, this section is aimed at introducing the theories upon which this possible explanations of the theme of this thesis is anchored. This thesis has been able to establish so far, that the purpose of this study is to ethically investigate the cultural roots of corruption in Africa. The next task at hand is to delineate theories that will guide the investigation. In this regard, the study is based on three principal theories: cultural relativism, relationalism or the principle of moderate partialism and Ubutu or African communalism. With the exception of cultural relativism, that is not basically grounded in African ethics, the other two theories: relationalism and Ubutu are the bedrock of African ethics. In essence, these approaches are utilised with a view to critically interrogate the discourse of the research through the lenses of African-oriented thoughts within the broader framework of African ethics.

De George, the main advocate of the theory of cultural relativism centrally argues that cultural relativism, "provides the basis for people's conceptualization of a phenomenon as well as their behaviour towards it from the background of a particular cultural mileu" (De George, 1993: 9). This notation bears in mind that the "paradox of objectivity is implicit in this section ofthe interpretative meanings assingned to concepts such as corruption which social science disciplines purport to be a science, but one which has as its subject matter human beings and the cultures which they create" (Hull, 1994: 16). George subsequently, explains that cultural relativism is related to the study of peaople's cultural values and formations. And according to him, the intensive study of various cultures of the world over the years by scholars of cultural anthropology, such as Hull (1994) has shown that people behave in ways that are radically different from those who do not belong to that culture, and this makes possible for interpretation of another's behaviour as corrupt while viewing one's as not (De George, 1993: 9).

George's claim in the few lines highlighted above is multifaceted. This thesis will not delay here trying to distil out the full implication. It shall only point out two

possible implications. The first and the most important supposition inherent in Goerge's analysis is that people see reality through the prism of their culture. The second and the last implication this thesis will glean here from Goerge's claim is that cultural influences determines behaviour. These two points taken together would mean that it is wrong to judge people with regards to right and wrong outside the provisions of their own culture.

The use of cultural relativism to guide this study is important for two ethical reasons. The theory enables us to delineate the encounters between African and and non-African cultures and how some of these encounters have influenced the understanding and practice of corruption in Africa. As have already seen in the literature review, some scholars such as Bardhan (1997) and Collier (2000) believe that corruption is an importation from Europe into Africa, such that even if there are elements in present African society that encourage corruption, we cannot rightly attribute it to African culture but the result of European perversion of African culture. Other scholars such as Rose-Ackerman (1978),observed in the literature review believe that with or without European influence, that there are elements in African culture that encourage corruption.Specifically, authors such as Dike (2008) have opposing views, they think that corruption is a universal human phenomenon and has nothing to do with any particular culture. The theoretical tool of cultural relativism is pertinent l in placing these views in perspective.

The controlling idea for the cultural relativism does not lay only in the fact that what stands as a corrupt practice for example in Western Europian culture may not specifically represent currupt practices in East African pattern of life. This, departure in part underscores the theme of this thesis. And it, in turn fleshes out, the discourse of what constitute corruption or not and for whom and among whom? To be specific, gift-giving in Nigeria's polical and social life is a symbolic act of appreciation. In this way, whenever one receives support from another, giving gift, singularly represent showing of appreciation and demonstration of same. This

explains why Russell (1991) records that different things matter to different people and happiness and joy is expressed differently among people of the world.

The second importance of the use of cultural relativism for this study is is that it allows the researcher the space to freely interrogate all claims through the lenses of the people concerned. As suchis useful in differentiating the core differences in cultures as they are somewhat linked to corruption by non-users. It has grown over the years. Therefore, cultural relativism is a varitable tool in seeing these developmental stages as different cultures that should be investigated on their own merit.

The second theory designated to guide this study is relationalism or the principle of moderate partialism and this is what we shall turn our attention to next. Before doing this however, we shall conceptualize two other allied theories: strong partialism and impartialism. Understanding these two theories will go a long way in helping us to understand moderate partialism, our main concern in this thesis.

Strong Partialist View
As the name suggests, to be strongly partial implies to be strongly unfair. For instance, if one is judging a case and shows strong partiality in the judgment, it implies that he for whatever reasons has given the judgement to the unjust party. In other words, partiality is seen as an unfair treatment of somebody.

Brenda Almond the main proponent of this theory claim that strong partialism is the view that it is "morally right to give a higher priority in one's actions to the good of those to whom one stands in certain sorts of relationship (friends, teacher, parent) than to those to whom we stand in no relationship, everything else being equal"(Amond, 2005:155). It is clear from this definition, that strong partialism is the view that there is nothing morally wrong in favouring our family and friends even when this has to be done at the expense of the general welfare of the public.

Since the idea of strong partialism is centrally concerned with the issue of nepotism, situating it within the framework of nepotism here will help us to

understand the concept better. Recall that this thesis was able to establish under literature review that concept of nepotism has to do with favouring and preferring family members against the general public, especially when it concerns the allocation of government resources. Now, let us suppose that there is a civil servant in any of the African countries whose duty is to award scholarships to students to study abroad. During the interview, many students attended including the family members of the government official. The question is: should the government official pay special attention to his family members in awarding these scholarships or is it ethically right for him to prefer his family members against the general public?

Friedman another advocate of strong partialism was actually aware of this problem.

He observes that:

> The notion of partiality toward loved ones is lately gaining wide philosophical acclaim. (Ordinary people, fortunately, have held this view for quite some time.) It seems indisputable that intimacy and close relationships require partiality, that is, require special attentiveness, responsiveness, and favouritism between or among those who are to be close (Friedman, 1991: 818).

He continues to insist that "in this contemporary period, it may be difficult to find people who would not like to show unmerited favour to family members, friends or group memebers, perhaps as a way of showing love to them. The problem however, is how does the strong partialist go about proving that his position is ethically justifiable?

Let us allow Friedman to capture the problem:

> Partiality accordingly, seems instrumentally essential to integrity and the good life. Though it may seem appropriate to exhibit partiality towards loved ones, its theoretical and moral justification is actually essential and ought to be debated. Thus, whether partiality or partialism will be adequately

> justified by the prevailing traditions of modern moral philosophy is a question to ask (Friedman, 1991: 818).

Friedman in spite of acknowledging that such justification might be difficult at first sight still thinks it is possible to justify strong partialism. This thesis shall spare some space below to itemize and discuss some of his reasons.

Partialism and Human Relationship

Partialism can only occur within the purview of human relationship. Thus, the first reason Friedman gave as a justification for partialism is that it enhances human relation. According to Friedman, "devoting one's attention to one's children and family members is always seen as a matter of moral duty" (Friedman, 1991: 819). In other words, the reason a man would choose to favour his family members is because of his love for them. This gesture of love from him helps in the promotion of the welfare of his family which is part of his responsibility. Such favouritism, actually distinguishes his close relationships from other relationships with those whom he does not personally love. This also shows he respects those he loves personally through his reactions to them. In accordance with this, Friedman opines that, "to the extent that personal relationships are necessary for integrity and fulfilment in life, then, to that extent, partiality is instrumentally required as a means to achieving those morally valuable ends" (Friedman, 1991: 820). Friedman continues to explain that, if personal relationships are actually necessary for the integrity and fulfilment that people need in life, then partialism can really be helpful to ensure that such valuable moral ends are achieved.

One can actually counter Friedman on this by pointing out that the fact that integrity and fulfilment require close relationships, does not, however, infer logically that every close relationship contributes to integrity or fulfilment. And since the moral value of personal relationships varies widely, what should actually matter is the nature of the relationship in question. As Friedman, himself acknowledges, "to the extent that partiality is a duty in close personal relationships, it is a *prima facie* duty only, to be fully assessed, among other things, in light of the

moral worth of the particular relationships which it helps to sustain" (Friedman, 1991: 820). He is saying herethat, if partiality is actually a moral duty in close personal relationships, then we ought to assess whether it is really sustaining the relationship through its acclaimed moral obligation or not. Because when one takes a close look at some personal relationships, one may find that sometimes they are exploitative and therefore detrimental. An example is the case where the master may be exploiting the servant. Also even in intimate relationships, people can still be subjected to forms of exploitation such as economical and sexual abuse, assault and battery and emotional duress (Friedman, 1991: 820).

From the foregoing, one would think that Friedman would abandone his support for strong partialism; at least on the ground that it does not always produce the intended moral effect, even for those who are involved in the relationship. Unfortunately, this was not the conclusion he came to. Friedman (1991: 820) still insists that "the mere relationship with someone who is 'one's own,' in some sense, is always morally worth promoting In all, his elucidation is that people always tend to favour their personal and close relations against others in such a way that such relationships produce good effect on those involved and on the society. He believes that promoting such relationship is the morally right thing to do.

This section has presented one of Friedman's major justifications of strong partialism, the next section will take up inadequate resources which was the second reason he put forward to defend strong partialism.

Strong Partialism and Inadequate Resources
Sometimes in private life, when people are in need of help, those who are willing to offer assistance may be placed in a dilemma; contemplating who to help first or who to help most. This also plays out in the public service where some civil servants attempt to help some struggling members of the society. When someone chooses to assist a particular person rather than others, it will likely be termed a partialist act. But it is obvious from all indications that the person offering a helping

hand is acting based on his ability and secondly on the availability of the resources at hand. The issue is that a helper with limited resources cannot help everyone.

It is from this background that Friedman explains that:

> It seems logically impossible for people who are in dire need of basic material help to experience a fulfilled life in a relation. This is because they are mostly threatened by conditions of inadequate resources. If those whom I love are severely starving, then I will find it difficult to have fulfilment and integrity in life. The onus is then on me to do everything within my power to better their condition and this might include things that will not benefit everybody, (Friedman, 1991).

Thus Friedman believes that in the midst of the scare resources of the world, where I can only help the few among the unlimited number of those who need my help; it morally justifiable for me to choose to help those closest to me; those I have been privileged to share their lives, especially their suffering.

The problem with the first justifications that Friedman offered for strong partialism is that he does not make any attept to distinguish private and public lives. This inability to distinguish between the two sectors did not allow him to delineate the things which should and should not obtain for those in the sectors. For instance, in as much as compassion is an important moral sentiment, this does not clarify how helping someone's family members at the detriment of the public helps to sustain ones moral integrity as Friendman claim. One would think that the correct thing to do to sustain such integrity is not to allow one's family sentiment to encroach into the discharge of his duties as a public employee. Yes man is sentimental but he is also rational and the two should go together. To break the rules guiding the public commission on grounds of sentiments does not appear to have anything to do with integrity.

The second reason Friendman gave to justify strong partialism is inadequate resources. However, I think his logic is flawed on this too. One of the flaws is that

partialism by its nature circumvents the common good and to that extent is the major cause of inadequate resources. There is a strong indication that we shall actually get the opposite result of what Friedman actually intended with his argument.Thus, practice of partialism where resources are inequitably distributed to different families, contributes to the reduction of the number of people who can have the opportunity of achieving any meaningful well-being and fulfilment through close relationships. If we all decide to favour only our loved ones, the implication is that some of our loved ones will flourish while others will not. Besides, this may suggest hatred for those who may not benefit from such favour. And we need to be worried of the attendant social dislocation that comes from such feelings. In addition, if we all accept partialism and it becomes everyone's responsibility or prerogative to practice, then there ought to be a mechanism that will ensure that resources for favouring loved ones are adequately distributed. This would make partialism a legitimate affair. As long as this is not done and for that matter not advocated for by Friedman, this thesis thinks any specific or personal defence of strong partialism loses its moral justification.

As hinted above, one negative consequence of partialism is that it promotes disharmony and discord. A state that does not encourage strong partialism will eventually promote more harmony and less discord, while a state, that distributes resources to benefit only the relatives of government officials will, instead, produce division and ill-will. Such a state will end up perpetuating injustice by forcing its citizens to pay taxes that benefit only the relatives of government officials. This is definely contrary to African ethics which by all means encourages harmony and mutuality. Thus, to ensure there is harmony in the state, strong partialism should be avoided. This section therefore ends with the observation that African moral theory forbids strong partialism in the form of nepotism but may also tolerate another kind of partialism; that is moderate partialism. We will take on moderate partialism in the penultimate section to the preceeding. For now let us examine impartialism as the second moral theory that will help us to understand moderate partialism.

Impartialist View

Impartialism is a theory in social ethics that advocates the impartial distribution of rights and responsibilities in society. This ethical principle is premised on the logic of human equality and since humans are equal, there should be no discrimination in the distribution of world's resources.

One of the supporters of this ethical principle as documented by Cottingham is the British born scholar Michael Fox. According to Cottingham, the "impartialists moraly requires us to allocate our time and resources without according special preference to our own goals and interests and without displaying favouritism or partiality towards those to whom we happen to be in some way specially related" Cottinggham, 1986: 357). This for him means that as far as impartiality is concerned, there should be equal opportunities for all persons. But Cottingham was particularly worried that this may be hard to justify. He voiced out his doubt in the following words this view may sound utopian despite the massive support accorded to it by "various versions of utilitarianism, socialism, Christianity and other creeds" (Cottingham, 1986: 357)..

Having said this, Cottingham proceeded to point out reasons why he thinks impartialism may not be feasible. He argues that, In practice, people usually give priority to their own families, careers, plans and projects, friends and loved ones; it is very difficult to see how a normal human being could seriously want to share his time and resources in such a way that ignores the 'mine' and 'our' Cottingham (1986:357). His point here is that it is very doubtful if people would actually practice impartialist ethics fully. This is because when applied in real cases, impartialism falls short of being an ideal to be adopted. To buttress this point cottingham created a case study:

> Imagine a situation where two different people are having a serious problem at the same time; for instance, where two people are engulfed in a burning building and one decides to be partial by rescuing his own child. An impartialist consideration will prefer to rescue someone else, which may not seem

understandable but rather regrettable and shows a
lapse in the moral standard (Cottingham, 1986: 357).

Cottingham thinks a good parent will actually prefer to rescue his own child first as a moral duty.) He confirms this when he says that "a parent who leaves his child to burn, on the grounds that the building contains someone else whose future contribution to the general welfare promises to be greater, is not a hero; he is (rightly) an object of moral contempt, a moral leper" (Cottingham, 1986: 357.

Despite these criticisms, as we noted at the beginning of this section, impartialism as a moral philosophy, emanates from the belief that people should be committed to the equality of all human beings. Going by the tenets of impartiality and what it stands for, there should be equal opportunities to all without any adherence to partialism. It is committed to the belief that others have equal value to oneself, and an equalrightto pursue their own interests. Thus the moral importance to be gleaned from this view is that every moral agent counts equally. Consequently, no matter how wrong the concept of impartiality, their idea of equality is worth mentioning. This view is supported by Nagel when he states that, "whatever these conceptions may get wrong, one thing they seem to get right is the idea that there is a close and important connection between moral impartiality and equality" (Nagel, 1991: 245)

Therefore, rejection of impartialism here is because it is contrary to African ethics. For although African ethics believes communalism deriving from the common brotherhood of all men, it particularly imphasizes a hierarchical order according to which individuals are recorganized and appreciated by the community for their contribution to the general wellbeing of the community. An impaetialist view allows no room for this and is therefore out of line with an important aspect of African morality.

Having discussed these two moral theories allied to moderste partialism, the next section discusse moderate partialism which is the key theory in consonance with African ethic for investigating the problem of nepotism.

Moderate Partialism

Moderate partialism as propagated by Thaddeus Metz (2009: 339) explains that, "an act is right and just insofar as it is a way of prizing harmony with others that is, relationships in which people share a way of life and are in solidarity with one another. An act is wrong, only if it fails to honour relationships in which we identify with others and exhibit good-will towards them" (Metz, 2009: 339). By this definition, Metz is informing us that any act which would cause disharmony such as discrimination is unethical and wrong.

Metz explanation will now be placed in perspective with the other two ethical theories already discussed. On one hand was strong partialism, while on the other hand was impartialism. According to the impartialists those working for the state should act only in the interest of the general public. There should be no room for compassion based on primordial sentiments. In contrast to this, strong partialists maintain that those working for the state should as well act in the interest of certain individuals who are dear to them even at the expense of the general public. For the moderate partialist, these two extreme positions, although significant to an extent, are misconceptions of the human condition. Their stance is that while strong partiality should be rejected, certain level of partialism has a place in human existence. The very important point to note about this position is that it is not derived from the principles of formal logic where, say 2+2=4, but from the situation of human condition where there is hierarchy of mutual interconnection between realities.

This is the understanding of reality that depics African ethics. That is African ethics does not accept ethics that presents moral theories as mutually discontinuous but the moral principles that are mutually complimentary. Consequently, the moral principle advocates by African ethics is moderates partialism. It does this on grounds that, although partialism may be considered unethical and against the general public, there is another kind of partialism which respects the interconnectivity and hierarchical nature of reality; and that is moderate partialism.

While the difference between strong partialism and moderate partialism may not be quite obvious, a careful evaluation of the two, would show that there is a clear moral difference between awarding contracts and jobs for instance, to the family members of government officials and to those who are related to the state. Metz (2009: 348) made this distinction come alive when he states that "according to African ethics, people such as veterans and victims of state injustice may, in principle, be given some degree of preference in the awarding of government jobs and contracts. This view, to an extent, refutes the tenets of impartialism.

Metz further argues that the African moral theory forbids both impartialism and a strong form of partialism which permits civil servants to give preferential treatments to family members or friends. For the moral principle which is at at home with African ethics is moederate partialism. Within this theory "government officials are permitted to occasionally favour veterans and victims of state injustices at some cost to the general public" (Metz, 2009: 336). His view is that African values accept some (but not all) form of partiality. For instance, while there should be preferential hiring of those who struggled against colonialism, other forms of nepotistic partialism should be abhorred.

In order to avoid a misinterpretation of this point, it is good to note that what Metz is advocating for here is not that corruption or nepotism is good and should be encouraged, or, that it is accepted in the African system, but rather, he believes there are occasions when some acts of nepotism are justified and occasions when it is not. He is actually against corruption. He strongly condemns the situations where African values are even invoked to justify behaviour deemed unjust. For instance, believing in the African dictum 'charity begins at home (Ramose, 2003: 329).

Ramose point here boils down to the importance of making distinction between strong partialism and moderate partialism. While authors such as Ramose (2003) argue that African morality forbids strong nepotism as corrupt, it allows other milder forms of nepotism. The actual difference between these two conflicting sides is that, while strong partialism occurs when an official awards jobs or contracts to

family members and people related him through family or political party, moderate partialism (which the African moral theory advocates) occurs when officials award jobs or contracts to people who are in some special way related to the state, such as veterans. This is why the African moral theory rejects both impartialism and strong partialism and then accepts the principle of moderate partialism. Therefore, this theory reveals that some aspects of nepotism can be practiced in Africa justly, in line with some African values.

African moral theory rests on the ground that morality is possible only through interaction with others, that is, only in a kind of relationship which prohibits unfriendliness, isolation, ill-will and other harmful interaction (Tutu, 1999: 35). To construe morality as the proper valuing of friendly relationships, Metz insists, "actually aptly reflects how many people south of the Sahara think and behave". (2009: 342). Metz supposition here and this thesis concur, is that Africans see society as a pure relationship with others and believe that this relationship is not premised on some kind of unbendable iron laws but are a living history. This account in part explains why Mbiti asserts that "a person is a person through other persons, and I am because we are" (Mbiti, 1969: 108-109).This is witnessed in, for instance, in the allocation or giving contracts to some persons who have contributed to the wellbeing of their people. To a non-African it is unethical and called nepotism and corruption but for an African, who is conscious of the role history plays in determining morality, the awarding of such contracts is never considered unethical.

 In sum, while moderate partialism, encourages some degree of partialism that helps in building friendship, brotherhood and harmony in society; it abhors nepotism, because nepotism brings disharmony, discrimination and injustice. Nepotism for the moderate partialist is evil because it takes into consideration only private or personal interests against the general public.

The application of moderate patialism in this desertation will serve two purposes. First, it will help us to show that there is a complete contrast between Western and African approach to realty which is also reflect in their understanding of morality.

For the West reality and morality are discontinuous and operate within the framework of formal logic. Thus, for the West you cannot be right and wrong at the same time. You are either right or wrong. Contrary to this, the African concept of reality and morality is continuous and operates within the framework of factual logic. Since life is larger than logic African believe that under certain conditions, you can be right and wrong at the same time. Second, using this initial distinction, the desertassion will argue that since morality in the main is an expression of a people's concept or understanding of reality, moderate partialism intend to African ethics should be applied to solving African the problem of corruption in Africa which fortunately is an ethical problem.

Ubuntu

One other theory this thesis shall employ in the investigation of nepotism is the ethics of *Ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* is an ancient African moral theory that has received the attentions of myriads of scholars; both African and non-African. Accordingly, Johann Broodryk, defines *Ubuntu* as "a comprehensive, ancient worldview which pursues primary values of intense humanness, caring, sharing and compassion, and associated values, ensuring a happy and quality community life in a family spirit or atmosphere" (Broodryk, 2004: 4) This definition shows that *Ubuntu* advocates for the common good of the general public. However, the common good in question here, is different from the western notion of common good which emphasizes freedom and personal autonomy. It is a notion of common good that sees reality, especially human life as communalistic and inter-connected. In this sense, no individual within the ethic of *Ubuntu*, is expected to discriminate, disrespect or to be dishonest while discharging public service. Instead, civil servants are expected to show love, respect and particularly, honesty.

Another scholar Murove (2005) is on the same page with Broodryk conserning the meaning of Ubuntu. According to him, "*Ubuntu* means being human" (Murove, 2005: 144)). uses human here in the sense of humanness or humanism. This according to him means a certain love and devotion to humanness that discourages selfishness or discrimination against anybody. Thus, "behavioural qualities such as

those that arise from selfishness are considered to lack humanness" (Murove 2005: 144). On the whole, *Ubuntu* judges human action by the level at which it affects the life of the public positively or negatively. We shall now place Ubuntu side by side with nepotism to show how this theory will contribute to this study.

Ubuntu and Nepotism

As already discussed above, *Ubuntu* advocates for human behaviour which bring harmonious living, and to that extent, produces happiness to the general public (Shutte, 2009a: 97). This by extension means that individuals should be treated equally. Nepotism on the other hand, is the act of favouring a member of one's family or one's loved ones in the distribution of resources at the expense of others. Going by this, there is the need to examine whether it is the best to practice nepotism or invariably whether it will produce the best result, within the Ubuntu ethical system, if civil servants favour their family members in the distribution of government resources at the expense of others.

Practically, the word 'nepotism' has already implicated itself and therefore falls short of *Ubuntu*. Ubuntu demands the promotion of the happiness of everyone in the community. Now, where family members are preferred against others, the happiness this will produce will definitely be limited compared to the pain it will produce in the community since the community is always bigger than members of a particular family. Application of *Ubuntu*in this regard will throw things open to the best qualified, so that it will be clear from all indications that there were no traces of bias. It is only with this attitude that the community can begin to experience harmonious living. What this shows is that *Ubuntu* and nepotism cannot be proper partners. They are contraries.

What is obvious in all the analysis in this section is that both Moderate partialism and *Ubuntu* do not support nepotism. This is because, these theories, both of which operate within the circumference of African ethics, encourage communual harmony and friendliness, grounded on the common brotherhood of every member of the

human society. Contrary to this, nepotism motivates disharmony by encouraging social arrangement built around parochial structures.

Summarily, this thesis will use the three ethical theories discussed in this section as a template to guide the rest of this work. Specifically, it will use the principle of cultural relativism to situate how some African cultural practices such as gift-giving and the extended family system serve as the embers that stoke corruption. Employing the services of the ethical principles of Ubuntu and moderate partialism, the work will demonstrate that nepotism is contrary to African ethics and thus has no ethical justifical within the framework of African ethics. Ubuntu and moderate partialism are promoted in the end as the solution to the problem of corruption in Africa.

1.6   Research Methodology and Techniques

According to Hart, "methodology has been defined as a tactical and systematic of methods and rules that facilitate the collection and analysis of data" (Hart, 1998: 28). Essentially, this includes making choices from various approaches to know which to use in analysing issues of the topic under study. Furthermore, Mouton who has distinguished himself in the broader field of research activities, consciously, defines research methodology and design "as a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem" (Mouton, 1996: 107). Bearing these definitions in mind, this study theoretical in its scope and orientation and roots its originality from the identification of the pertinent gaps located within the broader spectrum of argumnet of variegated scholars on corruption. Consequently, this thesis obtains both primary and secondary sources of data from existing accounts on corruption and nepotism from various authors via a desktop review of pertinent literature documents that speaks directly to the subject matter of this study. In so doing, the primary sources of data constituted of non-interpreted: books, journals, internet sources, official documents from global and regional institutions such as: Corruption Watch, Transparency International, and Global Corruption Barometer on corruption and nepotism. Secondary sources of data includes: all interepreted pieces of information from news dailies, periodical

news and articles from magazines. By implication, this means that any other method of materials gathering for this thesis including the ethnographical methods, descriptive survey methods other than stipulated desktop review of relevant literature have been ruled out as a data collection technique in this research.

For data analysis, critical analysis and the historical methods are employed. Since, the focus of this investigation is African culture, which is not static but like every living organism has grown and evolved over the years, the historical method is used to walk through the contours of these changes. The aim is to understand the dynamics of these changes; look at the ways the past has influenced the present and how the present can be best understood taking cognizance of the influence of the past and the expectations for the future of Africa at peace with itself.

In addition, since the information used in this work is from a myriad of sources, some of which are contradictory, the tool of critical analysis is essentially used to scrutinise through these proposition in order to separate ideas, authors, and argument from sound to those that are not.The basis for this notation is that the thesis is able to utilise the common denominator of the views that consititue or forms essential parts of the objective for which this thesis is canvassing for. Specifically, the study's analysis which employs both content and thematic analyses are central to this study since they both help the researcher categorised all obtained data and compartmentalise same. Content analysis is instrumental to the study since it was used to analyse all obtained data based on their relevant content value. And also, the thematic analysis is instrumental in assemblying the arguments of scholars and position papers of institutions based on the common theme that mark their overriding conclusion. Critical analysis is also employed in clearifying the key ideas and concepts that are confusing and could derail the focus of the thesis if left unclarified. A good example of these is the difference between saying that there are certain cultural elements such as gift-giving in African culture that encourages corruption and the western idealisation of the word in Africa that gift-giving constitutes part of the whole racket of corrupt or immorality in themselves.

Thus, while scholars of Western decent may rigorously argue that the practice of African extended family system encourages nepotism, the contradictory observation of such by some scholars of African origin such as Murove (2005), it will be wrong to assume the conclusion that the extended family system is nepotic.

In relation to the above stated methods adopted for this work, the study's central focus is on corruption while using elements of difference in culture and perspective to either affirm or falsefy claims of corrupt practices based on the cultural values of the people under study. The study, with a view to maintain its scientifice rigour, focuses on philosophical and ethical lenses in this regards bearing in mind that the underlying element of this thesis is partly to understand the concept of corruption within an African context through African people's cultural and ethical values. However, given that corruptiuon touches cord on both economic and political frontiers, the study has seldomly mentioned the economic aspect of corruption (financial misdeed), anthropological (the human factor in corruption) which essentially makes corruption a universal problem, but the study is not interrogated through any other discipline's lense exception to philosophy and ethics. And thus is studied from the perspective of different disciplines. Important to note here, is that while this study observed some pers[pectives that are not strictly philosophical, the researcher is conscious of the multi-dimensional nature that corruption as a concept has and this explains why the researcher employing strictly philosophical lenses for its observations.The other relational disciplines that touches cord on corruption shall be related to in passing with a view to bring to bear the specificties that they have with corruption not to nuance the discourse on their disciplianry consensus. So, other views of the subject will be only referred to by way of specific reference.

1.7   Outline of Thesis
This thesis is structured into seven chapters. Chapter one is the introduction. Beginning from the background of the study, through the theorical framework to the research methodology, the chapter provides a strong semantic foundation for the understanding of the entire work. The key aim of this first chapter is to introduce

the problem and highlight how the researcher intends to go about tackling the problem.

Chapter two is on operalization of terms, the major operational concept in the work. The chapter acknowledges that the definition of corruption is hotly contested among scholars. The result of this contest is disagreement and different views on the meaning of corruption. Based on these, the researcher in this chapter reviews the different meaning of corruption from the background of different professions and autonomous disciplines. In the end the chapter adopts the circumvention of a moral norm as a working definition for the work.

With particular focus on gift-giving and the extended family system, chapter three investigates the cultural root of corruption in African culture. The purpose of this chapter is to lay to rest the controversy on whether or not certain African cultural practices support corruption. After making the important distinction between something bad and that supports corruption and something that is good but could encourage corruption, the chapter establishes that the view that certain African cultural practices supports corruption, especially nepotism cannot be consistently denied.

Chapter four dwells on the causes and consequences of corruption from an African background. On the one hand, the chapter notes that corruption, especially nepotism is caused by African cultural practices of gift-giving and the extended family system, on the other hand, and the chapter identified different forms of socio-political crisis and economic underdevelopment as the main consequences of corruption. The chapter ends with the acknowledgement that the current economic hardship and socio-political upheavels in Africa is occasioned by corruption.

Chapter five undertakes an evaluation of the prevalence of corruption during the different stages of African historical evolution. Starting from pre-colonial to colonial and post-colonial periods, the chapter observes how the perversion of African culture by colonialism contributed immensely to the growth of corruption

in Africa. By and large, the imposition of western values, on Africans is the higest contributor to the sorry state Africa finds herself today in terms of corruption.

Chapter six, which in a way is the nucleus of this work, engages in an ethical critique of corruption. The chapter commences with a general distinction between ethics and morality. This done, it goes on to use the ethical view of some important scholars to evaluate the moral acceptability of corruption, particularly nepotism as a social norms in African society. The conclusion the chapter arrives at is that nepotism, especially its primordial family model of helping those who are related to you by blood, is morally unjustifiable within the framework of African ethics.

Chapter seven recapitulates the previous chapters of this thesis highlighting the key ideas uppermost in each chapter. Also, since this work is not just expository but is also aimed at proferring solution to the problems of corruption raised in the work, the chapter as well recommends steps that will help to arrest the alarming growth of corruption in Africa especially in recent years. In all, the conclusion is an expression of the conviction that Africa is not condemned to corruption. She can overcome her current decadence of corruption but to do this, all hands, especially the hands of African leaders, must be on deck to minimize and eventually free Africa from corruption.

CHAPTER TWO: OPERALIZATION OF TERMS

2. Introduction

Corruption is one of the most notorious words today. Globally, it is denounced as the gravest of all crimes. It is condemned in Africa as the major source of war and underdevelopment. In short, everyone, everywhere in the world, seems to agree, that corruption is the greatest enemy of man in the twenty first century. Surprisingly however, in spite of being this notorious, corruption still remains one of the most difficult English words to define. In fact, Mbat went as far as saying that there are as many definitions of corruption as there are scholars (Mbat, 2004: 86). Bertha Osei-Hwedie and Kwaku Osei-Hwedie on their own point out that there is not one clear standard definition of corruption, and over the years, it has been defined in a variety of ways" (Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2000: 42). One of the reasons for this difficulty in the definition of corruption is that corruption has both a cultural and professional dimensions. What might be considered corruption in one society or profession might not be seen as corruption in another society or profession.

Notwithstanding these difficulties in the definition of corruption, the term is so central to this thesis that any attempt to bypass it will undermine our efforts to uncover the cultural root of corruption in Africa. The reason for this is that without developing a working definition for corruption at this preliminary stage, ourselves and the team of scholars we have assembled to carry out this investigation, will end up generating more confusions than clarifications.

Another concept whose clarification is central to the realization of our objectives in this thesis is the Public sector. The centrality of the concept to our study here is informed by three reasons. First, in as much as corruption can and does occur in the private sector, it is principally a crime of the public sector. It follows then, that the concept of corruption will be better appreciated when it is associated with the public sector the environment where it occurs most. Second, the model of corruption we are interested in this thesis is the type that occurs in the public sector.

Making this point in conjunction with explaining the meaning of public sector at this early stage will go a long way in saving the study from the charge of baise against the public sector. Third and lastly, one of the major factors that perpetuate corruption in Africa, is the inability of Africans to make a clear distictinction between the public and the private sector; that is one's responsibility as a civil servant as different from his responsibity as a private individual.

On these grounds, our main objective, in this chapter is to provide an operational definition of corruption and the public sector that are in consonance with our overall aim in the thesis.

The chapter is structured as follows: firstly, the definition of corruption will be accessed from both etymological and inter-disciplinary perspectives. Since corruption is a universal issue, the importance of this first part is that it furnishes us with the meaning of corruption from a global point of view. Secondly, corruption will be discussed as it relates to African society. Obviously, this second part will help us to understand the different meanings of corruption as it concern Africans and African culture. The third section focuses on some factors that contribute to corruption with specific reference to Africa. The fourth part understakes an analysis of the meaning of the public sector. Since the public sector is better explained when it is compared with the private sector, serious effort is made in this part to compare the two sectors. In sum, the purpose of the chapter is to conceptualize a specific understanding of corruption and the public sector that will serve as our navigator's mast for moving the ship of this thesis to its harbour.

2.1   The Etymological Definition of Corruption

As already hinted the definition of corruption is a controversial issue. Nevertheless, one safe way to avoid getting caught up in this controversy is to approach the definition of corruption etymologically. Accordingly, for Kenneth Dye the word corruption "comes from the Latin verb c*orruptus* which means to break. It is used in reference to breaking an object in most cases" (Dye, 2007; 308). Etymologically

therefore "corruption is a form of behaviour that departs from ethics, morality, tradition, law and civic virtue" (Dye, 2007: 308).

To make sense of this definition, there is need to identify that it is made up of two parts. The first part equates corruption with an act or behaviour that departs or deviates from.... The second part, lists a group of words quite rich in meaning, which behaviour must deviate from, for it to qualify as corruption. Included in this list are: ethics, morality, tradition, law and civic rule. The thesis has no intention of going into the clarifications of these concepts here. It shall only content itself with the observation that what these terms share in common is that each of them enshrines the idea of a well established rule of life. In order words, whether, one is talking about ethics, morality, tradition, law or civic rule, the definition assumes that the person is talking about well established life's principles.

Nonetheless, the limitation of this etymological definition is that it is too broad. It encompasses almost any rule that one might be forced to ask whether the deviation from every rule amounts to corruption. For instance, can a person say that someone who beats a traffic rule is corrupt? The inability of this definition to distinguish between the breaking of rules which amounts to corruption and those which do not makes it a Jack of all trades and a Master of none. This definition cannot therefore, be used as a working definition, especially when issues of practical application is at stake, as it is in this thesis. We shall now turn our attention to dictionary definition of corruption as the first step in what will definitely be a long process of narrowing down what the etymological definition made two broad.

2.2   Dictionary Definition of Corruption

Hornby defines corruption as "dishonest or illegal behaviour, especially of people in authority, or the act or effect of making somebody change from moral to immoral standards of behaviour" (Hornby, 2010: 239). It is deducible from this definition, that the most frequent culprits of corruption are civil servants. This does not mean to say that non-civil servant cannot or do not engage in corruption. Corruption as has been pointed out earliear is a universal problem. However, what

this thesis thinks the dictionary tries to communicate here is that the corruption of civil servants are more pronounce and scandalous both because of the positions they occupy and the advantages such positions give them when they choose to indulge in corrupt practices.

The definition unlike the etymological definition also tries to narrow the meaning of corruption. Particularly, it uses three ideas to characterize the nature of corruption. The first of these is dishonesty. Dishonesty is basically an interior or intentional act. It is an act with the intention to deceive. It follows from this that for an act to count as corrupt there must be that intention to deceive others. Thus an act, gift-giving for instance, may produce corrupt or negative effects, but without an original intention to deceive, one cannot justifiably call such action corruption.

The second concept used by the dictionary is illegal. Legality is a word used mostly to qualify constituions of states or the enactment of goverments. As such, to be legal is to act constitutionally. To do otherwise is to act with illegality. In using this word, the dictionary tries to bridge the gap that could be created by intenion and action. The dictionary uses the word, illegal to bridge the gap or in an attempt to resolve the conflict that could possible arise betweem an act and the intention behind it. Thus one cannot use intention as an excuse for disobeying a rule clearly stated in law. However, this particular interpretation can excavate the age long debate on the relationship between legality and morality and the way they relate to corruption. Consequently, someone can ask: does the breaking of every law amounts to corruption and are there acts which are not stipulated in the constitution but which constitute corruption? The dictionary left these questions unattended.

Finally the third word used by the dictionary is morality. Although, there are many understandings of morality by scholars (Etim, 2007: 18; Nnoruka, 2003: 84 and Mbat, 2004: 46), most scholars associate it with principles of life in accordance with man's life as a being with dignity and meaning. What could be gleaned from this analysis is that morality goes beyond legality. It touches every aspect of man. Hence, there are things which may not be stipulated by law but are forbidden by

morality. If this is placed side by side with the point made concerning honesty and intention above, one shall see that there is an intrinsic link between morality and honesty. In fact, someone can reductively equate morality to honesty in relation to corruption since in each case of corruption; the perpetrator is consciously involved in deception. It can be stated that Hornby, sees corruption as a dishonest or immoral act. This by implication would as well mean that corruption is more than as well as less than the breaking of legal rules. For there are things legistlated by law those there omissions do not amount to corruption and there are things not legistlated by law but there commission amount to corruption.

2.3   Philosophical Definition of Corruption

Generally philosophical discurses see corruption as a deviation from moral norms. On the one hand, this understanding agrees with the etymological definition that sees corruption as a deviation, on the other hand, the definition corroborates, as well with the dictionary definition that links this deviation with moral principles. It follows then that for most philosophers corruption is a deviation from moral principles. Accordingly Mark Philip argues that:

> Corruption denotes decay or perversion. The term implies that there is a natural or normal standard of functioning or conduct from which the corrupt state of affairs or action deviates. When we talk of a person becoming corrupt, we mean not just that they have broken a rule, but that the basic norms of ethical conduct no longer have any force for them. Corruption strikes at the root of a thing (Philip, 2000: 177).

This definition adds a new dimension to the view that corruption is a departure from a moral principle. It incorporates the impact corruption has on the perpetrator; a sort of perversion or moral degeneration. The point streghtens the initial assumption that morality consists of a standard of life, inscribed in man's nature, which he/she need to abide by if he/she must attain self actualization as a person. It follows from this as well, that corruption is not simply a departure from moral

principle, and it also involves perversion or degeneration of the nature of the person involved in the corrupt practices.

Coming from this background, many philosophers regard the world as inevitably corrupt, being a poor imitation of the ideal world. One of the philosophers, who held this view, is Plato. His *Allegory of the Cave, the Theory of Forms and the Metaphor of the Divided Line* are clear examples of how the physical world appears true to a man who has never had a glimpse of the Ideal World (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol.25, 2002:893-899).The Ideal World is the real, pure, perfect world, whereas the physical world is an imperfect imitation of the ideal and therefore corrupt.

2.4   Economic Definition of Corruption

Black defines corruption as the "use of bribery to influence politicians, civil servants and other officials (Black, 2002: 91-92). The exclusive use of the term 'bribe' by this dictionary is particularly important because most acts of corruption in Africa is associated with bribery. Black defines bribery as the use of anything of value, either in cash or kind to influence the decision, action or inaction of a civil servant. In this vein, the dictionary goes on to state that almost any official action or inaction can be influenced by corruption. Some officials may have to be bribed to carry out their official duties, or, to do them properly and promptly. Conversely, they may also be bribed to neglect their official duties, to turn a blind eye, and to pretend they do not see or notice what is going on. For example, builders may bribe a concerned official to turn a blind eye as they erect structures without due planning permission and in disregard of building regulations.

What is important here is that corruption seen from the purview of bribery is more often than not associated with those who work in the public sector. As it is, this understanding emphasizes corruption as the betrayal of public interest by civil servants who are interested in getting money or any other type of reward from people for his or her own private use (Heidenheiner 1977).This relates also to what Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie called market-centered definition of corruption. A

case where a civil servant sees the government office as his personal 'shop' from which he has to make a personal profit (Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2000: 42-43).Yet again, this does not mean that corruption is only committed by civil servants. Private individual who use dishonest means to get what they want from others are also corrupt. Nevertheless, the point is that whenever valueables in the form of bribery exchanges hands, the public is affected, one way or another.

After considering many definitions of corruption, from the economic perspectives, the World Bank adopted and appropriated the definition that sees corruption as, the abuse of public office for private gain (World Bank, 1997: 8). From the World Bank's point of departure, corruption occurs when civil servants solicit or extort bribes and when the private individuals offer bribes to subvert or circumvent public policies for competitive advantage and profit. In a similar vein, Transparency International opines that corruption is an inappropriate or illegal behaviour of the public sector official (politician or civil servant by misusing the entrusted power for private gain of the person or related people (Kadembo, 2008: 60). These last two definitions are indications that corruption viewed from the economic perspective is not only about bribery. Rather it consists all unethical practices, especially those commited by officials in the public sector in order to get economic benefits for themselves, their relatives or friends. Economic understanding of corruption is related to previous definitions examined in this work in the sense that it sees corruption as a violation of moral priciples.

2.5   Political Definition of Corruption

Political corruption relates to the style of rulership or governance in a country. Mark Philip captures it when he says that it:

> Political corruption involves the decay or perversion of political rule. Broadly, this occurs when a group or individual subverts a society's publicly endorsed practices for conciliating conflicts and pursuing the common good so as to gain illegitimate advantage for their interests in the political process (Philip, 2000:177).

This definition uses three key ideas which have been encountered already. The first idea revolves around perversion. Again, the assumption is that there are standard political principles which political communities should adhere to. In this first point, the definition tries to qualify the political principles in question by saying that they are principles a societ[y] publicly endore[s] for conciliating conflicts and pursuing the common good. The fact that the definition uses the words society's publicly endorsed practices shows that the principles in question are definitely legal norms. The second idea in the definition presents corruption as a deviation from societal rules. The third idea says the reason why this deviation occurs: personal gain. Now, since almost all legal norms derive from moral principles or are made in attempts to protect key moral principle, one could say, by and large that the definition sees corruption as the violation of moral principle for the purpose of political power.

Accordingly Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie narrowed down these political principles. According to them the principles include, "political patronage, patron-client relationships, unequal access to public resources, abuse and misuse of office and political position and administrative quagmire...all of these contribute significantly to the incidence of corruption and corrupt practices" (Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2000: 41). It implies that, when a politician or anybody else commits any of the acts mentioned above, the person by political definition is corrupt.

Corroborating the position of Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, Joseph Nye defined corruption as:

> Behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or statues gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgement of a person in a position of trust); nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public

resources for private-regarding uses) (Nye, 1967: 419).

Some of the key ideas mentioned in this definition by Nye will be taken up latter in subsequent sections, for now the central idea in the definition is that corruption involves the abuse of an office of authority in general and public office in particular for the purpose of personal gain.

Agreeing on this, Rick Stapenhurst and Shahrzad Sedigh accept that "Corruption is the abuse of power, most often for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance. It can be motivated by greed, by the desire to retain or increase one's power, or, perversely enough, by the belief in a supposed greater good" (Stapenhurst and Sedigh, 1991: 1). This means that there is always something that triggers corruption. Thus, there are many reasons civil servants are involved in corruption; the most probably of this being greed.

Laying emphasies on one of the ideas already examined on this section, Kempe Hope sees corruption as a deviation from ethical norms. She writes:

> Corruption is seen first and foremost, as the utilisation of official positions or titles for personal or private gain, either on an individual or collective basis, at the expense of the public good, in violation of established rules and ethical considerations, and through the direct or indirect participation of one or more civil servant whether they may be politicians or bureaucrats (Hope, 2000:18).

The other important point Hope brought into the understanding of corruption with this definition is the idea that corruption is done at the expense of the public or the common good. In a sense, what actually makes corruption immoral is not that someone is helping himself, his friends or family members, but the fact of its negative consequences on the puplic.

2.6   Sociological Definition of Corruption

Obi-Okogbuo argues that the sociological approach to the definition of corruption sees poverty as a major contributing factor to corruption (Obi-Okogbuo, 2000: 8). According to him the most advanced form of field studies have shown that corruption thrives in enviroments where there are poor salaries and wages, high unemployment and generally, where people find physical survival very diffuclt. Thus, people embezzle or misappropriate public funds in order to to attend to their needs.

It follows therefore, according to Obi-Okogbuo (2000: 25) that where there is a lack of the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing, corruption is bound to be widespread. Indeed, he sees a correlation between poverty and corruption especially in Africa. He expanciates on this "as the impoverishment of people increases, corruption increases proportionally" (Obi-Okogbuo, 2000: 25).

The first observation that should be made about Obi-Okogbuo definition above is that he approaches the meaning of corruption from the background of one of its causes includes poverty. However, although Obi-Okogbuo referenced some factual evidence to support his claim that poverty is the main cause of corruption; he still left a lot of questions unanswered. For instance, he did not show proofs to demonstrate that corruption is more prevalent among the poor than among the rich. As shall be seen in subsequent chapters, there is concrete evidence to show that corruption is found among the rich than the poor. Another, limitation of Obi-Okogbuo's attempt here is that, although, it was meant to be a definition of corruption, it is more of a description of the cause of corruption. His consistent refusal to give a formal definition makes it difficult to really understand his point that poverty is the major cause of corruption.

Be that as it may, the most important thing is that behind his refusal to define corruption one can still see a definition and this assumed definition coheres with the definitions that have been interacted with so far in this chapter. In saying that poverty causes corruption Obi-Okogbuo, was already hinting that corruption is an

act that deviates from what is required for the normal flourishing of human life. What is required for the flourishing of human life as established already is morality. Thus, while sociological view of corruption approaches the definition of corruption from the background of what causes corruption, it is still correct as have been shown here to argue that sociologists see corruption as a departure from moral principles. The only difference is that while the other views are interested in the immoral nature of corruption, the sociological view is particularly interested not so much in the nature of corruption but in why people are corrupt and what people do when they are corrupt.

2.7   Types of Corruption

Makussa once observed that the best way to define any subject is to show what the thing is (Makussa, 2003: 76).This observation is important because after all said and done, what matters in every definition is the image a person is able to create about what he/she is defining. Using specific and practical examples in the definitions of anything serve as images. It helps to deepen and simplify the object being defined. This thesis has made serious effort to conceptualize corruption in the previous section. In this section, it shall use specific example to highlight the meaning of what it has tried defining.The main types of corruption the author shall use here as examples includes: embezzlement, fraud, favouritism, nepotism, bribery (gift-giving) and kickbacks.

Besides the desire to deepen the understanding of corruption with these examples, this thesis is also working under the assumption that identifying various forms of corruption will assist policy-makers in providing the right approach to deal with them. Accordingly, Anwar Shah "supports this view when he argued that for anti-corruption programmes to work they must identify the type of corruption they are targeting and tackle the underlying country-specific cause or 'drivers' of dysfunctional governance" (Shah, 2007: 234) . This thesis shall now take the discussion of these various forms of corruption in turns starting with bribery.

According to Victoria Sabaegereka "bribery is giving somebody something so that he/she can act in a manner you choose for him/her to act. The initiative is normally from the corruptor who determines what is to be done" (Sabaegereka, 1994: 128). While acknowledging the traditional understanding of bribery as using something valuable to compel or entice others to do what you want, Sabaegereka's central idea in this submission is that bribery is an offence that is commited by two consenting adults. Consequent on this, George Moody-Stuart points out that "you can't receive a bribe unless it is offered and you can't pay a bribe unless it is accepted" (Moody-Stuart, 1994: 78). In this regard, both the giver and the receiver of bribe must be in agreement for the corruption to take place.

However, while accepting that two parties must be involved for bribery to occur, Rose-Ackerman maintains that bribery is a wrong doing not because of the number of parties involved but on account of its impact on the public, especially those who bear the opportunity cost of the bribery. According to her, bribery is a dishonest act in the public service, because the service for which a civil servant is paid for as a bribe is that which the member of public is qualified to get without giving the bribe. Rose-Ackerman went on to say that "a public service – such as a passport, a driver's license, or an old age pension – is not scarce but is available to all who 'qualify'. Unqualified people and firms frequently pay bribes to obtain such benefits" (Rose-Ackerman, 1999:14). For Rose-Ackerman then, the culture of bribery, while rewarding those who can pay their way by dishonest means to get public service, deprive those who are really qualified from such services. Bribery in this regard, is contrary to the law of distributive justice. Its principle of distribution is not based on merit but on the financial muscle of each of the participants.

Stanislar Andreski uses a case of custom officers to illustrate the injustice of bribery. Accoding to Andreski, "in exchange for bribes they pass goods without levying the duty, or at least reducing it substantially, whereas people who give them nothing may have to face interminable delays with the added danger that their goods will be damaged or destroyed" (Andreski, 1979: 20).

There are three things that can possibly be gleaned from Andreski's analysis here. First, he did not present bribery just as an agreement between two parties. He presented it as extortion or a compulsion which the victim must comply with if he must carry on his ordinary business in life. A refusal to comply with the pressure of corruption would possibly cripple the would-be-victim and put him/her out of business. Thus many well intentioned citizens are pushed into giving bribe not because they want to, but in order not to be pushed out of business. As Moody-Stuart puts it, "bribes are paid in order to save the good" (Moody-Stuart, 1994: 79). The long term effect of this method of doing business is that it creates a culture of corruption. People begin to see it as the normal thing to do and the whole system gets contaminated in the process.

Bribery is not common only to the customs department, in some parts of Africa; it is equally common among the police, courts and tax services. For instance, Anwar Shah states that "in Tanzania, service delivery survey data suggests that bribes paid to officials in the police, court, tax services, and land offices amounted to 62 percent of official public expenditure in these areas" (Shah, 2007: 233) Shah went on to corroborate the point made above that "bribery often the most visible manifestation of public sector corruption, harms the reputation of and erodes trust in the state" (Shah, 2007: 235)

A very contentious area among scholars in the study of bribery is how to map out the correct relationship between bribery and gift-giving. While some scholars believe that bribery can be differentiated from gift-giving, others think that bribery is the improper use of gifts, and favours in exchange for personal gain. Commenting on this controversy, Egbue states that "when gift-giving is included as an act of bribery, it may be a problem because gift-giving is a formal, valued aspect of African tradition" (Egbue, 2006: 86). In African tradition he explains, gifts serve as informal symbols of expressed gratitude for benevolence received. The beneficiary may show this appreciation by gifting the benefactor with money, cloth, farm produce, animals, and other items. The gift shows the gratitude of the

beneficiary, or on his behalf, by friends or relatives. It is also a testimony of benevolence received (Egbue, 2006: 86).

The point is that in most African cultures, gift-giving is seen as one of the defining characteristics of what makes a good person. It is a way of expressing one's generosity and community-mindedness. People who welcome their visitors with gifts are usually seen as people that care for their visitors. Such visitors, because of a warm reception by the people through gift-giving, will then feel at home. Thus, in Marcel Mauss view, whenever visitors are not received with any kind of gift on arrival, it may signify that the host is not a good person. This is because the host in African culture is expected to give something to his or her visitor as a kind of welcome. For instance, the host may provide the visitor with a gift of 'kola' or something similar to that. He argues that Africans sees gift-giving as an important way of "maintaining human, personal relationships between individuals and groups" (Mauss, 1969: ix). It is "a way of making a peaceful society. It is also a way of showing respect to each other" (Mauss, 1969:5).

Agreeing with Mauss Keba Sylla averes that gift-giving is a way of maintaining relationships in society. According to Sylla:

> Giving a gift to someone else is the most honourable gesture in a relationship. It is commonly accepted due to the fact that indigenous people believe in prior anticipation of new relationships even before things have taken place. Therefore, gift-giving is a part of social solidarity in order to maintain harmony and peace across all the spheres of society...for many indigenous people, gift-giving is not corruption and it never leads to bribery or embezzlement. It is simply a way to maintain peace and harmony in the society (Sylla, 2011:1).

Sylla's case here is that in traditional Africa gift-giving is not corruption. It is rather an acceptable behaviour. This is because in traditional African society, it is even a problem for someone to refuse to accept a gift that is given to him or her. Such a refusal is even seen as an insult to the giver. This is clearly explained by a well-

known African novelist, Chinua Achebe in one of his novels *No Longer at Ease*. According to Achebe, "they said a man expects you to accept 'kola' from him for services rendered, and until you do, his mind is never at rest...a man to whom you do a favour will not understand if you say nothing, make no noise, just walk away. You may cause more trouble by refusing a bribe than by accepting it" (Achebe, 1960: 87-88).

It follows from this that traditional Africans did not see gift-giving as something immoral. It is for them one of the many ways of reinforcing the communal bonds that exist amogst them.

However, the relationship between gift-giving and and bribery is not as simple as what has been analysed above seems to make of it. What is actually controversial concerning gift-giving and bribery is that when a gift is given, it is expected to be returned. Such that even in traditional African society, people offer gifts in anticipation or appreciation of favours recieved. As Egbue illustrates that "parents of a potential trainer, are expected to take some gifts to the expected trainer. This may be drinks and kola nuts, which are prayed over and shared by all present, as a way of cementing and concretising relationships" (Egbue, 2006: 86). He continues to emphasize those anticipatory gifts may also be given in order to gain a favour or to engender favouritism. In cases like that, the gifts generate implicit obligations from the receivers, who are expected to reciprocate the gesture by the provision of some form of favour. The giving of gifts like drinks, tobacco, animals, birds, cloth, kola nut and so on abound in African culture, as a means of showing gratitude, cementing relationships or as a sign of the anticipation of favour (Egbue, 2006:86). The question then is, since gift-giving and bribery involve the exchange of gifts, at what point can a gift be called a gift and at what point can it be called bribery?

This difficulty notwithstanding, Egbue believes one can still distinguish between gift-giving as practiced in traditional African society and what one calls bribery today. He notes that one basic characteristic of gift-giving as understood by Africans is that it is never demanded for. However, with industrialisation and

modernisation, coupled with the difficulties of recession, people no longer wait for recipients of favour to show gratitude. Rather, specific and stipulated demands for gratitude are often demanded for transactions regarding employment, admissions to schools, elections, issuance of licences, permits and other things. These specifications, demands and stipulations for upfront gratitude' for performance of official duties have little or no bearing on African traditional culture, and truly constitute a major basis for corruption as we see it today (Egbue, 2006: 86). In addition to this, Egbue believes that another difference between gift giving and bribery is that gift-giving unlike bribery is more often than not, done with good intention.

Summarily, Egbue has offered here two criteria that can be used to determine when a gift should be understood in the traditional African sense of appreciation and anticipation of favours, and when it should be seen as bribery. The first of these is that gift in the traditional African sense is made out of the givers violition. It is never demanded and the giver is not in any way compelled to make the gift. The second criterio is that such gifts are done with good intention. While these criteria might be effective in determining when a gift is given as bribe from the point of view of the recipient of the bribe, it is difficult when applied from the point of view of the giver. For instance, while it is obvious that a civil servant who demands for a gift item before carrying out his duty is asking for bribery, it is not in the same degree that a client who offers a gift to a civil servant who did not demand that from him is asking for bribe. Underscored, here is the problem of intention. When a gift is given, we do not always know the intention behind such gift. These shortcomings notwithstanding the criteria are good ways of distinguishing between bribery and African value of gift-giving.

Another of corruption to be explined is embezzlement. The Webster's Dictionary edited by Agnes (2004) sees embezzlement as the fraudulent appropriation of property by a person, to whom it has been entrusted, as of an employer's money by his clerk, or of public funds by the officer in charge. Victor Dike concurs with this

definition when he sees embezzlement as the theft of public resources by civil servants (Dike, 2008: 1) According to him, "embezzlement occurs when a state official steals from the public institution in which he or she is employed" (Dike, 2008: 1),. Furthermore, Dike believes that the commonest form of embezzlement in Africa is the type where a civil servant appropriates for his use, public resources entrusted to his care. An instance of this according to him is when a civil servant assigns public employees to use public funds, not duly authorized, to renovate his own private home.

Embezzlement of this nature is considered corruption because it is expected that a civil servant will, under normal circumstances, give a proper account of the money entrusted to him/ her by the general public whenever he/she is called upon to do so. In the case where the civil servant cannot do so because he/she has spent the money on him/herself, instead of the public, he/she has embezzled the money. Finally, embezzlement, like fraud, can be practiced by an individual in a department without any other person's involvement, quite unlike bribery that needs more than a party to be carried out.

Favouritism is one type of corruption that is very common and yet may not be seen as such. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary describes favouritism as the "act of unfairly treating one person better than others because you like them or have special interest in them" (Hornby, 2010: 540). Favouritism, from this perspective is much related to nepotism in that both connote the preferential bestowal of favours. According to the definition cited above, favouritism occurs when special love is shown to friends or relatives, when they do not merit such. The use of love here is misleading and needs some qualification. What makes favouritism a moral offence is not that it is a form of love shown to family members. Every moral society should obligatorily encourage family members to love one another. What makes favouritism wrong and therefore a form of corruption is that it is done at the expense of the society.

Another aspect of favouritism is that it is an offense mostly carried out by those who have access to civil service. Thus, according to Dike, favouritism is a mechanism of power abuse implying a highly biased distribution of state resources. It is a natural human proclivity to favour friends, families and anybody close and trusted" (Dike, 2008: 1). It involves the use of public power to favour one's friends at the expense of the common good. For instance, in job recruitment or promotion, a less qualified candidate is taken in place of a more qualified one, because the less qualified candidate is a friend to the recruitment officer or belongs to a particular preferred group.

Another example of corruption is nepotism. The word nepotism "is derived from the Italian word *nepoti* which means nephew or family in a broader sense" (Mafunisa, 2000:15). Nepotism is therefore corruption based on the family model; a situation where for instance, civil servants single out individuals to favour them, not based on qualification or merit but on kinship bond. Coming from this background, Dike refers to nepotism as "a special form of favouritism in which an office holder prefers his or her kinfolk's family members" (Dike, 2008: 1). Andvig *et al* made similar point in their submission that, "Nepotism is a special form of favouritism, in which an office holder (ruler) prefers his proper kinfolk and family members such as wife, brothers and sisters, children, nephews, cousins, in-laws and so on" (Andvig *et al*, 2000: 18).

There are many models of nepotism. For instance we have the political model, family model, ethnic or tribal model, economic model among others. Each model is defined according to the person or persons who are receiving the unmerited favour. On this note, it is important to underline that the type of nepotism that is been explained here is that which is based on the family model. That is, the unmerited or unfair favouring of relatives, household members and close family friends by an office holder. An instance of this model is given by Elechi Amadi in thefollowing illustrations:

A chief executive of a government department has a vacancy in his establishment. The post is advertised, and a closing date for applications fixed. After this closing date the chief executive's relation suddenly decides to apply for the post. His application, though late, is backdated and filed with the rest. The chief executive realizes that there are two candidates against whom his relation stands no chance in a fair interview. He deliberately delays the letters of invitation to interviews of the two bright applicants, causing them to report several days after the interviews have been held. He turns down their legitimate protests and in the end gives his relation the job (Amadi, 1992: 59).

Many moral questions can be raised at this point: why must the chief executive's relation's application is accepted after the closing date for applications? Again: why must the chief executive of a government department deliberately delay the letters of invitation to interview of the two bright applicants and not that of his relation? Furthermore why did the chief executive finally give the job to his relation without conducting a fair interview? The simple answer to this question is: because his relative is involved. More important than this however, is that the chief excutive places more importance on the value of kinship bond than on merit? If he had thought that merit is more important he would have hired the other two applicants who were more qualified

While private issue such as to help the decision to help a relative at a particular time, should be left for individual to decide on private basis, the problem here is that civil servants are not private persons. They are civil servants and to that extent any decision they make affects everybody in the society. On this account, the consequences of their action should be judged based on their effect on the society at large. If this is done, it will be difficult to see how benefiting few incompetent individuals will be preferred over merit which has the potential of benefiting the whole society.

Again, ghosting is one of the ways through which corruption may occur. This is a case where civil servants receive salaries and, payments for people that do not exist. It also referres to cases where some civil servants use names of dead people to claim certain benefits from the government. Bauer gives an example of what happened at Cecilia Makiwane hospital in Eastern part of Cape Town, South Africa amongst pension pay-outs. One woman was arrested after allegedly claiming a US$230 cheque on behalf of another person who died in May 1997 (Bauer, 2000:228). This incidence according to Bauer occurred in the year 2000 and is one of the ways of stealing from the state and it is quite rampart all across Africa.

While condemning ghosting as one of the greatest problem of modern African, Gildenhuys argues that some civil servants sometimes go as far as forging names to put in the monthly payroll and collect money for individual that do not exist and work that was never done. Continuing, he maintains that a second method of ghosting is payment for supplies or services which were not actually received. Another method, according to Gildenhuys is double payment of accounts for stock or services delivered – a second account is sent long after the first one is paid, for a second payment (Gildenhuys, 1991:46). By and large, the bottomline is that the corrupt civil servant keeps on manifesting her/himself in different forms to receive money for payments that are not supposed to be paid.

The last manifestation of corruption on our list to be discussed here is kickbacks. Kickbacks' generally is the money or any other valuable paid by a contractor to a government official who helped him/her to secure the contract. Usually the capital invested on the contract is inflated by the contractor with the connivience of the government of official who receives part of the inflated payment. Mikesell describes kickback in the following ways, Civil servants who have power to select who receives contracts to do business with governments, what banks receive public deposits, and who works for government agencies may profit by arranging for artificially high contract awards or artificial wage payments with a portion of that payment kicked back to the government official. The favoured individual or firm

receives higher than the appropriate price for the contracted service, so is able to profit even after making the payment to the contracting agent (Mikesell, 1991:98).

'Kickbacks' as is clear from Mikesell submission here is an abuse of public trust. Any civil servant is an employee of the people. That he/she is appointed, voted or promoted to his position is an indication that the people reposed certain degree of trust on him. To falsify information concerning the position he occupies or work he does is a scandalous betrayal of trust and this is what kickback amounts to.

This section commenced with the assumption that the best way to understand the meaning of corruption is to approach the definition from a multi-dimensional perspectives. In doing this, the section tried to give, the dictionary meaning, the philosophical meaning, the economic definition, the political definition and also the sociological definition of corruption. From the various approaches to the definition of corruption examined in this chapter, it could be deduced that corruption is a deviation from the moral norms of society. In the public sector, for instance, there are rules and regulations for the civil servants to follow. When a civil servant deviates from such a set rules that governs the public office in the course of discharging his/her official duty, such an action is seen as corruption; an abuse of public office by the civil servant for private gains.

Moral norm is used here with the assumption that the laws of a society are expressions of the basic morality of that society. This would imply that to break the law made by a society, whether this law concerns morality or not, is to go contrary contrary to the basic moral foundation of the society. For instance, if a particular society makes a law that its inhabitants should not sing at a particular time of the night. We assume that this law is accepted by all the inhabitants of that society. An individual, who sings at this particular time of the night, is not breaking any moral rule because he/she sings since; there is nothing especially immoral in singing. Hovever, he/she breaks the moral principle of honesty that requires us to abide by our promises. One can therefore, accuse him/her of being immoral from the point of

view of this principle. Based on all these, we shall adopt: deviation from moral norms as our working definition of corruption in this thesis.

2.8 Explaining the Public Sector

According to William Thornhill "the public sector represents a group of institutions having in common some reliance on the power of the state, from which they can justify their activitie" (Thornhill, 1995: 1)

He further explains that:

> The public sector is comprised of bodies which rely for their existence or their powers, sometimes both, on the authority conferred on them by the state in varying degrees through some formal process. It is their ability to invoke, in greater or lesser degree, the compulsive power of the state which brings them within the public sector, and in so far as that power exists it falls to be dealt with through the recognised processes of political control in a democracy (Thornhill, 1985: 2).

This suggests that the public sector is directly under the control of the government. It is important to note that the term 'administration' is in some way or another related to both the public and private sector (Bain, 1996: 9). Thus, the terms public sector and public administration will be used interchangeably in this chapter.

Erwin Schwella opines that the public administration of a state is made up of those structures and processes functioning within the society with the aim of facilitating public policy formation and the efficient and effective execution of the policies decided upon. Public functionaries – political office bearers and civil servants – have to directly work towards the promotion of the public interest and general welfare. The relevant functionaries are given authority and public resources to pursue their aims and these are not to be used for personal or sectional gains (Schwella, 1991: 52). The public functionaries, thus, have to serve as "the general population in the public interest" (Good, 1959:497). This means those public

functionaries have to act with justice and fairness towards all and sundry because they are in the position of trust (Schwella, 1991:52).

In the public sector, civil servants ought to follow the rules and regulations that govern the public sector; otherwise their actions will be seen as unethical. This point hints at the key difference between public and private sector. It is saying that the public sector is unlike the private sector, where the owner of a company or a sole proprietor not only make the rules but picks and chooses which one to follow and which one to discard. Rules in the public sector are followed strictly and specifically in the interest of the general public. According to Hummel, "in the public service, as distinct from private enterprise, the answer is surprisingly easy: the ultimate standard for the public service worker or manager is what is good for the republic" (Hummel, 1989: 856),

2.8.1   The Difference between the Public Sector and the Private Sector

Ths thesis observed at the introduction of this chapter, that the public sector is better explained when contrasted with the private. Therefore the difference between the public sector and the private sector is discussed in this section.

These two sectors differ in a number of respects. One of the most important distinctions is outlined by Thornhill, "exposure to political direction and scrutiny. It is the most obvious aspect of the public sector which distinguishes it from the private sector" (Thornhill, (1985: 4) Cloete explains that:

> The political office-bearers decide which matters should be regarded as matters deserving action from public institutions. These matters cannot be left to the whim and fancy of the individual or private entrepreneur, but must be attended to by public officials acting under the supervision of the political office-bearers who are in turn responsible for governing society. The work comprising public administration is, therefore, carried out by the political office-bearers and their subordinates (Cloete, 1997:63).

Subordinates are the civil servants, who receive political direction and work accordingly.The private sector is not supervised by any person.

Public accountability further distinguishes the public sector from the private sector. In thepublic sector, civil servants are expected to be accountable to the people they are serving. This is not the same in the private sector, because private sector employees are not accountable to the general public and are only accountable to the owner of the business. In the public sector it is expected that civil servants will give account of their stewardship. This is not debatable, because if there is no public accountability, officials can be sued in a court of law. According to Thornhill, the initiative for securing accountability lies with those to whom it is due; it is not a matter where the persons or bodies held accountable can decide what aspects of their activities they will make available for external examination" (Thornhill, 1985: 5). In the private sector, the issue of the outsiders (the general public) challenging their accountability may not arise except perhaps in the case of an uncommon takeover bid (Thornhill, 1985:5).

Another factor which distinguishes the public sector from the private sector is the principle of equal treatment of citizens. In the public sector it is expected that there should be no discrimination in terms of treatment of all citizens, who are supposed to be treated fairly and equally whether they are family members, relatives, friends or business associates of civil servants or not. According to Thornhill, "discretion is often denied to officials in the interests of fairness and equality, and this is frequently contrasted with the ability of private businesses to show preference to some clients" (Thornhill, 1985: 5).

The issue of job security is much more guaranteed in the public sector than in the private sector. According to Nnoli, "it is usual in the public administration, when civil servants are recruited, they are retained in the service until their retirement; promotion is mainly by seniority and so on" (Nnoli, 2000: 57). He further contends that such benefits sometimes do not apply to performance, because no matter how inactive officials may be, they remain on the pay roll until retirement. In contrast, in the private sector, an official can be dismissed from the service at any time (Nnoli, 2000:57). Thus, there is no job security in the private sector.

Another distinguishing factor between the public sector and the private sector is in the area of ownership. In terms of ownership, the public sector is seen as collectively owned by all citizens. This is different from the private sector in which different people establish their own companies and, thus, are the sole owners of the company. Sometimes, groups of people may come together for the establishment of a joint company. The private sector concerns those people that have their private business while the public sector is for the general public (Thornhill, 1985: 6).

The issue of profit motive is yet another factor that can be raised to distinguish between the public sector and the private sector. The primary aim of the public sector may not be profitmaking, but rather to see that citizens are not in any way exploited. The public sector is there to see to the welfare of the general public. In the case of the private sector the primary motive, basically, is to make a profit from business. Cloete, points out:

> As regards the objectives of private and public institutions, however, there are fundamental differences. It will be found that the purpose of a private business concern is to make a profit – usually on the capital invested on it – for the individual owner, the small number of owners or the shareholders. This factor of profit serves as the overriding, concrete and exact criterion when all the stages of the activities come under review in a private concern; in other words, when attention is given to the determination of objectives (policy-makers), organising, staffing, financing, devising of work procedures, and exercising control (Cloete, 1997:62).

Cloete's submission here is that private institutions are primarily defined by their profiting making orientation. Private individuals go into business to make money; their service delivery and the fact that they serve the public are all secondary. This is why it is hard to see any private business owner continue with the business when it ceases to bring in profit no matter how important the services it offers to the public.

The control of expenditure is another factor that may be used to distinguish between the public sector and the private sector. Thornhill observed that "the rigidity of the financial control in the public sector contrasted with the practice in private enterprise which allowed more scope for individual and unplanned expenditure" (Thornhill, 1985:9). Although this point is correct, it has to be added that in recent times, especially because of the economic crises all over the world and the growing size of private enterprise, the private sector has seen a greater need for control of expenditure. Nevertheless, the level of expenditure control in the public sector is higher when compared with the private sector.

Having explored some of these major differences between the public and the private sectors, we can therefore formulate our working definition of the public sector in this thesis as follows: the public sectors are those establishments of the state that have the walfare of the citizens as the underlining logic of its existence. Thus, the purpose of the public sector is undermined the moment the general welfare of the people is compromised. The use of public good for private gratification is the major characteristic of corruption and this above all is what makes corruption a major problem of the public sector.

Having established our working definitions of corruption and the public sector in this chapter, the next chapter will focus on African culture, investigating whether the claim that certain African cultural practices contribute to corruption can be justified.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN CULTURE TO CORRUPTION

3.   Introduction

The previous chapter looked at various definitions of corruption.It closed with the adoption of a working definition. In the present chapter, the contribution of culture to corruption, especially in the African public sector, is discussed. The essence of this is to show how certain cultural practices such as the extended family system and also gift-giving contribute to corruption in the African public sector. Additionally, the present chapter is aware that the use of African culture is likely to generate controversy in regards to what this thesis is actually talking about, since there are many cultures in Africa. Therefore, central to the objective in this chapter also is to demonstrate that in spite of the diversity of cultures in Africa, one can still legitimately talk about African culture.

The first section discusses the meaning of culture. This is because culture has been defined in diferent ways by different authors. The characteristics, components and understanding of African culture in relation to corruption are also discussed in this section.

The second section discusses African culture and corruption. The essence is to understand how cultural practice such as the extended family system contributes to corruption. Thus, the section explains the African extended family system, for a better understanding of its importance and, contribution to nepotism.

The third section discusses gift-giving, to understand how this practice contributes to corruption. The section goes further in discussing, gift-giving in African traditional society, gift-giving in the modern African society, when it may be seen as corruption and the implications of gift-giving. The fourth section is the conclusion of the chapter.

3.1 The Meaning of Culture

The first thing anybody interested in understanding the meaning of culture should know is that culture is not easy to define. Part of the reason for this is that no scholar has been able to come up with a comprehensive definition of the term. In fact, Richard Okafor and Lawrence Emeka have observed that, "every definition of culture now available has some imperfection or imprecision embedded" (Okafor and Emeka,1998b:18). We shall proceed to examine some of these definitions and by way of analysis develop a working understanding that will serve our purpose here.

The term culture has been defined by many scholars in various ways. According to Akpenpuun Dzurgba:

> Culture as a term was coined from *cultura*, a Latin word that means the cultivation of the soil. In comparative manner, *cultura* means also the cultivation of the human mind. This was done by means of education. *Cultura* then took on its artistic, social and intellectual meanings. Therefore, the early meaning of culture focused on the process of cultivating the mind. It was in this sense that some people were described as cultural men. Gradually the concept of culture moved from its classical origins to a social condition, and from there took upon itself several meanings. Culture became associated with the work of art, intellectual works, and articulation of ethical principles, religion, politics and trade. This pluralistic concept of culture grew into a holistic way of life. Therefore the term 'culture' means a complete way of life. This means that everything about man's life is an element of culture (Dzurgba, 2002:14).

The central message Dzurgba is trying to pass across in this rather lengthy quotation is that culture is basically the creation of man. In order words, man is not born with culture. Culture is rather, the combination of all he acquires through the lengthy and complex process of socialization and civilization. Thus, when one talk about a people's culture, the person is "providing a holistic picture of the ways

things are done by a particular people or in a particular society. For this reason, according to culture is an essential element of society" (Dzurgba (2002: 6)

Hornby in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines culture as all the arts, beliefs, social institutions, and so on; characteristic of a community, race and so on (Hornby, 2000: 210). Hornby in this definition underscores the point already made above. Among the items the dictionary listed as part of the elements of culture are arts, beliefs and social institutions. These elements are not creations of nature. They are the outcome of man's efforts as he/she strives to better his/her social condition.

According to Ikechukwu Ogugua, the controversy that sorrounds the definition of culture canont be overemphasised. He began his contribution to the issue with a point blank acknowledgement that:

> ...culture as a concept has been over flogged in its usage
> and most often it has been misused. Many a time, we
> tend to talk glibly about it thus believing it to be a
> commonplace thing and as such lose sight of what it
> primarily is (Ogugua, 2009: 57).

Ogugua believes that the problems associated with culture today is the result of scholars' inability to define the term or the erroneous assumption that they know the the meanng of the term even without defining it. This, according to him, is because if the meaning of culture is not clear, it would be difficult for people to understand how to solve most of the cultural problems the world is faced with today (Ogugua, 2009: 62)

Done with this preliminary clearifications, Ogugua went ahead to define culture as a mark of identity that separates people from animals, and at the same time divides societies (Ogugua, 2009: 62). This definition implies that different societies have their different cultures, with which they are known for. As such culture is a mark of identity for a people. It is what differentiates one group of people from another. Most importantly, culture is what differentiates humans from animals. Animals

cannot create culture because they do not consciously strive to change their environment and better their lives. Men on the other hand, are cultural being. Unlike, the animals, what man needs to survive are not provided by nature. He needs to develop this on his own and in the process of doing this he/she creates his/her culture. In the main, Ogugua's definition still coheres with the initial submission that culture refers to peoples' way of life. It constitutes almost everything created or developed by man.

For Chris Abakare, what is clear about culture is that it is never a personal property but only used in referring to society. In that case an existing culture will never come to an end because of the death of a particular group of people. Abakare argues that the culture of a people may come to end "only when such people vanish under such mishaps as earthquake" (Abakare, 2009a: 3). So, as long as there are people, there must be a particular way of life for those individuals. Abakare then defines culture as a social heritage of any society, it is always specific and it is a distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete design for living. Culture presupposes the existence of a human society and provides the necessary skills making society work (Abakare, 2009a:5). This goes again to accentuate the point already made by Ogugua that culture is the mark of identity for a people. As long as the people live, so does their identity. It also assumes a point this thesis shall still clarify in this chapter. The 'cultural harmony' is often found among people with distinct but close cultural affiliation. Thus, Africa is a continent of people with different cultures but most elements in these cultures are reoccurent throughout the cultures so much so that using the principle of transference, one can talk of mono culture in Africa or some cultural elements which all Africans share together. This thesis shall talk more on this in the section under cultural unity and diversity.

George Phiri brought in a moral dimesion to the understanding of culture as a creature of man. He argues that:

> Culture may also be defined as integrated belief and
> value systems of a society and how that society

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perceives and interprets reality, behaviours, and communication symbols and articulates their philosophy of life in a practical way. Culture serves as an identity of a society. It also sets the value and belief systems of a society in order of their perception of reality. People can be known by their culture and language rather than their skin color and other identities (Phiri, 2009:3).

Phiri informs us here that human creation is not only limited to material things such as institutions, food types and clothings. Man creates also his morality; his ideas of right and wrong as well as his language. These according to him are the elements that make a people unique from others. They are also the lubricants that smoothens social life.

According to Carter Good, culture is:

> The aggregate of the social, ethical, intellectual, artistic, governmental and industrial attainments characteristic of a group, state, or nation and by which it can be distinguished from or compared with other groups, states, or nations; includes ideas, concepts, usages, institutions, associations, and material objects (Good, 1959:147).

Carter here highlights two ideas which we have analysed. The first point is the idea that culture encompasses the totality of people's way of life. He underlines some of these elements to show how all embracing culture is. In addition, he hints at the possibility of mono culture, when he used culture in reference to groups, states or nations. With this he does not mean to say that every culture in a particular group, state or nation is or should be the same. His point is that we can have a strong cultural affinity in a group of different cultures that it becomes possible to group these cultures together. In order words, though there are different cultures in African but the affinity between these cultures can give us the liberty to talk about African culture. This also goes for Europe and other large groups. So depending on one's purpose, it is possible to be either reductive or inductive in our view of culture. It is clear so far, that our approach in this thesis is inductive. We shall take

certain cultural elements that are shared by all cultures in Africa and inductively use them as African culture.

The next thing is to look at the second section of this chapter. The section discusses some of the characteristics of culture, including the fact that culture is variable, transmissible, and learned, and tha tcultural values are both societally shared and enforceable.

3.1.1. Culture is Variable

One of the characteristics of culture is that it is variable.This shows that it changes from time to time and is not static. Sometimes, some aspect of culture will change because of external influences such as the impact of Western civilization on African culture. Culture usually changes when the need arises and continues to exist as long as it is meeting the needs of people. As, Abakare (2009a: 11) explains, culture emerges as the need arises, flourishes as long as it meets those needs, and becomes institutionalised when seen as indispensible for societal well-being, although it hardly disappears because of its resilience or super organic quality. Abakare goes on to say that as culture changes; it receives different levels of participation from different individuals within the society. Some members may devise their own peculiar way of adapting to the need being met by the larger societal culture. What is important to note about culture is that culture is never static; rather one of its most fundamental properties is change (Vogt, 1972:556).

An example of this change is most obvious in African justice and political succession. As Anubera documented, African justice system and political succession were before the advent of the Europeans, the responsibility of the gods through the mediations of ancestors and priests. During this period issues of justice are easily resolved as everybody without taking laws into their hands relies on the pronouncements of the gods to determine where justice lies over a dispute. Dispute does not also arise over the issue of political succession because it is generally accepted by the people that the gods anoint their chosen ones as kings. However, with the arrival of Europeans and their decision to install their stuges as rulers this

culture was destroyed. Africans no longer wait for the gods to decide on matters of justice and political succession. The whole African society is today rampaged by victims of injustice and ambitious politician who are doing everything in the bid to ingratiate the deseirs (Anubera, 1995: 45)

3.1.1.2
Culture is Transmissible.

In his article: Where Do We Go From Here? Odenigbo warned his fellow Africans that Africa is in danger of cultural extinction. According to him, to exist is to exist as a people and to exist as a people is to exist with identity. And because culture is the only thing that gives such identity, to be without culture is to be without identity. Since nothing exists without identity, to be without culture amounts to going out of existence (Odenigbo, 2012: 67)

Odenigbo gave this warning under the context of what he called 'the European perversion of African culture.' He argues that since coming in contact with West, Africans have swalled western civilization hook, line and sinker without any form of censership. The consequence is that since the advent of African westernization, subsequent generations of Africans are no longer in touch with their culture. Beginning from the time of colonization, Odenigbo blames the different generations of Africans for their failure to pass the rich values of African culture to those who come after them. He worries that by plunging themselves headlong into western culture, Africa will soon be a continent without culture. He was particularly afraid of the attendant results, part of which might be that there will soon be nothing like Africa (Odenigbo, 2013: 25),

The phrasing of Odenigbo's article could be deceptive. It portrays him as taking aim at western civilization or culture whereas his actual object of attack is the lack of cultural transmission that trailed subsequent African generations since colonization. Odenigbo in escence is talking about the danger any group that neglects the passing on of its culture to subasequent generations should expect. He is in order words talking about cultural transmission.

Thus, to say that culture is transmissible is to say that culture does not end with a particular generation. Culture lasts longer than individuals in the society and is usually handed down from one generation to the other in order that a people's way of life may continue. It is because of this that "parents teach their young ones their way of life. This they do according to the prevailing conduct norms of their immediate society" (Abakare, 2009a: 9). The above explains cultural transmission or a process of socialisation which usually happens in different institutions of the society, such as family, schools and religious institutions. This is exactly what Odenigbo accuses African society of not living up to.

3.1.1.3 Culture is Learned

Another major characteristic of culture is that it is learned. One can understand how culture is learned by looking at the institutions that facilitate cultural transmission. This is why Umahi tells us that "the institutions that are involved in cultural transmission process help in the learning process" (Umahi, 2013: 84) For instance, in religious institutions, leaders teach their members how to dress. Parents, in their various homes, help educate their children on the acceptable norms in their society. What the children learn from their parents or teachers is what they usually practice in the society. If they fail to practice what they have learned-from parents or teachers, they are likely to be punished. So, this suggests that "culture is a learned pattern of behaviour, ideas, beliefs, and the artifacts, shared by a people and socially transmitted by them from one generation to another"r (Sofola, 1973: ix). In the process of cultural transmission and learning, those who deviate from expected cultural roles are expected to receive one kind of treatment according to how the society perceives the exhibited contra-cultural acts. Such an individual can be taunted, admonished, ostracised, and so on, depending on the societal approved manner of conflict resolution (Umahi, 2013).

3.1.1.4 Cultural Values are Shared and also Enforced.

One other characteristic of culture is that cultural values are shared and also enforced. The reason why many conduct, norms, etc., prevailing in human societies, have persisted is not only because the societies see them as something

useful for social life but more so because every society has a way of enforcing; of compelling its members to abide by its norms (Abakere, 2009a: 10). He explains that the naming ceremony, as a shared cultural process, is symbolic for it conveys to the society in an acceptable way, the label or identity of its new member. The marriage ceremony gives societal approval and recognition to a conjugal relationship between couples. Through the enforcement of accepted cultural values, society ensures mutual co-existence of its members, their observed differential endowments notwithstanding. This enables the rich to relate to the poor, the weak to the strong, and the wise to the foolish and so on. Although cultural values are not the same in most human societies, but every society ensures the moderation through correcting her members.

From the various definitions and characteristics of culture seen all along, it is clear that culture has two major components: material and immaterial. These two components are discussed in the next section.

3.1.2   Components of Culture

As stated above, the two components of culture are material and the non-material. Both the material as well as the non-material aspects of culture is used by every member of a society**.**

Oluwafumi explains that the material aspects of culture are those objects or tangible things people use in satisfying their needs in society. These include products of industry, medicine, technology, and clothing. They therefore, refer to every visible or concrete acquisition of man or woman in a society, such as pots, knives, and shovels (Oluwafumi, 2000: 18). The underlying idea here is that material type of culture is generally every visibly thing people use to live comfortably in society.

The non-material aspect of culture as Oluwafumi sees it includes philosophy, values, norms, language, attitudes, knowledge, beliefs, symbols, ideas, and motivations; which are shared and transmitted in a society. He goes ahead to observe that "the non-material culture can also be referred to as the abstract aspects of culture which, of course, are acquired by the individual in a society"

(Oluwafumi2000: 18) Abakare on his own argues that the non-material aspects of culture, unlike the material aspects, "are not visible or tangible, but they are manifested via the psychological states and behaviour of a people" (Abakare, 2009a: 6).This according to him, also forms the basis of the reasons why a group acts in a particular way. It exists as a body of ideas, belief systems, values and codes of conduct of ethics which influence how man interprets his environment and relates to the same as social animals.The point here is that the non-material culture to a large extent determines ecompasses all the aspect of values in society that determines the behaviour of people.

Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that, the material aspect of culture (concrete aspect) and the non-material aspect (abstract aspect) both cannot be separated when someone is referring to the culture of a people as they both go together. They are fundamental in the explanation of 'cultural pattern' that is the general code of conduct, the systematic and the integrated conduct of behaviour which is characteristic of a society. Because of this, it is possible to predict or anticipate the behaviour of members of a given culture (Abakare, 2009a:8).

Some other studies (Okafor and Emeka, 1998a) have shown that both the material culture and non-material must actually go together as the culture of the people.Thus, Richard Okafor and Lawrence Emeka opine that "the material culture derives its essence and form from the non-material culture. But, neither the material culture nor the non-material culture can independently be the totality of culture" (Okafor and Emeka, 1998a: 24). This implies that, both cannot be separated, but have to go together as the culture of a people. Take for instance, the norm guiding the distribution of resoures in any given culture is determined by the availability of such resources. A society that lacks material wealth is certainly not going to have the same law guiding resources distribution with a society that has aboundance of material wealth. The point we want to make here, is that there is an intrinsinc link between material and immaterial culture. The material determines the immaterial and vice versa. Thus anybody interested in African culture or any other culture for

that matter, should take into account this relationship. To ignore the relationship is to have a multilated vision of the culture in question.

Dzurgba concurs that, cultural values are divided into two main categories: material values such as money, radio, television and immaterial or ideological values such as facts, ideas, knowledge, beliefs, norms and principles (Dzurgba, 2002: 14-15). Dzurgba goes on to explain that, in assessing and evaluating the cultural development of a given society, it is often very helpful to list available cultural artefacts or material values such as cars, tractors, radio and televion. This is the convenient way of thinking about cultural advancement. However, in a search for a real progression of any society, these cultural artefacts in themselves are nothing, but mere metals which may decay sooner than later. What is really important is the knowledge and the skill with which they are made and these constitute the immaterial aspect of that culture (Dzurgba, 2002: 14-15).

3.1.3   Understanding of African Culture

Post-colonial Africans are people torn apart by cultural identity crisis. According to Aja the crisis is occasioned by the problem of identifying what can actually be called the real African traditional cultural practices. He attributes this problem to the contact between African and Western cultures and the overbearing influence European culture has had on African culture. Thus, according to him: "the Conflicting values, as a result of the meeting together of these two different cultures make it difficultfor some civil servants for instance, to be sure of what should be the right thing for them to do in discharging their official duties" (Aja, 2006: 44) . Aja, is in effect saying that African cultural identity crisis stems from the inability of Africans to clearly distinguish what they are as Africans and how the ought to live their lives, which are basically the product of European imposition.

Although Aja in his discussion of the matter restricted himself to the social and political effect of the problem, Kinoti believes the problem is not only restricted to those in the public sector. It is a problem for the entire African people. Accordingly, she observes that, "today Africa is at a cross roads and the path has

forked. In terms of everyday conduct of individuals and communities there is uncertainty, disillusionment and even despair. There is much grumbling and lamentation" (Kinoti, 1999: 73). Africans are in order words, in the middle of value crisis. On the one hand, they are not Europeans because the still have a part of Africa in them; on the other hand, they are not Africans because their life-style, norms, justice system and a whole lot of others are European.

Peter Ekeh describes existence of the two cultures in one society, as 'two republics' (Ekeh, 1975: 92). While the African traditional culture lays emphasis on and insists on communalism, the Western culture insists on and lays emphasis on individualism (Ikegbu, 2003:34).In other words, Africans are known for their communal living, helping each other, being their brother's keepers, sharing together, being hospitable and believing in ancestral worship (being religious). Africans do not believe in individualism as a way of living as the Europeans do. The problem then is that through the influence of colonization, these two cultural orientations have become part of Africans. What then is Africa culture? When we say African culture, what exactly do we mean?

Andrew Uduigwumen has made some serious efforts to provide answer to this question. In the first place, he believes that before ever the African society was adulterated by the Europeans, there are values peculiar and dear to Africans. According to him when we talk about African culture, we are talking about these values, unadulterated by western civilization. He therefore, defines African culture as those "traditional cultural practices which Africans are known for such as, the extended family system, as practiced by Africans, and gift-giving. Others include polygamy, ancestral worship, secret cults, peer groups, and age grades. These cultural practices existed before the arrival of the colonial rulers and they are what basically define ancestral African society" (Uduigwumen, 2005: 34).

The coming of the Europeans did not actually stop the practice of these cherished African cultures. Some of these practices are still there in the public sector. This is because Africans still regard their culture as very relevant in the discharging of

their public duties. Therefore, in the public sector, it is not surprising to see some civil servants approach their way of conduct from the perspective of traditional morality, and sometimes from the perspective of their newly [European] found moral framework (Mokolatsie, 1997:2).

3.1.3.1 Diversity in African Culture

This thesis has consistently used African culture. This can give the impression that Africa is a region with mono-culture. This would be an errornous impression. The use of African culture does not mean that all the states in Africa have the same culture. Diversity in African culture therefore, means that there are some differences and that Africa is not a homogenous society with one common cultural practice.

According to Okafor and Emeka, in Africa there are over a thousand ethnic groups, each having its own culture, but these have been broadly divided into eleven culture areas namely: Hottentot, Bushman, East African cattle, Western cattle, the Congo, the Guinea Coast, the East Horn, East Sudan, West Sudan, Egyptian, and Mediterranean. Each of these may be divided into sub-culture area (Okafor and Emeka, 1998b: 79). Although, Okafor and Emeka did not embark on the categorization of these subicultural areas, the point they try to communicate is that Africa is a continent of many cultural diversities.

Meanwhile, Ihekweazu (1985) thinks that this cultural diversity in Africa is becoming less obvious on account of the influence of western culture. He observes that in this modern period with the coming of Western culture and its religion, African cultures, have become so modernised that sometimes it is difficult to speak of the diversity of African culture. This according to him has become a problem in African culture. In addition, "the problem is compounded by the addition of the Christian religion as part of Western culture. This Western-oriented Christian culture has been thoroughly rooted in the African continent and provides a very effective channel for cultural influence" (Ihekweazu, 1985: 3). Ihekweazu continues to emphasize that Western religion, education, and so on, have left traces

and prints on the cultural body, and they have transformed it to an extent that makes it impossible to call them foreign any longer. Christianity for example, has been widely accepted and merged into the African cultural context, her habits and modes. Values and standards which were alien to our grandfathers have in the meantime become so familiar that we can claim them as our own property and would not gain anything from denying them. African culture today cannot be identified as purely traditional culture (Ihekweazu, 1985: 4-5).

The Ihekweazu was not so succeeful in articulating here is that Africa is heading towards mono-culture as a result of the influence of western education and religions. Whether this means good or bad for Africa is not our concern here. Our interest is to show that before the present move toward cultural unification caused especially by Christianity, culture in Africa is diversified.

3.1.3.2   Unity in African Culture

The conclusion arrived at in the previous section is that in African societies, especially traditional African societies, there are several cultural groups. The question for this section then is, is it possible to talk about African culture instead of African clutures? In chapter one of this thesis, it argued that this question could be answered in the affirmative. The reason was that cultures in Africa though many still have many things in common that can licence us to talk about African culture. In this particular section, the service of some scholars shall be employed to develop this idea further.

According to Okafor and Emeka, Africa is a continent with diverse cultural groups that includes languages and belief systems. In spite, of all these diversities, one can still speak about African culture. Using Nigeria as an example they maintain that "there are some countries in the African continent, such as Nigeria, with various cultures within the country, yet we still as a rule speak about that country's (Nigerian) culture, (Okafor & Emeka, 1998b: 79). The problem Okafor and Emeka face at this stage is not to show that it is possible to talk about African or Nigerian culture, they have already demonstrated that. Their problem is a question of

justification. The question is: how can one justify that somebody is correct in talking about African culture? To this question, the response is "the difference and cultural diversities in African notwithstanding, there are enough similarities among these cultures that legitimize someone to talk about the entity 'African culture' (Okafor and Emeka 1998b:79). They identify four areas where this harmony is most obvious which includes: the whole aspects of African cosmology, African communalism (including the extended family system and gift-giving), African ethical belief system and burial rites. These among other practices are common among all African socities.

Corroborating Okafor and Emeka, Hannah Kinoti argues that, although Africa is a vast continent and much fragmented in terms of languages, beliefs and customs, there is adequate evidence from various studies that where the basics of cultural and moral assumptions are concerned, the bottom line is fairly solid. It is therefore possible to generalise to a large extent (Kinoti, 1999: 79). In the light of all these, when this thesis talks about African culture, it is referring to all the cultural practices that are found across traditional African society. These would certainly include what Okafor and Emeka and Kinoti had shortlisted above, nevertheless the focuse in this study has been and will continue to be on the African extended family system and gift-giving because they are directly related to the objective in this study. The next section explains how some of these cherished African cultural practices can become instruments and drivers for corruptionespecially in the public sector.

3.2   African Culture and Corruption

This thesis tried establishing in the introductory part of this work, that the most corrupt countries on earth are located in the continent of Africa. A good question to ask is therefore, why do we have more corrupt countries in Africa than in any part of the world? Also in the introductory part of this thesis, it hinted at the fact that there are African cultural practices that encourage the culture of corruption. In this section, some of these African cultural practices that encourage corruption shall be discussed, particularly the extended family system and gift-giving.

3.2.1 Understanding the African Extended Family System

To be born human is to be born into a family. Thus, unlike many animal species, humans maintain close family ties that are sustained from generation to generation. This comes down to the fact that the family is an indispensable part of the human social organization.

Isaacs lends credence to the importance of the family to the individual when he observes that when a person is born, the individual is identified as a member of the family into which he or she is born into. Such identification, according to him, assigns many rights and responsibilities to the individual in question. For a better understanding of the family structure, Isaac went further to classify the family into nuclear and extended family. Paying particular attention on the nuclear family, he argues that the family into which a person is born is his or her immediate or nuclear family. This family in a nutshell consist of father, mother and children. He sums up his submission with the observation that the nuclear family is where the child starts his or first training (Isaacs, 1975: 31).

Corroborating Isaacs, Gerald Tanye states that the "nuclear family is very important and plays invaluable roles in all human upbringing. It is, according him the first school where the child learns to and be loved. Indeed, it is where he learns to be human" (Tanye, 2010: 19). Coming in again, Isaac, explains that it is the nuclear family in addition with relatives such as brothers, sisters, uncles aunts grandparents and in-laws, that forms the extend family. The implication of this further explanation from Isaac is that full membership of the extended family begins immediately from birth. Now, since the child grows within a circle of members that makes up the family, whatever teaching s/he receives from the nuclear or extended family at an early age stays with her/him sometimes for the rest of her/ his life.

. In this vein, Peter Kasenene explains that:

> Right from childhood a person learns…the social norms that guide her or him on how to relate to other members of the community. A person is expected to use, in the right way, the language, the skills, and

> knowledge he or she acquires. This is regulated and
> controlled by social standards which define what is
> right or wrong (Kasenene, 1998: 2).

Kasenene's submission reflects thesis conclusion when it discussed the transmission of culture. There we name the family as one of the agents of such transmission. In line with this, Kasenene is informing us here that the cultural formation of the child begings within the family system and that this is carried out by members of the relatives of the child. Kasenene consented to this when he agued that "the behaviour patterns which are necessary for living in the community, are acquired or built up first from the family and then from the larger community" (Kasenene, 1998: 18)

It goes then to say that in Africa, a man is not only married to his wife but to the wife's entire family. The same applies to woman. She is married not only to the husband but to the husband's entire family. This means that the man's duty is equally extended to that of the wife's family, as well as the woman's duty is extended to the man's family. Whenever there is an important decision−such as whether a young wife has had enough children, should space her pregnancy or whether the husband should take a new wife−the nuclear family wants to make, both families are likely to be consulted. Due to the small nature of traditional African societies, this inter-dependence of families usually results in a network of inter-connectedness, holding the whole society together in a bond of indeptedness.

It is then easy to understand why the extended family system is the basic family structure that exists in virtually all African cultures. The point just delineated shows, that unlike in most cultures, Western culture for instance, that emphasizes the nuclear family, the extended family system is the basic family structure that defines the African society. But the question could be asked; what does the extended family means for the African? Although, the term extended family may and has been used differently by different persons in the African context, Emmanuel Owusu-Ansah's definition is succinct for our purpose here. According to Owusu-Ansah:

> Families which extend well beyond the nuclear model, embracing grandparents, parents and their siblings, siblings and their children, wife and children, grandchildren, cousins and their children, grandnephews and grandnieces, and a number of other relatives referred to as distant relations (Owusu-Ansah, 2011:1).

Owusu-Ansah sums up this definition arguing that the extended family system in Africa is simply an extension of the immediate nuclear family. Just as the father is the head of the nuclear family the eldest member of the family usually heads an extended family.

Coming from the same background, Daniel Kondor, points out that "if in the western world, the family is defined generally as comprising the husband, wife and children (the nuclear family) and considered as such, in Africa the definition goes beyond this understanding to include relatives from both the maternal and paternal lineage" (Kondor, 1993: 15). In addition to this, he argues that:

> The extended family is such that it includes everybody related to both of one's parents. The relationship is binding on every member of the family insofar as their origins can be traced to the same ancestor, whose blood is believed to run through the members in varying proportions. This in fact, accounts for the development of such complex groups as clans and kinship relations (Kondor, 1993:15).

Two important ideas are contained in Kondor's argument here. The first point is that there is no limit to the size of an extended family in Africa. It can be as big as a whole clan. His second point is that any relationship brought together by reason of extended family is legally binding. Thus the fact that one belongs to a particular family by blood no matter how remote that relationship, entitles him to certain legal rights including a share the family's patrimony. What is interesting in the duties and rights that arrive from such family relationship is the enormous obligation it imposes on any prosperous member of the family. The person in fact is stretched to

his economic limit and it is the need to meet up to such responsibilities that drives civil servants to corrupt practices.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that it is not only the living members of the family that are members of the extended family. For according to Agustine Shutte:

> The ancestors are also part of the extended family. In the African view, one joins the human family when one is born but one does not leave it when one dies. The relationships of the living force remain. And these remain two-way relationships: from the living to the dead, and from the dead to the living. The dead themselves continue to exert an influence on the living (Shutte, 2009a:96).

The case Shutte makes here is that in African understanding of the family, the departed members or relatives of the family are still taken to be part of the extended family, as they are believed to be very much interested in the families the left behind in the physical world. This informs why there is a constant interaction between the living and he dead members of the family through prayers and sacrifices. Shutte elaborates this point when he explains that in African traditional religion, names of departed elders in the family are usually not forgotten during daily contact between the living and the dead where sacrifices and rituals are performed by the family.

Okeke also made this point. She argues that ancestors are seen as the guardians of morality in Africa communities. The customs of the land must be obeyed by individual in order to avoid the wrath of the ancestors. This is because any deviation by any person from the set standards must not go unpunished. The ancestors, according to Okeke are also believed to be the owners of the land and thus protect the living members against other evil spirit. In addition, the ancestors are believed to be spiritually powerful and help in maintaining discipline among the family members (Okeke, 2002: 129).

At this stage, certain issues need to be clarified about African extended family system. The first issue concerns the bond that sustains the extended family system in Africa. To understand this point, the question can be formulated as follows: what is it about extend family system that makes an average African feel himself bond and morally obliged not only to be a part of the extend family but to sincerely contribute his quarter to its sustenance?

Abakare believes that what makes the bond of extended family so emotionally compelling in Africa is because of the blood relationship involved. According to him, there is a strong string which is indivisible that actually holds every member of the extended family together. This for him is called kinship bond. He approaches his analysis of this kinship bond from two perspectives. On the first level, Africans have strong respect and veneration for blood such that every relationship of blood is seen by them as a sacred relationship which has the sanctions of the gods. To disregard such relationship is to spite the gods an effrontery which does not go unpunished in. this Abakare, maintains is the level that the level that the extended family system operates and explains why every Africa feel himself obliged to uphold such family ties. He illustrates this with cases of people experience misfortunes that were told by divers that the ancestors or the gods wants them to re-establish their severed extended family root (Abakare, 2009b: 98)

The second aspect of Abakare's analysis of the kinship bond encompasses the community system in Africa. He explains that Africans believe in a general bond of relationship. This in his account implies that everybody is related to everyone in a complex bond of mutuality. Though such blood bond cannot be traced but they are known by the gods who reward in accordance to how one upholds his obligations to respect such blood bonds. Abakare emphasis that this is the foundation and basis of life in Afrian communities. (Abakare, 2009b: 100).

One of the key features of the extended family system as practised in Africa is communalism. From a general perspective, communalism means the living together by members of the extended as a harmonious community where each person is his

brother's keeper. Living in community here connotes the idea of collaboration towards the realization of the common good.

Ephraim Ikegbu approached his own definition of communalism from a narrow perspective. He says that "communalism is a definitional term which implies a situation where property is collectively owned, work is done in common and goods are shared out equally" (Ikegbu, 2003: 31).. This definition implies that communal life is primarily organized toward the benefits of those involved in the experience. Enshrined within the definition, is the idea of the bond of brotherhood that holds those living communal life together. Obviously without such sentiment of unity and brotherhood pursuing a common good by the community would not be possible. This is explained by the fact that it is such spirit of brotherhood that guides their behaviour especially for those who act in the capacity of civil servants.

Pushing further, Ikegbu adumbrates that the practices of communalism include both the nuclear and the extended family down to the clan. Thus according to Ikegbu "what the label communalism place in the minds of African is nothing but the idea of common spirit, a collective spirit of being together; harmoniously working for the benefit of all the substance of the communal life in the whole of Africa" (Ikegbu, 2003:33).

Shutte comes into his own explanation of the meaning of communalism from the idea of community. This approached is informed by his belief that communalism will be better appreciated when explained from the perspective of community. He therefore, submits that "the African conception of community is so universally embodied in the customs and institutions each of which expresses some or other aspects of the meaning of communalism such, that a proper treatment of it would entail a wealth of anthropological details" (Shutte, 1996: 29). However, without going into such anthropological details Shutte explains that:

> One can only do justice to the African conception of
> community by visualising it as a single person. Each

individual is related to the community, not as a part to the whole, but as a person is related himself. Each individual member of the community sees the community as themselves, as one with them in character and identity. Each individual sees every other individual member as another self (Shutte, 2001:26-27).

Shutte here presents a community like a living organism with the member of the community as the various parts or organs of the organism. From this perspective, he sees communalism as the proper and harmonious functioning of these various parts of the organism. Communal life is destroyed or begins to malfunction the very day any of the organs of the organism wants to isolate itself from the rest of the body. The essence of norms, especial punitive measure, as Shutte saw it is to prevent recalcitrant members from embarking on acts the will endanger the life of the community.

Kwame Gyekye shares Shutte belief that an insight into the idea of community is important for an understanding of communalism. To begin with, he established that communal features are the defining characteristics of all African cultures. This according to him is a point consensually accepted by nearly all African scholars. This done, he went ahead to explain that community consists of a group of individuals linked by interpersonal bonds which are necessarily biological who consider themselves primarily as members of a group, and who share common goals, values and interests. He maintained that, "the notion of sharing- shared purpose, interests and the good- is important for an adequate conception of community" (Gyekye, 1997: 42). Thus for Gyekye, community life is a life where everyone or every member of the community is concerned about one another and where things are shared together. Now sharing a way of life as explains it implies that "the existence and acknowledgement of the common roles, values, obligations and meanings or understandings" (Gyekye, 1997: 43)

What these emphasis on community, come down to be that in every African society, as far as communal life is concerned, the individual has meaning only in the context of the community (Ikegbu, 2003: 33). Ikegbu accentuates this point when he observed that that there is great stress attached to to community or group life in traditional African society. This according to him is because to be human in Africa is to belong to a community. Consequently, an individual is regarded as a person if the behaviour is acceptable to the community's standard because it is only in such a way that they can contribute to the welfare of the community.

The emphasis on belongingness and shared life as Shutte argues, does not mean that a person must have to live in the community before being recognized as a member of that community or must have a lot of property in the community. He/she can live anywhere and may not be rich; those are not the issue as long as the person continues to remember the community and contribute his quarter towards the common good. The point agreed on by virtually all writers on the topic is that person are defined not by this or that natural property or set of properties but by the relationship between them and others and hence the community (Shutte, 1996: 28)

 From the foregoing, it can be deduced that it is not permanent residence or acquiring a reasonable amount of riches that makes one a member of the community. Nevertheless, every member of the community is expected by the community to help them as long as he or she is in a good position to do so. Such expectation would basically include giving jobs to the unemployed members of the community as well as helping the community with other need such as provision of basic amenities and handing out gift items to especially the elderly members of the community. When one makes these contributions he/she upgrades his or her personhood in the community because he/she is seen as a useful member of the community contributing to the common good of the society.

However, when an individual who has the means fails to behave in this accepted standard, the community will as well fail to recognize him/her. Such an individual is as good as one rejected by the community. The person obviously, would have no

say in the affairs of the community and no matter how rich he is life could be terrible miserable for such an individual. Hence, for Africans, it is the acceptance and recognition giving by community that gives meaning and orientation to life. This may equally mean that, the individual is not accepted as a person if he or she lives an individualistic life, but will be accepted as a person if he/she lives a communal life especially by identifying with the community in his/her good fortune.

John Mbiti is alive to the point this thesis has been labouring to make here. He notes that:

> Only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. The individual can only say I am, because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am" (Mbiti, 1969: 141).

Mbiti's observation implies that a person is defined in terms of his/her relationship with other people within his/her community because an individual cannot live outside the community. By implication then, to live outside the community, is to live without identity. It means to be a being without identity since one gets his/her identity from the community.

According to Munyaradzi Murove, "traditional African thought espoused the idea that the individual exists by virtue of belonging to the community. The understanding is that individuals are what they are because of the existence other people or the community" (Murove, 2005: 143-144). The bottom-line, therefore is that the community is greater that the individual. So as far as "Africans are concerned, the reality of communal life takes precedence over the reality of the individual life, histories or whatever these may be" (Menkiti, 1984: 173). For an outside; a non-African or a westernised African, this would appear tyrannical but such assumption is quite far from the fact. The community centred life does not mean that the individual is not allowed to take certain personal decisions. What it

rather means is that if there is a conflict of interest in the community, the community's interest takes precedence over private interest. On this instance, Ikegbu explains that:

> Also, worthy of mention in this traditional African society is the kind of relationship existing between the individuals and the society in as much as Africans recognise the power of mutual cooperation and collective will, the attitude commonly exhibited between one another is that existing between parts and body. While the whole is an embodiment of the part, the parts are meaningless without the whole (Ikegbu, 2003: 36).

Ikegbu applies here once again, the analogy of a living to explain the relationship between the individual and the community. As he implied the individual is so intrinsically bond to the community the way say the hand or head is bond to the body. Thus as the head would worth nothing without the body, so does the individual worth nothing without the community. As such to be what he is, the individual need not or rather cannot be separated from the community. What seems to be clear about African communalism is that nobody can achieve success on his own without the support or corporation of others in the society (Ekeopara, 2012: 262).

As stated earlier, African communalism is generally abhorrent of individualism. According to Ikegbu communalism "is a system that abhors any contact with capitalist and individualist dimension of the west. It is an entirely African way of life" (Ikegbu, 2003: 33). Ikegbu is not denying here that the West could have their own understanding and maybe practice of communalism. His main point is that there is a strong difference between Western understanding of community and the African understanding of community.

Despite all the good things enumerated above about communalism, there still seems to be a problem with the system. This problem can be stated as follows: if African communal system of living welcomes equal distribution of resources among the members, so that eachmember recieves according to his needs rather than according to his contribution, then it suggeststhe absence of equality. Ikegbu came into it as follows:

> Equality means equal distribution of wealth, but a situation where distributions are carried out in consonance with some peculiar circumstances clearly negates the principle. For instance, it amounts to high display of injustice and encourage of laziness for the society to accord priority attention to Mr A' who has more responsibilities but contributes little or nothing for the development of the society and gives little attention to Mr B' whose inputs are higher but because he has less responsibilities (Ikegbu, 2002:43-44).

The point this quotation makes is that communalism contains principles that encourage unfair sharing of resources. While this may not be so obvious in a society like African traditional society with abundance of resources, it is particularly disturbing in a modern society where resources are limited and very scarce. On the whole African idea of communalism needs some serious adjustments if it must adapt itself to the conditions of modern African society.

3.2.2   Importance of Extended Family Systems in Africa

In traditional African society, the nuclear family of the husband, wife and children is not considered complete without the extended family. Likewise, it is the extended family that forms the community. Consequently, the centrality of the extended family system in African social concept carries a lot of implications. One of such implications in the view of Augustine Shutte is the role the extended family plays in the life of the individual. According to Shutte "the best model for human community as understood in African thought is the family. The family has no function outside itself" (Shutte, 1996: 28). Shutte's observation accentuates the central role of the family in identifying the individual. In his understanding, outside

the extended family, the individual is not fully identified because the extended family is where he belongs; where he finds his meaning and bearing in life. This is the reason why one cannot under normal circumstances detach oneself from the extended family. To do so would amount to depriving oneself of one's identity.

One can therefore begin to understand why even to present the present time, an average African is so scared of being separated from family members and who do all he/she can to retain the love of his/her family. This attachment to family bond in my opinion is the main motivation why many civil servants get themselves involved in unethical practices while in public office.

Consider a situation where a civil servant is the chairman of a scholarship board in their province and one of the family members is qualified but perhaps not among the ten most qualified candidates for the scholarship. The civil servant, because of the love and personal responsibility he feels for the family in general and the family member in particular, may be tempted to include the name of this family member since he is qualified though not among the best qualified. Nevertheless, this is nepotism which implies corruption on the part of the civil servant. The link of this particular corrupt behaviour and traditional African extended family value is obvious. The link is this: in traditional African society, one whether publicly or privately employed has obligations first and foremost to his family members. It is an unwritten law therefore that his family members should benefit from him before any other person.

Additionally, the extended family system is very important in Africa because it is used in encouraging morality in the community. On this Onuaguruchi observes that besides the invaluable roles that the extend family members play in childhood upbringing, each family in any Africa community has a moral identity which every member of the family tries to uphold. This moral identity is the trademark which sales the family in matters of integrity to the entire community. Consequently, whenever an issue of community trust or good behaviour arises, public appointment or marriage transaction, the first question usually is what family is he or she coming

from. (Onuaguruchi, 2006: 47), This goes back to explain our earlier submission that one is judged and acquires his identity in traditional African society from the extended family. The reference is also to the family not to the individual. One of the consequences of this shared identity is that it could result in collective punishment and condemnation. This it is possible sometimes for the innocent to suffer along with the wicked for a sin they know nothing about. This without doubt is injustice and constitutes corruption.

Apart from the benefit of encouraging morality in the community, another important role of the extended family system is burden sharing and care for family members. Explaining this Horowitz says that "extended families are able to help to help their members in more transactions than the nuclear family can. Reciprocally the need and expectation of help strengthens the bond of the extended family" (Horowitz,, 1985: 63). Confirming this, Amadi (1992: 58) obsserves that the extended family system is cherished so much in Africa because in times of problems, the family members are there to share. Sharing here for Amadi does not mean lip service. It is a genuine interest and effort to help a family member in need as everybody expects to be so helped in his own time of need.

The burden sharing Amadi highlighted above as one of the importance of extended family system is not without its orientation toward corruption. One of such orientations is that it creates strong family bond which has to be constantly lubricated to keep it alive and sometimes the lubrication would involve going out of one's way, including involving oneself in corrupt practices. This explains why a civil servant who abuses his office to help a relative would not usually feel the gravity of his action; after all it is this same relative who will come to his aid in his own time of need. Francis Fukuyama was therefore right when he argues that "if obligation to kin inevitably trumps obligation to strangers despite legal or contractual ties, then certain type of administrative dysfunctions will be inevitable regardless of the formal institutional controls put in place to control corruption" (Fukuyama, 2004: 82)

Fukuyama makes this as a general statement, however appropriating it to our context here is not out of place because the extended family system is strongest in Africa. In Africa then what binds people to their family is stronger than what binds them to the government. To bring this issue home, consider a situation where a civil servant who understands that he has only few years to serve in the government before retirement, but will continue to be with his family for the remaining part of his life. Understandably, the general sentiment for this official would be that his public office is secondary such that his primary commitment is to the family. He will definitely reason that if he uses his office to the benefit of his family members, they will surely accept him even if his effort results in his losing his job. He has to help his people; otherwise it will seem as if he is disobeying the elders of the family who in Africa are always making demands on well to do members of their family. The official will always choose to be obedient to the family rather than the government.

It is therefore the case that African extended family system is like a double edged sword in its relationship to the state. While its existence creates the spirit of brotherhood and harmonious existence in the state, it is also inimical to the development and growth of the state because of its inclination towards corruption. According to since members of the extended family usually benefit from their relatives who may be involved in unethical practices in the public service, they may see nothing wrong with that (Ekeh, 1975: 105). On the contrary however this practice from such official affects the general public negatively and is therefore unethical and corrupt.

3.2.3   Contribution of the Extended Family System to Nepotism

In pre-colonial Africa, members of a community were held together by a strong kinship bond. On account of this bond, members of the extended family see themselves as obliged to support one another should the need arise. Now, a civil servant coming from the background with this kind of strong kinship bond, will naturally consider a relative for a job before considering others even when these are more qualified for the job than his relative. Such favours given to members of the

extended family by a civil servant are seen as unmerited favour and as nepotism in the modern period. Thus, according to Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie:

> It is also argued that the influence of extended family and tribal or family loyalties and commitments, often lead to corruption. In African countries, there is the notion that people's identification and relationship with the state and its institution are much weaker than identification and relationship with the family. Thus, there is an expectation of reciprocity between the service provider and the receiver of the service. In this case, nepotism may derive from age-old customs,(Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie 2000: 46).

In simple terms, what Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie are saying is that the strong kingship bond between members in an extended family overrides the commitment such individuals have towards their states; and that this leads to nepotism. Hoff and Sen agree that "once a member of a kin group is in a managerial position, with power to recruit and promote other members of his group exert pressure on him for favours and can enter into side- contract through which transfers required under the kin system are fulfilled in kind" (Hoff and Sen, 2002: 4). Hence it is assumption to thinkthat it is the strong commitment of the extended family that encourages nepotism, probably not only in Africa but in other parts of the word. With regard to the Arab world, Abdalla Hayajenh, Ahmed Maghrabi and Taher Al-Dabbagh explain that:

> The socio-cultural structure in the Arab world has its origin in tribal and kinship relations. These tribal and extended family ties constitute the basic institutions which shape the individual's social values, norms and behaviour. These values and norms encourage nepotism in Arab societies, encouraging individuals to fulfil their responsibilities towards their family. Tribal systems require strong commitment from individuals towards their tribes, which allow nepotism if it concerns relatives (Hayajenh, Maghrabi and Al-Dabbagh, (1994).

This observation confirms the existential fact that there is an existential link between the extended family system and nepotism. The confirmation is important because it shows that the practice is not just restricted to African society alone but obtains in every society with strong kinship bond. The fact that it is common or strongest in Africa goes a long way to show that kinship bond in African is extraordinarily strong in comparison to any other part of world.

Does this mean that traditional African society that promotes such practice is particularly immoral? This is what it looks like but to make such conclusion would amount to imposing modern system of moral evaluation on a society where there is no basis for such imposition. Traditional African society where the language of nepotism is alien would probably see nothing wrong in a civil servant helping his relatives, friends and in-laws when he is in a position to do so. The reason for this is clear: the peoples' culture require them to care for relatives in need and to be their brothers keepers. No traditional African would be ashamed to be caught helping a relative, a friend or an in-law. Should the person be asked why his preference for his relatives to others in matters of public employment; the simple reply would be: it is our culture, is there anything wrong in giving job to my relatives or to my in-law.

It is exactly this traditional African interpretation of the extended family system that is imported whole sale into modern society without taken cognizance of the differences between both societies. Thus those who are involved in the crime of nepotism, their victim (which is the common good) and those who benefit from this crime, may apparently see nothing wrong with it or would try to down play its gravity because they think that it is a part and parcel of the society.

Consequently, instead of coming out to oppose nepotism that has actually brought the states in Africa on their knees, what most African do are to wait patiently for their turn; when their man would occupy the same position and favour them in the same proportion. There are numerous instances with which to illustrate this point. Amundsen, for instances, uses the cases of many African presidents who tried to

secure their precarious power positions by nominating their family members to key political, economic and military/security positions in the state apparatus, (Amundsen, 2000:48). Hakeem Legge also reports that:

> A former president of Liberia, William Tolbert Junior (1971-80) made his brother, Frank Tolbert, President of the senate (or upper house of the parliament), Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance and his sister Lucia Tolbert, Major of the City of Bentol (formerly known as Bensenville). He also appointed on of his sons as an Ambassador at Large or a roving Ambassador, his daughter, Wilhemina Tolbert, the President Physician and his nice, Tula Tolbert, the Presidential dietician and appointed his three nephews as Assistant Minister for Presidential Affairs (Legge, 2012: 1).

It is instructive to note that Legge (2012) gave other instance of many other relatives appointed by President Tolbert whowere not included in the quotation above. The point however, is that this is a clear case of where a civil servant holder was running his office as a family business. That himself and many of his countrymen did not see anything wrong with such appointments lend credence to what we are trying to clarify here; that the practice of extended family system in Africa encourages the corruption of nepotism.

Doug Jones believes however, that the interaction between nepotism and interpersonal relationship is not restricted to African alone. He sees it as a common human practice everywhere as people always tend to favour those they know above others. As he explains, "there is always the temptation for people everywhere to organize themselves in groups, with the aim of the group members preferring themselves to others who are not part of the group" (Jones, 2000:792). Jones continue to argue that this sort of grouping can actually lead to the practice of double standards of morality, which, encourages cooperation and altruism among

members of the same group against others who are not members of the group and even explain why ethnocentrism is still a major global issue. According to him:

> One likely basis of ethnocentrism is the readiness of human beings to discriminate between in-grougs. This in turn, shows that where nepotism is rampart, the issue of ethnocentrism is often the underlying factor (Jones, 2000: 793).

Jones is correct here. It is a common human experience that wherever people are divided into groups by virtue of their tribes, they are more often than not inclined to favour members of their group over non-members, when it comes to apportioning resources. We shall allow jones once again to recapture this point, not only do subjects show favouritism towards the in-group but they seem particularly concerned with relative group standing, trying to maximize the difference between in-group and out-group rewards rather than absolute rewards to the in-group. It is clear then that the recognition and discrimination between the in-groups and the out-group membership motivates nepotism.

Furthermore Jones attempt to clarify that the influence of interpersonal bond on nepotism is a human problem rather than an African problem has a particular implication for our study here. In the first place, it calls attention to the fact that the interpersonal relationship that motivates nepotism in contemporary African society is more complex than the kinship bond that was obtainable in traditional society. Hence, in pre-colonial African society, tribal sentiments were mostly based on kinship or family and people were inclined to favour members of their family, but in this modern period as Jones insist that, "kinship is largely inconsequential outside the family" (Jones, 2000: 792). In order words, there are new ways that people carry out nepotism. The emphasis is not in favouring family members this time around (since there may not be family members working in the same place at the same time), but rather in favouring friends, associates and other social categories that have developed with modern socialization.

Nevertheless, we are particularly interested in nepotism that results from the pressure that the extended family exerts on civil servant. Our particular insistence on limiting our analysis to the extended family system is informed by our belief that no matter how modern an African society is today, the extended family still plays an indispensable role in forming and guiding behaviours.

Having made this point clear, let us turn our attention to some of the adverse effects on the society that could result from nepotism or from one's effort to favour his friends and relatives over and above others. Firstly, Dennis Laker and Mary Williams note that where nepotism is caused by the extended family system, it has some specific adverse effects associated with it. Some of these negative effects according to these scholars are "perception of favouritism, problem with discipline, potential fraud and breached confidentiality" (Laker and Williams, 2003: 191). For Egbue, the basic problem of nepotism is that it leads to hiring less qualified candidates for a job where more qualified candidates are available. Egbue argues that "personal relationships with friends and relatives also extend to providing them with jobs and contracts" (Egbue, 2006: 86). A civil servant of a high cadre that is in a position of employing people will give employment to his or her relatives, and then, will equally extend his favour to other friends who may be looking for jobs or contracts. Egbue also, opines that the practice of giving employment to less qualified candidates, where there are more qualified candidates for the same post not only encourages corruption but also causes inefficiency. One other problem that is likely to occur when selection is done, because of extended family, is that, most of those that are selected work as 'hired labourers'. Most often the code of conduct regarding the public sector officials is not followed as long as the god-father still remains active. In this way nepotism through the extended family system, will continue to effect the public service negatively, more especially in less developing societies (Egbue, 2006: 86).

3.2.4 Implications of the Extended Family System
In this section, some of the implications of the extended family system and nepotism are discussed. It has been observed that the first obligation of an

individual in the traditional African society is to the family members. This would tempt the civil servant to give an unqualified member of the family a job against other qualified candidates (Ekpo, 1979). When an incompetent or unqualified person is employed to work, undoubtedly, productivity will be seriously affected.

Moreover, another bad aspect of nepotism, include discrimination, injustice and so on, affect the general public and may also cause negative feeling towards the perpetrators. This can be seen in both job recruitments and promotions in the public service. In line with this, while commenting on the dangers of nepotism and favouritism in the police department, Johan Burger explains that:

> It is clear that any injustice in promotions will not only affect the individual officer in lowering morale and efficiency, but also cause negative feelings towards the leaders in the police…One vital implication of unfair application of the rules for promotions is maintaining the serious inequalities created by advancing those who do not really deserve to be promoted and holding back the ones who deserve it on merit. This, no doubt, reduces the overall efficiency of the organisation (Burger, 2010: 1).

Furthermore, according to Burger "this situation results in a number of other negative consequences for the policeorganisation. Without respect discipline breaks down, and without discipline basic command and control suffers"(Burger, 2010: 1). He explains further that, police officials who are better qualified for promotion or appointment will have feelings of discontent that may not only impact on their performance, but may also filter through to the rest of the staff. In the end morale suffers and this has a negative impact on the performance of the organisation in general. Such appointments and promotions will likely lead to controversy and suspicion and it can be deduced that this is probably not peculiar to the police department alone.

Since the extended family system consists of people from the same group, those outside the group will always see nepotism as something that is discriminatory. If

individuals are not selected on the basis of merit, which is based on individual performance,it means nothing but discrimination. Nepotism is not only discriminatory, but it makes the government look like a family business which does not benefit the general public. The outsiders will equally see it as a dishonest and bad practice if only onegroup benefits from what is meant to be for the good of the general public. As a result, people will view nepotism as a practice that brings disharmony into society, which may, in effect, lead to members outside the group to start looking for other means of survival. Thus, nepotism becomes something that is considered to be unfair and immoral to people that are not benefitting from it.

Nepotism is rampant and makes it difficult for civil servants to meet the expectations of people. In other words, ifcivil servants did away with nepotism, the public service would meet the expectations of the general public. Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan (2011): Identified corruption and nepotism as factors responsible for the inability of the public service to meet the expectations of Nigeria. He said erosion of value had deliberately incapacitated the public service, making it lose the required stem and vigour to function effectively and efficiently to the satisfaction of Nigerians (Daily Trust, 30 November, 2011)

The positive aspect of nepotism sometimes makes a person who practices it to be more acceptable and equally seen as a good person to the family members and friends because of the opportunity given to them in getting what they want (Darwins, 2009:1).

The civil servant may not want to help or employ people who could expose him. He understands the implication of being exposed as a civil servant, especially when there is so much illicit business that he deals with in the public service. It is dangerous for him to appoint people who will expose and criticise him, because it will not help him achieve much of the personal gains he may be targeting. In order to avoid being implicated, he needs people whom he can at least trust in certain things. Therefore, since appointments and selection most often depend on nepotism, those civil servants that are very interested in their personal gain, will always select

those who will not help in exposing them (Cammack, 2007:1). The implication is that sometimes a civil servant selects relatives or close friends, not just because he/she cares much for them, but because he/she needs a cover-up and protection.

Another reason why a civil servant could become involved in nepotism is because such an individual wants to maintain power at all costs. This is especially in cases where people are appointed to a certain office in which they have to stay for a certain period of time and continue for another term, if possible. In these cases, the civil servant is likely to enter into a solidarity network to make sure that he continues to stay in office. This type of network goes beyond the extended family framework (Olivier De Sardan, 1999:40) because the civil servant is not committed to the family only. This network may include people known from primary school to those currently working in his office.

In Africa, the new patrimonialism is described by Cammak in this way:

> Power lies in the hands of few people, 'big men' who follow a logic of personal interest rather than national interest or betterment. These big men are linked to 'informal' networks that connect MPs, chiefs, party officials and government bureaucrats to villagers (Cammack, 2007:1).

This makes corruption rampant. In this form of governance the logic is to gain and retain power at all costs. It can be said that, if a civil servant is not well committed to many people, it becomes difficult for him to get what he wants.The civil servant will make sure that he/she gives his/her support to them so that anytime he wants their help they will willingly respond.

3.3 Gift-Giving

In this section gift-giving, as one of the cultural origins of corruption, is discussed, including similarities between a gift and a bribe, and gift-giving in both traditional and modern African society. Another thing done in this section is to determine when gift-giving is corruption and the implications of this practice in African society.

There is no part of the world where people don't offer or give gifts. What actually makes the difference in gift-giving is the motive, intention or rationale behind every gift that is given. According to Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie "a gift as a universal institution can be used for positive or negative purposes" (OseiHwedie and Osie-Hwedie, 2000: 46). Under normal circumstances gifts are usually given as a reward, an award, grant,and donation, contribution, for the cementing of friendship and giving support and even as offerings. Nevertheless, all these positive motives for giving gifts can be easily interchanged with an immoral and corrupt motive. It is in the light of these corrupt motives for gift-giving that the root of corruption, as it affects some African cultural systems, is unveiled in this discussion. The African cultural system in question is no other than a system of gift-giving, widely and commonly practiced. The main purpose here is to show to what extent some African cultural practices and values, like gift-giving, can lead to corruption or aid corruption.

It can be stated that the idea that some African cultural practices and values have elements that are favourable for the development and spread of corruption is actually real. This can be observed in the African customary exchanges of gifts. In African culture "there are conventions which demand or expect that a person shows appreciation for favours done to him or her" (Okeke, 2002:131). It is assumed that gift-giving in the contemporary period is no longer for appreciation alone, but for expectation and appreciation because of ulterior motives that some individuals now give this practice. Sometimes gift-giving seems to be the same thing as bribery, but there is a thin line separating the two things.

Gift-giving and bribery are similar in some ways, as both of them contribute to corruption. In both cases, something is usually given from one person to the other to make the person take a requested action. This is to say that, there is a giver and a receiver in both gift-giving and bribery, which may come in the form of cash or kind. However, one thing that is outstanding in both bribery and gift-giving, is, if disappointment comes along the line, neither parties involved will have the courage

to sue the other in a law court for a refund. Rose-Ackerman states," that gift and bribe have one important similarity; in neither case can a disappointed individual go to court to demand payment or insist on performance of the implicit contract" (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 96). In this sense, one can claim that it is like a private matter.

Again, gift-giving and bribery are similar in that both influence decision-taking in the public service. Either a gift or a bribe can influence civil servant when taking certain decisions in their office, particularly concernings the gift or bribe giver. Having involved him or herself in gift-giving or bribery, it may be very difficult for the civil servant to take a decision that could affect the gift or bribe giver negatively (Nadler and Schulman, 2006: 1). However, since gift-giving seems to be very similar to bribery, it is more difficult to notice the differences between the two. This may be the reason why some people take gift-giving to be the same thing as bribery. The next section discusses the differences between these two practices.

3.3.1   Gift-giving in Traditional African Society

Africans are people who like, and are known for showing appreciation to others, not because there is something to gain, but because of the love of sharing with others what they have. This section looks at the areas where gifts are used in African traditional society, for appreciation, support, and cementing relationships.

In the African traditional society, gifts are usually given to people in order to thank them for a job well done. According to Egbue, gift-giving is one of the African values which serves as an informal symbol of expected gratitude for benevolence received (Egbue, 2006: 86). For instance, after recovering in a government hospital, someone offers gifts to the doctor to show gratitude, making the doctor's 'kindnesses to him known to others.

According to Ekpo, it can be observed that in African traditional society, the rulers were sometimes obliged to give gifts to the people. This was done as a sign of acknowledgement to the community for their support to the ruler (Ekpo, 1979: 174). Again, this can be taken as a sign that the chief is the father to all and

invariably ought to be economically better than his subjects. Gift-giving was not only done by the chiefs alone, but done also by some influential people in the community.

One of the very important things that people do in traditional African society, in return for the good things that they receive from their ruler, is give support to the chiefthrough their own gift-giving. This of course is not meant to reject what the traditional ruler gives them, here, the major aim in giving gifts to the ruler is to inform him that they, his subjects, support him, that is, that they wish him to continue ruling them, and give the assurance that they are behind him (Ekpo, 1979: 174). Such gifts to the ruler can be seen as a kind of vote of confidence. This was the practice of people in the traditional African society, but was not then seen as a problem by the people. It may be assumed they were also not asked by the rulers in the traditional society to give gifts. However, there were days set aside by the people to work for the ruler in his farm without payment. According to Ikegbu "prior to the colonial days, there were days meant for people to work in the chief's farm. Also, certain (fatty) proceeds from the farm were meant for the chief and his cabinet irrespective of how little or large his responsibilities were" (Ikegbu, 2003: 44).

Notwithstanding this normal way of giving gifts, Egbue (2006) notes that gifts can be given for many reasons other than for showing appreciation. The practice usually takes on different dimensions as sometimes; it may be between superiors, equals or even inferiors. Even when gifts are not demanded, the people of a community may themselves decide to offer gifts to superiors with the hope that favour will be granted in the future. This, for instance, comes as a way of cementing relationships.

One of the areas where gift-giving featured prominently in the African traditional society is in the area of settlement of cases. According to Amadi the areas in which *awuf* (meaning bribery, corruption or any gain obtained through trickery, dishonesty or sharp practice) was practiced in pre-colonial Nigeria were severely

limited (Amadi, 1992: 82). This implies *awuf* was a form of gift-giving. For instance, Amadi notes that, if a man was vexed by another and wanted a settlement, he would inform the chiefs or elders of the village through the appropriate means. On the appointed day, the council of elders would meet with the litigants for them to state their cases. The litigants would be allowed to ask each other questions after which the elders could equally ask questions where applicable. The case might now be suspended if there was a dispute in an answer to a particular question, especially where such a dispute could affect the verdict either that day or another day. This disputed question would now be inquired, meaning that the case would be suspended for a while for a proper examination. Before the temporary suspension of the case, both parties would be required to stake on the veracity of their assertions. The stake, known as *mbawu* in Ikwere and *ebe* in Igbo, was important in the judiciary system of these tribes (Amadi, 1992: 82). According to Amadi, "after the case had been thoroughly examined, the elders withdraw, out of earshot, for consultations which could last from a few minutes to several hours" (Amadi, 1992 83). Whenever the elders reconvened, one of the elders appointed for the occasion would announce the verdict. Amadi further explains that:

> It was possible for an elder to receive money or drinks in order to further the case of a particular litigant. During the consultations preceding the judgment that elder would argue ably in defence of his client, but his influence was quite limited. If a matter was clearly defined by tradition, there was usually little room to manoeuvre. In many ways the elder who received money to defend a litigant was the forerunner of the modern lawyer (Amadi, 1992:83).

In the above statement, it may be seen that corruption, such as gift-giving, could possibly flow from this practice, more especially as the hired defender was also a member of the jury that gave the final verdict. If government laws are very clearly defined, court judgements cannot be manipulated and gift-giving will be out of the question. It is important to note that with the advent of colonialism in Africa, the native judicial system was replaced by native courts. Although, some notable (as in

worthy of attention and important) aspects of the native judicial system, like oath taking or swearing by the gods, were still maintained, some of the warrant chiefs administering the native courts were notoriously corrupt, having been involved in *awuf* (gift-giving, dishonesty and so on) in the native judicial system. This might imply making the native courts notorious centres of *awuf,* in which any person interested, was out for what he could get (Amadi, 1992:87). It can be stated that *awufu* in the native judiciary system influenced the gift-giving, bribery and corruption in the native courts, all of which are still experienced in the modern period. A close look at this tradition may bring out some abnormalities or a possible negative consequence of the system of gift-giving.

What seems interesting in the traditional African culture of gift-giving is the type of materials used as gifts. What may usually be given as gifts can include kola nuts, tobacco, drinks, and similar very small things. The fact that these types of gifts are hardly of any economic value clearly indicates the dissimilarity between bribery and gift-giving in the traditional African society. For an average traditional African, the importance of such gifts lays ontological worth not in their economic values. In the next section gift-giving in the modern period is discussed.

3.3.2   Gift-giving in the Modern African Society

In the pre-colonial period, gifts were 'kola' or other kinds of local materials, but today' gift-giving has taken a monetary form and virtually everything about it has to do with money. According to Olivier De Sardan, "nowadays, gift-giving is usually a question of money. The general monetarisation of everyday life has transformed the giving of kola into the giving of money. One must constantly have one's hand on one's purse" (De Sardan, 1999: 39). This is actually a kind of bribe to facilitate a corrupt transaction. This is accurate because most examples of these practices that involve small corruption, usually turn out to have been in the form of a 'gift'; those who don not pay up immediately will become debtors who owe a small thing meant to show appreciation.In order to make sure that the recipients will not disappoint the person looking for favour and also that things are properly done, gifts are now given in advance. In many African states today, and perhaps the

world at large, it is known as advance gift-giving. In traditional African societies, gift-giving was not a condition for citizens to secure appointments, jobs, promotions, contracts and so on, but in modern society, gift-giving, either in cash or kind, is assumed to be indirectly one of the conditions required in getting things, especially in the public sector. The argument is not that gift-giving in modern society is no longer for appreciation, but that some gift-givingin contemporary society, especially in the public sector, has an ulterior motive, mainly as an expectation of favour.

Gift-giving is explained as among the African traditional cultural practices that enhances corruption and it is no longer a question of very petty things such as the open gift of a chicken and so on (Ekpo, 1979:164), but in the modern period, where there are set rules, such a practice now acts as a serious aid to corruption. So, in this sense, it is assumed that gift-giving in modern African society may not only be for appreciation, but is equally for expectation and may be demanded from the individuals bycivil servants.

According to Egbue:

> With industrialization and modernization, coupled with the difficulties of recession, people more and more do not wait for the recipients of favour to show gratitude. Rather specific demands for gratitude are often imposed for transactions regarding employment, admissions to schools, elections, issuance of licenses, permits and so on (Egbue, 2006:86).

The quotation above implies that, it is no longer the person who gives the gift that expects, but also the recipient himself. The recipient expects that, for instance, for him to help the person in securing employment, a gift is supposed to follow. The recipient of the gift may not see this as corruption. This may not have been the aim of gift-giving in traditional African society, but as it stands today, gift-giving, indeed, constitutes a major basis for corrupt practices. It may be as a result of a lack of a clear distinction between public and private roles in African societies.

When a gift is demanded in this context, it is mostly in order to give undue favour to those who need it, but who actually donot merit this favour. Take for instance the case of employment where a government official is in a position to employ or give employment to people, he or she may demand gifts (cash or kind) for giving certain people employment. This may mean that without this gift, the solicitors may not get the expected favour. When there are many people seeking the job, employment will be given based on the gift given. Mostly the gift demanded may not be small, which usually leads to serious problems when the expected favour is not eventually granted. This kind of gift-giving is similar to a bribe. Here, the gift-giver is only compelled to give gifts for the favour wanted. Employment, in this instance, is only granted when the gift had to be given, otherwise no employment would be forthcoming.

From the above illustration, it is clear that this type of gift-giving is very corrupt. It means people cannot be granted favours if they do not have something to offer in exchange. When it comes to issues of employment, gift-giving eliminates the useful consideration of merit, which would eventually lead to fruitful results. One can as well argue convincingly that, more often than not, whenever gifts are given with ulterior motives, it is meant to by-pass due process and give favour to someone who may not deserve it. So, on this note, no matter the nature of the transaction, whether it concerns employment, admission, appointment, scholarship, promotion and so on, if it is not thrown open for fair consideration or due process, gift-giving plays a role and ismeant to thwart the procedures and, therefore, is corruption.

Gift-giving is equally used for expectation. The issue of gift-giving functions as an expectation when somebody gives for an ulterior motive and not just for appreciation (Gildenhuys, 1991). The individual that gives for expectation may only be looking for a favour from the recipient. This type of gift is the advance type of gift-giving and so comes before the favour is done. This aspect of gift-giving is usually popular and the success of it will determine future transactions. In this case, the civil servant who is in the position of granting a favour will do so without

demanding a gift, but will, of course, be expecting one. Where the expected gift is not given, it will have a negative effect on the favour that has been given, especially for the future. At other times, when the gift is not given on time, the favour that has been granted may be terminated, because of the experiences which people have had when gifts are delayed, they usually give on time so as to enjoy the benefit of the favour granted.

In another respect, the idea of giving gifts can be carried out in order to entice someone or tie them down to act in a particular manner. In this case the person in the position to grant the favour is not compelled to grant the favour, and he or she may not even have a prior arrangement with those intending to offer gifts and may not even know them. The effect of the gift on this kind of person is that it draws attention and makes the receiver of the gift show some concern or reciprocate in an expected manner. The gift-giver may later make requests from the receiver, which puts him or her under obligation. This is simply because he or she has been tied down by a particular gift or present. The granting of favours, in this respect, shows an appreciation for the gift that was given, or in another sense reciprocates the kind gestures offered earlier. This example may better explain why a chieftaincy title is given to a prominent politician, who in the real sense does not merit it. This politician is in the position of offering jobs, or admission into a university and so on. If a child or kinsman of the Chief, who had earlier given the chieftaincy title to this prominent politician, is in need of a job or admission, the politician in question will not hesitate to grant such a request as a means of reciprocity.

From the above illustration, one can argue that there is no corruption in the transaction, but on the other hand, it is clear that the politician chose to give out his favour simply because a kind of gift was given, which made him reciprocate. The politician could also have chosen to act otherwise and favour others in need. In most situations like this, there are usually many people in need of the said favour and where it goes bad is when others more qualified for that post are not considered.

It can thus be stated that traditional African cultural systems have led to corruption, taking into consideration the present discourse. According to Erwin Schwella:

> The giving of gifts as rewards is an accepted social practice in many of our traditional societies. But from a rational bureaucratic point of view, this traditional gift system is unethical and corrupt, even though the transition from the existing traditional social pattern to modern practices constitutes a gradual process. As a result the earlier social actions are often still practised, but these actions constitute corruption and maladministration within the context of a rational bureaucratic system (Schwella, 1991:58).

Once again, the traditional gift-giving practice is seen as a way of corruption, although it can be debated from different angles. While some argue that the system is not corrupt, others say that it leads to corruption.

The cultural system of gift-giving, which has metamorphosed into a modern system of corruption, can also take the form of facilitating payments. Facilitating payments, according to Antonio Argandona, consist of small payments or gifts made to a person, generally a civil servant or an employee of a private company, to obtain a favour, such as expediting an administrative process; obtaining a permit, license or service (Argandona, 2005: 251),

This kind of gift-giving, does not appear to be the worst form of corruption that exists, but rather it has to do with some kind of injustice, although not outright injustice, on the part of the payer. The payer, in this situation, is only entitled to whatever he requested. As far as this kind of gift-giving is concerned, Argandona explains that, because of the way facilitating payment is carried out "public opinion tends to condone such payments; often they are assumed to be unavoidable and are excused on the grounds of low wages and lack of professionalism among civil servants and disorganisation in government offices" (Argandona, 2005: 251). Facilitating payment as a kind of gift-giving can be regarded as corruption, due to

the negative effects it has on the economy, as it can serve as additional costs for companies and citizens

Though facilitating payments is corruption, and a petty corruption for that matter, some of its characteristics are not negative as such, but rather they may be considered as normal ways of doing things. It does not end at this; the person who makes the payment is normally entitled to what he is asking for. This invariably means that facilitating payments do not involve cases where entitlements are not given. It should be noted that facilitating payments can be considered as lesser forms of corruption, as confirmed by Argandona when he states that, "virtually all references to facilitating payments distinguished them from 'real' corruption by stressing the small size of the payments, which is clearly seen as a distinguishing factor" (Argandona, 2005: 254). This implies that facilitating payments are sometimes seen as a normal way of doing things and they are common in many African countries.

It can be confusing when placing the issue of facilitating payments alongside gift-giving and comparing them. Gift-giving, can be regarded as payments done to show gratitude or appreciation and goodwill and the major reason why gifts are given is to create an atmosphere of friendship and, if possible, to put the receiver in a position to always see the giver in a favourable light. Facilitating payment differs in that its purpose is to speed up services by thecivil servants.

The practice and theory of gift-giving actually differs. In theory, the difference between a gift and facilitating payments or bribery is that gift-giving is done without the intention of obtaining a direct benefit for the giver, whereas either facilitating payments or bribery does. However, in practice, this distinction is not so clear, due to the fact that the giver may, indeed hope, to get some direct favour or benefit (Argandona, 2005:254).

3.3.3   When Gift-giving is seen as Corruption
For one to actually decide when a gift becomes corruption and when it is notespecially in the public sector, constitutes a problem. This, of course, poses a

very similar problem to distinguishing between a gift and a bribe. When does a gift become a corrupt act? According to Gildenhuys "the purpose of ethics in the public sector is to eliminate the uncertainty between what seems to be right and what is in effect wrong; to identify each possibility of conflict between right and wrong lies, however, beyond the ability of the average person" (Gildenhuys, 1991: 42) .

This shows that making a distinction between what seems to be right, but is in effect wrong, is a difficult but not an impossible task. He further observes that, the problem for civil servant is in the decisions; for instance, whether some gifts such as, Christmas presents, invitations for free hunting trips and so on are bribes or sincere tokens of friendship. For Gildenhuys, such gifts appear so innocent and sincere, but then, he wonders, why should a civil servant not accept such gifts from the members of the public who thank him for his good services to them. When a civil servant demands a gift from the public, such a gift is seen as corruption.

According to Gildenhuys "the truth is that no member of the public presents gifts to politicians or civil servants without ulterior motives" (Gildenhuys, 1991: 42). Furthermore, he claims that, so far he has not yet come across someone in the private sector who loves politicians and civil servants so much as to present them with gifts without expecting anything back from the receiver. This implies that gifts can be seen as corruption whenever there are ulterior motives in presenting such gifts. In other words, where there is no ulterior motive in gift-giving, it is then free from corruption. Sometimes, the way the gift is presented to the receiver will clear up any doubt whether such a gift has an ulterior motive behind it or not. For instance, if a gift is presented along with a request from the person, it is assumed that there is something else behind the gift.

Again, when a civil servant starts to derive income from gifts, benefits or other forms of hospitality from individuals, corporations or foreign governments, besideshis salary, this may amount to corruption. According to in the POS Reports, gift-giving of this nature can sometimes be in the form of free trips abroad, complementary boxes at sporting events, a case of wine, or free cable television and

so on. It is assumed, that whencivil servant, for instance, start attracting to themselves outside income and interests, there exists the possibility of conflict between officials' public duty and private duty Wilmot (1996). However, what can possibly determine when a gift is corruption, may still be attributed to the major intention of the giver.

The intention behind gift-giving in the public service, for instance, seems sometimes to be corrupt. This is because, according to Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, "a gift is not necessarily a bribe for it depends on the circumstances and inten" (2000: 46). The circumstances and the intention of the giver may not be clear to the receiver most of the time. It can be stated that, most often, the intention might be to please the receiver so that the giver is favoured. Again, the intention for the gift-giving may be to maintain good relationships with superior officials. For instance, since the promotion of civil servants sometimes depends on the recommendation of superiors, the junior officials may not find it easy to abstainfrom giving annual 'gifts' to their superior officials and also at other important occasions that may connect them to the superior officials. This is a kind of gift-giving that is based on negative intention. It may not be uncommon for some senior civil servants to keep a record of the names of those who give this annual 'gift' so that they are rewarded, as those who fail to give could be punished. It is because some civil servants want to get what they want at all costs, that they go the extra mile through gift-giving in order to find favour with their superiors. In these instances, a police or customs officials could end up giving the money collected from road users to their superior officials, but "the officers also have to give annual 'gifts' to their superiors and other occasional gifts on important occasions in the latter's family life, such as marriages, baptisms, funerals" (Arifari, 2006:207). It may not matter whether the gift is small or big, whether it is given in the open or in private. From the definition of corruption, there seems to be a distinction between one's public and private roles. This is what many people are not clear about. This may be one of the reasons why gift-giving is an acceptable value in the private sector but not in the public sector.

3.3.4　Implications of Gift-giving

Gift-giving as a type of corruption that is practiced mostly in the public sector has far-reaching effects on the development of a nation. Countries where such practices are too great are portrayed as corrupt (Nwachukwu, 2002:102). This could make some foreign investors lose interest in contributing to the development of such a country, through setting up of industries and other business. It is assumed that foreign investors always fear investing in countries where gift-giving is an everyday practice because of the lack of confidence in such a country.

Furthermore, in some countries where gifts are demanded by civil servants before contracts are awarded, such contracts can sometimes not be completed or caneven be abandoned. This is because the contractor may no longer be interested in continuing the work, having collected a reasonable percentage, and people who were given part of the money as a gift may find it difficult to query the contractor, as they are partners in crime. According to Nwachukwu:

> The 10% "kick back" on road contracts and other government projects has provided an avenue for government officials and '419' contractors for "carting away" public funds. Once the 10% is collected, the contractor is no more under obligation as the contract agreement becomes "a gentle-man's agreement". He can abandon the contract job at any stage and nothing will happen to him (Nwachukwu, 2002:103).

This could account for one of the reasons why some projects are abandoned by the government. This is how the government funds, which would have been used for other things, are wasted.

Furthermore, where gift-giving is used in the selection of candidates for public service, wrong candidates can be selected for many of the positions in government departments, and this certainly will pose a problem for these departments as it will definitely affect output. It is equally the same thing with the unqualified contractor that secures a government contract through gift-giving. Obviously, such a contractor will not deliver well, as the work may be of poor quality. In this case, it

is not only government money that is wasted, but those projects can remain as death-traps for many individuals. For instance, if a road project is awarded to an unqualified engineer and his company, the road is not likely to last. It is the people that will suffer the outcome, unless the project is given to a more qualified contractor.

It can be stated that there are many effects of gift-giving. In a questionnaire, to ascertain whether gifts compromise threats to objectivity, integrity and independence in serving the public, by the Public Service Commission of South Africa (2008), the respondents to the questionnaire commented that, the acceptance of gifts could lead to bribery, because it can influence the decision making of a civilservant thereby resulting in favouritism. Once this is the case the objectivity of a civil servant becomes blurred thereby compromising the integrity of a civil servant. The reason for this is that the giver of the gift in some way or another always expects some sort of favoured treatment. In addition to compromising the integrity of a civil servant, the general public opinion is that by accepting gifts corruption is being promoted because of the influence that the receipt of gifts could exert. The public expect of civil servants to serve them without the notion of expecting something in return. Therefore by not accepting gifts the perception of civil servants being corrupt is being reduced.

Gift-giving does not only encourage corruption in the public service, but equally encourages laziness, as some will no longer be committed to duty. The officials that were employed through gift-giving may sometimes perform as hired labourers. Their major target couldmostly be how to recover the money they spent in buying the office. The result will probably be embezzlement of public funds and bribery.

According to Rose-Ackerman, "in the private sector, gift-giving is pervasive and highly valued, and it seems natural to provide jobs and contracts to one's friends and relations" (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 6). This goes to show that even when gifts are given to get favour, it ends up creating stronger ties between the parties involved so that in the future, they will easily become close friends and associates.

This is actually where nepotism thrives. In any further dealings among them and where others are involved, priority will be given to this already existing friendship at the expense of others who are equally or more entitled to receive that same favour. Then, from the private sector dealings, it would seem as if no one sees any reason for not taking this practice into the public realm.

So, it can be assumed that the traditional African society laid much emphasis on gift-giving and today this is one of the African values that are seen as the bedrock corruption. Thus, in this instance, Ekpo, argues and I concur that "it is the emphasis placed on the exchange of gifts in traditional social relations that is a particularly significant key to the meaning of the contemporary problem of corruption in Africa" (Ekpo, 1979: 174).

3.4   Conclusion.

This chapter explores the extent the African cultural practices of the extended family system and gift-giving contribute to the existence and growth of corruption in modern African society. First and foremost, the chapter explaines that culture is the people's way of life; the mark of identity that makes a particular cultural group unique and different from other cultural groups. The chapter also examines some basic characterics of culture including that culture can be: learned, transmitted and evolves with the passage of time. A good example to this last point is the African culture which consequent on its encounter with western civilization has evolved through many stages. The problem of this cultural evolution, as this section concludes is that it can lead to identity crisis for those who live within the evolving culture as experienced in most African societies today.

The second part of the chapter takes up the two (the extended family system and gift-giving) African cultural practices that encourage corruption in Africa. Because of the ways these two African cultural practices are intertwined with the corrupt practices of nepotism and bribery, this section shows the difficulty involved in establishing the differences between corruption and these practices, especially, the way they are understood and practised in traditional African society.Nevertheless,

that it is difficult to make this distinction does not mean that it is impossible. Hence, the section observes that the primary difference lies in the intentions of the giver and the receiver of such favour. This section as well delineates the basic ways gift-giving and the extended family system encourages corruption in Africa.

For instance, nepotism when seen within the purview of the African extended family system is assumed to be ethical. This is because, in Africa it considered unethical to withdraw favour from a member of the extended family as this Igbo adage succintly portrays 'charity begins at home'.Thus an average African would see denying a favour to one's kinsmen not only as unethical but a mark of wickedness. In this way the extended family system, promotes nepotism.

Does this then call for the abrogation of the extende family system in order to get ride of corruption in Africa? This section observes that the extended family system, as practiced by Africans, as well as the communal life it entails, remains and will always be indispensable. There is nothing wrong in one helping a relative, but it should not be done at the expense of others or the common good in general. Most importantly, Africans should learn not to over-burden their relatives. Doing this is an abuse of the extended family system and it is primarily the root cause of corruption in Africa.

The other issue addressed by the chapter is the link between gift-giving and bribery. The chapter observes that gift-giving originally an innocent practice in traditional African society has become in the modern times the ember that stokes corruption.In order words, in this modern period, gift-giving encourages corruption, as people give with ulterior motives, unlike in the traditional society when people mainly gave for gratitude. The chapter still argue that it is unfair to use gifts as a parameter for getting what one is qualified to have. People give because they do not have an alternative, otherwise they may not get what they want. They also demand because they give and corruption becomes a vicious circle at the expense of the society at large. In sum, gift-giving in the modern African society, especially in the public sector, encourages corruption because of the ulterior motives in the giving.

What is clear from the whole chapter is that these cultural practices are not corrupt in themselves. They are rich cultural values that helped and are still helping Africans to navigate through the difficulties of life and maintain harmony in their socities. These practices only lead to corruption when abused or misused or misunderstood. They practices are not corrupt, they only aid corruption.

Having observed some of the African traditional cultural practices and values that aid corruption, the next chapter focuses onother causes and consequences of corruption, with particular reference to Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: OTHER CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CORRUPTION

4.   Introduction

The previous chapter examines how the cultural practices of the extended family system and gift-giving aid corruption in Africa. The underlining point in that chapter is that this two practices, aid corruption by facilitating the environment that encourages corruption. The chaptert also considers some of the consequences of corruption when viewed within the framework of gift-giving and the extended family system.

The present chapter discusses other causes and consequences of corruption in Africa, besides the extended family system and gift-giving. The essence is to show that corruption in Africa is not just caused by the extended family system and gift-giving alone. Among other factors that contribute to corruption in Africa which will be discussed in this chapter include: poor remuneration of civil servants, high cost of living, poverty and lack of basic amenities, greed of civil servants, the way the society views civil servants, ostentatious life style, lack of exemplary leadership, corrupt judiciary, lack of rule of law, ambiguous laws and regulations, role confusion, religion, civil servants not accepting their mistakes, lack of accountability and transparency, lack of adequate punishment for corrupt civil servants, and lack of policy implementation, among others. Again, the second aim of the chapter is to demonstrate that corruption has many consequences.These among other consequences will be discussed: unemployment, poverty, late payment of salaries,weakened accountability, and increase incorruption, increase in sub-standard goods, lack of commitment to duty, and lack of trust in the government. The overall assumption in this chapter is that knowing these other causes of corruption will help in knowing the best method to apply in curbing it. In addition, understanding the consequences of corruption, in terms of the ills it brings on society will galvanize the support of everybody to take a stand against it.

4.2   Contributory Factors to Corruption

According to Maya Chadda "the debate about the definition of corruption is closely related to that about the causes of corruption because people differ in their views on what causes corruption" (Chadda, 2004: 125). So, in this section, some of these major factors besides the extended family system and gift-giving that are responsible for corruption in Africa, especially in the public service are discussed.

One of the major causes of corruption in most African states is the poor remuneration of .The reason why people work is to take care of their basic necessities. Hence, when what is paid to a civil servant is too little to take care of his basic needs, there then arises the temptation to look for other ways, including corrupt means to satisfy the needs. For instance, in Somalia, as recorded by Hope civil servants had to resort to bribery in order to survive because the public sector did not pay enough salary to support an urban family at even a subsistence level (Hope, 2000: 72).The Somalian civil servants in this example are left with two choices: survival and staying away from corruption.Many of them as the example showed went for corruption instead of staying away from corruption and risking the consequence which could spell doom for them and their families.

In fact, this kind of example and similar situations can actually create a serious moral problem for determining the morality of corruption. For if we accept as some scholars such as (Yahaya, 2013 and Mukundi, 2014) argue, that there are hierarchies of moral values and that the preservation of human life is at the apex of these values, the question becomes which of the two values is more important: survival or staying away from corruption? I should answer survival and I believe that African moral principle which places a lot of premium on the value of human life would agree with me on this. Nevertheless, before taking this sort of moral position on issue that concerns corruption, there is a serious need to ensure that someone's survival is really on threat. It would also be necessary to place the condition of the civil servant in question, in perspective to that of the other members of the society. If the society is so poor to the extent that every member of

the society is also striving for survival, to become corrupt in order to survive will amount to injustice against the other members who are striving to eke out a living.

Very similar to poor remuneration is the issue of the high cost of living, which, has been identified as one of the major causes of corruption in Africa. Where the cost of living is very high, it becomes a problem and a very tempting situation for the poorly paid civil servant who has to compete in the market with the business class. To cope with the challenges in his immediate family, in that of his extended family and even the community, may actually force the person to be involved in corrupt activities. Amujiri confirms that, "with this, the civil servant keeps going and the society survives revolt. That is why you hardly see a policeman or a custom officer and immigration personal complaining of non-payment of salaries no matter the cost of living" (Amujiri, 2002: 71). Amujiri is indirectly saying here that police and custom officers unlike most civil servants do not depend on their salaries to survive. The nature of their work in most African societies gives them direct access to bribery and that is why one hardly sees any police or custom officer complaining of low remuneration.

Another major cause of corruption is greed. Nwokereke Eze pointed it out clearly when he opined that "another ugly catalyst for the emergence of corruption...is also the dilemma of incessant greed for money, power and glory" (Eze, 2002: 6). People want to be rich. People adore rich men and rich women, regardless of the source of their wealth. The nature of man according Eze is "selfish and egoistic. He is motivated by selfish desires which require satisfaction if he is to be happy. For example, all his actions can be explained in terms of the attempts to gratify some desires such as the desirefor shelter, riches and so forth" (Eze, 2002: 6) .

Thus, the quest for material possessions to satisfy and gratify man's need pushes him to engage in any act that he thinks will satisfy his needs or wants. Because the wants of man are unlimited, and because some people are 'infinitely' greedy, the satisfaction of one want will cause the birth of another want begging to be satisfied. For example, if a man acquires a motor car through corrupt practices, he will need

to fuel the car and maintain it. This will elicit more corruption, and the cycle will continue.

The problem with the civil servants that involve themselves in this type of corruption that results from greed is that they may not even care to know the effects of their actions on the people they are serving. Salha Kaitesi stresses that:

> Most of the African leaders are greedy and power hungry. When they come into a leadership role they put themselves and their immediate family first rather than the interest of the country. They forget that they are there to serve us – the people who put them in that position in the first place and the same people who can bring them down too (Kaitesi, 2011:1)

This suggests that most of the civil servants or leaders who are involved in unethical practices do so as a result of greed to satisfy themselves and their immediate family. It is perhaps because of greed that some of the African leaders over-stay their welcome in public office. According to Nwachukwu, it is the thirst from endless accumulation of wealth that makes some African leader's loot the national treasury and keep it safe in overseas banks, to the detriment of the masses of their nations (Nwachukwu, 2002: 100).

In May, 1997, according to George Ayittey, The French Weekly Newspaper, in May published these stolen assets of African rulers:

> General Sani Abacha of Nigeria – 120 billion FF (or $20 billion); former Ivorian President H. Boigny - 35 billion FF (or $6 billion); General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria – 30 billion FF (or $5 billion); the late President Mobutu of Zaire – 22 billion FF (or $4 billion); President Mouza Traore of Mali - 10.8 billion FF (or $2 billion).Others names mentioned by the French weekly were President Henri Bedie of Ivory Coast – 2 billion FF (or $300 million); President Denis N'gnesso of Congo – 1.2 billion FF (or $200 million); President Omar Bongo of Gabon – 0.5 billion FF (or $80 million); President Paul Biya of Cameroon- 450 million FF (or $70 million); President Haite Mariam of Ethiopia- 200 million FF (or

$30 million) and President Hissene Habre of Chad – 20 million FF (or $3 million) (Ayittey, 2002).

This quotation goes a long way to instatiate this thesis submission above that greed is one of the basic factors that contribute to corruption, especially among the rulling class in Africa. The amounts provided by the documentation are staggering and one begins to wonder to what extent some African leaders are ready to go to satiate their insatiable greed at the expense of their people.

One other important factor that causes corruption is the collapse of moral values in African states. Lack of moral conscience by civil servants has indeed contributed a lot to corruption. According to Chukwudum Okolo "it is increasingly the conviction of many today that the black man or rather; the African need not go beyond himself in search of the roots of his problems. This is because the African condition is created by Africans themselves" (Okolo, 1994: 6),. Okolo is saying that incomparison with traditional African societies, there is a decline in moral values among Africans today; the decline has helped corruption to be on the increase. Hence, most civil servants in Africa are no longer striving after higher moral values such as honesty, personal integrity, harmonious life, patriotism and so on as was the case in the past. It is obvious that without such moral values in the public sector and the general public in Africa, corruption will continue to rise.

Another cause of corruption in Africa is an ostentatious life style, which according to Nwachukwu, is one of causes of corruption in Africa. He explains that some civil servants have very high tastes in life and like to imitate those people in the society who live ostentatiously. Such civil servants would like to join those who have the best cars in the world, live in one of the best houses in the world, but do not have enough money for these things. It is in a bid to satisfy themselves of every need that they will become involved in corrupt activities (Nwachukwu, 2002: 101). Even whenacivil servant's salary is not low; he is likely to involve himself in corrupt activities once he decides to enjoyan ostentatious lifestyle.

Agreeing with Nwachukwu, Faruk describes African society as an exhitionist society and African leaders as exhibitionists. Faruk believes that exhibitionism which he thinks is inherent in Africans has some connection with African value of communal life. According to him, an important aspect of African communal living is that it encourages a very high level of interaction between members of the same community. In this type of situation, everybody knows everybody and their worth in terms of economic values. The outcome is competition and showing off of what one has making the community and communal life a battle groud for the exhibition of wealth and power (Faruk, 2012: 18-20).

Moving from here, Faruk went on to argue that most African join certain professions, especially politics not because of the desire to serve their people but to acquire power and make their influence felt in the society. What makes it worst, according to him, is the power and influence that money willed in the modern world. To acquire this money in order to make his influence felt in his community, an average African will stop at nothing short stealing a nation or the world if possible dry. Faruk sums his argument with the insistent that with this type of mindset, its is difficult to figure out how anyone can begin to control corruption when the people involved in corruption are the same people who are saddled with the responsibility of controlling it (Faruk, 2012: 18-20). While one may find it difficult going along with Faruk on everything he said about Africans and corruption, especially his submission that African leaders are born exhibitionists, it will be very hard to disagree that exhibitionist life-style contributes to corruption as he pointed out here.

The lack of exemplary leadership is another cause of corruption. Lack of exemplary leadership implies that the leaders who are supposed to be showing an example through good governance are not doing so, instead, they are doing the opposite. Corruption will be even greater where the leadership encourages it, as was the case with, the then, Zairean President Mobutu. According to David Gould:

> The official ethic of the clique in control of the state
> and its bureaucracy was contained in President
> Mobutu's Kinshasa speech of May 29, 1976. Not
> only did he admit that administrative corruption was
> the rule; he actually encouraged it: if you want to
> steal, steal a little cleverly, in a nice way. Only if
> you steal so much as to become rich overnight you
> will be caught (Gould, 1980:xii).

Lack of good leadership in many African states is a sign that the leadership is not interested in the affairs of the country. When there is good leadership, the people will rejoice and will enjoy the democracy dividends. According to Kempe Hope "when leadership is not ethical it provides encouragement for corruption to occur" (Hope, 2000: 22). In the traditional African system, leaders were very much concerned with the legacy they would leave behind, for the immortalisation of their names (Gbenda, 2002:205), but in the modern society, this is no longer the case. Leaders in modern African society are rather more concerned about wealth and more wealth. Lack of exemplary leadership in some African states has even taught people the lesson that to be honest and hardworking in the public sector is not the best approach to life.

Again, it has been observed by some authors such as Kenneth Dye that corruption can occur as a result of a corrupt judiciary in a country. A corrupt judiciary means that the legal and institutional mechanisms designed to curb corruption, however well targeted, efficient, or honest, will remain crippled. There is mounting evidence of wide-spread judiciary corruption in many parts of the world, including Africa (Dye, 2007: 308). This implies that with a corrupt judiciary in any country, corruption will be on the increase. In this instance, Rose-Ackerman argues that, "politically dependent judiciary can facilitate high-level corruption. When the judiciary is part of the corrupt system, the wealthy and the corrupt operate with impunity, confident that a well-placed payoff will deal with any legal problem" (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 151). This suggests that the wealthy people in the society will not be given deserving punishments when they are involved in corrupt practices.

Corruption may occur as it is usually difficult for some people to accept that they are on a wrong track for fear that otherswill make a mockery of them. Hence, Robert Neild admits that another cause of corruption is *esprit de corps* (the attitude to protect what is our own):

> We don't like to admit that there is anything wrong
> in the school, the college, the army, the civil service,
> the Judiciary or the country to which we belong
> because to do so would be to blemish the reputation
> of that institution and therefore our own standing in
> the world (Neild, 2002:8).

It can thus be assumed that what causes corruption in some countries is that people finds it difficult to admit that they are at fault. For instance, if a civil servant fails to admit that there is wrong in receiving bribes from the public, the receipt of bribes will not stop.

Another major cause of corruption is a lack of accountability by civil servants. According to Mafunisa "accountability is an obligation to explain and justify the actions of the bearer of the responsibility to perform an accepted duty" (Mafunisa, 2000: 52). Corruption in the public sector will continue to rise if civil servants are not held accountable. Public accountability means that civil servants are to be held responsible for their actions in government. Public accountability should not be held lightly in the public services, because citizens are always eager to know what is happening in the government, and since the civil servants are the implementers of public policies, they ought to be accountable for their official actions to their superiors, the courts and the public (Ayee, 1998: 10) Where there is a lack of public accountability in the government, it is unlikely that there will be good governance, as this is a central requirement of good governance. Lack of good accountability in the public sector makes the government irresponsible and thus provides opportunities for corruption. This lackin the public service could amount to serious criticisms by citizens, which would aid in further corruption (Hope, 2000:19).

A lack of monitoring and supervision in the government offices may, in no small measure, contribute to corruption by some civil servants. If the officials are not closely monitored, it becomes difficult to ascertain how they are carrying out their duties. According to Mahesh Purohit:

> The absence of measures designed to maintain the integrity of staff – such as the promotion and enforcement of ethical standards, merit-based recruitment and promotion procedures, and regular staff rotation schemes to prevent the creation of lucrative networks – increase the likelihood of staff indulging in corrupt activities (Purohit, 2007:257).

If civil servants are not well checked, some of them may not desist from making use of the public fund for their personal interests. Kanyane says that top civil servants are prone to misuse public funds and materials in order to serve their own interests when they operate in secrecy and are not bound to publicly report on their activities (Kanyane, 2000: 11-12). This shows that there is every tendency for corruption when civil servants are not monitored. So, monitoring and constant supervision would in no small measure, be very useful in curbing corruption. Kanyane suggests that government should introduce an office of censor as a monitoring device to operate independently in the public sector. This monitoring device, he says, should consist of a manageable group of highlyqualified censors who are knowledgeable and conversant in public administration and performance management. This will help to strictly monitor the performance of every official and report back to the head of the public service commission (PSC).The essence of this, is to make sure that the regulators and the regulated are under control and are committed to public service (Kanyane, 2000:21). Whatever method that is used, it is necessary for there to be an official who will ensure compliance, to ensure that all civil servants are properly checked.

Another cause of corruption in Africa is the lack of an effective ethics programme on corruption. According to Dye an ethics programme is important because it addresses fraud and corruption in a comprehensive fashion that goes beyond a

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simple code of conduct. Governments that want to help employees make the correct ethical choices relating to environmental, legal, and social decisions in the public sector may consider establishing an effective programme. Through courses, policies, ethics call lines, and other means, such programs help employees align bureaucratic practices with government values and beliefs (Dye, 2007: 318-319). This ethics programme is very necessary, as it can be stated that some people seem to be ignorant of what constitutes corruption in the public sector.

Again, the rate at which graduates are produced from institutions of higher learning, in most of the countries in Africa is increasing yearly and, it seems, at such a rate, it will be very difficult for qualified graduates to be employed. The Economic Report on Africa says that:

> While several reasons can be given for high rates of unemployment, it is clear that African economies were not able to create enough jobs to employ the growing labour force because the sectors that anchor economic growth tend to be capital-intensive enclave sectors (Economic Report on Africa, 2010:13).

The solution the Economic Report offers is that the government should try to create jobs for the large numbers of graduates that are coming out from the various institutions yearly. If there were enough jobsfor the youth, according to the Report, the rate of corruption would definitely not be at such a high rate. The assumption here is that, because there are not enough jobs for candidates to apply for, those in charge of selection will normally try to select their relations first before thinking about others.I agree with the Economic Report that unemployement causes corruption. However, I have to add contrary to the assumption of the Report that corruption does not occur because many people are graduated yearly from African university. It rather occurs because corruption starves African societies of the fund that would have been used to create employements where these graduates would have worked.

Another factor that causes corruption in many African states is lack of policy implementation. This according to Shichinga implies that the policies that are supposed to be implemented in the public service or that are begun by a particular government are discontinued by subsequent governments. On account of this, there are many good plans bygovernments for the citizens, all across Africa, most of which end up in theory (Shichinga, 2010: 72). What then, is the essence of making policy in the public service, if such policies will never be implemented? When good policies are not implemented, corruption is likely to continue to increase daily. It is not a question of making policies upon policies by the government, but a question of implementing them. Policy implementation may be referred to as the second or effective phase of a policy and has no less importance than policy making (Edwards and Sharkansky 1978:295).

Lack of administrative decentralisation has been explained as one of the causes of corruption. Corruption may be on the increase when power and decision making or administrative authourity is not decentralised. If administration is centralised, it makes it possible for a few individuals to take control of the government, and most often, what they do may not be transparent to the public and thus they may indulge in any type of corruption.Cheema and Rondinelli define decentralisation, "as the transfer of planning, decision-making or administrative authourity from the central government to its field organisations, local administrative units, semi-autonomous and parastatal organisations, local governments or non-government organisations (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983: 18). According to World Bank reports on corruption, most of the surveys carried out by the World Bank (1977) have conclusively shown that decentralised administrative structures lessen the susceptibility to both high level and low level corruption. Stressing further on administrative decentralisation, Kanyane strongly insists that:

> There should be greater decentralisation of the governmental process to local governments, parastatals and the private sector. This will enable the governmental system to be closer to the people. Decentralisation is the only way to reduce

> bureaucratic inefficiency and lessen the temptation
> of officials to enrich themselves (Kanyane, 2000:
> 19).

By emphasizing decentralisation in conjunction with the government being closer to the people, Kanyane means relate accountability in government with the ability of the governed to hold their leaders to account every length of their term as government officials. His position here is informed by his believe that people are better able to assess the performance of their government when the government is closer to them. It therefore follows that the centralized nature of most governments in Africa discourages accountability and therefore corruption.

In line with this, Charles Fombad points out that the "administrative decentralisation is now considered one of the crucial elements of any viable programme of deregulation" (Fombad, 2000: 255). Fomabad submission here implies that effort to allow the people to take responsibility of their economic life, as is done around the world today, will not be successful if it not correspondingly followed up devaluation power to the people. The role of the people should not begin and end in voting their leaders into power; they should also be empowered to evaluate the performance of their leaders. On the whole, when there is lack of administrative decentralisation, it will not only contribute to corruption but may also make it impossible for the government to reach the grass root level which may be more beneficial to the citizens.

From what has been discussed in the above section, it is clear that there are many things that cause corruption in Africa. It is clear then, that though we chose to streamline our investigation around African extended family system and gift-giving, in this thesis, there are other causes of corruption in Africa outside these two causes. Any serious effort to fight corruption in Africa must take cognizances of this multiplicity of cause. Having said this, the next section discusses the consequences of corruption in Africa.

4.3   Consequences of Corruption

There are many consequences of corruption, but for the purpose of this study, only a few of them are discussed. These include: unemployment, poverty, corruption weakens accountability, corruption breeds further corruption, increase in sub-standard goods, social instability, lack of commitment to duty and lack of trust in the government.

Generally, the problem is not that there is corruption in Africa; the real problem is the consequence corruption is having on Africa. On this ground, this thesis shall now discuss some of these consequences of corruption on Africa.

4.3.1   Unemployment

One of the major consequences of corruption in Africa is unemployment, that is, joblessness or the state of not having a job (Jones, 1984: 43). Jones observes that unemployment is not only applicable to school-leavers who are still looking for jobs, but also to civil servants who may be retrenched by the government as a result of austerity measures or as a result of nepotism in the public sector (Jones, 1984: 43). Unemployment is one of the many consequences of corruption in some African states today. For instance in Tunisia, corruption has contributed to mass unemployment, due to the prevalent mistrust, which has created fear and insecurity among investors. This probably has accounted for one of the reasons why many graduates in the country keep roaming the streets without jobs (Kirkpatrick, 2011).

There are other things which could result when unemployment becomes high in a country; it may lead to war, poverty and so on. For instance, in dicussing the Tunisia uprising, argues that, "Unemployment was one of the main causes for the recent uprising: - Tunisia had more than 13% unemployment in 2010" (David Kirkpatrick, 2011:1). If the government had provided enough jobs for the young graduates, Tunisia might not have experienced such an uprising.

Explaining further, on unemployment as consequences of corruption, the Economic Report on Africa states that "high unemployment not only impedes progress on poverty reduction but also has the potential to decrease human capital formation,

increase income inequality and cause major social upheaval in African societies"
(Economic Report on Africa, 2010: 14)

4.3.2 Poverty

Poverty has also been identified as one of the consequences of corruption – and
many studies have shown that corruption indirectly causes poverty. For instance, in
their empirical study on the influence of corruption on inequality, Sanjeer Guputa,
Hamid Davoodi, and Rosa Alonso-Terme state that corruption leads to higher
poverty by reducing economic growth" (Guputa, Davoodi and Alonso-Terme,
1998: 26).   Also, Kingsley Nwala, Ebere Oriaku and Alex Ogwu accept that,
corruption in the public sector is often viewed as exacerbating poverty in countries
already struggling with the strains of economic growth. Countries experiencing
chronic poverty are often seen as natural breeding grounds for corruption due to
social and income inequalities and perverse economic incentives" (Nwala, Oriaku
and Ogwu, 2008: 683)

Therefore "corruptionis determined to affect economic growth of a country, and
that in turn leads to income inequality and poverty" (Nwala, Oriaku and Ogwu,
2008:689). The World Bank Development Report (2000 - 2001) maintains that,
"corruption affects the lives of poor people through many other channels;
corruption creates poverty as it diverts public resources from infrastructure
investments that could benefit the poor" (Nwala, Oriaku and Ogwu, 2008: 685).
The cenral idea in the views of these authors cited is that corruption does not allow
the proper circulation of resources; in doing that it stifles social mobility. While the
few, who made their money through corruption, continue to grow rich the poor go
from bad to worse. Every opportunity is closed up for the poor. Even in situations
where they are employed the work round the clock without anything to show for it.
The situation is worst in Africa because corrupt officials who embezzle government
funds do not even invest this money in Africa where it could at least create
employment for the teaming unemployed youths. The monies are carted away to
safe Western banks and majority of the population is allowed to root in poverty. No

doubt, the high rate of corruption causes many people in Africa to suffer untold hardship in this post-colonial period.

4.3.3 Corruption Weakens Accountability

It is also the case that corruption weakens accountability in the public sector. When civil servants are involved in corrupt practices, corruption in the society will continue to rise. For instance, Amujiri (2002) agrees that, corruption weakens accountability as it bends the wheel of administration in favour of those who 'grease' administrative structure. Amujiri goes on to say that corruption often results in policy-makers not taking bold steps in curbing corruption among citizens Amujiri further explains that, "in fact any government official who receives financial benefits for a contract awarded by the government would not be bold enough to question the contractor if the work was not satisfactorily executed" (Amujiri, 2002:78).

It follows that a civil servant who involves her/himself in a corrupt activity will not want his name to be mentioned and so, will not be interested in whether the work was executed or not, because of fear that his or her appointment may be terminated, and the contractor will be allowed to go free. In the same vein, Samuel Kunhiyop concurs that, corruption encourages those in authourity to shun transparency and accountability. The calls for civil servants to be transparent and accountable elicit defensive and vindictive responses are everybody's responsibility (Kunhiyop, 2008: 167). As we noted previously, no remarkable economic growth can be achieved without transparency. In this case corruption leads to lack of accountability; lack of accountability, in turn provides a breeding ground for corruption.

4.3.4 Corruption Breeds Further Corruption

One thing about corruption in Africa is that itbreeds further corruption. As Andvig and Moene rightly observe, corruption corrupts. If civil servants, who are to be emulated by the general public, are hardly punished for their corrupt activities, it is likely to have an aftereffect on the public sector. One of the likely effects of this is that it may encourage other honest civil servants to become dishonest, more

especially if corrupt civil servants are earning more money through their dubious activities. According to Herbert Werlin "if it is known that a contractor who offers a bribe will be forever blacklisted and never awarded a contract, only the most reckless of contractors would offer bribes" (Werlin, 1979: 394). He goes on to say:

> ...but when it is only the dishonest and corrupt contractors who get contracts by offering bribes, even honest contractors will follow suit, not because they are themselves corrupt, but because they want to remain in business (Werlin, 1979: 394-395).

Another instance where this can occur is the case of employment. If people who are not qualified for a certain position are offered the job after interview because the paid a bribe, qualified candidates who were disqualified on account of not giving bribe will look for a dishonest way of getting jobs. Segun Osoba further argues that, the high rate of corruption among the ruling class, from time to time, has taught a bad lesson to the general public, that being honest and law abiding does not actually pay. This is because some people, especially those at a low level in the public service who have copied this kind of lesson from some top officials, then, try to put these corrupt practices into action in the form of petty acts of bribery, embezzlement of public funds, and so on (Osoba, 2000: 487). This type of situation will likely affect the country's productivity.

 Again, if people who are more qualified for promotion are not promoted as a result of corruption, such candidates may be tempted to apply dishonest ways to get promoted. This is a way of discouraging honesty and hard work in the public sector (Osoba, 2000). It is unjust when people who are less qualified are promoted before the more qualified because of corruption. Zablon Nathamburi argues that:

> Whatever the reason, it has been established that corruption or bribery leads to injustice for it blinds the cause of justice. There can be no fair play where there is corruption since one would render service not to the deserving person but to anyone who is

willing to offer some form of inducement (Nathamburi, 1999: 116).

This type of unethical behaviour among civil servants will contribute to poor productivity and incompetence in the public sector.

4.3.5   Increase in Sub-standard Goods

Another problem that can emerge as a result of corruption is its effect on the standard of goods, either imported or produced in that country. This is likely to occur when customs officials, police officers, immigration officials and so on continue accepting bribes without actually checking the imported or locally produced products. For instance, in Nigeria, Nwachukwu points out that, on 2 – 3 February, 2002, the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), through their operation carried out to search for adultrared and expired drugs and sub-standard food, raised an alarm from its findings. According to Nwachukwu the NAFDAC, in that operation discovered expired drugs and sub-standard food in the country that were sold through bribing the customs officials. Again, Nwachukwu notes that if the National Agency had not discoveredthis, it may have amounted to the deaths of millions of citizens. This amounts to a waste of human resources (Nwachukwu, 2002: 103),

4.3.6   Social Instability

In the previous chapter, we established that nepotism is a form of corruption. Now, nepotism, if not checked may lead to social uprising or outright war. One of the causes of the recent uprisings in some African states, like Egypt, was nepotism. For instance, in Egypt, Mohammed Fadel writes that:

> The spread of corruption and torture represented the grossest and most palpable failures of the regime to live up to the aspirations of the Egyptian state. Egyptian law prohibited both financial corruption and torture (In 1986, Egypt acceded to the UN convention against torture and other cruel and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment) yet Mubarak used his powers under the constitutions of 1971 to subvert the enforcement of the Egyptian law in order to benefit himself, his family and their

> allies. It is not surprising, then, that eliminating
> torture and public corruption were issues that
> galvanised Egyptians during the January 25
> revolution (Fadel, 2011:1).

In this quotation, Fadel's initial reference to torture, could be misleading, since it gives the impression that Mubarak was overthrown because he was torturing Egyptians. It was only in the sentence penultimate to the last sentence that he gave the reason of what actually led to the Egyptian uprising. As he puts it, Mubarak used his powers under the constitutions of 1971 to subvert the enforcement of the Eegyptian law in order to benefit himself, his family and their allies. In essence, the outrage against Mubarak was not because he tortured Egyptians or was corrupt in the general sense, but because he was selective in his torture. He was favouring his friends and family members at the expense of other Egyptians. The point is that nepotism creates disaffection and polorization against ethnic lines. And in Africa where you have people from different ethnic groups living as citizens of one country, any for of nepotism could be a source of serious social unrest or war.

4.3.7   Lack of Commitment to Duty

The lack of commitment to duty by civil servantscan be attributed to corruption. It is because of corruption in the public sector that civil servantsengage in the illegal conducting of business during office hours. This illegal use of government time causes low productivity, as was the case in, the then, Zaire civil service under the leadership of President Mobutu.Not only were the officials at higher levels involved but even the officials at the lower level of government (Gould, 1980: 131). Productivity will be affected when civil servants useofficial time for government business to engage in their private business. It may not be possible to serve 'two masters' at a time.

Furthermore, if civil servants' pay is very low, corruption may become another survival strategy. The situation may no longer give the civil servant the opportunity to give their whole time to their work. Some of the civil servants who would not like to involve themselves in bribery are likely to take second jobs or accept payoffs

as salary supplements. Again, some may even prefer to operate other businesses to which they will devote their whole time where they can make profits (Rose-Ackerman, 1999:72). This would certainly explain why it is very common today in some African states, for instance, in Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and others, to see some civil service with chains of business all over the city. This attitude by civil servants, as has been observed earlier, affects the country's economy.

Sometimes, if the government pay is too low, it causes some civil servants to leave the public service and decide to operate private business, or migrate to another country for better pay. Susan Rose-Ackerman notes that:

> If the government pay scales do not reward those with specialized skills a selection bias will operate. Some people, qualified for public sector work, seek jobs in the private sector at home or abroad. Skilled workers, even those trained by the government itself, exit, leaving the less qualified behind (Rose-Ackerman, 1999:73).

This is not to say that leaving civil service to run a private business is a bad or a wrong choice. What I am emphasizing here is the negative effect this would likely have on the public sector. The likely outcome of this situation will be that unqualified personnel take over jobs which they are not qualified to perform. This affects, most often, the standard or quality of goods that are produced, both in quantity and quality.

4.3.8 Lack of Trust in the Government

Another consequence of corruption is the general public's lack of trust in the government. Whenever civil servants are not accountable and transparent in their duties, it is most likely that the general publicwill not have trust in them any longer. Public accountability is, of course, one of the ways that civil servants are reminded that they are servants. According to Kunhiyop "corruption makes people cynical as they do not believe that the truth will come out or that the right thing will be done. They have no confidence in the government and the system" (Kunhiyop, 2008:

168). Therefore, a civil servant ought to understand that the main purpose of being in office is to give the best service to all citizens and not to use public office forprivate gain (Shah, 2007). According to Hanekon "the reputation and success of a government depends upon the conduct of public functionaries and what the public believes about the conduct of the functionaries" (Hanekon,1987: 151). So, for the citizens to have trust in the government, civil servants ought to avoid favouritism or partiality and should be honest and not deceitful. A likely result of people lacking trust in their government because of corruption is instability in the government of the day. A crisis could emerge which may even lead to war and a change of government. If civil servants are not accountable and transparent, that could lead to the collapse of the government as the citizens may no longer trust such a government. Some of the military coups in some African countries, especially in Nigeria, have been attributed to lack of trust as a result of no accountability and transparency in the government overthrown (Ugwuoke, 2002:145). Consequently, this lack of trust results in a change of government, either through military coups or the election of new government by the citizens. Another result of the instability of the government is the effect on the development plan of the country, as no new government is likely to continue with the old plan**.**

4.4   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the causes and consequences of corruption in Africa and observed that there are many causes besides the extended family system and gift-giving discussed in chapter three. Some of these contributory factors observed are: poor remuneration, high cost of living, greed by civil servants, lack of rule of law, lack of accountability and transparency. The chapter also observed that there are many consequences of corruption in Africa such as unemployment, poverty, lack of commitment to duty and lack of trust in the government.

The mountains of evidence provided by the authors we discussed under consequences of corruption leaves no one in doubt that corruption is seriously contributing to the underdevelopment of African. Any objective assessement of the consequences of corruption as we presented it in this chapter will show that

corruption is not good. Beside, these social consequences, in terms of morality, corruption in itself are a dishonest and deceitful behaviour.

In the next chapter, corruption in Africa: an evolutionary approach is discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE: CORRUPTION IN AFRICA: AN EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH

5. Introduction

Chapter three identified the cultural practices of the extended family system and gift-giving as two major causes of corruption in African. That chapter also examined the net effect of these two practices in Africa. Chapter four commenced with the assumption that there are other causes of corruption in Africa, beside the extended family system and gift-giving. The chapter therefore busied itself with these other causes, their immediate and long term consequences on African society. On the whole, the chapter concluded that corruption is the major cause of underdevelopment, hardship and social strife in the continent of Africa.

The present chapter undertakes an evolutionary assessment of the development of corruption in African history. Thus corruption in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa is all discussed. This chapter will help us investigate the veracity of what has become almost a universal claim; that corruption has been on the increase beginning from the pre-colonial era. The chapter ends with a summary and a personal view on whether corruption is increasing or decreasing in Africa.

5.1 Corruption and Public Sector in Pre-Colonial Africa

According to Eric Ayisi pre-colonial Africa refers to the period "when African people managed their own affairs and administered justices among themselves" (Ayisi, 1972: 42). Pre-colonial Africa practiced what may be known as "a hierarchical system of traditional government" (Dia, 2000:380).The system of government was mainly organised on tribal levels and ruled by chiefs. It is the religious functions of the chiefs that equally conferred political power on them. The chiefs and their ruling cabinets, which comprised the heads of lineages and representatives of the ancestors and also other elders, were responsible for the making of laws and for arbitration. The members of the law-enforcement agencies, though this usually depended on the locality, consisted of age-grades, cult slaves, diviners and so on (Oriji, 1988:461).Therefore, "a major characteristic of this

governance system was manifested in the way rulers were elected and removed from office. Rulers were not self-appointed but selected by specific bodies whose choices then had to be approved - usually by a council of elders or a similar body" (Dia, 2000:381).

In pre-colonial Africa, there were certain things that made the public sector very unique, which, incidentally, may have contributed to the low level of corruption. An important thing to note aboutpublic sector in pre-colonial Africa is that there were consultations. The chiefs did not rule alone; they usually consulted with members of the council before taking any action. This is to say that:

> When important decisions had to be made, chiefs tended to consult village councils (composed mainly of the elder lineage heads) and to seek unanimity, even if doing so required very lengthy discussion. Majority rule, winner-take-all, other forms of zero sum games were not acceptable alternatives to consensus decision-making (Dia, 2000:382).

What is important about the type of governance in the pre-colonial period is that everybody in one way or the other is involved in the government.

In pre-colonial Africa, there seemed to have been an understanding ofthe way people went about their assignments. People in pre-colonial Africa understood that they were from the same ancestors and any type of unethical practice would not be taken lightly by their ancestors. Therefore, they had to be honest while discharging their duty, as any act of dishonesty would invite the wrath of the ancestor who watched over them. For instance, in job recruitment, "it is relatively easy to select people for specific assignments. There was cohesion, because all descended from the same ancestors and no one would wish to let the ancestors down by being defiant" (Biobaku, 1987:46). Biobaku further confirms that in pre-colonial government, "specialised jobs call for people who are well-known for their appropriate specialized skills" (Biobaku, 1987: 46). This suggests that people attached importance to high moral values such as honesty and love in pre-colonial Africa.

Another good thing that featured and helped to keep corruption at bay in the pre-colonial government was discipline. Those serving the public tried to discipline themselves. This was because any person that deviated from the ethical standard had tobe punished by the community.No community would welcome any kind of unethical behaviour from its members (Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2000: 46).

Speaking of corruption in traditional Africa, Gyekye points to corrupt practices which were exacerbated by colonialism and post-colonial experience. Involvement in corruption was one of the causes of deposition of chiefs, including "unwarranted disposal of stool property" in "unimportant matters" (Gyekye1997:202). Electoral candidates, likemodern democratic candidates, distributed gifts and bribes to the electors. Bribes were even distributed by prospective candidates to electors to remove an allegedly incompetent or irresponsible chief. Thus, both 'enstoolment' (enthronement) and 'destoolment' (dethronement) in traditional Africa were occasions for political corruption. This represents a remarkable shift to what was obtainable in traditional African society before colonialism.Corroborating this point, Gyekye recalled that there were tendencies of corruption in pre-colonial Africa but these were controlled by well thoughtout traditional measures. For instance, "it was to check political corruption that certain chiefs were not allowed to own property in traditional Africa. The traditional African society was thus, not free from corruption, but there were measures practical measures used to mitigate corruption and keep it at bay" (Gyekye, 1997: 204)

The point here is that in pre-colonial Africa, institutions that would have encouraged corruption, such as the monetory system were at then still undeveloped. At such, while people were involved in corruption, corruption was still at a very minimal level.Also, since corruption is concerned with the breaking of moral norms and moral norms were not properly developed in pre-colonial African   it becomes difficult to talk about breaking what does not exist. This point is supported by Mukandala in his submission that though" there was an attempt at rule making and enforcement but the rules were fuzzy, covered only a few activities, and were

constantly broken" (Mukandala, 2000:2). The coming of the Europeans to Africa brought into the African public sector rules to be followed and with it awareness of corruption and complex institutions that encourage corruption.

5.2   Corruption and Public Sectorin Colonial Africa

The colonial period in the history of Africa referres to the period when some European countries came in contact with and ruled African statesas their territories before these African countries gained their independence. According to Okeke, "colonialism meant that the laws by which the various societies had regulated their affairs were set aside and new laws were put in place (Okeke, 2002: 132). This suggests that the coming of the Europeans into Africa was a time when Africans stopped making use of their cultural values officially in the public sector, as was the case during the pre-colonial period. This, of course, was when the Western culture started to influence African culture in the public sector bythe introduction of modern Western laws. The colonial administrators came to Africa, ignorant of the existence of the pre-colonial governments and their culture, and established their own system of government on arrival (Whitaker, 1988:36).Thus, the colonial rule, which was an alien rule, was established in the midst of an ongoing culture (Tordoff, 1984:123). With the introduction of the new government, the public sector "was predominantly European administrators, who were few in number in relation to the population being administered within what was typically a centralised and unitary framework" (Tordoff, 1984:123).

The coming of the Western administrators in Africa did not end the power of the chiefs, as many chiefs in Africa still possessed some degrees of power; however, "the institution of chieftaincy underwent further changes during the colonial period' (Oriji, 1988: 466). Basically, the chiefs were divided into two types, depending on their loyalty to the new government. Those chiefs who tried to resist British intrusions were seen as unfriendly chiefs, while those who did not put up any kind of resistance were seen as friendly chiefs. Therefore, the type of power wielded by chiefs depended on whether the chief was friendly or unfriendly (Oriji, 1988:466). For instance, those chiefs such as Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itsekiri and others, who

feared that the British people would tamper with their sovereignty and also their commercial interest, tried to resist British incursions and were dethroned and banished because of their disloyalty (Oriji, 1988:467). On the other hand, chiefs who were seen as friendly were given a free hand to rule their localities. For instance, a chief like Alafin Ladugbolu of Oyo was even granted a special dispensation to depose powerful chiefs like the Bale of Ibadan and Ogbomosho. His territorial jurisdiction was also expanded (Oriji, 1988:469-470). The chiefs during the colonial period were appointed Native Authorities and were involved in carrying out judicial, legislative and executive functions, but were supervised by British officers (Oriji, 1988:468).

However, these administrative roles nevertheless began to change, as the government of colonial rule was coming to an end, as Tordoff describes: "government became much more specialised in function and, first in British Africa and then in French Africa, the rudiments of a ministerial system were introduced" (Tordoff, 1984: 123). The chiefs were now seen as bureaucrats, who "became accountable to those who appointed them and not to the ruling council and other traditional organs that exercised checks and balances on their authority" (Oriji, 1988:469).

It can be stated that the coming of the Europeans to Africa actually affected the African traditional system of government and also African cultural practices and values. Thus, as a result of colonialism, Africans started "to lead a new mode of life once his continent became colonised, since the cultural values, taste and, in general, the world-view of the colonizers, the white people, gradually influenced and transformed his own" (Okolo, 1994:23). The coming of the Europeans' to Africa, with their new life, new culture, and new legal system, introduced the African people into the modern way of life.

Again, the introduction of the European culture, which was different from Africa's already existing culture, brought a totally new kind of culture to Africa. The consequence was the meeting together of two different values to operate in the

public sector in Africa (Ekeh, 1975). It is under such a system that the colonial public sector operated. However, since the new legal system was now in place, it meant that those in the public sector had to try to implement the new law. The civil servants were meant to forget the old law in the pre-colonial system of government. How can the implementation of these two different values be easy for civil servants who had for a long period of time been used to their own value system even in their public service? This is because it might be seen to be unethical if the civil servant adopted the two different values in the public sector. Would the civil servants make use of the traditional cultural values because they were acceptable to the people they were representing or would he or she make use of the new law because it was the new government order? The conflict of values in the colonial public sector must have been a serious and confusing issue for a civil servant. This is because for a civil servant to help family members or friends against the code of conduct in the public sector would be seen as unethical and suggests corruption. In pre-colonial Africa, the rendering of such help to family or friends before others would not have been seen as unethical practice.

There are some areas where unethical behaviour featured during the colonial era. The chiefs, who were the leaders of their various communities, were previously accountable to the people they were serving (Oriji, 1988: 469),but with the introduction of colonial rule, the chiefs, instead of holding power in trust for the people, now held power in trust for the colonial government. Some of the chiefs were appointed by the colonial authorities as a result of their acceptance of the new colonial rule with their legal law. The refusal of some chiefs to accept colonial rule led to their dethronement in their various communities. This, of course, led to the appointment of individuals with questionable character as warrant chiefs by the colonial government. With this kind of appointment, some of the individuals who disobeyed the government order were not punished, as they settled their cases with the warrant chiefs, probably through bribery (Oriji, 1988: 468).

The colonial administration also introduced taxation in the areas they colonised. The colonial government came to Africa with their imposition of a flat rate tax known as hut-tax. The money made from the hut tax was used in running the colonial administration. The citizens saw problems with such taxation as they were not benefitting fully from it, as the money collected was not fully accounted for. It was the unethical practices by the colonial chiefs, as a result of the taxation, that led to the Aba women riot of 1928, which left thirty-two women dead and thirty-one wounded (Uchendu, 1965: 47). This shows that some of the civil servants in the public sector during the colonial administration were after their private gains. There were other instances that were connected to corruption in the colonial public sector. The above evidence shows that corruption was present during colonial Africa. Nevertheless, we are not by this condemning or writing off as evil and immoral everything did by the colonial masters in Africa. For instance, the civil service that was set up by the colonial government was one of the best things done to African continent. Concurring with this, Amadi maintains that the civil service is actually one of the Europeans' greatest legacies to Africa. According to him, the civil service was almost immune from corruption in its early days. Also, many of the British civil servants were excellent administrators, who were in charge of key posts in the public sector and saw to it that corruption was reduced to the barest minimum (Amadi, 1992: 88). This indicates that there was not much corruption in those areas of the colonial public sector, in those areas administered by the Europeans. These Europeans strictly applied what Ake meant when he avered: To avoid many of the unethical practices in the public sector, roles, activities, and relationships are to be strictly governed by rules, which are rigidly adhered to (Ake, 2000: 493).

5.3   Corruption and Public Sector in Post-Colonial Africa

Post-colonial Africa refers to the period starting from the indepence of African states to the present time. This of course can simply be referred to as the contemporary or modern period in Africa.

As colonialism was drawing to an end, the African elites were getting set to take over from the Western people "however, for the elites independence was a mere shortcut to achieving their objective: to rise socially, replace the white man, be more like him" (Gould, 1980:22).This may be observed in the way the public sector is being administered today. It can be stated that after independence by African countries, the 'colonial chiefs' type of administration which lacked due process is still in use in African countries. According to Mulinge and Lesetedi:

> The attainment of independence by African countries did not end this 'colonial chief' model of administration. The leadership style adopted by African political and administrative elites after independence reveals a strong resemblance to this model...like the colonial chief, these leaders have been associated with authoritarianism and, most important, an almost total lack of respect for the law and due process. In addition, they have used their positions of power to amass illegal wealth just like the colonial chief. In particular, they have shown open contempt for the law, an attitude which is partly responsible for the rampant corruption that characterises most administrative bureaucracies in sub-Saharan Africa today (Mulinge and Lesetedi, 1998:22).

The case here is that the system of governance in Africa today is more or less a continuation of what was obtainable during the colonial period. The authoritarian method and the lack of accountability of the colonial chiefs are still perpetuated today by African leaders and the consequence is the rampancy of corruption experienced in almost every aspect of the African life.

Another contributing factor to the rampancy of corruption in post-colonialAfrica is role confusion.This is because, sometimes due to the influence of colonialism, some civil servants are confused as to what actually constitute the right thing to do as a civil servant in order not to be involved in unethical practices. Peter Ekeh elaborating on this explains:

> There are two public realms in post-colonial Africa,
> with the different types of moral linkages to the
> private realm. At one level is the public realm in
> which primordial groupings, ties, and sentiments
> influence and determine the individual public
> behaviour. I call this primordial public because it is
> closely identified with primordial groupings,
> sentiments, and activities, which nevertheless
> impinge on the public interest...On the other hand,
> there is a public realm which is historically
> associated with the colonial administration and
> which has become identified with popular politics in
> post-colonial Africa. It is based on civil structures:
> the military, the civil service, the police and so on.
> Its chief characteristic is that it has no moral
> linkages with the private realm (Ekeh, 1975:92).

This means that both in the colonial administration as well as in the post-colonial administration respectively, there were two different cultural values. These different cultural values were being operated by the same people in the public sector at the same time. The consequence of this contrary and conflicting moral values operating within the same moral and political environment is that Africans most often prefer to go with their primordial moral sentiments. This reults to corruption when reviewed from a European moral perspective because most Africans do not really believe that they are corrupt when the take from the state to give to their tribes and families.

Furthermore, the civil servants in the post-colonial public sector are not committed to the service which they signed up for. According to Ekeh, "Africans are not hard-working in matters connected with the civic public At least one does not feel guilty if one wastes one's time in the service of the civic public (Ekeh, 1975: 111)**.** This means that some civil servants do not take performing their duties in the public sector seriously. They only see it as an evanue to get paid by the state and would not hesitate to dodge their official responsibilities whenever they can. For instance, a civil servant whose duty is to supervise some junior workers to get them acquintedwith their responsibility, may always feel very reluctant in doing so unless there might be some illegal gain that will come out from it. Thus, it may be stated

that in the public sector in post-colonial Africa people are out to satisfy their selfish interst instead of what will benefit the general public.

It is expected that the public sector in post-colonial Africa ought to maintain the standards of an ideal public sector, an ideal type of bureaucratic organisation where rules are strictly followed, characterised by a hierarchic organisation of office and management of office placed on the hands of specialists (Ake, 2000:493). If the standards expected in the public sectors are maintained, the public service in Africa will look good. For instance, Nnoli points out that, in the public sector:

> Officials devote proportionately more time than is reasonable to the serious business of promotion and moving ahead within the system in which very little emphasis is placed on merit and performance. Relatively little time is consequently left for the tasks which the administrator is expected to perform (Nnoli, 2000: 59-60).

This means that in the public sector in post colonial Africa not much attention is placed on merit as expected from the code of conduct that governs the public sector. Claude Ake explains that against these standards the public service in Africa looks very bad (Ake, 2000: 493).

The public sector in post-colonial Africa is therefore, nothing to write home about which suggests that there are lots of unethical practices in the sector. Consequently, there are so many examples of corrupt practices that may be found in the public sector in post-colonial Africa. Examples of such corrupt practicesinclude: nepotism, ghost workers, bribery, fraud, kickbacks, gift-giving, embezzlement, greed and favouritism.

It is better at this stage to look at corruption in some government departments as this will help to understand and see the level of corruption in the public sector in the post-colonial Africa. For instance, in South Africa, in the Department of Development Aid before 1994, series of corrupt practices such as tender fraud, favouritism, nepotism and lack of accountability among others, were recorded.

Thus, because of the high rate of corruption or culture of corruption in this department, those who were not at first interested in involving themselves into corrupt practices were tempted to join in unethical conducts. According to the Pickard Report (Republic of South Africa 1991 cited in Constanze Bauer):

> the attitude in the Department of Development Aid later became so blatantly dishonest that even officials who under other circumstance would never have thought of becoming involved in such corrupt action began debating that if others can get away with such behaviour, why should they disadvantage themselves by not becoming involved also (Bauer, 2000:220).

From the above quotation, it is clear that some of the civil servants serving in the department were actually influenced into corrupt practices by the corrupt nature of the system itself. Their action in turn helped corruption to increase in the department. This is because those officials, who were not interested in the act, later were tempted to join. In other words, corruption sometimes helps to increase corruption as has been observed in chapter three. This suggests that sometimes corruption may not just originate spontaneously but may be trigged by something else. The officials in the public sector who may be involved inpublic sector corruption may not be doing it alone. Sometimes civil servants involve those outside the public sector in other to achieve their illegal act.

Furthermore, in the Department of Development Aid, there were reported cases of nepotism and favouritism by some of the civil servants. In this case, certain civil servants were involved in giving undue favour to their family members. When this was investigated, according to Bauer the commission of inquiry found out "that certain officials in the Department of Development Aid had been promoted quicker than would have been the norm, especially as these officials had not been found particularly promotable or competent" (Bauer, 2000: 222) When civil servants are promoted when they do not merit such promotion, such kind of behaviour is seen as corruption in the public sector which is usually as a result of nepotism or

favouritism. Among the many cases of nepotism and favouritism reported in the Department of Development Aid was the case that involves the daughter of a deputy director. According to Bauer:

> She had started work as an administrative assistant in the Department of Development Aid on 29 November 1974 after qualifying as a teacher. By 1 August 1989, she had been promoted through various ranks to deputy director and, throughout her career, she had been associated with the Department of Town and Land Affairs and had worked in the same directorate as her father. Her promotion had been signed by her father and she had been retained in the Directorate of Town and Land Affairs on his recommendation although this had entailed that another senior official had to be transferred elsewhere. Her study bursary had also been taken over by the Department of Development Aid, against official policy, on the intervention of her father (Bauer, 2000:222).

This is one of the types of corruption that is very common in the public sector in post-colonial Africa. It is obvious from the above quotation that there are some officials in the public sector that use their position to give undue benefit to members of their family. The public sector is quite different from the private sector where the director of the company may be the sole owner of the business. It is unethical if the public office is used as family business. Civil servants serving in the public sector ought to be promoted based on merit.

One of the cases of corruption that was discovered in the Department of Education and Training was ghosting. It was "found that a friend of the Deputy Director-General had received US$25000 for non-existent camps" (Bauer, 2000:226). This is ghosting.Ghosting as a form of corruption is used here to deprive the state of funds that should have been channelled in the improvement of this particular department or in the development of other departments.

Also, cases of nepotism and favouritism were not left out in the Department of Education and Training. In one of the cases, a Deputy Director-General of the DET

was found to be favouring his son's companies and tried to cover up the illegal act. According to Bauer:

> It became clear to the Commission of Inquiry that the people who moved within the circle of supporters and confidants of the Deputy Director-General benefited from favouritism. Over a period of five months during the 1987-8 financial year, a friend of the Deputy Director-General had received nearly US$1 million from the US$2.4 million put aside for the renting of private terrains. The friend of the Deputy Director-General also operated under the names of many companies. Use was made of these companies, either for tax evasion or for the covering up of tracks (Bauer, 2000: 225-226).

Trying to make what is unethical appear as if it is ethical is deceit. It is one of the ways some civil servants use to deceive the general public in order to succeed with their plans.

The above quotations on both the Department of Development Aid and Department of Education and Training respectively, suggests, the rate of corruption in the public sector in post-colonial Africa, where some civil servants seem no longer to be honest in discharging their public functions. Testifying to the high rate of corruption in South Africa for instance, Cynthia Schoeman says that, Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, told the South Africa Parliament late last year that corruption in South Africa has reached crisis proportions. This is reflected in the many corruption scandals that continue to feature in our press. It is also supported by the country's level of corruption as measured by Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and Global Corruption Barometer (Shoeman, 2014: 40).

Having examined the prevalence of corruption in two departments in the South Africanpublic sector, it then becomes important to look at the issue of corruption in the public sector in another country in the African continent.This is because the problem of corruption in the public sector cuts across Africa. In order words

corruption in the public sector in post-colonial Africa is not peculiar to only one country in the continent.

In the case of Nigeria, the issue of corruption may be said to abound in almost every department that makes up the public sector. According to Christopher Agalamanyi:

> Corruption is a cancerous ailment that has eaten deep in the public service sector of the Nigerian economy. In short, there is no aspect of the public service that is spared. For example, government departments such as the Customs, Immigration, Inland Revenue, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL), the Nigerian Postal Services (NIPOST),the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB), all in one way or the other bear tales of corruption (Agalamanyi, 2002: 54).

This means that corruption in Nigeria is a very serious issue in thepublic sector, according to what is happening in the various government departments. For instance, in the department of Customs and Excise which is responsible for collecting customs and excise duties and also for accounting for them, there are notable cases of corruption**.**

Most often, some of the officials in this department may engage in falsification of documents so as to help the importers to avoid the payment of full duty. What is supposed to be collected for the government is now collected for private gain, thereby, costing the government millions of Naira from that department alone. Allowing the importers to smuggle contraband goods into the country is not helpful, as this would not allow the local industries to grow.Some of the corrupt activities that have been going on in the department of customs and excise are on record. According to Agalmanyi:

> The unfortunate situation of the Customs Department was confirmed by the front page story

of Daily Mail of 20th November 1992 which
screamed 'smuggling at Seme borders: Nigeria loses
#40 million monthly'. This sting indicated that the
smuggling activities are carried out with the
connivance of men of the Department of Customs
and Excise, State Security Service, Military
Iintelligence and Immigration officials at the borders
(Agalamanyi, 2002: 55).

From the above quotation, there is evidence that there is corruption in the public sector in Nigeria. If the Department of Customs and Excise that is charged with the work of checking and stopping prohibited goods into the country, now helps in smuggling in the prohibited goods into the same country, it then means corruption in the public sector. The actions of some of the Customs officials clearly indicate that they are after their private gains.

Again, the Nigerian Police Force is another government department with a noticeable number of corrupt officials. In this case, Agalamanyi explains that, "there is no use over-beating the fact that the Nigerian Police has a number of corrupt officers within its rank and file" (Agalamanyi, 2002: 64). The Nigerian Police Force which was established to maintain law and order, keep the peace and fight corruption within the country hardly live up to these resposibilities. Pos-colonial, Nigerian Police force is known to be one of the departments in the public sector where corruption is practiced at a very high rate. In line with this, Agalamanyi argues that:

The Nigerian Police had been known to collude with
dubious characters to defraud other Nigerians to
even engage in the more violent crimes of robbery.
The Anini – Iyamu case is a classic example which
still lingers in the memory of many Nigerians"
(Agalamanyi, 2002: 64).

It is an abuse of office for a civil servant like a policeman to defraud the citizens. This is indeed corruption in the public sector. The Nigerian Police officials, as civil servants, are expected to be honest in discharging their public duties. They have to remember that they took an oath of office to protect the citizens. It is the duty of the

police to always protect the citizens of the country at any point in time and not to act as unfaithful servants.

Another public department in Nigeria where corruption seems to be rampant is in the Judiciary department. The administrative section of the department may be the most affected, as any service rendered to the general public involves the payment of money, even if it is a service that is supposed to be rendered free. According to Amujiri:

> Corruption is equally rampant in the judiciary. The administrative arm of the judiciary is the most corrupt. Every stop in filling, processing and assessing an application or in getting a court order executed or obtaining a copy of a ruling involves money. A legal practitioner going to file an application in court knows that he has to take some extra money which he calls PR which he knows will be vital to lubricate and ensure that his paper receives prompt attention (Amujiri 2002: 76).

The above quotation, strongly suggests that the judiciary department is equally corrupt. Today people are favoured when they pay for services which in the ordinary sense are supposed to be given free to them. Cases are won and lost in court not based on evidence but based who pays the highest amount to judges and lawyers. With corruption practised openly in a country's judiciary, what then may be the hope of the common man who cannot pay his way to get justice? This however, doest not mean that the rich are only to blame. Everybody shares the blame. Corruption thrives in the country because everyone directly or indirectly sanctions it, at by keeping quiet in the face of mounting evidence of corruption.

Another area where the preponderance of corruption in post-colonial Africa is ably demonstrated in Nigerian is among the political class, particularly Nigerian heads of state. This thesis shall take the case of the late Nigerian leader, Genral Sani Abacha as an example here. Abacha's regime was noted for corruption and nepotism. Abacha as the president of Nigeria ruled the country from November 1993 to June 1998. General Abacha's regime may be regarded as one of the periods

when corruption and nepotism ruled the country, benefiting his family members, relations and friends. Abacha's regime built an empire for corruption, while he and his cronies were growing fatter and fatter from ill-gotten wealth; the masses were growing leaner and leaner from poverty and deprivation. (Uju, 2002: 120).

What startles those who pay attention to cases of corruption in Africa is that this high-profile corruption cases are carried out by the first citizens of their countries. Corruption is immoral but if corruption may be found among some senior officials in the public service, at least it should not be the president of a country who is saddled with the responsibility of fighting corruption.

Another instance of a post-colonial African leader who soils his hands with corruption was Mobutu Sese Seko as the president of Zaire (now Democratic Republic of the Congo) from 1965 to 1997.According to John Mbaku "from 1965, when Mobutu seized the structure of government by military coup, to 1997, when he was ousted by Laurent Kabila, this African dictator converted state institutions into instruments for his personal enrichment and that of his supporters" (Mbaku, 2000: 121). Mbaku goes on to say that "in fact, Mobutu, himself a beneficiary of the corrupt system which he had implemented in the country, acknowledged that corruption was a major economic and social problem in Zarie" (Mbaku, 2000: 104). This suggests that Mobutu was very much aware about the corruption in Zaire but not referring to himself as a corrupt leader. According to David Gould "when called upon to explain how he justifies his dictatorial control, President Mobutu replies with analogies, 'Have you ever heard of an African village with two chiefs' or 'Two heads on one body: that is a monster" (Gould, 1980: 104). But Mobutu ought to understandthat as a leader he ought to serve the people honestly by showing a good example. Mobutu is serving a country and therefore cannot compare that with a little village.

Mobutu's bad leadership affected both the public sector and the general public, as every person became aware that without corruption, individuals would not be able to meet their needs. So, because of the high level of corruption during Mobutu's

regime, "the members of society at large come to understand that, unless one gets involved in corrupt practices, one is unlikely to have one's needs fulfilled" (Gould 1980:105). Such an understanding by the masses will help to increase the level of corruption in a country. Gould opines that in the then Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) under Mobutu, appointments of civil servants were usually based on nepotism and favouritism (Gould 1980:126).

There are, equally, cases of corruption and prevalence of nepotism in the Cameroon public sector in post-colonial Africa. One thing which seems to be obvious in the Cameroon public sector is that the government "ministries are huge and also over-staffed and have no proper definition of roles and competences" (Fombad 2000:243).The government ministries are over staffed probably because of corruption and nepotism in the country. It is on record that President Biya, within some few years of ascending to power as the president of Cameroon, tried to double the size of the government ministries. The issue is not the question of doubling the size of the government ministries, but rather, using his own people mostly to over staff the ministries. According to Fombad:

> it is estimated that President Biya, by 1987, that is within five years of gaining power, had doubled the size of the civil service, with people mostly from his own Beti and Bulu ethnic group, the greatest losers being the Anglophones from the North West and South West provinces and the Francophones from the Northern province (Fombad 2000:243).

Fombad further explains that, the massive recruitment order by President Biya was not even advertised to the general public and it was also funded from the special secret funds from the oil resources, the '*compte hors budget'* kept at the presidency (Fombad 2000:244).This behaviour by President Biya seems discriminatory and therefore unethical. This is because recruiting candidates in the public service without advertising or giving notice to the general public is wrong. It implies that the President Biya actually had some ulterior motive behind his action. He knew where he was going. Again, recruiting the candidates mostly from his own ethnic

group, probably as a result of his position, suggests discrimination by the president. This is partiality in the public service and it is also seen as corruption and nepotism being practiced by Mr. President. Furthermore, President Biya ought to know that the special secret funds from oil resources used for the funding were meant for the general public and not just for benefitting the majority of his own people. This action by President Biya may likely be attributed to the lack of distinction between personal and private property which contribute significantly to the incidence of corruption and corrupt practices in Africa (Hope and Chiluko 2000:4).

Furthermore, during the time of Zein El Abiden Ben Ali as the President of Tunisia, "corruption and nepotism were lurking in all sections of the former regime, especially in the public sector" (Tunisialive, 2011:1). Asa sequel to the Tunisian Revolution many people opened up on many cases of corruption and nepotism around Ben Ali and family. It was revealed that a former Tunisairs chief executive officer Abdelmlek Laarif was also aiding corruption in Tunisia during the regime of Ben Ali. For instance, according to Tunisialive:

> In 2008, he created Karthago Airlines, now in large part owned by Lelia Ben Ali's brother, Belhsan Trabelsi. Supposedly, Laarif provided free and unlimited services to the Trabelsi family, while the latter gave him benefits in return. Employers state that the company afforded the purchase of Ben Ali's personal plane, which costed around 60 billion pounds. Free travels for the family were also provided" (Tunisialive, 2011:1).

According to Tunisialive (2011) it is the excesses of President Ben Ali's family that inspire outrage among Tunisians. The family's corruption remains a red line that the press cross at their peril. Again, Ben Ali's extended family is often cited as the nexus of Tunisia corruption. Ben Ali's wife, Leila Ben Ali, and her extended family – the Trabelsis – provoke the greatest ire from Tunisia. As ambassador Godac noted, any foreign investors found it hard to operate in the country without giving a cut of their business to members of the ruling family. Ben Ali is said to have a

personal fortune of around 3.5 billion pounds. This suggests corruption and also nepotism in Tunisia.

It is also on record that corruption is prevalent in post-colonial African Liberia. Accordingly, the Africa Confidential of 13 April 2012 with the caption, "Keeping it in the Family", reported about corruption and nepotism in Liberia. According to this report by The African confidential (2012), the president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, appointed three of her sons and a nephew to important jobs in government. The Africa Confidential goes on to report that:

> Most attention centred on her eldest Robert Sirleaf, 54, whom she named to chair the National Oil Company of Liberia (Nocal) in February. Robert is his mother's closest advisor and is sometimes described as Liberia's de facto Prime Minister (Africa Confidential 2012).

However, the president tried to defend the appointment by saying that, my son is qualified to serve in that position (Africa Confidential, 2012). The issue is not whether the president's son is qualified for the job as claimed by the president. The question is; even if the son is qualified, is he the best qualified? The president ought to have given other citizens the opportunity for the job possibly by conducting interviews for them. The action of the president seems to be unfair and discriminatory and so implies nepotism in the government. This is giving undue favour to a person because the person is a family member.

Also, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda is another African president known for promoting corruption and nepotism in the government. According to Lord Adusei:

> Like many of his contemporaries his government is very popular in promoting corruption, nepotism and cronyism in Uganda. Museveni is the President; his wife Janet Keinembabazi Kataha Museveni is the First Lady, MP and a Minister, his son Major Muhoozi Kainrugaba is an army commander of his elite group and a possible successor of Museveni. Museveni's younger brother, Caleb Akandwanaho,

> is senior presidential advisor on defence. His daughter Natasha Karugire is private secretary to the president (Adusei, 2009: 1).

From the above quotation, it is obvious that Museveni's government is a corrupt government full of nepotism. This is not fair considering the fact that Museveni as a president took an oath of office to be an honest leader. What is the essence of the oath taken during his swearing in as the chief civil servant in his country? His action while in the office seems to be contradictory of the oath sworn to, and such implies corruption and nepotism. In the public sector in post-colonial Africa, it can be stated that corruption is evident in almost all the African countries.

An additional proof of the prevalence of corruption in post-colonial is the case of Zambia. For instance, during the first and second republic in Zambia, there were reported cases of corruption in the public sector. In the third republic the citizens had great expectations that it would be better than the previous republic, but then, the issue of corruption continues to be on the increase. According to Bornwell Chikulo: With the advent of the third republic in Zambia, one expectation of the public was that the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) government would usher in a new era of good governance by actively promoting accountability and transparency in the conduct of public affairs, with high standards of probity and efficiency. Unfortunately, that expectation has crumbled in the face of numerous corruption scandals among senior cabinet ministers and other civil servants (Chikulo, 2002:161).

This means that though corruption was there in Zambia during the first and second republic it became worse in the third republic. Cases of corruption in the first and second republic in the public sector included, abuse of office in the Foreign Service. The case involved diplomats who were demanding 'kickbacks' from aid which was earmarked for Zambia, and also misappropriation of public funds and property by officials at foreign missions. There were also reported cases of some senior officials made use of their VIP or diplomatic status in making illicit business for their personal gain. Also, cases of some senior government officials and their

spouses who were caught at major European airports while trying to smuggle drugs were also reported (Chikulo, 2002:163).

However, in the third republic corruption became rampant in the public sector. Corruption during this third republic has become not only widespread but endemic and systemic, especially among senior cabinet ministers and other officials (Chikulo, 2002: 164-165). According to Chikulo (2002: 165):

> The 'Remmy Mushota Affair' was the climax to years of revelations of rampant corruption among senior cabinet ministers. The affair centred around Legal Affairs Minister, Remmy Mushota, who attempted to cash a government cheque of Kwacha 210 million (US$165 000) drawn in his own name, at the Bank of Zambia, ostensibly to pay printing companies which had been contracted to undertake printing work for his ministry. Fortunately the bank declined to honour the cheque (citing, The Post, 1995a).

This explains an instance of corruption by an official in the public sector. A civil servant of this cadre who is entrusted with a responsible position in the government is notsupposed to involve himself in such an unethical behaviour, for this is obviously an abuse of office. There were other reported cases of abuse and graft which were made known in 1993 by a parliamentary select committee. The parliamentary select committee investigated the activities of so many cabinet ministers as well as the operations of the Zambia National Tender Board (Chikulo, 2002:165), which implicated many ministers such as 'Michal Sata, Minister of Local Government and Housing; Ephraim Chibwe,Minister of Works and Suppply;Guy Scott, Minister of Agriculture; andRonald Penza, Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry (Chikulo 2002:165).

As underscored earlier, the seed of the culture of impunity that was sown by the colonial chiefs in colonial Africa germinated, blossomed and flowered in post-colonial Africa. The result is that in post-conial Africa, you can hear cases of corruption and indictment but that is where it ends. They accused and indicted

persons are hardly made to face the appropriate punishments for their actions. Usually, the indicted persons make deals with the government in power and no one hears about their cases again. Naturally, the high-profile indictments in Zambia ended on the pages of news paper to give the impression that the new government in power is fighting corruption.The main reason many African leaders cannot fight corruption is that they and those who sponsor them into positions of leadership are also corrupt. The impression is that in Africa 'war against corruption' is used mainly as a ruse to clamp down the opposition or as a slogan to woo electorates during political rallies. In the end, nothing gets done, for how can you fight corruption, when you or your political godfather is also involve?

Still on Gambia, the case of a former president of Zambia, Fredrick Chiluba, is yet again another example of the high rate of corruption in post-colonial Africa. According to Bornwell Chikulo, when Chiluba came to office as the president of Zambia, he:

> Dismissed all senior personal in the armed forces, civil service, intelligence and parastatal organisations and replaced them with his financiers and supporters. The dismissed civil servants were replaced by individuals from Chiluba's Bemba-speaking ethnic group…As Chiluba's political position has increasingly become insecure, he has surrounded himself with sycophants predominantly from his region (Chikulo, 2000:171).

This is a clear case of nepotism. Chiluba, as the president of the country, ought to know that his constituency as a president of a country is now beyond his immediate family and ethnic group. Again, he ought to understand that he took an oath of office to serve the whole people and not to discriminate against any individual. So, for the same president who has taken an oath of office, to come and sack all the serving senior personnel, in the armed forces, civil service, intelligence and parastatal organisations and replaced them with his own people shows partiality and discrimination against other ethnic groups. Those civil servants were dismissed not because the new officials were more qualified than them or more capable than

them. Giving undue favour to his tribesmen and women because of his position in the publicservice is nepotism as we defined it in chapter two of this disertation. Such an appointment by the president is only a way to please his people. The action by the president should be seriously criticised because the consequences of such an action among people from the same country may lead to war. The president did not lead by example. Such an action means laying a bad foundation for the successor.

Chikulo goes further to say how this act was criticized by an opposition leader, Mbikushita-Lewanika, as being dangerous for national unity as it signalled the consolidation of national unity (Chikulo, 2000:171). The action of president Chiluba arguably might be what led other cabinet ministers and top government officials to equally give similar appointments to their own people and friends. According toChikulo, "similarly individual cabinet ministers and other top government officials have openly admitted to replacing their predecessor's appointees with their clansmen and have publicly fought among themselves over appointments" (Chikulo, 2000: 171).

Corruption does not only take place in the fews countries mentioned so far. It is a general African problem as will be demonstrated in the CPI Table shown below.

The Transparency International Perception Index (2008 – 2011) table below, suggests that there is corruption and prevalence of nepotism in African states.

S/NO	COUNTRY	CPI 2011	CPI 2010	CPI 2009	CPI 2008	2011 RANK
1	Botswana	6.1	5.8	5.6	5.8	32
	Cape Verde	5.5	5.1	5.1	5.1	41
3	Mauritius	5.1	5.4	5.4	5.5	46
4	Rwanda	5.0	4.0	3.3	3.0	49
5	Seychelles	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	50
6	Namibia	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	57
7	South Africa	4.1	4.5	4.7	4.9	64

8	Ghana	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.9	69
9	Tunisia	3.8	4.3	4.2	4.4	73
10	Lesotho	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.2	77
11	Gambia	3.5	3.2	2.9	1.9	77
12	Morocco	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.5	80
13	Liberia	3.2	3.3	3.1	2.4	91
14	Zambia	3.2	3.0	3.0	2.8	91
15	Swaziland	3.1	3.2	3.6	3.6	95
16	Malawi	3.0	3.4	3.3	2.8	100
17	Djibouti	3.0	3.2	2.8	3.0	100
18	Burkina Faso	3.0	3.1	3.6	3.5	100
19	Sao Tome Principe	3.0	3.0	2.8	2.7	100
20	Benin	3.0	2.8	2.9	3.1	100
21	Gabon	3.0	2.8	2.9	3.1	100
22	Tanzania	3.0	2.7	2.6	3.0	100
23	Madagascar	3.0	3.0	2.6	3.4	100
24	Egypt	2.9	3.1	2.8	2.8	112
25	Senegal	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.4	112
26	Algeria	2.9	2.9	2.8	3.2	112
27	Mali	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.1	118
28	Mozambique	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.6	120
29	Ethiopia	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.6	120
30	Eritrea	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	134
31	Niger	2.5	2.6	2.9	2.8	134
32	Sierra Leon	2.5	2.4	2.2	1.9	134
33	Cameroon	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.3	134
34	Uganda	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.6	143
35	Togo	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.7	143
36	Nigeria	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.7	143

S/NO	COUNTRY	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.8	143
37	Mauritania	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.8	143
38	Comoros	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.5	143
39	Zimbabwe	2.2	2.4	2.2	1.8	154

S/NO	COUNTRY	CPI 2011	CPI 2010	CPI 2009	CPI 2008	2011 RANK
40	Co'te D'lvorie	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	154
41	Congo Republic	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9	154
42	Guinea Bissau	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9	154
43	Central African Republic	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0	154
44	Kenya	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.1	154
45	Guinea	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.6	164
46	Libya	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.6	164
47	Congo Demcratic Republic	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.7	168
48	Angola	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	168
49	Chad	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.6	168
50	Equatorial Guinea	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	172
51	Burundi	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	172
52	Sudan	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.6	177
53	Somalia	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0	182

Source: Corruption index 2011from transparency international. Find how countries compare,(Transparency International, 2011).

From the statistics above, countries that score less than 5 are considered significantly corrupt according to Transparency International. The 2011 Transparency International Corruption Index indicates that it is only Botswana, Cape Verde, Mauritius and Rwanda that scored from five and above in the African continent among the fifty other countries from the other continents of the world.

This shows that corruption is still rampant in many African states. I am not claiming here that Transparency International is hundred per cent accurate in their assessment. As Kenneth Dye explains, Transparency International attempts to measure corruption in a country by making use of an index called the Transparency International Annual Bribe Payers and Corruption Perception Index. He states that:

> The index has some short comings in that the number of intelligence-ingathering points is not large in some countries. However, it does provide some way of comparing corruption across countries, which can identify countries that should take action sooner rather than later (Dye, 2007:308).

This implies that the Transparency International Index is still helpful as it acts as an indicator to various countries on whether the level of corruption in their country is high or low. Knowing the level of corruption in a country is useful in assessing the consequences of corruption which in turns guide policy makers especially in tackling corruption.

On the whole, the high rate of corruption in post-colonial Africa is not be comparable with the rates of corruption in both pre-colonial and colonial Africa respectively. There must be some explanations for this high rate of corruption in post-colonial Africa. To this we now turn our attention.

5.4 Why Corruption Seems to be on the Increase in the Public Sector in Post-Colonial Africa.

The rate of corruption in post-colonial Africa may be said to be on the increase. According to Hope and Chikulo the entrenchment of corruption in Africa points to the fact that something has gone wrong in the governance of the individual nation-states. Institutions, which are designed for the regulation of the relationships between citizens and the state, are used instead for the personal enrichment ofcivil servants (politicians and bureaucrats) and other corrupt private agents (individuals, groups, businesses) (Hope and Chikulo, 2000: 1).

There are several factors which may be responsible for the great increase in the public sectors' corruption since independence in most of the African states.

One of the factors is that, there are certain cultural practices which seemed to be acceptable in pre-colonial Africa but are now considered as corruption. One of such cultural practice is the extended family sysrem. Such a practice, (favouring members of one's family) as earlier indicated, was not seen as corruption before the coming of Western rule. But the same practice in the form of nepotism is today judged to be corruption in the public sector. David Apter explains that:

> Nepotism, for example, is considered a grave offence in Western bureaucratic practice, yet in African practice providing jobs for the members of one's own family is socially compulsory. It is one of the normal forms of social security and job recruitment in traditional society and one of the crucial elements in the satisfactory maintenance of tribal social structure. When such practices are carried over into the administrative service, they break down into favouritism, corruption, and graft, in a Western-type bureaucratic setup (Apter, 1972:6).

Nepotism was acceptable in pre-colonial Africa because Africans did not see anything wrong in giving help to members of their family or friends. However, nepotism is considered as corruption andunacceptable within western bureaucratic system with which Africa has been governed since independence. When what is not considered corruption is added in the list of corrupt practices, the number of corrupt practices will naturally increase. Th intention here is not to excuse the immorality of nepotism in anyway or to justify the behaviour of Africans who engage in nepotism. Our point is that the imposition of western bureaucratic system, which is alien to basic African cultural practices, contributes in no small measure, not only in encouraging corruption but in increasing the number of what we see today as corruption.

Another cause of corruption in post-colonial Africa is when civil servants are allowed to engage in private businesses that overlap with their official responsibilities as civil servants. Corroborating this point, Rose-Ackerman observes that, "in post-colonial Africa, many countries allow or encouraged civil servants to engage in business activities that overlapped with their official duties. The situations that result in conflict of interest leads to corruption as well as undermines the state efficiency" (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 75). Rose-Ackerman here is talking about divided loyalty. She points out that:

> The problem of divided loyalties is obvious. Officials may unduly favour the business in which they have an interest at the expense of other firms that could perform public tasks more inexpensively or competently. Similar favouritism is possible in the regulatory and privatization context. No bribery is necessary. Officials simply follow their own economic self-interests. Because of these concerns, most developed countries forbid civil servants from involvement in decision in which they have a financial interest (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 75).

The above quotation supports the idea that corruption in the form of favouritism occurs in the public sector when some civil servants engaging in other private business in which they have financial interest. Thus, when civil servants involve themselves in other business there is always the problem of divided loyalties in the public. This explains why some governments prevent their civil servants from participating in politics to ensure that they will only be loyal to the government in power.

Related to what this thesis says concerning western bureaucracy and the increased rate of corruption in post-colonial African is the overall impact of modernization. The force of modernization has affected so many traditional societies, especially in Africa, that what used to be accepted norms are today considered as corruption. Take for instance, the example given by Ikegbu already citted in this thesis, "prior to colonial days, there were days meant for people to work in the chief's farm or

whatever name it was given" (Ikegbu, 2003:44). An average pre-colonial African sees nothing wrong in this. In short, for him it would be a way of cementing the bond between members of the community. The chief whose farm was worked on could use that as an opportunity to show generosity and appreciation to his people by providing them with well prepared dishes. It will hardly be seen this way in modern society.

In post-colonial, such an act by a civil servant would be viewed as an abuse of office. The official will be accused of making use of public office for private gain. This example suggests that there is a conflict between the modern and traditional norms which is a product of modernization. It is because of this conflict between the modern and traditional norms that some civil servants justify their corrupt practices, thereby increasing corruption in the post-colonial Africa.

The point this thesis is labouring clarify here is that there is a clash between traditional Africa norms contained in African culture and Western civilization that is projected by modernism. In this case, in every Africa state there is the existence of two powerful but contrary forces: the state law, which controls the stateand African traditional values which control Africans. On the one hand, a civil servant is required to keep state laws which control his life as a civil servant, on the other hand, he is required to abide by unwritten African traditional values which control his life as a member of the society. The effect is that many civil servants would choose to go against state laws instead of breaking the norms which bond them with their people resulting in corruption.

5.5   Conclusion

We set out in this chapter to investigate the dominant narrative that the level of corruption in Africa has been increasing over the years. To achieve this objective, the chapter adopted an evolutionary approach, dividing African history into three stages of developments. The chapter was therefore, divided into three sections. Section one discussed the incidence of corruption in pre-colonial Africa, section

two dwelt on the rate of corruption in colonial Africa while section three delved into the level of corruption in post-colonial Africa.

The investigation revealed that corruption was very rare in pre-colonial Africa. Among other things, this was because pre-conial African society had beliefs and norms, especial the fear of punishement by the gods and ostracision from thepeople that served as bulwalks against corruption. In addition to this was that pre-colonial African society had not developed institutions that offer the opportunity for corruption the way we have them today. During colonial Africa there were some cases of corruption especially among the 'colonial' chiefs imposed on Africans by the colonial overlords. What happened here was that because these colonial chiefs were imposed from outside, they were answerable to those who appointed them and hence could not be cencored by the people, and perhaps by the gods too!

However, corruption assumed an alarming proportion in post-colonial Africa. Thus, during this period, cases of corruption in the public sector, became a recurring decimal in many African countries. The increase in corruption during this era was attributed to by many factors. However, chief among them was the inability of western values to take root in African or rather the inability of Africans to integrate western culture with their own traditional cultural values. Hence, not only that most African civil servants find it difficult to distinguish between the traditional African cultural values of the extended family system and gift-giving with western understanding of corruption, some of them who can make this distinction still hide under these African values to indulge in corruption. In addition, underdevelopment, social strife and poverty, among other things, were identified as the major consequences of corruption in post-colonial Africa.

My personal take on this is that it is high time Africans stopped looking for scape goats to cover up their inability to rise up to the challenges of leadership and nation building. Sure, Western values might have had some negative impacts on African values but must we continue in the blame game against the West that has taken us no where since the colonial era. Beside the fact that western values have come to

stay, Africans are now incharge of the governments of their various countries. They can make any necessary changes the want provided it is good enough to move Africa forward and end the misery of many who suffer on daily basis in Africa as a result of corruption.

The next chapter will undertake an ethical critique of corruption from an African moral perspective.

CHAPTER SIX: A CRITIQUE OF CORRUPTION FROM AN AFRICAN MORAL PERSPECTIVE

6. Introduction

The last chapter demonstrated that there has been an appreciable increase in the level of corruption in Africa, especially in post-colonial period. In addition to this, the chapter discussed some of the causes and consequences of corruption in the continent. The conclusion in that chapter is that corruption has visited an unprecedented level of harm on Africa, including underdevelopment, poverty, misery and war. There is therefore an urgent need to end corruption in Africa, if the continent is to have some respites from its numerous ills and be on the path to actualizing its potentials.

This chapter, will embark on an ethical critique of corruption from an African moral perspective.Our aim in the chapter are twofold. First, to show that the present westernized approach to the meaning and resolution of the problem of corruption in Africa, is misplaced and does not have the potentials to lay the problem to rest. The theory of cultural relativism which we discussed under theoretical framework in chapter one, will enable us to argue that the unique nature of African culture demands that any understanding and solution to the problem of corruption in African should be adapted to the African environment. Secondly in order to demonstrate that the application of African ethical principles is a better approach towards the understanding and resolution of the problem of corruption in Africa. African moral principles of Ubuntu and Moderate partialism, also discussed in chapter one will be applied here to show how African morality can be used in solving the problem of corruption.

In all, the chapter is divided into four sections. The first section makes a comparison between ethics and morality. The purpose of doing this is to create a background for the critique to come in the remaining three sections. The second section examines the general notion of code of conducts for public section. This

will be placed in perspective with the meaning of ethics and morality already discussed in the first section. This enables us to understand the ethical dimension of what is expected of a civil servant. Section three will use some key scholars to make a critique of the western approach to the meaning and problems of corruption in Africa. Section four, which is also the final section, shows how African ethics can help in addressing corruption in Africa.

6.1 The Public Service Ethics

According to Machathy, "Public service ethics are ethical principles, usually developed into enforceable legal civil service code that regulate the activites of civil servants", (Machathy 2010: 26). Machathy's point in this definition is that civil service code is developed from a set of ethical principles that is prevalent in a particular society. The interpretation here carries two implications: first, that the public service ethics available in a society is determined by the general ethical orientation of that society. General ethical orientation of a society is itself, in turn determined by culture because ethics as noted in chapter three is itself a manifestion of culture. Second, that civil service code being a derivative of public service ethics also varies from society to society. It therefore follows that in as much as civil servants are required in law to abide by the civil service code of their society, the framing of such code must take cognizance of the prevalent ethical principles in the society and adapt itself to it.

The most pertinent question to ask at this stage is, does the public service ethics, prevalent in African state takes cognisance of the peculiarity of the African society? Before answering this question, one ought to first of all familiarize her/himself with the difference between ethics and morality and the meaning of code of conduct or civil service code.

6.1.1 Explaining 'Ethics' and 'Morality'

Ethics is defined as a system of moral princciples (relating) to that branch of philosophy dealing with values related to human conduct, with respect to rightness or wrongness of actions and to the goodness or badness of the motives and ends of

such actions" (Fulmer and Franklin 1982: 90) From the above definition of ethics, rightness refers to what ought to be or what is acceptable in a particular society or a group in that society. Wrongness refers to what ought not to be or what is unacceptable to a particular society or group of that society. Thus public sector, ethics is concerned with what is considered to be the right action or behaviour ofcivil servants. Civil servants are expected to be honest and act in an acceptable manner while excuting their official duties (Mafunisa, 2000: 79-80).

Martin Prozesky says that, "ethics is used for lived and practised beliefs about right and wrong, good and evil" (Prozesky, 2009: 4). It is ethics that gives the standard of what is good in a community. According to Roger Koranteng "in a general sense, ethics is the code of moral principles and values that governs the behaviour of a person or group with respect to what is right or wrong. Ethics sets standards as to what is good or bad in conduct and decision making" (Koranteng, 2010: 10). It can be stated that ethics is the parameter that is used to know what is right or wrong, good or bad.

On the other hand, "morality has to do with the personal conduct of the individual" (Hanekom, 1987:152). Thus, morality concerns what individuals ought to become, how they ought to relate to others, and how they ought to act. According to Mike Martin "morality is a matter of respecting human rights; morality is fulfilling our duties to others; morality is obeying God's commandments: morality consists in promoting the happiness of all persons" (Martin, 2007: 3).

Thus, the two terms are not mutually exclusive because, in normal conversation, the terms 'ethical' and 'moral' are usually used interchangeably (Esterhuyse, 1991: 8). However, Ayee observes that, "the difference between 'morality' and 'ethics' is that, while morality has to do with the personal conduct of an individual- his moral duties and conformity to conventional rules, ethics refers to the basic principles of the right action and to rules of conduct" (Ayee, 1998: 3) This understanding will inform the use of the two concepts in this chapter. As explained at the introduction of this chapter, the ethical principles that regulate the activity of civil servants are

expressed in legal codes in the form of code of conduct or civil service code. We now turn our attention to the explication of this concept

6.1.2 Code of Conduct

A code of conduct is established to avoid corruption in the public service. It regulates the behaviour of civil service, showing the type of behaviour that is expected from them. According to Hanekom, in the public sector ethical norms are usually ensconced in acts or are in the form of a code of conduct to which the civil servants must subscribe when assuming duty (Hanekom, 1996: 162). As I have already emphasized, the form and nature a code of conduct takes varies from society to society, even from institution to institution.For instance, in South Africa, the code of conduct for the public service explains what is required from an employee. According to this code, an employee should observe the following:

- During official duties, dresses and behaves in a manner that enhances the reputation of the public service;
- Acts responsibly as far as the use of alcoholic beverages or any other substance with an intoxicating effect is concerned;
- Does not use his or her official position to obtain private gifts or benefits for himself or herself during the performance of his or her official duties nor does he or she accept any gift or benefits when offered, as these may be construed as bribes;
- Does not use or disclose any official information for personal gain or the gain of others: and
- Does not, without approval, undertake remunerative work outside his or her other official duties or use official equipment for such work. (Public Service Commission of South Africa, 1997).

From the above code of conduct, it is clear that the civil servants are made aware of what is expected of them in the public service. According to the code of conduct, a civil servantl does not use their official position to obtain private gifts or to benefit her/himself (Mafunisa, 2000:29). Such unwarranted behaviour by a civil servant is

seen as corruption.Not only are they made aware of what is expected from them, but also of the punishment that may follow any official acting contrary to the code of conduct. The official may be dismissed from the public service without any gratuity. It is expected that civil servants be honest while performing their duties.

Cloete stresses, that civil servants are usually bound by the conditions of service to comply with specific conduct-rules in the performance of their duties, even where they are not required to subscribe to a specific code of conduct (Cloete, 1996: 26). Cloete cites, as an example, section 20 of the South African Public Service Act, 1994, which says that when a civil servants involves him or herself with the listed unethical acts, such as being 'negligent or indolent in carrying out his or her duties', or making, 'use of his or her position in the public service to promote or to prejudice the interest of any political party', this member of the public service will be guilty of misconduct.

Civil servants ought not to involve themselves in corrupt acts as they are called to serve the general public and not to enrich themselves. It is expected that civil servants ought to be very sincere in their services to the general public and not bend the rules for private gain. For instance, according to Rose-Ackerman "firms may not pay to get a favourable interpretation of the rules or to lighten the regulatory load. Rules and regulations can be used by corrupt officials as a means of enriching themselves. Everywhere rules are bent in return for payoffs" (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 18). If rules are bent by civil servants in order to enrich themselves, it shows nothing but inconsistency in the public service. Such unethical behaviour in the public service is always an injustice to the citizens who pay taxes to support such projects. Rose-Ackerman argues that, the costs that are encountered when tax payers and corrupt officials misappropriate the savings from taxes and duties usually affect the general public in the form of poor services (Rose-Ackerman, 1999:20). Rose-Ackerman goes on to point out some countries in Africa such as Gambia, Mozambique and Ghana where studies suggest that corruption permits the rich to avoid taxes (Rose-Ackerman, 1999:20).

There are many instances where civil servants have in the past controverted their call to service. For instance, according to the Guardian newspaper (1 August, 2011), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (I.C.P.C) arrested a magistrate's court judge in Enugu, who was demanding and receiving bribes from a surety. The Guardian newspaper further writes that, in an effort by the magistrate to collect money from the surety, the matter was reported to the I.C.P.C. Following the report to the commission, the magistrate was arrested as he received #50,000 (fifty thousand naira) marked notes which the commission dispatched through some operatives.

Again, there are cases where civil servants will neglect their paid work but will go the extra mile in committing other crimes. This is assumed to be more likely to take place in departments like the police. For instance, News24 (8 August, 2012), reports that there were five Tshwane metro police officers who were arrested for bribery following a joint operation by metro police and the South African police service. According to the metro spokesperson, Console Tleane, a motorist alleged that he was stopped at Garsfontein on Friday by six officers who demanded that since he was driving under the influence of alcohol, he should give them money or be arrested. The motorist actually accepted being drunk: however, he told them that he had no money. The story goes on to say that 'the officers allegedly told him that they would accompany him to the nearest ATM, where he allegedly gave them R1000'. Later the motorist went and reported the case to the police. This led to the arrest of the five officers but the sixth officer, according to Tleane, is still at large. The incidences we documented here are wrong not just because they are contrary to the code of conduct of the institutions where they are committed, but because they are generally contrary to the rule of public morality. The hallmark of every public ethics is that it serves the interest of the public; when it does otherwise as our examples here are shown to have done, it becomes a breach of public contract and therefore corruption.

There are certain things that are expected from a civil servant by the general public. These expectations are discussed under the following sub-heading.

6.1.3 What is expected from a civil servant?

The last section discussed the public service ethics. This section discusses the expectations of the general public from a civil servant. Civil servants are expected to behave responsibly, especially in the discharge of their public duties, as the general public is interested in their official conduct. Thus, civil servants ought to understand that they should avoid unethical practices.In line with this, Van Der Waldt and Helbold point out that, in order for the civil servants to promote the community's interest while rendering services to the public, their conduct must be in the public interest (Van Der Waldt and Helbold, 1995: 159)

Also, the public expects that civil servants "will act with greater fairness, responsiveness, responsibility, accountability and honesty than their counterparts in other sectors" (Schwella, 1991: 52). This suggests that the general public do not in any way expect to hear that civil servants are involved in corrupt practices. The civil servants ought to understand that they are accountable for their actions. According to Bain "public functionaries' power are given in trust; they are therefore accountable for their actions in conformance with the law" (Bain, 1996: 10). Therefore, civil servants are expected to show higher ethical standards of behaviour. Nevertheless, Hanekom points out that, "adhering to higher ethical standards of behaviour, but conducting the public's business in an incompetent manner, will definitely not satisfy the public or promote the general welfare, and could prove to be just as disastrous as unethical conduct" (Hanekon, (1987: 153).

The next section discusses some areas for potential conflicts of interest which could prove to be ethical dilemmas for civil servants.

6.1.4 Ethical Dilemmas

The good conduct of civil servants is very important for the government to progress. The reputation and success of a government depends upon the conduct of civil servants and what the public believes about the conduct of the functionaries. It

is, therefore, of fundamental importance that civil servants should act justly and fairly to one and all, not only paying lip-service to justness and fairness, but ensuring that these are manifestly and undoubtedly seen to be done. It is imperative that each civil servant, upon taken the oath of office, takes cognisance of the fact that he or she has a special duty to be fair and impartial in his or her dealings with members of society. Personal self-interest should in all circumstances be subordinate to the public good, especially if circumstances arise where the possibility of a conflict of interest may become an ethical dilemma (Hanekom, 1987: 151).

The need that civil servants live in consonance with these regulations from codes of conducts and expectation from the people could and do give rise to some ethical dilemma. Some of the most common of these dilemmas with which civil servants are confronted are as follows: administrative discretion, administrative secrecy and public accountability. We will look at this briefly.

Administrative discretion

Civil servants have many duties to perform. They are not only to execute public policy. They also make decisions pertaining to the lives of people; for instance, about taxes, survival, and the removal of people. Thus, in this way, they exercise discretion. This is to say that, the promotion of the common good depends to a large extent on the use or abuse of administrative discretion (Rohr 1978: 399).

Administrative secrecy

It can be stated that official information is usually regarded as something that is risky and therefore be held in confidence. This is because such information may cause problems to society. For David Menyah official information is often of such a sensitive nature (for example, pending tax increases, rezoning of land, retrenchment of staff) that leakage of the information can lead to demonstrations, corrupt practices or, for some individuals, illegal monetary gains. Therefore, leaking official information to the public is a violation of procedural prescriptions and can

be an ethical dilemma (Menyah, 2010: 6). Any code of public conduct would demand some level of competence in handling matters of this nature by civil servants

Public accountability

The issue of public accountability can also be an ethical dilemma. According to Menyah since civil servants are the implementers of public policies, they ought to be accountable for their official actions to their superiors, the courts and the public. It is, nevertheless, possible for them to hide behind prescribed procedures, the cloak of professionalism and even political office-bearers (Menyah, 2010: 6).

There are other problem areas from which ethical dilemmas may occur apart from the areas of possible conflict as mentioned above, such as:

- The political activity of civil servants resulting in divided loyalty on the part of those officials who sympathise with the views of a specific political party.
- The weaning away of civilservants from adhering to higher ethical standards and making decisions on considerations not really salient to the case they are dealing with (Hanekom, 1987: 159).

By and large, ethical dilemma refers to a situation where there is a conflict of interests or where there are two or many courses of action open for a civil servants but the law is not specific on what should be done in such situation. It is a dilemma because a civil servants facing such situation knows that whatever action he takes will likely produce undesirably results, nevertheless, the situation is such that he cannot avoid taking action altogether. A code of conduct certainly envisages such situations and this is the reason why civil servants are disciplined and responsible person.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the potential areas for conflict mentioned earlier are not necessarily ethical dilemmas in themselves. It is what the civil

servants do if challenged by activities pertaining to these phenomena that could prove to be the ethical dilemma:

- Must he or she keep quiet if administrative discretion is abused, or that corruption and nepotism are practiced?
- Or must he or she 'blow the whistle'?

In a situation like the above, what must the civil servant do? Most of the ethical challenges faced by civil servants stem from the way in which the official conceives the interest of the public and not necessarily from his or her conception of good and evil, or right or wrong (Hanekom, 1987: 160).

The rules and requirements we have outlined above, beginning from the code of conduct to this point are the ideal for every society. It is general believed that corruption will be drastically reduced where these rules exist. Surprisingly theses rules exist in almost all the states in Africa. The question then is, why corruption is still ravaging the continent of Africa inspite of the fact that these rules are in existence? The obvious answer to this question would be, because they are not implemented. The next question then becomes, why are they not implemented? In the next section we shall use some scholar to argue that these rules are not implemented or are not working in African because the logics behind them are couched in western ethical principles and therefore alien to Africa and Africans.

6.2   Critical Review and Interpretation of Corruption in an African Perspective

It is important to look briefly at what some critics say with regard to Western views on corruption, before embarking on an African critique of corruption.

Critics have many things to say in respect to Western ethical theories and their views on (nepotism) corruption. The worst affected in this regard are the ethical theory of utilitarianism and deontology. This two theories are mostly criticized on the grounds of love and friendship. The subsequent paragraphs will unveil these criticisms.

According to the position of Peter Prevos, love and friendship have been regarded by many people as one of the necessary aspects of a good life irrespective of culture, race and time. This aspect of love and friendship is considered by many psychologists as very important and necessary to the human essence so as to be able to lead a good life. The helping of close relations or family members at the expense of non-family members is regarded as nepotism and a cross-cultural research shows that this behaviour is common everywhere (Prevos, 2005: 1). The main point here is that modern ethical theories (western models) have ignored the importance of love and relationship.As Michael Stocker notes, modern ethical theories fail to examine the great significance that people attach to love and friendship (Stocker, 1976: 453). His argument against these theories does not mean that these theories are inadequate as ethical moral theories, but rather that these theories seem to limit the claim which morality has on us as human beings making it look like an intuitionist moral philosophy. He stressed further that utilitarianism, for instance, is incapable of having genuine love and friendship and when this happens, it will eventually lead to psychological disharmony because love and friendship are integral aspects of our lives.

For his own part, Peter Prevos "opines that acts of partiality towards others, such as friendships and loving relationships, are for many people the most valuable aspects of life" Prevos, 2005: 1). He goes on to say that, this shows that though most ethical theories stress the need for impartiality as one of the most important features of an ethical theory, yet this vital aspect of human nature should not be overlooked. According to the utilitarian point of view, we should act impartially in promoting the good, which seems to show no sympathy for love and friendship. But from the standpoint of love and friendship, we are expected to favour certain persons on some occasions which is partiality and, as well, disfavour or produce less good for others, unlike that of utilitarianism which stipulates however that human beings should rather fashion their lives by a standard that will tend to maximise the overall good for all those who are affected by our actions.

To drive home this point, an illustration by Prevos will suffices. Buying a Christmas present, for example, will expose the usual conflict between the virtues of friendship and love and that of utilitarianism. The final goal in this action is to buy and present a gift to a friend or loved one. But the utilitarian will argue that the giving of a Christmas present to friends and loved ones only does not maximize the general good and for this reason, will use the money instead to ensure that the plight of many people in need are alleviated (Prevos, 2005:1).

The argument Michael Stocker is trying to make here is to enable him to discover the motives we could have to obtain the great virtues of friendship, love and particular affection. On this note, Stocker concludes that; if we follow modern ethical theories, such as utilitarianism, it will be difficult to have true relationships as true relationships require a split between reason and our motives (Stocker, 1976: 459)

The emphasis made above is basically on the importance of love and friendship which otherwise is a necessary tool for human existence. It seems that no reasonable morality can exist without these values. Thus it is somehow regarded that moral philosophy only unattractive in determining human behaviour in a society. According to Susna Wolf "perhaps they are unattractive because they make us feel uncomfortable – they highlight our own weaknesses, vices, and flaws. Thus the fault will be said to lie not in the character of the saints but in those of our unsaintly selves as the case may be" (Wolf, 1982: 426)

George Orwell then opines that "for the seeker after goodness there must be no close friendships and no exclusive loves whatever" (Orwell, 1968: 466). This is because, according to Orwell:

> Close friendships, Gandhi says, are dangerous, because, 'friends react on one another' and through loyalty to a friend one can be led into wrong-doing. This is unquestionably true. Moreover, if one is to love God, or to love humanity as a whole, one cannot give one's preference to any individual

person. This again is true, and it marks the point at
which the humanistic and the religious attitudes
cease to be reconcilable. To an ordinary human
being, love means nothing if it does not mean loving
some people more than others (Orwell 1968:466).

This suggests that close friendships may lead a person to behave contrary to moral standards.

But Orwell spoke contrary to Ghandi when he said that "the essence of being human is that one does not seek perfection, that one is sometimes willing to commit sins for the sake of loyalty" (Orwell, 1968: 467). With this view at hand, it is obvious that, at times, one should just go beyond morality to embrace some other aspects of the human nature which is relationship and love (nepotism). I think it is on this note that most people would want to embark on nepotism in order to please family members and as well ensure that they maintain love and relationship.

Can one actually live a good life without considering family and friends? Some scholars hold the view that only moral saints can live a moral life without taking into consideration the society and social life. After finding out the relationship between moral sainthood and our non-moral lives which have to do with love and friendship, Wolf insists that the ideal of moral sainthood should not be held as a standard against which any other ideal must be judged or justified, and that the posture we take in response to the recognition that our lives are not as morally good as they might be need not be defensive" (Wolf, 1982:436). Wolf goes on to say that, "it is misleading to insist that one is permitted to live a little life in which the goals, relationships, activities, and interests that one pursues are not maximally morally good (Wolf, 1982: 436).

What comes out in the analysis above is the point we have already underscored with the principle of cultural relativism. Consequently, the truth about life is that truth is relative just as knowledge is perspectival. Perception is reality, so the African man's view of corruption shows that this appreciation of corruption is

different from that of the West.In the paragraphs that follows, we shall embark on Africans' response to the issue of corruption in Africa.

Trying to respond to what corruption is from an African perspective is invariably problematic. This stems from the fact that there are, according to William De Maria "unexplored social mechanisms of corruption" (De Maria, 2009: 357) which, when brought to light, negate the western view that there is an escalating degree and amount of corruption in Africa. The article by William De Maria comes in hopefully in this regard when one reads the work, "Does African 'Corruption' Exist". The work is an apt critique of the work of three authorities, two of them being of Western world extraction, who looked critically at the concept, 'corruption' from an African point of departure.

De Maria, saw the Western notion of African 'corruption' as another character of colonialism (De Maria, 2009: 360). He saw the current interventions by the West into Africa on account corruption as the third wave of African colonialism. This happened because, among other reasons, the western scholarly outlook drew its points and premises from public administration, sociology, political science and law but not, as should be emphasised, anthropology and particularly ethnography (De Maria, 2009: 358). The outcome of such flawed premises is inevitably wrong conclusions.

According to De Maria, the initial problem was that the West coined the term, corruption. They also gave it a definition that reeks of sociological naivety and western sympathies (De Maria, 2009: 359). This being the case, they polished 'corruption" and use it as a recent tool of colonization. The question about the definition of the term 'corruption' was seen as an extremely important question (De Maria, 2009:359). The West has control of this phenomenon. The anti-corruption agenda is a tool to intervene in the affairs of the African people. The West, starting from the Berlin Conference of 1885, has not ceased from meddling in the affairs of the Africans. The coinage of "corruption" and all it entails is yet another step in the intervention of the West in African matters.

Taking an ethnographical study on "corruption" and bleeding the concept dry of its old colonial biases; Ekeh observes that the western construction of 'corruption' depends on a polarization between the public and private sectors (Ekeh, 1975: 85). The division into public and private sectors is a peculiarly western philosophical achievement and an outcome of the modern state. But, it has been observed that this polarity is not part of the African condition. According to Ekeh, this public – private duality does not transfer easily to Africa. The African, insisted Ekeh, has a private realm but it is differentially associated with two public moral universes which he calls the primordial public and the civic public. The primordial public, which is to do with kinship, operates on the same moral imperative as the private realm. The civic public, on the other hand, is associated with the colonial administration and is based on civil structures such as the military and the police. The civic public has become identified with popular politics in the post-colonial life of Africa. The major feature of this civic public is that it has no moral linkages with the private moral domain. Ekeh even opines that the civic public is amoral. The political actors operating in the civic public have two different operative realms: a moral-based primordial realm and a moral-free or moral-muted civic realm.

In the primordial public, life in post-colonial tribal families is a life full of obligations to the larger group and concern for its welfare and continuity respectively. To reciprocate for his obligation of looking out for the group, the individual, among other things, gains identity and psychological comfort (Ekeh 1975). This obligation does not require any transaction. It is not offered in exchange for any right.

In the civic public, this is not the case. There is a transactional balance between rights and obligations. Rights are extracted from the body politic in return for citizenship obligations. This extraction necessitated bending over backwards to benefit from and sustain the primordial public, as seeking to gain from being involved in the civic public. Consequently, there is an unwritten law that it is legitimate to rob the civic public so long as the purpose is to strengthen the

primordial public. Any actions that go in the name of "fraud" or "embezzlement" are, to say the least, tolerated as long as the target is the government, not organic clusters like extended families and neighbourhoods. This anti-state sentiment was traced to the colonial era and the ensuing struggles for independence across the African continent. These struggles entailed sabotaging the colonial administration through absenteeism, pilfering, tax evasion and strikes. Ekeh opines that these subversive acts were carried over into African post-colonial rule and did not end with the attainment of independence by various African states. The point being made here is that "corruption" in Africa is reactionary to the situation the primordial African finds himself in, in his or her bid to adapt to the civic public (Ekeh, 1975: 38)

Another ethnographical work that critiqued the concept of "corruption" in Africa was done by Daniel Smith. He researched the people of Ubakala in Umuahia in Nigeria and concluded that the ordinary Nigerian has a stake in reproducing "corruption". Smith opines that what may appear to be "corruption" may be seen as moral behaviour from the local point of view as one navigates Nigeria's clientelistic political economy (2007).

Smiths point here premised on the point Ekeh made earliear. For according to Ekeh, Nigerian political economy is a moral economy in which the resources of the state, such as revenues, are distributed totally or politically through horizontal and vertical networks of patronage. There were people who accessed needed resources through reciprocity and obligation practices long entrenched in family, lineage and community (Ekeh, 2001:350). The reason for this is that, unlike the western highly organised welfare programmes, expansive markets, and adequate salaries, Nigerian political economy, and indeed that of most African states for that matter, do not have such elaborate packages that may stem "corruption". Yet in their absence, the West judges the access the Africans do have as "corrupt". (Ekeh, 2001:345-346),

The people of Ubakala that Smith interviewed have obligations to assist their*umunna* (patrilineage), *umunne* (matrilineage), and many other connections

created by bonds of residence and association (Ekeh, 2001:351). This is what Ekeh called the web-like primordial public. Anyone who shies away from assisting his or her people is wicked and "corrupt". Using the illustration of Nneka who scored a high mark that was not enough to gain her an admission in the secondary school her parents desired, and the money offered to a friend of the mother's sister, Africans believed, according to Ekeh (2001) that moral rules of kinship, community and reciprocity apply when the stakes are personal/communal.

De Maria is is also another ethnographer that studied the concept of "corruption" from an African ethnographic point of departure. De Maria concurred with Ekeh's two publics and Smith's horizontal and vertical networks of patronage (De Maria 2009: 369). He then went further to state that colonialism brought corruption to Africa. He listed what he called the five logics ingrained in African social life which the colonizers, by instituting civic politic, promoted and incubated behaviours which they came to misunderstand as corruption. In summary, the Africans are good at negotiation. The colonizers superimposed their legal system upon Africans. The Africans now use their gift of negotiation to buy their way out. The various legal systems introduced in Africa gave the Africans ample and considerable opportunities to bargain the nature of an act from "corrupt" to "not corrupt".

The second logic is gift-giving. The services introduced by the West entail competitions and rivalries. Consequently, the traditional moral duty to say, 'thank you', for a benefit bestowed merges easily into bribes to ensure a certain administrative result.

Third is solidarity. The African primordial public owes obligation to the community. The West introduced wide circles of obligations which entail solidarities and pressures to dispense and receive favours.

 The social psychology and logic of people's are what I can describe as the 'predatory authority'. Holders of public offices have been known to enjoy tributes

and special access to benefits not enjoyed by anyone else. When this was done during and after colonization, the West termed them "corrupt".

The last logic is redistribution. Accumulated assets are distributed based on patrimonialism. If a person is called up to redistribute resources, he must bequest it to his extended family, business associates and underlings. These beneficiaries in turn will manifest the cardinal value of gratitude to the benefactor's cardinal value of generosity. Both cases are viewed as corruption by the West.

The point that De Maria was trying to make in his work was that corruption and anti-corruption are invented by the West to keep the African on a loop. He sees it as the third colonialist wave to wash over Africa. What the West did was to coin a concept, give it a meaning and throw it at the face of Africa. By subtly pointing at Africa as corrupt people, the context of the meaning they gave to "corruption" totally marginalised the Africans in the management of "corruption". The concept corruption was explored through the way it has been driven by the demands of international capital for "corrupt" free markets. The West forced structural adjustments on Africa by opting for large-scale privatisations, with the long-term goal of making Africa safe for trade and further exploitation of their resources.

From what has been discussed so far, it is clear that corruption is seen as alien to Africans. According to Onigu Otite, "he basic assumption in the study of corruption is that the society is pure in structure and functions and that corruption is alien to it" (Otite, 1986: 17). This is to say that corruption is new to Africans and might probably be as a result of the coming of the western type of bureaucracy to Africa. In pre-colonial Africa, some scholars such as David Apter argue that what is seen in the post-colonial era as corruption was seen as "suitable for tribal government and traditional social system" (Apter, 1972:6). According to Apter:

> Nepotism for example, is considered a grave offense in the Western bureaucratic practice, yet in African practice providing jobs for the members of one's own family is socially compulsory. It is one of the normal forms of security and job recruitment in

> traditional society and one of the crucial elements in the satisfactory maintenance of tribal social structure. When such practices are carried over into the administrative service, they break down into favouritism, corruption, and graft, in a western-type bureaucratic setup (Apter, 1972:6).

So, for the Africans, nepotism is not seen as corruption but as a way of giving help to relatives.

Furthermore, gift-giving which is seen as corruption in the public sector in post-colonial Africa has been critiqued by some African scholars like Michael Maduagwu. According to him:

> It is mere trivialization of the serious issue of corruption in the modern society for anyone to suggest that corruption or embezzlement of public funds or extortion of money (bribes) from people looking for jobs or contracts or other benefits from government could be equated to the customary requirement of bringing presents or gifts to the chief for permission to cultivate a land and such things (Maduagwu, 1996: 67).

Maduagwu is saying that the African customary practice of showing appreciation or saying thank you should not be equated with corruption as practiced in the contemporary African societies. Maduagwu's reaction on what the Westerners see as corruption in Africa is very similar to that of Obasanjo, as already noted in chapter one. Both of them are of the view that gift-giving as practiced in Africa is not corruption but rather a way of showing appreciation to people.

What has come out strongly in this section is the negative consequences that could arise when the ethical principles and interpretation of a particular culture is imposed on another culture without considering what constitutes right and wrong in the recieving culture. These scholars are obviously saying that for crying out louds, Africans have their own way of looking at reality and this shoud not be disregarded when one talks about corruption in Africa. What constitutes corruption in Africa should no longer be decided in Western capitals and universities, Africans and

African values should be consulted when important decisions are made on important issues such as corruption in Africa.

Now, does this nullify the fact that there is corruption in Africa or that Africa and Africans have suffered terribly as a result of corruption? I do not think so. When we discussed the causes of corruption in Africa in the previous chapters, we did not limit the causes only to Western influence alone. We included other factors like greed and ostensious life style. Thus, it will be a partial truth to argue as De Maria did that corruption in Africa is a western invention aimed at the exploitation of Africa. Making such conclusion will be to ignore the complex nature of corruption especially as it occurs in African society.

In adition, as we pointed out earlier, Western values have come to stay in Africa. So, refusing to take responsibility and blaming everything on western values is hardly the way to go in solving the problem of corruption in Africa. Denying the existence of corruption in Africa is not the way out either. The way out will then lies in African ethics. Since Africans have a peculiar way of looking at reality, which includes a particular way of looking at rights and wrongs, the application of African ethical principles will go a long way in curbing the incidence of corruption in Africa. In the next section we shall examine how African ethics can help in addressing the problem of corruption in Africa.

6.3 How African Ethics can help in Addressing Corruption in Africa.

One important thing we learned from our discussion of the theory of cultural relativism in chapter one is that, ethics or right living is not the monopoly of any culture. This is informed by the fact that every culture has its own way of viewing reality, including their notions of right and wrong which of course are all aspects of culture. Murove in this regard, maintains that "there are diverse modes of living and experiencing reality in the world, and that there is no one single reality on its own that can encapsulate the totality of human experience" (Murove, 2009: 15). He goes on to say that "the idea that human existence constitutes a plurality is well captured in the Shona proverb: *Makudo anosekana makuma* (Baboons ridicule one another

because of their foreheads)" (Murove, 2009: 15-16). In what follows we will use the African moral theories of *Ubuntu* and Moderate partialism to show how African ethics can help in resolving the problem of corruption in Africa.

Before we go into this, let us once again familiarize ourself with the meaning of African ethics. Martin Prozesky refers to African ethics as "the moral traditions embedded in the many and various African cultures; the moral traditions of black African culture" (Prozesky, 2009: 4). On the other hand, he notes that the term ethics is used for lived and practiced beliefs about right and wrong, good and evil. Gildenhuys argues that, "the purpose of ethics in the public sector is to eliminate the uncertainty between what seems to be right but what is in effect wrong" (1991: 42). In the main, African ethics encapsulates the principles of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable; what is right and what is wrong in Africa.

According to Metz *Ubuntu* within the framework ofAfrican ethics requires people to prize friendly relationships and harmony in society (2009: 342). Metz also explains that, *Ubuntu* as an "African moral theory forbids people from being unfriendly" (2009: 342). To be unfriendly is therefore is to be unethical in Africa. According to Mluleki Munyaka and Mokgethi Motlhabi, "*Ubuntu* has been explained as a philosophical concept that engenders recognition of humanity of other persons and hence promotes respect while challenging all to create a community that is caring, accepting and compassionate" (Munyaka and Motlhabi, 2009: 78). A community that is caring, accepting and compassionate as required by *Ubuntu*, will see it as unethical, for instance, for individuals to discriminate against each other in the community. Individuals in the community are expected to show concern to one another in the community.*Ubuntu*, would in this regard condemn nepotism since it involves discrimination between individuals and the attendant disharmony that goes with it.

Furthermore, the South African Council of Educators sees *Ubuntu* "as 'humaneness, which encompasses values like brotherhood/sisterhood, sharing, treating other people as human beings and respecting their dignity" (South African

Council for Educators, 2002: 55). This shows that *Ubuntu* speaks about humanism. According to Murove "African humanism sees human beings as relational by nature – they are endowed with an inherent nature to belong to each other in society" (2005: 135), Humanness can better be understood clearly in the African communal life as community is the central concept in African ethics, the central experience of African morality (Richardson 2009: 134). Since, "Morality is 'lived within the community' so the conduct of individuals directly or indirectly affects the whole society (South African Council for Educators, 2002: 55). In the community individuals are expected to show good behaviour, such as respect for elders, honesty, fairness, love and so on as may be seen in African ethical concept of *Ubuntu.* This is why for instance "an individual accused of cruelty, murder, cheating or stealing" (South African Council for Educators, 2002:55) must be punished by the community. The point here is that Ubuntu as a moral theory is enshrined within the African idea of community or communalism because the harmony and friendliness required by Ubuntu can only be realized within the context of community. We shall in a while see how some of these communal elements in Ubuntu can be applied to reduce corruption in African.

In our analysis of Ekeh's thought, we identified the demarcation he made between primordial civic life and public civic life. While the primordial civic life is concerned with kinship relations, the public civic life is concerned with relationship with the state. Ekeh argued that the Africa sees the state as an institution to be exploited in favour of kinship bond. In order words, an average Africa would see nothing wrong to steal from the state provided what is stolen is used in maintaining kinship bond. Now the African ethical principle of respect for elders contained in Ubuntu can help in resolving this problem.Respect channelled towards the government, is very important in creating harmony. In this regard respect as an African value should be incorporated into the public sector. Individuals as well as civil servants ought to see the government as their own rather than what belongs to other people. According to Shutte" it is important that People should never forget that the government is their government (Shutte, 2009: 379). When civil servants

see the government as actually belongings to them and thus respect the government and the government as well respects the people, most of the unethical practices such as dishonesty will be avoided by doing the right thing. The government ought to know that "the fundamental reason for government and its ultimate goal is to promote the people's common good" (Shutte, 2009: 380).

The point here is that respect as an African value could be used to bridge the gap between the primodial and the civic live. Such is that an African instead of seeing the state as object to exploit, beginsto sees the state as a family where he or she belongs. What is required for this to occur is cultural integration. Africans see the states as oppressive instruments of those in power. To the support and respect of the people, states in Africa, should be transformed into harmonious community, a form of the caring extended family system the African is used to. This will definitely be a long term project and would require overhauling a lot of the way governments operate today in Africa. Working out how this is adapted in each African country is the work of policy makers.

Again, another element contained within African understanding of the community as it concerns *Ubuntu* is homesty. Harmonious life cannot be achieved where people are not sincere to themselves. It is this lack of honesty that makes it difficult to implement public service rules in Africa. Additionally, some of the reasons civil servants in Africa are not honest is because the do not trust the systems in Africa. They believe that their purpose is better achieved when they pursue their own private interests. This point is validated by the fact that most African civil servant who embezzles money from their governments hardly invest it in their countries. They rather take it to countries in Europe, where they believe the money will be safe. These officials believe and rightly so, that African states are dangerous and unsafe for any investment. Making Africans to see the sate as their own will help them to trust in the state and hence foster an environment where honesty can occur. When there is trust, then civil servants, will honest to themselves and others, they

will strive to do what is right by following the prescribed rules in the office thereby and avoid unethical practices.

An integral part of *Ubuntu* is the role of religious leaders not only as costudians of ethical principles but also as the chanelles through which it is mediated in the community. This particular understanding is informed by the principle underpinning African ethical principles, namely that moral principles come from the gods and that the principal mediators of these principles are answerable to gods who deal decisively to defulters of their injunctions. If this orientation coming from Ubuntu informs the behaviour of religious leaders, it will drastically reduce corruption in Africa. Thus, if the religious leaders who are very close to the public should seize every opportunity to create awareness of the dangers of corruption situations will change (van der Ven, 1998:32). In this case it may be preferable for the emphasis ontheir teaching and preaching to be based more on moral education than on prosperity. This is because sometimes corruption occurs as a result of the way individuals think in the community.

In addition, communalism demanded by the morality of Ubuntu, also requires that each member of the community has a role to play to contribute to the common good. The emphasies that each member of the society should have something to contribute to the common good comes from *Ubuntu*'s view of the society as a organism where individuals represent important organs. An individual refusing to work is comparable to an organ refusing to function in an organism. Thus, Ubuntu encourages dedication and hard work. Bring this into the quest for solution to the problem of corruption in Africa, dedication and hardwork should be encouraged and laziness discouraged among the civil servants in particular and other family members in general. Ikegbu (points out that "every member of the family has the responsibility of contributing towards the upkeep and development of the society" (Ikegbu, 2003: 35). When every member of the family contributes to the upkeep and development of the community, members of the community will not lack

much, their poverty level will be reduced and people, especially civil servants, may not have much excuse to give in involving themselves in corrupt practices.

Enshrined within Ubuntu is also the principle of love, since harmony and friendliness which are the hallmark of Ubuntu cannot be attained without love. This is because when there is love among the individuals, nobody will be likely to exploit the other person or the government, but will be working for the common good of all. What is expected is the type of love which is shared in the communal life. Ubuntu emphasizes and encourages behaviours that bring individuals together rather than what will separate them.

Another moral theory within the framework of African ethics which when applied will go a long way in reducing corruption in African is Moderate partialism. Moderate partialism as described in this chapter one rejects strong partialism as an ethical principle, but accepts some form of partialism that isseen as necessary for the good of the society. Thus, unlike Western moral principles, that create ironclad demarcation between do's and don't's, between what is acceptable and what is not acceptable, African moderate partialism believes that sometimes there is no clear cut relationship between what is morally acceptable and morally unacceptable (Uduigwomen, 2007: 16). Hence, what sometimes informs moral acceptability within moderate partialism is the net effect of a particular act on the society. Take for instance the example given by Etim, to explain moral partialism: if there is a law which states that anyone that steals shall die. This law can be set aside by the fact that the person who stole is an African prince. Thus, we can have a syllogism that goes this way: anyone that steals shall die, Akpan stole, but Akpan shall not die because Akpan is the son of the king (Etim, 2007: 72). Etim observed that this syllogism is obviously wrong if one follows Western ethical principles. But this is not the case in African moral theories because in Africa the application of any rule takes cognisance of the context in question. Going back to Akpan anology in relation to Moderate partialism, Etim notes that killing Akpan will not encourage any social harmony or the overall good of the community which the law against

stealing was meant to serve. While Westernized mind will see this as injustice or partiality, an average African does not see it that way. He would understand that there is a difference between stealing as a prince and stealing as an ordinary theif (Etim, 2006: 78). The intention here is not to pursue, the justification of Etim's point. We merely used it to show the major difference in the way Africans and Westerners look at reality.

Moderate partially is very useful in dealing with the problem nepotism especially as it relates to fairness and descrimination. In the first place, according to the principle of moderate partialism, the unfairness and discrimination ought to be avoided. In this regard, civil servants, as was noted earlier in chapter three, should avoid favouritism while discharging their public functions (Metz, 2009).Fairness also requires that merit should be encouraged, for instance in job recruitment. Equally important is the fact that specialized jobs call for people who are well-known for their appropriate specialised skills (Biobaku, 1987: 46). However, moderate partialism, legislates that there should be exceptions to this rule of fairness. In order words, situations could arise where least qualified among those who applied for a job is employed. Such, an instance as explained by Michael might occur when on account of the multi-ethnic nature of the African society, a particularly backward ethic group is encouraged to take their place in the distribution of services in the state, (Michael, 2008: 22-23). Michael maintains that if emplyement opportunities are based only on merit in such situations, members of this backward ethnic group will feel marginalized and this is certainly not good for social harmony in a society. I agree with Michael that the society stands to gain in terms of peace and social harmony for being partial in this instance than it would have been were it to be impartial all through.

Another thing moderate partialism will help African society to sort out in relation to corruption relates to the issue of punishment for corrupt official. It therefore amounts to injustice for the principle of moderate partialism if leaders who are

involved in corruption are not given corresponding punishment. Speaking on the issue of corruption in Africa, Yoweri Museveni explains that:

> The real problem is that the guards in Africa had themselves to be guarded and this is clearly a vicious circle. Without moral authority in our top leadership it is very difficult to eliminate corruption. And unfortunately it is at the top that the really big thieves that cripple national development are to be found. In dealing with corruption at this level moral persuasion is not enough; we need laws that govern corruption. Where sanctions against corruption do not exist these must be put in place. The problem sometimes is that the corrupt leaders, who are also the law makers, do not make laws to curb corruption because they would by so doing be creating problems for themselves" (Museveni, 1994:71).

African leaders and other citizens who may be involved in corrupt practices ought to be disciplined. If the leaders are not disciplined for committing illegal acts while in the office, other citizens would not fear being involved in corrupt practices. It is on record that in pre-colonial Africa offending members in the society were well disciplined regardless of his or her position in the society (Biobaku, 1987: 49-50).

However like in the case of fairness, moderate partialism still believes that there should be exceptions to this case as well. The case of Akpan in the example we analysed above is a good demonstration of the application of moderate partialism on cases of punishment. In that example, in spite of the fact that Akpan stole, he was not to die because he is a prince, perhaps an apparent air to the throne.

To explain how the application of moderate partialism could help to solve the problem of corruption in Africa, Didam, reductively identified the problem of corruption in Africa as a problem of injustice. By this he means that corruption does injustice to the individuals affected by it and the society at large. He argued that Western ethical principles have failed to resolve this problem in Africa because of its view of reality. The West, according to Didam sees reality as in the distinction between good and evil or the difference between black and white. It is

always this or that, never this and that. From this perspective, he claims that Africa moral principle which sees reality as a continuum, that is never this or that but always this and that, stands a better chance of resolving the problem of injustice and hence corruption (Didam, 2009: 25),.

It was at this point that Didam posited restorative justice as African solution to the problem of corruption. Now, restorative justice operates under the principle of moderate partialism. It believes, for instance, that punishment is important but punishment should not be carried out at the detriment of the society. Every punishement therefore that worsens the condition of the society is considered misconceived even immoral by moderate partialism.Because African ethics sees the society as an organism, a harmonious community, and the existence of corruption is an indication that the organism is sick. What is required is not to pull the society down but to heal the society as every other sick organism requires healing. Moderate partialismcomes in here, because unlike Western ethical principles for which reality is either black or white, it contains principles that demands a sophisticated assessement of the situation before any action is taken, (Didam, 2009: 25-28). In the end Didam is of the opinion that it is not every situation that demands the pure application of the Western understanding of justice as giving to each man his due. The ultimate question to ask is: what can be done in this result in this comtemporary society? This is what moderate partialism does best.

My personal position on this is that African moral principles as presented here offered a better alternative to Western ethical principle in the quest to tackling the problem of corruption in African. This however, does not call for a blanket rejection of what is offered by Western ethical model. A careful reading of some of the contents of African moral principles which we discussed here shows that many of them are part of the requirements of a code of conduct which is basically of western origin. In order words, instead of seeing Western and African ethical principles as mutually exclusive, the two should be seen as mutually complimentary. The job of adapting western values to African culture is not an

imposible task. To see that this is done is the responsibility of Africans, not Europeans.

6.4   Conclusion

I commenced this chapter with two far reaching aims. The first aim discussed in the first section of the chapter was to problematize what has become almost a universal assumption: that Africa is not just one of, but perhaps the most corrupt continent on earth. In this regard, scholars such De Maria believed that the noise about corruption in Africa was an invention used by the West to continue the third face of their colonization of Africa. The chapter refused to take this particular interpretation hook and line and sinker. It argues that the view is a half truth for while it is true that the West has contributed in no small way to the terrible situation Africa find herself today, this does not license the conclusion that corruption in Africa is an illusion or a tool invented by the West to continue their exploitation of afrrica. The whole truth is that corruption in Africa is contributed by a variety of factors and required spirited and concerted effort to eliminate or reduce. This first section ends with a call to approach the resolution of the problem of corruption from a non-western ethical perspective.

The new method offered was African moral theories and this was discussed in the second section of the chapter.The African moral theories employed in this section were Ubuntu and the theory of moderate partialism hitherto developed in chapter one under theoretical framework. This section argued that the application of the principle of African communalism enshrined in Ubuntu, on the one hand and the principle of comprehensive approach to reality contained in moderate partialism on the other hand, will help to reduce and eventually eliminate corruption in Africa.

In all, while acknowledging that Western impositions and approach to corruption have been harmful to Africa, the chapter did not call for a total rejection of western approach to dealing with the problem of corruption. Rather, it advocates an objective integration of African and Western values.The next section, which is the last chapter of this work, will be the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

7. 0   Introduction

This chapter will summarise the various chapters of the thesis. After doing that in the first section of the chapter, in the second section, this thesis will make some recommendations which when implemented, would go a long way to help in solving the problems of corruption in Africa. The third section of the chapter will be the conclusion.

7.1   Summary

Under this section, the various chapters of the thesis are summarised. Chapter one is a summary of the entire thesis. What motivated the thesis is the problem of corruption in Africa whose causes have always been investigated in different ways, including from the economic and political perspectives. Therefore, there is the need to investigate the problem of corruption in Africa from a cultural dimension. The views of scholars on the causes of corruption in Africa are polarized. Thus, there are some scholars argued that corruption is not in any way connected to traditional cultural African practices. Nevertheless, there are others who are convinced that corruption is connected to certain African traditional cultural practices. Consequently, there is a gap which this study wanted to fill, that is to investigate whether there are African cultural practices, with particular reference on nepotism, which motivate corruption in Africa. Another reason for engaging in this research is to attempt to formulate an African ethical theory to deal with the problem of corruption in Africa. The chapter included the research problem, the objectives of the research and the research questions. *Ubuntu,* moderate partialism and relationality were developed under the theoretical framework as the theories under African moral theories that will guide the work. Critical analysis and historical is is used for the methodology.

The second chapter is on operalization of terms. The chapter focused on the operationalization of some key term in the study. Three key terms: corruption, nepotism and the public sector were operationalized in this regard. To begin with,

the chapter argued that there are many definitions of corruption by different scholars and authors resulting to the fact that there is no generally accepted definition of the term by scholars. The definitions discussed in this chapter include, Etymological definition of corruption, Dictionary definition of corruption, Philosophical definition of corruption, Economic definition of corruption, Political definition of corruption and Sociological definition of corruption. However, for the purpose of this work, the Transparency International definition of corruption – "inappropriate or illegal behaviour of public sector official (politician or civil servants) by misusing the power entrusted to them for private gain of the person or related people" was proposed (Transparency International, 2009).

Chapter three was specifically on the contribution of African culture to corruption. The chapter argued that the extended family system and gift-giving are some of the traditional cultural practices that aid corruption in Africa. The African extended family system is the extension of the immediate or nuclear family as seen in the Western world. Members of the extended family thus include not only the husband, wife and children, but also, uncles, aunts, grandparents and other relatives. Dead members of the family and even those yet unborn are included as extended family members. The chapter further argued that in order to understand how the extended family system may encourage corruption, one ought to understand how the African extended family system operates and also the importance of extended family system. A member of the extended family system may find it difficult to separate from the group because of an indivisible but very strong string which is believed to hold them together. The Africans strongly believe in this bond of relationship. The extended family system is used in encouraging morality in the community.The individual is nothing outside his family, because it is from the family that the individual first originates. The chapter further argued that it is the strong commitment of the individual to the extended family that will cause an official to spend all he or she has in order to satisfy them andhe or she will thus be considered to be involved in corrupt practice.

Additionally, it is because of nepotism that some African leaders use their governments as their private businesses. Members of the extended family system are given employment in the government because of connections and not because they are the most qualified. The chapter again argued that nepotism is a controversial issue today in Africa because of the clash between the Western cultures and values and African cultures and values.Nepotism as caused by the extended family system, has generated some controversy, especially with pin-pointing the meaning and nature of corruption. It is particularly because of this that some Africans do not understand or pretended they do not understand that nepotism is corruption. They understand nepotism as a way of giving help to their families or friends. They believe that there is nothing wrong in giving help to members of the family, in-laws or friends as it is embedded in the people's culture. That is why many Africans may ask: is there anything wrong in giving help to my relatives, in-laws and friends?

The chapter also argued that one other traditional cultural practice that encourage corruption in Africa is the traditional customary practice of gift-giving. The chapter argued that in the traditional African societies, gift-giving was used for appreciation or thanks to people, and sometimes for welcoming visitors. The traditional African societies have no ulterior motive in gift-giving. However, the chapter argued that in the modern period there is ulterior motive in gift-giving. Thus, gift-giving is hardly any longer used for appreciation or thanks but used for expectations and therefore corruption. The chapter tried to explain the similarities between gift-giving and bribes, and also, the differences between gift-giving and bribes. The chapter showed that not all gift-givings are corruption and therefore explained when gift-giving is corruption and also the implications of gift-giving.

The fourth chapter discussed other causes and consequences of corruption beside the extended family system and gift-giving with particular reference to Africa. The chapter observed that, beside gift-giving and the extended family system, there are many other causes of corruption such as, poor salaries, societal influence, high cost

of living, poor attitude in planning to save for the future, ostentatious life style, unemployment, poverty, greed, decline in morals and ethics, religion, ambiguous laws and regulations, and poor enforcement of the rule of law. Other causes of corruption include, lack of exemplary leadership, lack of monitoring and supervision, lack of public accountability and transparency, and others. It is clear from the discussion that corruption is not just caused by one thing. Corruption does not just happen spontaneously, but must be triggered by something. The chapter equally argued that corruption has many consequences. It is contributing to underdevelopment in many African states. Sometimes it may lead to war as was the case in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya and so on. Corruption in Africa is high and thus has led to many negative consequencesin manyAfrican states.

The fifth chapter discussed the trends in the development of corruption in African public sector. The aim was to investigate the rate of the increase in corruption from pre-colonial Africa to post-colonial Africa. I first discussed corruption and public sector both in pre-colonial Africa and colonial-Africa respectively. In the pre-colonial Africa public sector, corruption was little known unlike in post-colonial Africa. This is probably because most of the practices that are seen as corruption today were not seen to be corruption in pre-colonial Africa, but rather as a practice that was acceptable to the people. Again, the chapter discussed corruption and the public sector in colonial Africa. During the colonial period, with the introduction of foreign culture, into the already existing culture in Africa, some of the traditional cultural practices now became corruption as result of conflict of values. The chapter also discussed corruption and the public sector in post-colonial African and found out that there was more corruption during this period because of the introduction of foreign laws into the public sector. What used to be taken as an acceptable practice, before the coming of the westerners, is now seen as corruption in the post-colonial Africa.

Chapter sixth dealt withan African ethical critique of corruption. From the point of view of an African ethical critique of corruption, it was found out that Africans in

the traditional society did not see many practices labelled corrupt today as corruption. Practises such as the the extended family system was a cultural practices well cherished by Africans. The coming of the Europeans with their new government to Africa was what perveted this ancient culture such that it is used today as means of exploiting and diverting public resouces to private use. Coming from this background, the chapter explored the view of certain scholars such De Maria who argued that corruption in Africa is in the main a western invention with the aim of continuing their new phase of African exploitation.Thus what Western people view as corruption, for instance, gift-giving, these scholars argued is a way of showing appreciation to people. For these scholars corruption is a myth and something is foreign to Africa.

While I accepted the first premise of these scholars that the imposition of western values on Africa contributes more than any other factor to the problem of corruption in Africa, I refused to accept their subsequent conclusion that corruption in Africa is a European invention; a myth. My position is that corruption is not just real but needs an urgent effort to curb if Africa is to be pulled back from the bink of economic chaos and its attendant civil crisis. Africa moral theories of Moderate Partiallism and Ubuntu were to formulate ethical guideline that would help to deal with the problem of corruption in Africa.

7.2   Recommendation

This section is concerned with recommendations. It proposes what could be done to curb or reduce corruption (with particular reference to nepotism) in Africa. From the discussion so far, it is obvious that certain African cultura practices encourage corruption. Therefore, in curbing corruption, it is very important that the policy makers understand the type of corruption which they are targeting, as the one size fits all approach should be avoided. The general method of 'what worked for this must work for that' may not be helpful, as such a method can only guarantee a little success. It is the policy makers that must take time to understand the actual local circumstances that encourage or permit public and private actors to be corrupt (Anwar, 2007:234-236). According to Fombad, who believes that "just as there

were divergent views on the causes of corruption, so too do views differ on the appropriate approach strategy to adopt in combating it" (Fombad, 2000:253). It must be observed that sometimes there are certain practices which can only be explained by the insiders and cannot be understood by outsiders. The last statement underscores the need to avoid the Western attitude of being too quick to paint most elements of African culture as corrupt. Instead of this type of rush, the Western world should be humble enough to allow Africans to clarify the meaning of confusing cultural practices from an Africans perspective. This will help in clarifying what is corrupt and what is not.

Furthermore, it is important to note, as Dye observes, that, Transparency International attempts to measure corruption in a country by making use of an index called the Transparency International Annual Bribe Payers and Corruption Perception Index is important (Dye, 2007: 308). However, it has been observed also that Transparency International may not be all that correct or rather be all that perfect in how they measure corruption: this is because, "the index has some short comings in that the number of intelligence-ingathering points is not large in some countries. However, it does provide some way of comparing corruption across countries, which can identify countries that should take action sooner rather than later" (Dye, 2007: 308). This is to say that Transparency International is still helpful as it acts as an indicator to various countries on whether the level of corruption in their country is high or low. Therefore, the following recommendations will go a long way to help in reducing or curbing corruption in the African societies.

This thesis shall itemize and discuss these recommendations in turns, but before we do that, let us highlight some of our findings in this thesis in relation to the link between corruption and African values. This will help us to show how each of the recommendations is related to the problem it is meant to solve.

Having explored the whole chapters of this thesis, I discovered that corruption is not only caused by economic or political problems but also by cultural problems. The

fact about corruption in Africa, as this study has consistently demonstrated is that African cultural practices of the extended family system and gift-giving encourage corruption. This is to say that culture is partly responsible for corruption in Africa. Now, it is important to note that Africans value these cultural practices right frompre-colonial period and they were never seen as corruption until the coming of the white men with their alien laws. Thus, these cultural practices, are never in any way considered corruption. They become corruption in the contemporary period depending on how they are practiced.

Nepotism is usually practiced through the extended family system. The extended family system as practiced by Africans expects members of the family to give help to each other so that nobody will lack. This is because of the kinship bonds which bind members of the extended family together. As a result, it becomes bad for a member of the extended family to withhold giving support to their members. It was possible to practicethe extended family system because of the communal system of life which the African people practice. In this communal system of living, the people believe that charity according to African 'dictum' begins at home. This is probably why some of the people who indulge in corruption, especially in the public sector may do so unintentionally, thinking that it is good thing to do in the public office. Nevertheless, sometimes others do it intentionally. Most often, some people, especially in the public sector, may not see anything wrong in giving help to their family members or even friends whenever they have the opportunity to do so.

However, with the coming of the Western people with their new rules and values, in the public sector, there came about a conflict of values because of the meeting together of the African values already in existence with the Western values. The Africans are now expected to work with new standards set in the public office. This implies that it will be seen as unethical if the African values such as nepotism are practiced in the public sector. So, the practice of nepotism is now seen as contributing to corruption. This is because nepotism as practiced through the extended family system may sometimes cause, for instance, a low paid civil servant

from a poor extended family to be over-burdened by the member of his family. The low paid civil servant, in trying to satisfy his people, may involve him or herself into certain corrupt practices such as embezzlement, bribe and so on. Also, some civil servants, because of their love for the extended family, will give undue favour to their family member against the prescribed rules by the government. For instance, members of the extended family who are not the best qualified for a job or contract will be given the job or contract because of family connection. This is seen as injustice and discrimination by the general public. With nepotism in the public sector, merit is no longer observed in job selection. It is misusing of entrusted power by a civil servant just because of personal interest.

Therefore, based on the above observations, the following suggestions will be helpful in reducing corruption in Africa especially in the public sector.

7.2.1   Distinction between Obligation to the Family and Obligation to the State
There must be a very clear distinction between the civil servants obligation to the state and his obligation to the family. In other words, there should a general orientation by all African states to make the civil servants understand the difference between what he or she is supposed to do as a civil servant to the state and as a private individual to his or her family. The orientation should make civil servants to understand that once you are employed to work as an official on behalf of the state, you are officialy to relate to every citizen equally. As such there should be no room for descrimination against anybody. If this is not well spelt out in the public sector, then it will be wrong to accuse the civil servant of unethical practices while in public office, for instance, in giving help to the family member to secure an appointment.

7.2.2   Ethical Education
There is a need for ethical education to every person, both children and adults, in Africa. This ethical education ought to start from crèche to university level. At the tertiary level, ethics ought to be made a compulsory module for all the students. This is because they are the people who will soon be employed into the public

sector. Ethical education should also be given to the new employees during orientation before they are posted to serve in order to make what constitutes corruption in the public sector clear to them. Ethical education will equally be given to the oldercivil servants as a way of retraining them. Through ethical education the civil servants and the entire public will understand the right thing to do and also the wrong thing to avoid. For instance, in recruitment and promotion exercises, that candidate should be selected based on merit, and the best qualified candidate must be taken before others. People should not be selected for jobs based on family connection. However, some special consideration may be given to people such as the veterans who are in some special way related to the state and also victims of state injustice. Nevertheless, thesecandidates must be qualified but may not be the best qualified. This is moderate partialism. It is not giving contracts to people because of family relationship but is based purely on how some people are in some way related to the state.

7.2.3   Value Re-orientation

The civil servants as well as the general public should understand that there are certain values whichthey ought to aim for. Such values as, honesty, justice, love, obedience, fairness, being content, forgiveness, personal integrity, respect, and so on should be encouraged among the civil servants against, dishonesty, discrimination, marginalisation, injustice, hatred, and so on. The importance of putting the interest of the state above family and personal interests is also one of the ways of distinguishing higher and lower values. Doing this is very important for the development of a nation and so everybody ought to aspire to them. The civil servants ought to understand that there is nothing better than a good name and thus, should strive towards attaining this, so that those succeeding them will follow their foot-prints. Also, the civil servants and the general public ought to understand that money is not everything as the love of it is attributed to be the root of all evil. When civil servants change to right behaviour in the public sector, it will be difficult for them to be involved in unethical practices. In other words, there must be an attitudinal change.

7.2.4 Provision of a Code of Conduct in the Public Sector

We do not mean to suggest here that there is no code of conducts in African states already. There are codes of conduct in every African state today. The problem as we noted earlier is that what we have in this codes are basically western principles of morality and that this is why it is difficult to work in Africa. In addition the required environments where these codes can work have not been created. When these elements are infused into the codes, it will become easier for the civil servants to know the right actions that are required by them in their various positions. This will be a very good foundation for civil servants, especially the newly recruited officials. Both the new and old officials will use it in directing their behaviour, in addition to the government laws already in existence. The code of conduct will help them to know what is required from them as civil servants in case there are very important decisions to be taken in order to avoid corrupt practices. This ethical programme is very useful as it can be stated that some people seems to be ignorant of what constitutes corruption in thepublic sector. In this way, corruption will be reduced in the public sector.

7.2.5 The Issue of African Cultural Values should be addressed

The issue of African cultural values such as the extended family system and gift-giving ought to be addressed in the public sector. Civil servants should understand clearly that they are not in pre-colonial Africa where such values were very much cherished. They are in post-colonial Africa with new rules guiding the public sector and so ought to follow these new rules and regulations. Certain issues like why it is wrong to give help to family members, friends and associates as civil servants should be explained; and when gift-giving should be understood as corruption should equally be explained, and so on. When the above issues are well addressed, corruption certainly will drop in the public sector.

7.2.6 Exemplary Leadership

It is expected that leaders at all government levels in the public sector should lead by good example. Bad leadership remains one of the reasons why corruption is rampant in the public sector in Africa. When leadership is good, corruption is bound

to be low and when leadership is bad, corruption is bound to be high. Therefore, civil servants ought not to be greedy as this will cause them to be involved in corrupt practices. Leaders should be honest and avoid nepotism, for this is what is expected from good leadership. If leaders fail to show exemplary leadership and continue to abuse their offices, then, the general public will come to think that there is nothing wrong with corruption. When our leaders and bureaucrats become honest corruption may not behigh and equally the fight against corruption will be successful. Leaders should ensurethat rules as provided by the government should be followed by the civil servants and not be replaced with nepotism. Economic reforms can be very helpful but that may not be possible with dishonest leaders.

7.2.7   Deterrents

Punishment should be given to those civil servants that involve themselves in corrupt practices. The level of the punishment ought to be equal to the type of offence committed. Civil servants are not expected to contradict the oath of office which they swore to. One of the reasons why corruption is rampant is that some civil servants found guilty of corrupt practice are not given punishment corresponding to the crime they committed. If corrupt officials are not punished, other officials will be tempted to emulate them and do same thing. Curbing corruption in the public service will be very effective if there are certain penalties like fines, sentencing the offender to prison and so on to serve as a deterrent to corrupt officials. So, peoplecaught in corrupt practices should not be allowed to enjoy the evil deed by punishing them as prescribed by the law of the country and making sure also that none of their relatives benefit from whatever the person might have gained through corrupt practices. Also, in the fight against corruption nobody should be exempted: the courts of the law must be applied equally to everyone in the country. If civil servants are punished for their involvement in corrupt practices, it will help the general public to understand that corruption is bad and also very risky.

7.2.8 Creating Awareness

Another important suggestion is that awareness must be created for the general public to understand that corruption is bad and destructive. Corruption does not help the development in society. In this regard, religious leaders should be involved as the aim of every religion is to teach morality. The religious leaders, as they are closer to the general public, should concentrate more in their teaching and preaching to creating awareness about the evils of corruption in the society than their modern teaching and preaching of prosperity. Through this way many people will be made aware of the evils of corruption and why they should not be involved in it.

7.2.9 Rule of Law Must be Followed and Rules must be Clear

The rule of law must be followed. The essence of making laws by the government is to maintain orderliness. In this case, procedures must be followed as prescribed by the law. It is not only that the rules must be maintained but also the rules also must be very clear to the civil servants as well as to the general public. This will make it easy for civil servants to at least understand certain issues such as the difference between public office and private office. Again, if rules are maintainedstrictly, the issue of nepotism in the public sector will not arise as there will be no room for it.

What this section has done is to outline some recommendations that should be taken into consideration by policy makers. The chapter has argued that when these recommendations are implemented fully by the government, corruption will be eliminated or at least reduce from the level where it is today to the barest minimium.

7.3 Conclusion

The overall aim of this has been to ethically investigate the cultural roots of corruption with particular reference to nepotism. The thesis made use of library research method which involved the use of books and the internet to pursue this objective. In the end, the thesis clearly shows that there is corruption in Africa. It demonstrates that corruption in Africa is obviously encouraged by nepotism. Nepotism, premised on the extended family system as practiced in Africa, makes it

very difficult to dismantle corruption in Africa. However, this does not mean that the problem of nepotism cannot be surmounted. Thus, the paper suggested ways by which the causes of nepotism as an instance of corruption can be addressed. Consequent on this, the argued that to address the issue of corruption with particular reference to nepotism, there is the need for an appropriate ethical framework. African moral theories of Ubuntu and moderate partialism were therefore offered as essential theories in dealing with the moral problem of corruption in Africa.

On the whole, the objective of this study was to answer the question; "how doesnepotism enshrined with African extended family encourage corruption?" While acknowledging the fact that there are other factors which cause corruption in Africa, almost every chapter of this thesis tries to show various ways in which traditional cultural practices such as nepotism (abuse of the African extended family system) contribute to corruption. So, throughout the thesis, nepotism or abuse of the African extended system featured as an African cultural practices and valuethat encourages corruption. Therefore, this thesis is only a smallcontribution to the causes and solutions of the problem of corruption in Africa especially as regards to nepotism.

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