

Original Research Article

Does Corruption Manifest Post Traumatic Stress Disorder?

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Evidence from the scientific literature on corruption: (misuse of public office for private gain) seems to suggest that the root cause of corruption is 'fear and ego'. The question is what is the proximal cause of this fear? Where does ego compliment fear? We put aside the 'fear and ego' paradigm for corruption, but assessed whether prolonged exposure to socio-economic shocks and stresses could provoke rent-seeking behavior in a population such as that of Ghana with a checkered post-colonial history. We further investigated if the scientific literature supports our theory that experiencing severe socio-economic shocks and stresses over time such as what Ghana experienced between 1972 and 1992 has the same debilitating effect as those who encounter socio-political trauma and may suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). We also theorized that the period from 1972 to 1992 presented challenging economic crises capable of instigating PTSD manifestation in a large segment of the national population. Extensive literature and documentary review were conducted on the internet, from free and open access data management sites including journals and scientific publications. Physical in library search for grey literature was conducted. The scientific literature is explicit in supporting the theory that those who experience severe economic shocks and stresses over time are more likely to experience PTSD. Also, that fear and ego may be artefacts of exposure to prolonged socio-economic trauma. As a coping mechanism, such persons may engage in rent seeking practices as ways of building personal slush fund against economic uncertainties: shocks and Stresses. It may also be ill-conceived means of improving personal sense of security and resilience against future but similar economic shocks and stresses. Bad economic conditions of a nation even in peace time can mimic wartime situations. Political economies that appear to be in a constant state of agitation and upheaval can be a traumatizing ecosystem that may produce psychosis similar to PTSD, although such conditions are modifiable over time. Considering the systemic challenges and pressures on the national economy, it appears there may be more nationals experiencing PTSD than it is normally understood, due to the persistent poor performance of the national economy. If such is the case, then rent-seeking behaviors and corrupt practices in Ghana are poised to get worse and more mainstream than it has been previously observed. Either way, the prognosis does not appear to be encouraging and immediate remedies are recommended.

Keywords: Corruption, Post traumatic stress disorder, Ghana, Economy, Rent-seeking behavior.

INTRODUCTION

Van de Walle (2001) proffered that African economies were in a constant state of overhaul of its political leadership and socio-economic programs. This was particularly so, since 1966 in the case of Ghana through most of the 1990's. For example, during this period Ghana saw more than four successful military take-over of government, which are briefly touched on in this paper, and a handful of unsuccessful coups. The incidence of coup d'états in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1957 and 1997 was noted with grave concern not only Western African, but in the entire continent and beyond. These

developments were inconsistent with good governance. The coup planners justified their usurpation of power on the basis of the deterioration of the fortunes of the populations. To help arrest what appeared as persistent bad governance, over-blown national deficit budget and financing, coupled with a general sense of doom, the World Bank with the IMF introduced an economic bandage that came to be called the Structural Adjustment Program. It was reasoned that the fundamental national fiscal and economic structure were catastrophically fractured. If left alone, the nation would

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become ungovernable and stateless. Ghana's centrally planned economy needed to be shored up with a combination of austerity and fiscal programs that demanded from all compliance with the prescriptions. But while the population was prepared to work with the newly introduced austerity measures, the central government failed to control the burden of public recurring expenditure such as salaries, bloated civil servants and payroll and unacceptably high government expenditures across all sectors (Agbodohu and Quarmyne, 2014).

The seemingly never ending World Bank and IMF inspired Structural Adjustment Programs and other economic burdens placed on African economies and their populations a great deal of stresses. Unfair bilateral and multilateral trade agreements punished the producers of essential raw materials from economies such as Ghana and others in Sub-Saharan Africa. These factors, together with internal issues of poor economic performance, inflation, deficit financing of the national budget and macro- and micro-economic failures, appear to have combined to push the African economies into a permanent state of crisis. Such crises had not only economic consequences, but there was also psychological sequelae such as stress. There appeared to be a general breakdown of the moral fiber of the society of Ghana. This culminated in the late 1980's in conspicuous material consumption, misappropriation of societal and national assets on a massive scale and the devaluation of the ideals of nationhood and patriotism en masse (Agbodohu and Quarmyne, 2014; Treisman, 2000; Van de Walle, 2001; Mauro, 1998; Kiltgaard, 1998).

The apparent failure of one Structural Adjustment Program necessitated the introduction and the revamping of older programs into newer, all improved programs, which required even more stringent reforms (Treisman, 2000; Kiltgaard, 1998). Each new reform demanded that more rigorous economic measures were put in place such as the series of the World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs at the time, leading to the devaluation of the local currencies, and increases in the prices of goods and services, particularly transportation (World Bank, 1987, 1988, 1989; Holmes and Jonas, 1984; Kleinman, 1988; Elder and Meguro, 1987; Jebuni, 1995). Other bilateral agreements between the governments of what is now known as the G-8 nations and Ghana helped negatively to compound the economic shocks and stresses on the population's health.

It is therefore plausible to link mental health issues to the economic performance of the nations whose economies were under such stresses and shocks. This in turn provides the underlying conditions to induce Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Yarvis, 2004; Wessely et al., 2003; Zatzick et al., 1997). We postulate that such crisis and the uncertainties which the crisis garnered could have conspired to place the population in shocks and stresses so debilitating that it induced Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) much in the same way that veterans experience trauma (Putnam, 1985; APA, 1987; Spiegel et al., 1988; Scott, 1990; Breslau et al., 1998, 1999; Aldwin et al., 1994; Angrist and Krueger, 1994; Blanchard et al., 1996; Hull et al., 2002; Yarvis, 2004).

Post-traumatic stress disorder is a mental condition that is generally known to be triggered by a terrifying event. It was established as a psychiatric diagnosis in 1980 with the entry of the American Psychiatric Association Diagnosis and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III) (Scott, 1990; Breslau et al., 1999; Yarvis, 2004). The onset of PTSD can be initiated either by experiencing the traumatic event or by witnessing it. Generally, it is agreed that the symptoms of PTSD may include flashbacks, nightmares and severe anxiety, uncontrollable

thoughts about the event (Putnam, 1985; APA, 1987; Spiegel et al., 1988; Allison and Schwarz, 1992; Boon and Draijer, 1993; Bremner et al., 1993). Deteriorating economic conditions do provide misalignment to family units leading to the arousal of the risk factors such as spousal/childhood neglect or abuse, disease outbreaks such as malaria, cholera, and increases in maternal mortality and under-five child deaths, the lack of social support, the lack of a good support system of family and friends, experiencing even physical attack, and other life-threatening events such as starvation and deprivation of basic amenities (Miller, 2002; Murray, 1993). The incidence of these and more of such risk factors was prevalent in Ghana during the period between 1966 and the early part of the 1990's (GSS 2000; World Bank, 1995).

Although the literature on PTSD has well established that not everyone who experiences a traumatic event has difficulty adjusting and coping, for some, it may last for a long period if not properly treated (Putnam, 1985; Boon and Draijer, 1993; Aldwin et al., 1994; Angrist and Krueger, 1994; Blanchard et al., 1996; Hull et al., 2002; Yarvis, 2004). Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is classified as an anxiety disorder, although it differs from anxiety because it manifests only after a traumatic experience and therefore it is a stress-related disorder. The symptoms of PTSD are grouped into four types, namely intrusive memories, avoidance, negative changes in thinking and mood, or changes in emotional reactions.

We postulate additionally that due to the desire of many a members of the populations in the African economies attempt to avoid the shocks and stresses associated with severe economic times similar to what they may have experienced, they have latched on to rent-seeking behaviors. The goal is to amass as much wealth as possible so as not to experience the repeat of such negative events and personal discomfiture. That is to say, the rent-seeking behavior and corrupt practices may be negative coping mechanisms adopted by the populations to deal with the shocks and stresses experienced in the past.

Due to the fact that those with PTSD may have been ignored and not treated or counseled for a long time, part of the dissociative mechanism exhibited include the classical symptoms of PTSD such as anxiety, depression, impulsive behavior, substance abuse, sleeplessness and nightmares. Other dissociative disorders may include (in our case) inability to experience positive patriotism, where the state's interests supercedes that of the ego or self (Putnam, 1985; Boon and Draijer, 1993; Aldwin et al., 1994; Angrist and Krueger, 1994; Blanchard et al., 1996; Hull et al., 2002; Yarvis, 2004). Unreasonable fear of losing that which does not belong to one and thinking that if one does not appropriate national asset in one's care as a fiduciary, some other person shall so appropriate all (Agbodohu and Quarmyne, 2014).

It also includes self-destructive behaviors such as drinking too much or driving too fast irrespective of bad conditions of the roads, engaging in serious fraud and fraudulent activities despite the consequences of being apprehended and shamed or jailed (Treisman, 2000; Kiltgaard, 1998).

Part of the negative changes may be difficulty maintaining professionalism, being accountable and demonstrating probity as part of one's moral fitness accompanied by feelings of hopelessness and even excessive show of religiosity. All of such tendencies may feed into the thoughts and emotions of the victim of PTSD and may increase unethical and rent-seeking behaviors (McFarland et al., 2011; Brothers, 1993; Burton, 1992; Butler and Harper, 1994; Prest and Keller, 1993; Schlenger et al., 1992; Scott, 1990; Elder and Meguro, 1987).

PROCEDURE

The authors adopted the American Psychiatric Association's definition of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder for the investigation and analysis. The authors were driven by the curiosity that perhaps there was a relationship between PTSD and corruption as a valid social conduct. The current scientific literature on corruption seems to suggest that the root cause of corruption is 'fear and ego'.

The authors questioned the origin of this 'fear' and 'ego' conundrum. Even if there was no 'smoking gun' establishing the basis for the fear and ego paradigm, then there ought to be the proximal cause of the fear and ego neuroses to exist? If the fear and ego equation cannot be established beyond a reasonable certainty as the reason for corruption, then it ought to be put aside. The authors proceeded to assess whether prolonged exposure to socio-economic shocks and stresses could provoke rent-seeking behavior in a population such as that of Ghana with a checkered post-colonial history.

We further investigated if the scientific literature supports our theory that experiencing severe socio-economic shocks and stresses over time such as what Ghana experienced between 1972 and 1992 has the same debilitating effect as those who encounter socio-political trauma and may suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. In terms of the period under this assessment, we started the review from 1957 when Ghana, as the first African nation within Sub-Saharan Africa to gain its independence and cut off in 1997 following a return to civilian rule. Prior to 1992, the nation was under one military rule to the other with an intermittent return to civilian rule from 1969 to 1971 under Dr. Busia and Dr. Hilary Limann from 1979 to 1981.

The research did not concern itself with clinical testing, treatment and counseling of victims of PTSD. It did not conduct any investigation into actual cases of those who might be suffering from PTSD, but focused on assessing the effect of shocks and stresses on a population over time on a purely theoretical basis. We were rather concerned with the following effects:

Effects of Shocks and Stresses on Rent-Seeking Behaviors

If one were to remove all the variables that have been identified as igniting rent-seeking behaviors, would the population still engage in corrupt practices?

Effects of Culture

Gift-giving to authority figures such as chiefs, opinion leaders in a community is common. This is particularly so when the chief or opinion leader is to render a service or favor to the subject giver. Is the cultural antecedent of gift-giving the proximate cause for rent-seeking behaviors in Ghana?

Effects on Ethics Education

The national population may not, at a cursory glance, appear to have received or been exposed to education in ethics or morality. Yet, Ghana like every society teaches each generation the acceptable moral standards and conduct, etiquette as well, in their dealings with each other and with the establishment, be it modern or traditional. The Churches and Mosques are also consistent centers of moral education and re-enforcement of ethical standards and education. Organized and orthodox religious groups and services or fellowship are

found in both private and public facilities, school buildings and spaces (Norman 2013). Therefore, the lack of education in ethics and morality cannot be the culprit.

We also searched the PUBMED, Medline, Kaiser Family Foundation, Page Press and other databases, including journals such as the Ghana Medical Journal for information, reported clinical cases and other research on the issue with carefully designed search combinations. The data was disaggregated into the respective themes for analyses and summarized the findings into their respective units, and interpreted them based upon the authors' skills, knowledge and specialization in policy and management and in public health in general.

OUTCOMES OF THEORETICAL INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION

Economic shocks and stresses in Ghana and the sub-region (1957-1983)

As we proceed, it is important to bear in mind that corruption as a social conduct in Ghana was not caused by one cataclysmic event. The population is not by nature and intrinsically more corrupt than any. It was caused by a catalogue of incidences of corrupt conducts that were allowed to go unpunished that might have helped to mainstream the conduct.

Ghana as the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain her independence in 1957 occupied a privileged and an enviable economic position compared to other British colonies at the time. Within this general positive feeling was hidden the management reality that the intellectual-cum-commercial or industrial class men and women of Sub-Saharan Africa were unprepared in a massive way to exploit the gains that the attainment of political independence was meant to procure for the masses (Van de Walle, 2001). During the independence era, Ghana had a shortage of specific critical skills such as those of doctors, engineers, agriculturalist, and secondary school teachers (Killick, 1978, 2010).

The percentage of the adult population that ever attended school, according to the 1960 census was 16% and most of these only gained elementary education (Killick, 2010). The historical data at the time of independence reveals that many of the working class men and women were in roles and were operating at the point of saturation of responsibilities (Killick, 2010). Putting unqualified personnel in jobs they could not adequately perform did not augur well with strategic national development and upward mobility.

Era of national educational, industrial and commercial expansion

Meng, (2004) proffered that Ghana possessed substantial physical and social infrastructure and \$481 million in foreign reserves at the time of independence. It had revenues from cocoa exports accounting for as much as 50% of the GDP (Dzorgbo, 2001). Ghana mined a tenth of the world's gold (Meng, 2004). Ghana enjoyed a per capital income of £500 considered to be the highest in the sub region at the time (Gockel and Vormawor, 2004).

As a result of these natural assets, Ghana had most of her key economic indicators comparable to that of Mexico and South Korea, despite the low levels of education (Meng, 2004). Bolstered by such massive wealth, the government of Ghana under its socialist leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, initiated many regional development programs including the building of the

educational infrastructure as such University of Cape Coast, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, hundreds of public elementary and secondary schools, polytechnics, teacher training schools, nursing, medical schools, the Akosombo electricity dam, roads, harbours, and even industrial towns and settlement like Tema in the Greater Accra region, and so many other industrial complexes. By 1977, barely two decades after independence, Ghana's economy plunged into difficulties with over 100% inflation and a per capita income a third of what existed soon after independence.

What accounted for Ghana's abysmal economic performance in spite of the assets at her disposal according to Meng includes six historical themes: excess demand, currency overvaluation, foreign dependence, ineffective policies concerning comparative advantages, over-extended state involvement, and financial sector inhibitions (Meng, 2004). The examination of Ghana's economic history inevitably helps to examine the early independence policies of government and the political upheavals that served as precursors to the economic situation of today and produced the shocks and stresses for the population over time.

The tear in the national economic Teflon cover

Nkrumah's government was interrupted in a military coup in 1966 and his socialist economic policies abandoned by the National Liberation Council (NLC). During the NLC regime (1966-69) attempts were made to reverse Nkrumah's vigorous industrialization policies. The reins of government were soon turned over to the democratically elected Dr. Abrefa Busia (1969-71). Busia continued the NLC's monetary reforms and trade liberalisation policies of the IMF and World Bank (Gockel and Vormawor, 2004). Despite the apparent progress that was being made to turn the fortunes of the nation around, there was another shocker to the normalization of governance and the rule of law. It was another military coup, which was led by Colonel Kuti Ignacious Acheampong. He ruled henceforth as the chairman of the National Redemption Council (NRC).

Among its first acts, the NRC decreed: a revaluation of the Cedi (devalued earlier by Brigadier A. Afrifa in 1967 and the Progress Party of the government of Busia in 1971); a return of control prices to their pre-devaluation levels; a refusal to pay "unjust" foreign loans that had been taken out by previous civilian governments; and a fourfold increase in the minimum wage (Leith and Söderling, 2003). While the wage increases were good, they also had an overall incremental effect on the prices of goods and services in the general economy. The Acheampong government proceeded to expand state involvement in the economy and implemented the "operation feed yourself" as a national drive towards greater commitment to agriculture and food self-sufficiency.

The NRC's regime which ruled from 1972-1978, was overthrown in a coup on the repercussions of its currency revaluation. The Supreme Military Council (SMC) immediately embarked on currency devaluation in an attempt to salvage the economic crisis in 1978. In fact, so bad were the economic conditions in the country that, a military uprising occurred on June 4th, 1979. This ushered in the government of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by Jerry Rawlings. The execution by firing squad of three former heads of state and other leading political activists sums up the political and economic tension of the era. The AFRC initiated legislation and economic policies that crippled the real economy and financial system that was already crumbling under repressive policies. It finally handed over power to an elected Hilary Limann's

government after four months. The Peoples National Party (PNP) stayed in power for barely two years (1979-81) but was ousted by Lt. Jerry Rawlings and his compatriots in the Army on 31st December, 1981, establishing the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government. With his charismatic leadership style and his appeal to Eastern Europe during the cold war, Rawlings initiated the "famous" Economic Recovery Program (ERP), touted as a neoliberal agenda based on the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) of the World Bank and IMF in 1983 (Osei, 1999).

All these series of econo-political incidences had negative effect on the sense of well-being, happiness, sense of ownership, education, professional development, promotion, patriotism, nepotism, cronyism and even general health of the population. Beginning from the worsening of conditions from the period immediately after independence through the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program, through divestiture to the re-introduction of democracy and the rule of law in 1992, there was the general feeling that "Ghana was not a nation for which one should die" (Frimpong-Boateng, 2011).

The Economic Growth, Shocks and Stresses and the Creeping Determinism of Rent-seeking behaviours (1972-1992)

The economic growth record of Ghana has been one of uncertainty, with brief periods of positive and negative growth. At the onset of decolonization, the state was deeply involved in economic activity and most of the indicators were satisfactory in the late 50's and early 60's. However, in the latter part of the 1970s and the early 1980s the economic situation deteriorated due to poor governance, political instability, and the high oil prices (MEST, 2012). Growth rate in 1972, 1975-1976, 1979, 1980-1983, and 1990 was negative coinciding with years that saw a change or reversal in policy and government (Kwasi Fosu, 2001). As can be inferred from Table 1, real GDP per capita income growth remained progressive though the magnitude is quite small largely due to an increasing population.

A huge public bureaucracy forced the government to enlist almost bankrupt state owned enterprises in its quest to create a lasting state involvement in the economy. This, subsequently, greatly encouraged rent seeking in public life. Furthermore, commodity pricing and distribution controls and the "big push" ambitious projects that contributed nothing to the economic output, described as financial repressive policies, also contributed to the economic decline (Leith and Söderling, 2003). Consequently, fiscal discipline was poor culminating into huge budget deficits.

Other shocks and stresses came from agriculture and from the market and severely reduced the purchasing power of the people. Severe droughts in 1975-1977 and 1981-1983 devastated food supply. Added to these were appreciating oil prices in the 1970's; high and increasing interest rates on foreign debts accrued as a result of expenditure far exceeding revenues. With farm inputs rising in cost, farmers cut corners and did not maintain their farms which led to declining volume of exports of agricultural and food stuff especially cocoa. A reduction in the international price of cocoa on the world market constituted the external shocks experienced by the economy (Leith and Söderling, 2003; Frimpong-Ansah, 1992; Agbodeka, 1992).

These exogenous shocks accounted for an annual average decline of 0.5% in GDP as reported by a World Bank study (World Bank, 1985).

Table 1. Population and Real GDP Per Capita Growth in Ghana (1972-1992)

Year	Population	Real GDP Per Capita income Growth
1972	9,086000	-5.9251
1973	9,385000	0.157698
1974	9,607000	4.624545
1975	9,817000	-16.5329
1976	10,309000	-5.44882
1977	10,632000	0.282376
1978	10,969000	7.963121
1979	11,000000	-3.39927
1980	11,736000	-1.69838
1981	11,400000	-5.64543
1982	11,700000	-9.71208
1983	12,000000	-7.84499
1984	12,309000	4.865695
1985	12,710000	1.322152
1986	13,163000	1.469775
1987	13,572000	1.131599
1988	13,709000	2.101763
1989	14,137000	1.652715
1990	15,020000	-0.02901
1991	15,484000	2.035341
1992	15,959000	0.627711

Sources: Kwasi Fosu, A. (2001). Emerging Africa: The Case of Ghana. Retrieved from: <http://www.oceandocs.org/handle/1834/448.>; <http://www.populstat.info/Africa/ghanac.htm>.

Aggravating the worse economic conditions in the country, came a mass influx of Ghanaians who were repatriated from neighbouring Nigeria. As observed by Gockel and Vormawor, "the net result of the economic and political shocks was the deterioration in all sectors of the economy, culminating in a cumulative decline of 15.6% in real GDP between 1971-83 and an inflation of 123% in 1983. At this moment, savings and investment ratios fell to their lowest levels by 1983, each hovering around 3%, with varying degrees of unemployment/underemployment" (Gockel and Vormawor, 2004).

Sarpong and Asuming-Brempong (2004) to further asset this situation quipped that these shocks included adverse terms of trade shocks, exchange rate upheavals, large budget deficits, bush fires, droughts (between 1981-83), and its attendant energy and power crisis as a result of the heavy dependence of the country on hydropower (Sarpong et al., 2004). In fact, the 1981- 1983 droughts are on record to have caused the worst energy and power crisis ever in the country. Table 2 presents some of these macroeconomic shocks and their impact on welfare indicators. Over the period under discussion there were three major devaluations of the currency to the US dollar exchange rate (1971, 1978 and 1983), all of which led to sharp rise in inflation (Ocran, 2005). The cumulative effect of this was the declining trend of all real sectors of the economy from 1971-1983 as shown in Table 3.

Public life was re-oriented towards unproductive rent seeking activities due to ineffective economic policies, culminating in inefficiencies in the system. This in turn served as a disincentive for productivity. This development gradually ushered in "kalabuleism" where private rents were realised at the expense of social benefits to the economy. By 1983, Ghana's economy could be described aptly as bankrupt with all real sectors of the economy declining.

Bandage Phases: Economic Recovery and Structural Adjustment Programs

These poor macroeconomic credentials inevitably compelled the country to turn to the seemingly unending World Bank and IMF inspired Economic Recovery (ER) and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1983 (Aryeetey, 1996) which was meant to arrest pricing distortions in the exchange systems following years of heavy government intervention and massive expansion of the public sector (World Bank, 1985; Rodriguez, 1989). The corollaries of these macroeconomic policy adjustments were adverse economic condition in the nation's health; aggravating poverty indices resulting in declining access to education, health and other social services.

During most Economic Recovery and Structural Adjustment Programmes, poorer household and vulnerable groups such as the unskilled, low paid, labour intensive families, and women are adversely affected (Cornia et al., 1987). Unfortunately, the case of Ghana was no different. Major public sector retrenchment affected workers, cleaners, drivers, labourers, and messengers. Most of the workers affected were those engaged in unskilled jobs. Formal sector employment decreased by an estimated 60%, accounting for an average annual decrease of 10%, compared with an average annual growth rate of 2.3% of the labour force (ISSER, 1995).

To put this in numerical terms, between 1987 and 1991 about 50, 000 public sector workers were dismissed (Sarpong et al., 2004). The energy crisis during the period also caused industry and businesses to cut down production, hence laying-off some workers. So bad was the situation such that the government instituted the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) which had a mandate to provide vocational and technical skills including jobs to people who had lost their jobs due to retrenchment. Also, the period saw a seasonal reverse migration as urban dwellers returned to their rural homes (Ewusi, 1987; Fosu, 1989; Abdulai, 1999) in order to survive.

Table 2. Some macroeconomic crisis indicators in Ghana and their impact on welfare

Crisis	Main Crisis Indicators	Health Indicators	Education (school Enrolment) Indicators	Poverty Incidence Indicators	Employment Indicators
Worsening/ adverse terms of trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Trade balance worsened from a deficit of US\$ 36.2 million in 1985 to a deficit of US \$ 321 million in 1991. . Real GDP growth fell from a positive value of 6.25% in 1980 to a negative value of 4.56% in 1983. . Price of gold fell by 14.5% In 1987, 21.9% in 1990, and 9.2% in 1992. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Average calorie availability as a percentage of requirements fell from 88% in the late 1970's to 68% in the early 1980's. . Infant mortality rate increased from 86 per 1000 live births in the late 1970's to 107/120 per 1000 live births in the early 1980's. . Between 1984-1986, Ghanaians obtained only 76% of required daily calorie intake. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .Growth in gross primary school enrolment declined from 5.89% in 1983 to 3.28% in 1984 and 11.52% in 1985. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Real national income per capital fell by 7.7% between 1981-1983. . Average earnings of workers declined from an index of 100 in 1977 to 21.9% in 1983. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment rate is estimated at About 20% for 1993. . Estimates of underemployment for 1990's ranges between 64% and 80% of the total Labour force.
Forced return of migrants from Nigeria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . 1.2 million Ghanaian emigrant workers were expelled from 				
Drought/bush Fires/famine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Real GDP of Agriculture fell by 7% in 1983 and by 2% in 1990. . Per capita food availability in 1983 Was 30% lower than in 1974. . Inflation reached a peak of 129% In 1983. 				
Energy crisis (1982-84, 1997-98)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Power generation at Akosombo fell at almost 50%. . Output of electricity and water sub sector declined. . Energy supplies to business and industry fell. 				
Fiscal crisis(Huge budget Deficits)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Fiscal account fell from a surplus of 1.5% of GDP to a deficit of 4.8%, 5.6% and 4.3% of GDP in 1992, 1993 and 1995 respectively. 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Real income per capita fell by 27% between 1975 and 1983. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Public sector employment was cut By 60% Between 1985 and 1991.
Exchange rate upheaval	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Cedi depreciated by 192% between 1983 and 1984, 40% between 1984 and 1985, 34% in 1986/87 and 11% in 1988/89. 				
Increased level of debt servicing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Total debt service payments increased from US\$ 375 million in 1990 to US\$409 million in 1994. . Total government expenditure on social services declined from 39.9% in 1983-91 to 28.1% in 1992-94. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Real educational expenditures declined by over two-thirds between 1975 and 1982. . Total government expenditure on health decreased from 21% In 1990 to 13% in 1994. . Rates of immunisation were low at only 39%. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Real educational expenditures declined by over two-thirds Between 1975 and 1982. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . 36% of Ghanaians lived below the poverty line between 1987 -88. . Poverty levels increased dramatically in Accra from 8.5% in 1987-88 to 23.9% In 1991-92. 	

Source: Sarpong DB and Asuming-Brempong S (2004). Responding to economic shocks in Ghana: the agricultural sector as a social safety net. *Electronic Journal of Agricultural and Development Economics*, 1, 117–37.

Table 3. Developments in Output: 1971-83

Sector	Cumulative %	Annual Average Growth %
Agric. Fishing & Forestry	-10.8	-0.9
Cocoa	-59.7	-7.3
Industrial Production	-47.5	-5.2
Services	12.9	1
GDP	-15.6	-1.4

Source: Gockel, A. F. (1995), *The Role of Finance in Economic Development: The case of Ghana*, an Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, University of Manchester, UK.

As additional strategies for coping with the economic shock and stress, Ghanaians resorted to multiple jobs. About 58% of second jobs were in Agriculture (Sarpong et al., 2004; Sowa, 2002). Some workers in public institutions traded on-the-job whilst professionals and non-professionals alike drove taxis after working hours to supplement their income for the household (Hutchful, 2002). Others sold livestock or other assets or relied on support networks for transfers and loans as is the case when shocks occur in an economy (World Bank, 1988, 1990; Demery and Addison, 1987; Weaving, 1995).

CONCLUSION

We agree that fear and ego are only a set of artifact of the shocks and stress paradigms experienced over time by the population. That is to say, for there to be the fear factor, we contend that there has to first be the traumatic episode that imports the fear into the consciousness of the victim. Therefore the root cause of corruption ought to be the exposure to shocking and stressful events over time. Secondly, we proffer also that corruption may be a form of addiction that may be cured with proper diagnosis just as kleptomania, or sexual addiction, that is to say, a coping strategy towards the manifestation of PTSD. In this paper, if for nothing at all, we have attempted to render the discussion on corruption more elastic by linking shocks and stresses to PTSD.

Corruption as a disease has a definite beginning. If so, then it can also have a definite end with the appropriate interventions with a combination of policy changes, counseling and edification in ethical and moral values. We believe the real culprit keeping corruption on the up and high is the lack of a strong and efficient judiciary that is itself above reproach. The laws of Ghana on wrong-doing ought to be operationalized to cover all members of society but not the vulnerable majority. It is well understood that when the population strives too much to make ends meet, to raise enough capital to send their children to good schools, when the central municipal and national government cannot provide good transportation system for the nation, in the absence of an entrenched personal ethics and morality, individuals resort to rent-seeking behaviors.

When it appears that about 90 percent of the food supply in the nation is imported, the average man or woman would engage in corrupt practices so as to amass more wealth and social asset to be able to continue to put food on the family table. It is all about resilience, to be able to bounce back stronger and better prepared for the next wave of shocks and stresses.

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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