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INRODUCTION

Africa is the second largest continent after Asia that covers about one-fifth of the total land surface of Earth. Problems of Africa's integration in the sustainability track is no longer a matter of choice. The region is a home to the world's largest free market and a 1.2 billion population. Today the continent is standing on the verge of creating a completely new development path engaging potential of its resources and people. The integration of Africa into industrialisation and economic development has a groundbreaking potential not only for promoting equitable economic growth through markets but also for reducing conflicts, social disparity and poverty.

Challenges that meets Africa today are long-standing barriers with which the region have been struggling many decades starting from post-colonization time. The first problem is connected with the difficult process of governance liberation in African countries. After receiving an independence from the colonial rule African countries faced with dictatorships that merged from independence. Today many African countries are still facing a struggle of getting proper democratic governance. By manipulating the electoral process, limited access of civil society to the political system and abuse of civil rights the current governments are restating the liberalizations and destabilize the development of African region.

The problem of liberalization process is accompanied by the high level of corruption on all levels. Corruption penetrates all life facets starting from simple things like access to medical care, schools and jobs, to the grand scale of it all like award of contracts and use of public resources. Inequalities in access to services from government offices, the lack of opportunities for investment, move local and foreign companies to close business. In addition, the misappropriation of public funds and the inability to use public services for citizens without paying a bribe makes the stability if Africa region far away from the realization. As a result, there is a big gap between social groups in African countries. In spite of successful reforms made by respective governments the situation with corruption in Africa is still far away from ideal. Corruption penetrated in key sectors like healthcare, education, security and infrastructure leads results in the poor living conditions of African society.

The next problem that is a great threat to Africa's future is a gender inequality. According to McKinsey's Power of Parity Report: Advancing Women's Equality in Africa, Africa's gender parity stands at 0.58 (1 would be full parity). For the continent to achieve full parity could be 140 years without drastic action. The necessity of women empowerment in Africa lays economic

interests. African women represent a crucial part of labor force. However today they are engaged in domestic, low paid work or even unemployed that hinder the economic potential and contribution to economy. Due to the lack of education, limited access to politics and social disparities women are keeping lower positions in African countries. There is a vital need in women empowerment in Africa. According to estimations by advancing women's equality the African economy could add 10% to GDP, or US\$316 billion by 2025. Closing the gender gap for women and girls in all spheres of life is urgent for African sustainability and development.

The African youthful population is also represent a powerful opportunity for accelerated economic growth and innovation. More than 50 % of African population represent young people behind whom the future of Africa. The region is facing a surge of unemployment especially among young people. The reason lays in the insufficient investment in youth's education and empowerment. There is a huge gap between the older generation that is keeping struggling for being in the center of the of the policy and decision-making organs and the expanding youth population that should be educated in order to replace the petrified power. By contributions in education, employment opportunities, leadership and entrepreneurship plans and assistance, Africa is expected an economic boom and decrease in the number of internal problems such as poverty, crime due to joblessness and a host of other social issues.

The continent is really rich in natural resources, human capital and diverse socioeconomic background however the challenges that Africa is meeting today are hampering its development and requiring multifunctional approach. African countries need to build up policies that spur democracy, creating the enabling environment to build prosperity in Africa through concrete tasks such as job creation, regional integration and economic engagement.

Since Africa has received an independence country have become recipients of international aid and assistance. African countries are supported by international governmental organization (the United Nation), Non-governmental organizational and national organizations founded to afford assistance for low-developed countries. In is undeniable that the U.S. has numerous people- and country-centered. programs in Africa. During the Cold War, the U.S. aid were focuses mostly on security because Africa was a stumbling rock between the U.S. and Soviet Union. After the Cold War ended security assistance for Africa began to decline. However, in the panel session of the 104th Congress the discourse was turned from security to humanitarian interest of the U.S. in Africa. Congressional reports and bills emphasized U.S. humanitarian, economic, and other

interests in Africa that gradually were increasing in post-war era. Today the U.S. is one of the leading donors of humanitarian assistance to Africa.

The U.S. assistance reaches Africa through a variety of channels, including United States Agency for International Development (the USAID), the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and the Africa Development Foundation (ADF) etc. that are showing good results in programs that stimulate local economies, reduce poverty and gender inequalities and improve access to power. The flourishing period of the U.S. aid is attributed to the Obama administration (2009-2017). Total U.S. foreign assistance to Africa for FY2009 was \$8.2 billion. Sub-Saharan Africa received an estimated \$8.09 billion in FY2010 and \$6.9 billion in FY2011. The Obama Administration has requested an estimated \$7.7 billion for FY2012.

The U.S. assistance to Africa derived from national interest such as security, economic opportunities and political influence. Hence, the research goal (research question) of this thesis is to define particular qualities of the US soft power in African countries after the Cold war.

The political relevance of research is shaped by the fact that today Africa is an important subject of world politics that needs to be studied in order to improve the economic, social-political situation of countries located on this continent. In addition, the U.S. Soft power as a strong instrument of influence may become the most important and crucial in the development of African countries. **The scientific relevance of research** is determined by the lack of literature devoted to the analysis of the U.S. aid to Africa. The existing literature has mostly a historical focus covering the evolution of relations between both sides.

The research covers period from the end of the Cold war till the present due to several reasons. The first reason is shaped by considerable changes in the nature of the US foreign policy in Africa. After the end of the Cold war there has been a dramatical shift from military assistance to humanitarian aid of African countries. The second reason lies in the numerous documents published in social science. The documents reflect the content and results of the U.S. humanitarian programs in African countries that allowed to figure out the special aspects of the U.S. soft power in Africa.

The research has the following objectives:

1. To analyze the situation in African countries after the Cold War;

2. To analyze the U.S. initiatives directed to increase the political development of African countries;

3. To find out peculiarities of the U.S. influence on African countries through the prism of humanitarian programs in the sphere of political development, women empowerment, education and youth leadership;

The object of the research is the U.S. foreign policy in Africa, **the subject** – programs initiated by the U.S. government and national institutions in the sphere of political development, gender equality and youth leadership in Africa.

Theoretical Frameworks for the research are the theory of realism and more narrowly, the concept of soft power. The realism opens the opportunity to evaluate the public diplomacy as an instrument of national security and foreign policy of the United States. The concept of soft power is referred to understanding of the governmental policy aimed at attracting the democratic and liberal values of the U.S.

The research methods include historical analysis, documentary analysis, system analysis, comparative analysis and case study. We mainly used a historical analysis for understanding the historical background of African countries. The documentary analysis and comparative analysis were used to focus on the variety of activities conducted by the U.S. support on African countries. Case study was used mainly to show results of the U.S. activity in African countries. All those methods contributed to our understanding special aspects of the U.S. soft power and its current role in the system of international relations.

Review of the literature (Historiography). As it was mentioned before the relevance of research is determined by the lack of literature regarding the U.S. soft power in Africa. In the article of Oluwaseun Tella, *A declining or stable image? An assessment of the United States' soft power in Africa* he explores and examines the sources of US soft power in Africa. He analyzes two influential programs initiated by the U.S. – the African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) – as examples of economic and humanitarian diplomacy. The second part of the article contributed to the analysis of cultural export in Africa. He believes that the US soft power has a huge presence across the globe and particularly in Africa. The reason for it he sees in the growing global importance of Africa that is rich by resources and human capital. He considers that the U.S. interests in Africa are determined

by the U.S. foreign policy and rather than mobilizing its hard power, the U.S. has made a shift towards soft power. By analyzing the results of programs conducted by the U.S. the author makes a positive conclusion because programs led to corruption decline, rebuild the rule of. Law, poverty reduction and save life for thousands with deadly HIV/AIDS.

Primary sources/Documents. The research has applied the documents of the government of the United States and African countries which where takes as a case studies, USAID, UNESCO, African Development Bank Group, McKinsey Global Institute, World Economic Forum, their evaluations, reports and strategies. The statistics was taken from data published by the Transparency International, World Bank, UN and Afrobarometer.

Structure of the dissertation. The MA thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter introduction dedicated to the anticorruption programs initiated in Liberia, Burundi and Uganda, what was the situation with corruption in these countries, goals and tasks that were set and their results. The second chapter is “Women empowerment and gender equality in Africa” which gives a brief outline of the U.S. programs in Kenya, Malawi and Ghana and their result in achieving the gender equality in these countries and opening more opportunities for girls and women to be full members of society. The third chapter is illustration of youth empowerment in African countries that outline an effective approach to leadership development.

CHAPTER 1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ANTICORRUPTION

Corruption is a form of dishonesty that has a harmful and devastating influence on state development. According to Transparency International damage caused by corruption may be classified by several spheres: political, economic, social and environmental. Political corruption leads to disruption of democracy and the rule of law. The citizens stop believing government and state institutions. The lack of legitimacy results in the unstable and insecure state that is vulnerable to conflicts and crises. Economical corruption strengthens the instability of political development and undermine the national economy. The social impact of corruption refers to the mistrust of citizens, the lack of faith and trusted relations between society and state. In complex the corruption is becoming the major barrier to the state development.

In the first chapter we will analyze the presence of corruption in Africa and study cases of countries where corruption has achieved the pick and how the U.S. is taking participation in fighting against it by implementation of anti-corruption programs.

Africa is a leading global watchdog of corruption. According to the African study led in 2002 the corruption cost the continent was estimated roughly \$150 billion a year. In comparison, developed countries that spend 22,5 billion in aid to sub-Saharan Africa in 2008, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.¹

Perception of Africa as a corrupted region is reflected in many researched and poll conducted among African citizens. In 2019 Transparency International published the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB). This is a research conducted among people of Africa and shows that more than 50 % of all citizens think that corruption is getting worse in their countries and governance led ineffective job and policy to erode it. Furthermore, citizens believe that the lack of governmental measures caused by the fact that political institutes are corrupted as well (Figure 1).

The GCB shows also that one in four people who has an access to public services such as health care and education, was tackling with the situation when they have to pay a bribe. This equates to approximately 130 million citizens in the 35 countries surveyed. The survey done by Transparency international led to several findings. Firstly, the corruption is on the rise more than half (55 per cent) of all citizens think that corruption increased in the previous 12 months. Only 23 per cent think it declined. Many governments are failing to do enough, only one in three citizens

¹ Adeniyi O. (2016) African Union and the Challenges of Development. Journal of African Union Studies.

(34 per cent) thinks their government is doing a good job at fighting corruption, while 59 per cent rate their government's performance as bad. Concerns about the integrity of public officials remain high among key public institutions, police are most widely seen as corrupt: 47 per cent of people say most or all police are corrupt. But also almost four in 10 citizens think most or all government officials (39 per cent) and parliamentarians (36 per cent) are corrupt (Figure 2).²

Political corruption is one of the major barriers to the development of African region. The U.S. is conducting a variety of measure in cooperation with African Governments and international partners anticorruption actions especially investigative and auditing procedures. Programs implemented by the U.S. government lead to the corruption prevention in African countries. Analysis of U.S. programs conducted in African countries shows the programs in anticorruption actions and also underlines obstacle with which the U.S. met during their implementation.

² Global Corruption Barometer Africa 2019. Transparency International. URL: https://www.transparency.org/files/content/pages/2019_GCB_Africa.pdf

1.1 USAID programs in Liberia

Corruption is endemic at every level of the life in Liberia. In 2006 President Sirleaf announced that corruption was "the major public enemy".³ Every year Transparency International publishes a list of countries and ranks them according to perceptions of corruption according to experts and citizens. Back in 2005, Liberia was 150 out 171 countries but then fell to its lowest score of 75 in 2012. Since 2012, it has been slowly increasing and, in 2019, the score was 137. According to Transparency International 2013 survey, 86% of Liberian residents said that their government was ineffective at fighting the problem. 96% of Liberians think over their legislature is corrupted and 75% said that they had to pay a bribe to a government official.⁴

The World Bank Worldwide Governance Indicators 2018 scores Liberia 27 out of 100 for control of corruption (in comparison, Australia is scored at 95 out of 100).⁵ The Ibrahim Index of African Governance scores Liberia 31st out of 53 African countries and an overall score of 20 out of 100 for control of corruption in 2018 – compared with Botswana which was first and scored 100.⁶

Since the start of programs managed and finance by the U.S. Liberia shows a progress in fighting against corruption a Liberia's score on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index proves it. In 2016 there was a decrease from 37 out of 100 to 28 in 2018. In comparison to 2015, the overall bribery rate dropped from 69% to 53% in 2019. More people felt that the government was doing a good job of fighting corruption (40% in 2019 compared to 18% in 2015), and more people felt that they could make a difference in the fight against corruption (52% in 2019 compared to 43% in 2015).⁷

³ "Liberia: Police Corruption Harms Rights, Progress. Human Right Watch, 22 August 2013. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/08/22/liberia-police-corruption-harms-rights-progress>

⁴ Global Corruption Barometer Africa 2013. Transparency International. URL: <https://www.transparency.org/gcb2013/report>

⁵ Worldwide Governance Indicators 2018. The World Bank. URL: <https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/Home/Reports>

⁶ Ibrahim Index of African Governance. MO Ibrahim Foundation, 2018. URL: <https://www.tralac.org/documents/resources/africa/2363-2018-ibrahim-index-of-african-governance-index-report/file.html>

⁷ Global Corruption Barometer Africa 2019. Transparency International. URL: https://www.transparency.org/files/content/pages/2019_GCB_Africa.pdf

In 2015, the Global Corruption Barometer survey reported that 69% of people who visited at least one of six key public services like public schools, hospitals, the police, courts, for official documents or for utilities—having paid a bribe in the past year.⁸ Since 2015 bribery rates appear to be decreasing. According to the 2019 Global Corruption Barometer survey, among respondents who had contact with relevant public services during the previous year, about half say they paid a bribe at least once to get police assistance (55% compared to 60% in 2015) or household services (48% compared to 56% in 2015). About four in 10 paid a bribe at least once to get medical care (43% compared to 52% in 2015) or to get public school services (40%, compared to 45% in 2015).

However, the progress shown by indicators that were mentioned previous paragraph are still showing that Liberia meets the problem of corruption. According to 2019 Global Corruption Barometer data, almost half of Liberians reported that the level of corruption in the country increased over the year, with the police, National Electoral Commission and National Assembly perceived to be the most corrupt.

The reason of corruption in Liberia is mainly the 14 years of civil war which led to the complete collapse of the Liberian state. Since the end of war Liberia has achieved relative progress in peace and stability. In many cases progress in rebuilding the political system, rule a law, reconsidering political rights and liberties were triggered by international by international donors pushing for transparency and good governance as well as domestic pressure to fulfill promises of reform made on the campaign trail.

Since the cooperative work with the U.S. Liberia has made substantive progress on reducing corruption by establishing several formal integrity institutions. By the U.S. financial support such institutes as the General Auditing Commission (GAC), a Liberia Revenue Authority, the Public Procurement and Concession Commission (PPCC); the Liberia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative; and the Liberia Anticorruption Commission that sought to prevent, investigate, and prosecute corruption were established.

What is the role of the U.S. in establishing institutions and implementation anticorruption programs? The research is based on different programs supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) over the past decade with a stated focus, in whole or in part, on anticorruption, accountability, transparency or integrity.

⁸ Africa survey 2015 - Global Corruption Barometer. Transparency International. URL: https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_africa_survey_2015

Liberia is the country that received the biggest financial support from the U.S. for anticorruption measures. In August 2008 USAID published an Anti-corruption program efficacy in Sub-Saharan Africa. The review revealed trends in the levels and areas of focus of programming over the period 2008 to 2018. During this period Liberia received \$ 88,617,941 funding for anti-corruption programs (Figure 3).⁹

One of the biggest programs created to assist the Government of Liberia in order to create and institutionalize effective financial and asset management policies and procedures, contain corruption, and improve overall economic governance was Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) implemented during the period 2006-2010. The program was designed and funded by the IMF, World Bank, the U.S. Treasury Department and USAID. One of the key components of the program was establishing effective processes to control corruption.

In June 2010 the USAID published an executive summary - Final Evaluation of GEMAP Activities – where a significant progress since its initial starting point in various corruption and transparency spheres is reflected. The report show that much further work remains to be done to improve government expenditure, financial and asset control processes. The program covered the control of governmental institution that allowed to reduce a corruption in Liberia.

One of the major goals of GEMAP was to address the unprecedented corruption. At the beginning of the program the Liberian government faced a situation of a lack of revenue and a lack of control over spending or government assets. To minimize corruption, Internationally Recruited Financial Controllers (IRFCs) were placed in positions where the Liberian government was supposed to receive revenue and where controls on expenditures were deemed to have the maximum impact. As a result, one of most significant impact can be attributed to the GEMAP was the significant increase in government revenues.¹⁰ For the fiscal year 2005-2006, total Government revenue was \$85 million. However, for fiscal year 2006-2007. Total government revenue was \$148 million, representing a 75% increase from the previous year. The fiscal position of the GOL

⁹ Anti-Corruption Program Efficacy in Sub-Saharan Africa. USAID 2008. URL: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/AfricaAnticorruption_Report_FINAL_508.pdf

¹⁰ Final Evaluation of USAID GEMAP Activities (Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program). USAID, 2010. URL: <http://www.gemap-liberia.org/doc/library/Evaluation%20of%20USAID%20Liberia%20GEMAP.pdf>

continued to strengthen thought fiscal year 2007 – 2008 with total government revenue amounting to \$207, in 2008 – 2009 fiscal year the revenue was \$235 (Figure 4).^{11 12 13}

The GEMAP advisors primarily functioned as controllers, approving every payment voucher. This power enabled them to reduce the number of improper, unjustified or off-budget payments. Justification for the payment, proof that the goods had been received, that it was budgeted for, that a certifying officer approved the expense were required before payment. All the controllers felt that this power allowed them to look at other corruptible areas and that their approval requirement did reduce corruption. The improved budget process has resulted in numbers that make the budget closer to reality and monthly and line item allotments are now more meaningful. This discipline in the release of government funds also reduces corruption.

Apart from the financial control it is important to mention institutions that were established to fight with corruption precedents in Liberia. The Governance Reform Commission has developed a national anti-corruption strategy. The major success of this strategy as a part of GEMAP result has become the establishment in 2008 of the Liberia Anti-corruption Commission (LACC). The mandate of LACC is to implement appropriate measures and take actions toward preventing and eliminating of corruption. The activities done by LACC since the establishment led to the changes in ranking by Transparency International from a score of 150 in 2005 to 90 in 2016.

To conclude the GEMAP represents the example of the U.S. political and financial influence that provides many benefits to Liberia – stabilization and fastening political development by elimination of corruption. The data currently available in the public domain show that funding for support of the GEMAP from donor partners totaled approximately \$20 million for the period 2005-2007. The U.S. and the World Bank were the major contributors at 35% and 36% of the total respectively.¹⁴ The program helped to start a rebuilding of post-conflict Liberia at every level.

¹¹ Annual Fiscal Outturn FY 2005/2006. Liberian Ministry of Finance. URL: <https://www.mfdp.gov.lr/index.php/economic-management-reports/macroeconomic-and-financial-sector-policy-unit/fiscal-outturn-report>

¹² Annual Fiscal Outturn FY 2006/2007. Liberian Ministry of Finance. URL: <https://www.mfdp.gov.lr/index.php/economic-management-reports/macroeconomic-and-financial-sector-policy-unit/fiscal-outturn-report>

¹³ Annual Fiscal Outturn FY 2009/2010. Liberian Ministry of Finance. URL: <https://www.mfdp.gov.lr/index.php/economic-management-reports/macroeconomic-and-financial-sector-policy-unit/fiscal-outturn-report>

¹⁴ Kempe R.H. Liberia's Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP): an impact review and analytical assessment of a donor policy intervention for democratic state-building in a post-conflict state. *South African Journal of International Affairs* 17(2): 243 – 263, August 2010.

Increase in government revenues, the strict enforcement of government spending only on cash-basis and the reducing of corruption are directly attributed to the GEMAP successful measures.

The second significant program that brought positive result in eliminating corruption in Liberia is the USAID Legal Professional Development and Anti – Corruption program (LPAC). The program was started in 2015 by the Checchi and Company Consulting - organization that were established to promote social and economic development in developing and transitional countries around the world. The company specializes in the rule of law, anti-corruption, monitoring, evaluation and learning. The company’s principal client is the USAID. The program is still active.

The LPAC consists of two components. The first component directs capacity building to the four key Liberian justice sector institutions that educate, regulate and inform legal professionals. The second component is under a sub-contract with Management Systems International (MSI)¹⁵, supports the LACC and associated Government of Liberia entities in their efforts to investigate and prosecute corruption cases, supports enhancing organizational structures and systems of the LACC, promoting education, outreach and prevention activities, and assists the LACC in its anti-corruption leadership and coordination roles.

Now the program is running many activities to establish the sustainable rule of law institutions and minimize corruption in Liberia. The LPAC has already accomplished the recruitment and training of 56 new magistrates, who graduated from the Professional Magistrate Training Program in May 2019, supported capacity training for judges and court officers and helped build the capacity of LACC’s investigation staff to conduct financial investigations, digital forensics, intelligence-led policing, surveillance, criminal asset recovery, and effective investigative interviews in complex cases. The expecting result of LPAC activities is establishment of sustainable rule of law institutions and minimization of corruption in Liberia.¹⁶

¹⁵ Management Systems International (MSI) – leading consulting firm with niche expertise in international development and other sectors, partner of the USAID.

¹⁶ Legal Professional Development and Anticorruption (LPAC) Activity. August 2015-August 2020 / Implementer: Checchi and Company Consulting, Inc. URL: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/Democracy_Governance_-LPAC_Activity_9.3.pdf

1.2 USAID programs in Burundi

Burundi is one of sub-Saharan Africa's most corrupted countries. Several international ranking systems, including those of the World Bank and Transparency International, ranked Burundi among the world's most corrupt countries and showed the increasingly high level of corruption. According to data from Worldwide Government Indicator Burundi is ranking on the he control of corruption percentile rank which was 19% in 2005 gradually declined to 1.4% by 2012.¹⁷ According to Transparency International ranking in 2005, Burundi was 130 out 158 countries but then fell to its worst score of 157 in 2013.¹⁸ Since 2012, it has been slowly increasing and in 2019, the score was 137.

In 2019, corruption perceptions index for Burundi was 19 score. Though Burundi corruption perceptions index fluctuated substantially in recent years. The peak of citizens' perception of Burundi as a highly corrupted state was in 2007. It tended to decrease through 2008 - 2016 period ending at 19 score in 2019 (Figure 5).¹⁹

Reasons of corrupted political system in Burundi have the similar nature as in Liberia. Since Burundi became a republic in 1966, Tutsi elite has stand in power with the policy of unfair wealth distribution accompanied by conflicts. The Burundi civil was going 10 years (1993-2003) has not changed to behavior of Tutsi political and economic domination. Instead the war has amplified corruption and favoured the rise of an ethnically diverse oligarchy.

When National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) - a current ruling party in Burundi came in power in 2005, the state went through political transition from the Tutsi to the Hutu and governance improvement. The new authorities promised to fight corruption and create state structures to this effect. However, the first corruption scandals involving the CNDD-FDD dignitaries and state officials watered down the hope of a more equitable wealth distribution.

The deepening corruption crisis was caused by politicisation of the civil service, where the ruling party captured the public sector and its resources. It is coveting the private sector by trying to extend its control over the banking sector. In such a small economy, where the state maintains

¹⁷ Worldwide Government Indicator 2012. The World Bank. URL: <https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/>

¹⁸ Corruption Perceptions Index 2015. Transparency International. URL: https://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/cpi_2005/0

¹⁹ Burundi Corruption Perception Index 2005-2019. Transparency International. URL: <https://www.transparency.org/country/BDI>

a prominent role, the monopolisation of public and private resources risks derailing the peacebuilding process.²⁰

By the help of USAID technical and financial expertise it became possible to conduct democratic elections in 2005 and introduced the reforms. Two years after the 2005 elections, the Burundi Policy Reform project received a \$11 million contract (subsequently adjusted to \$9.2 million for budget reasons) from the USAID to improve relations between the government, civil society, and media to promote more open communication and foster a transparent and participatory policy process. The project was started in October 2007 and was finished in September 2011. Through training, policy discussions, and grant-making, the project built the capacity of the different sectors.²¹

On the first year of the Burundi Policy Reform Program, anti-corruption served as an overgirding project theme. These activities were targeted at the executive branch, civil society and media. With media, Policy Program focussed on strengthening the ability of ministerial spokespersons to be more responsive to the media. Important achievement in this area was a promotion of sound procurement principles. Public procurement is one of the areas most rife with corruption in Burundi. In 2006, a new anti-corruption law was proposed, which provides strict penalties for offenders.²²

The second year of program was marked by the focus on the women's leadership component in anti-corruption activities. Trainings of 160 leading female parliamentarians, lawyers, and representatives of the civil society organizations in conflict management and anti-corruption were conducted. The trained female leaders get an access to conflict mitigation processes and mechanisms to fight against corruption with U.S. Government assistance. At the end of the second year 177 women received training. In December 2008, the first trainings were delivered to 17 women lawyers. In March 2009 a series of six trainings in conflict management and anti-corruption were delivered to 133 women civil society leaders, and in May 2009 similar

²⁰ Burundi: A Deepening Corruption Crisis. International Crisis Group report 2012. URL: <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/185-burundi-a-deepening-corruption-crisis.pdf>

²¹ Burundi Policy Reform Final Report 2007 – 2011. USAID September 12, 2011. URL: https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/USAID_Land_Tenure_BPRP_Final_Report.pdf

²² Burundi Policy Reform, FY 2008 Annual Report October 1, 2007 – September 30, 2008. USAID, 2008. URL: https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/USAID_Land_Tenure_BPRP_FY_2008_Annual_Report.pdf

trainings were delivered to 27 women parliamentarians. At least four U.S. government-facilitated events geared toward strengthening female leaders in mitigating conflicts and on mechanisms to fight against corruption were organized. The additional result of second year was conduction of workshops came up with recommendations to pursue the fight, including organization of an awareness-raising day on the devastating effects of corruption, development of advocacy plans and creation of a group of women leaders united against corruption.²³

The fourth year of the Burundi Policy Reform was focused on the provision of theoretical and practical trainings promulgated for communal administrators and economic advisors in public administration and reforms, report writing, and presentation techniques. By the end of the fourth year 200 communal officials have improved understanding of their responsibilities under the communal law and enhanced capacity to draft and present bi-annual communal reports. Workshops were also organized for the government anticorruption institutions on topics such as the proper use of public resources and on how to report the misuse of those public resources.

The second objective of fourth year was marked by increase the awareness of the anti-corruption law, focusing on infractions, including how to report infractions. To do this, the project provided material and organizational support to the Ministry of Good Governance's anti-corruption awareness initiatives that included civil society public awareness campaigns on the law. The project trained the government and the public on the content and interpretation of the law, translated the law into Kirundi, as well as reproduced and distributed copies of the law. Additionally, to strengthen the law the project held a workshop to analyze and propose consistent revisions or amendments to the law.²⁴

To conclude Burundi Political Reform supported conducted by the USAID support created the environment that encouraged the transparency and opened up the opportunities to decrease the level of corruption by increasing the visibility of various ministries and organizations. By promoting advocacy and political participation skills among women leaders and civil societ Burundi success in more inclusive and wellrounded policy reform. The case of Burundi shows how the U.S. engagement in anticorruption activities in Burundi has a positive influence on the

²³ Burundi Policy Reform, FY 2009 Annual Report October 1, 2008 – September 30, 2009. USAID, October 2009. URL: https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/USAID_Land_Tenure_BPRP_2009_Annual_Report.pdf

²⁴ Burundi Policy Reform, Year 4 Annual Report October 1, 2010 – September 2011. USAID, September 12, 2011. URL: https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/USAID_Land_Tenure_BPRP_Year_4_Annual_Report.pdf

political processes regarding elimination of corruption as an obstacle to political and economic development of state The focus on combating corruption, managing land through a detailed and fair process will continue to remain as long-term objectives for the policy reform process in Burundi.

1.3 USAID programs in Uganda

Uganda is ranked 151 out of 180 countries surveyed on perceptions of public sector corruption in Transparency International's 2017 Corruption Perceptions Index, with a score of 26 out of 100.²⁵ Global corruption survey results show that 69% of Ugandans feel that corruption increased between 2014 and 2019.²⁶ Reports by the Ugandan auditor general office also state that corruption is getting worse, with more public funds being misappropriated in increasingly sophisticated ways.²⁷ The results of the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index show that there was a small but not significant increase in perceived corruption after 2012 (from a score of 29 to a score of 26) but little change after 2017.²⁸

Major governance indicators point to systemic corruption permeating all levels of Ugandan society as reflected in the 2016 World Bank worldwide governance indicators. Uganda performs particularly poorly in terms of control of corruption (13/100) but does about as well as the average in terms of regulatory quality and the rule of law (46/100 for both).²⁹

69 % of Ugandans think that the government is doing badly in fighting corruption. Ugandans perceive the police to be the most corrupt institution, with 63% of people agreeing that most or all public institutions are corrupted. Government officials, tax officials, judges and magistrates and business executives are all also perceived to be corrupt by 40% or more of the people (48%, 48%, 45% and 40% respectively).³⁰ Ugandan companies identify corruption as being the second-biggest problem they face, after tax rates.³¹

²⁵ Corruption Perceptions Index 2013. Transparency International. URL: <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2013/results>

²⁶ Global Corruption Barometer Africa 2019, Citizens' view and experiences of corruption. Transparency International. URL: https://www.transparency.org/files/content/pages/2019_GCB_Africa.pdf

²⁷ IG Report to Parliament January - June 2014. The Inspectorate of Government. URL: https://www.igg.go.ug/static/files/publications/IG_Report_to_Parliament_July_-_December_2014.pdf

²⁸ Corruption Perceptions Index 2017. Transparency International. URL: https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017

²⁹ Worldwide Government Indicator 2016. The World Bank. URL: <https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/Home/Reports>

³⁰ People and Corruption Africa Survey 2015. Transparency International, Afrobarometer 2015. URL: http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Joint/partner%20publications/ab_joint_pubs_people_and_corruption_africa_survey_2015.pdf

³¹ Schwab K. The Global Competitiveness Report 2017 -2018. World Economic Forum, Insight report 2018. URL: <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2017-2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2017%E2%80%932018.pdf>

The Transparency International corruption perception index 2019 ranks Uganda at 137th out of 180 countries. This is down from the 149th position the country was ranked in 2018. In 2010 and 2012 the corruption perception index was the highest drop to 127 and 130 position respectively (Figure 6).

Paying bribes is a regular part of daily life in Uganda. According to research done by the Bertelsmann Foundation 38% of people said that they paid a bribe for a public service. State-run health centres regularly hand out medication only after receiving a bribe.³²

The reason of corrupted political system lays in the fact that Uganda has been ruled by the same party and president since 1986. Regular elections are held, but their credibility has deteriorated over time. The Bertelsmann Foundation states that political reality in Uganda is a mix of democracy and outright authoritarianism, with power being concentrated in the president.³³

The Government of Uganda (GoU) and the United States Government (USG) have long partnered closely to enhance good governance and reduce poverty. In 2007 the United States and Uganda signed a \$10.4 million Millennium Challenge Corporation Threshold agreement (MCC) aimed at reducing corruption. The nearly three-year program tackled corruption by improving public procurement, improving audit and financial management practices and strengthening the role of civil society. Uganda Anti-Corruption Threshold Country Plan was aimed to prevent corruption related to public procurement, increase the rate of successful investigations and prosecutions of corruption related cases.³⁴

MCC emphasized both achieving and measuring results in its threshold programs. During program development and implementation, MCC worked closely with the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, who coordinated program design on behalf of the Government of Uganda, and with USAID, MCC's on-the-ground representative. Both USAID and the government contributed to establishing program milestones and refining program indicators for the Uganda threshold program.

³² Uganda Country Report. Bertelsmann Foundation, 2018. URL: https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1427478/488359_en.pdf

³³ Ibid. – p. 5.

³⁴ Millennium Challenge Corporation- Uganda Anti-Corruption Threshold Country Plan, July 2006. URL: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACT059.pdf – P.6.

After the threshold program ended, the USAID provided MCC a final report based on information provided by implementers and USAID program managers. According to estimation numerous activities were undertaken ranging from training to audits to investigations and prosecutions in a number of cases. A large percentage of planned activities were undertaken and all components produced interesting experiments and some localized successes. However, it is pointed out that all achieved results were recorded in varying degrees within each of the program's components.

For example, the procurement audits and training of auditees was viewed as successful by the recipients and through the procurement audits, inroads into deterrence and systems improvement were registered. Through Resident Technical Advisors in the police and prosecutions, a number of good practices were initiated. These include prosecution-led investigations, exhibit management and chain of custody.

In Uganda the Anticorruption Division of the High Court which was established and strengthened through the MCC Threshold Project Uganda was able to register 306 cases and dispose of 255, with the most high-profile cases resulting in a 100 percent conviction rate secured by investigators and prosecutors trained under the program.³⁵

Civil society has created a certain level of civic competence in the public to fight corruption. Another achievement here is that a cadre of citizens- the Community Monitors now are competent enough to handle corruption cases has emerged. They have earned the confidence of the public and are now entrusted with sensitive information for onwards transmission and action.³⁶

To summarize the Anticorruption MCC Project Uganda was a part of USAID influence on political and social development of this region. The U.S. programs with a primary focus on anti-corruption represented a little more than a third of all anti- corruption related programs. In most cases programs were initiated by USAID. The USAID programs with a primary focus on anti-

³⁵ Analysis of USAID Anticorruption Programming Worldwide (2007 - 2013). USAID, July 23, 2014. URL: <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/AnalysisUSAIDAnticorruptionProgrammingWorldwideFinalReport2007-2013.pdf>

³⁶ Anticorruption MCC Project Uganda (2007-2009). – Final Report. USAID, June 18, 2010. URL: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACT059.pdf

corruption occurred more often in countries with higher scores on the World Bank's Control of Corruption indicator.

The case of anti-corruption programs in Liberia, Burundi and Uganda shows the strive of the U.S. to achieve better results in political development of African countries however the implementation of programs accomplishes with challenges and obstacles that are necessary to solved for better result in the future. What are these challenges and which recommendations it is better to take into account by the U.S. for planning programs in the future?

In August 2018 U.S.AID published the evaluation report of Anti-Corruption program efficacy in Sub-Saharan Africa. The report raised a number of problems that became obstacles for better programs' outcomes launched by USAID in African countries.

USAID staff noted the limitations of multi-donor trust funds. In Liberia, for example, staff explained that they participated in the multi-donor trust fund supporting public financial management in order to get a seat at the table. If U.S.AID had not contributed financially to the trust fund, its technical opinions and expertise may not have been taken into account. However, contributing to the multi- donor trust fund afforded USAID staff less involvement in the management and oversight of the award.

Despite positive results achieved by Anti-corruption Threshold program in Uganda in some instances results were limited. The lack of significant progress on the follow up of audit findings was a critical challenge to the deterrence of corruption and a significant contributor to the growing culture of impunity. Some of the training such as the basic computer training was seen as unfocused and wasteful while the full functioning of the Anti Corruption Division of the High Court (ACD) was limited due to the issuance of a Practice Direction by the Principal Judge to refer all corruption cases to the ACD in Kampala. This impacted the spirit behind 'speedy prosecutions' especially at the regional level.

Key recommendations that can be made here relate to future anti-corruption programming by the U.S. Government. First of all, where possible, aim to combine demand- and supply-side approaches in one program because the linking of voice and accountability as a best practice. Linking enables coordination, layering and sequencing of activities that separate awards or one-sided approaches do not. In more restrictive environments, however, linking may not be possible or advised. Secondly, it is better to avoid implementing stand-alone anti-corruption programs in

countries that are categorized as not free. They are unlikely to gain the space and support to undertake direct actions against corruption and are rather more likely to serve as a repressive regime. Lastly, where political will is low, consider focusing on public management systems (and public financial management systems, in particular), inefficiencies, or service delivery at the local level that do not trigger political sensitivities.

CHAPTER 2. WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY

Africa is a region of some of the world's fastest-growing economies and offers great opportunities for businesses looking for growth and new markets. The continent has a young, rapidly expanding population, a boon in an aging world. This generation is increasingly urban and technologically savvy. Yet for all of Africa's dynamism, women do not share equally in its journey towards prosperity. The reason for lack of women participation lays in deep roots of gender inequality what is becoming an obstacle for development of African countries.

Women are more active as economic agents in Africa than anywhere else in the world. They are participating in the majority of agricultural activities, own a third of all firms and in some countries make up some 70% of employees. Over and above their income-earning activities, they are central to the household economy and the welfare of their families, and they play important and necessary leadership roles in their social groups and countries. Yet across Africa women are facing many barriers to achieving their full potential, from restrictive cultural practices to discriminatory laws and highly segmented labour markets. Eliminating gender inequality and empowering women could raise the productive potential of one billion women in African, delivering a huge boost to the continent's development potential. According to the estimation done by McKinsey Global Institute Africa could produce \$316 billion or 10 percent to GDP in the period to 2025 if each country makes advances in women's equality to match the country in the region that has achieved the most progress towards parity.³⁷ The African Development Bank (AfDB, or the Bank) places gender equality at the heart of its approach to promoting development in African countries.³⁸

A majority of African women are working but most of them are employed in the informal sector with low-paid, low-quality job and social guarantees. They also do not have an opportunity to gain leading positions in business. The impassable barriers remain remain for most African women seeking a better life. On other measures of society equality women are also lacking behind. African women have lower levels of education, and have less access than men to the financial

³⁷ The power of parity: The power of parity Advancing women's equality in Africa. McKinsey Global Institute, November 2019. - P. 6. URL: <https://www.mckinsey.com/~media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Gender%20Equality/The%20power%20of%20parity%20Advancing%20womens%20equality%20in%20Africa/MGI-The-power-of-parity%20Advancing%20womens%20equality%20in%20Africa.ashx>

³⁸ Empowering African Women: An Agenda for Action. The Africa Gender Equality Index 2015, AfDB. URL: https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African_Gender_Equality_Index_2015-EN.pdf

services and digital technologies that increasingly block doors to economic opportunity. Women continue, disproportionately, to carry the “double burden” of working in the home and in the labour force. This is a missed opportunity.

According to a Global Gender Gap Index report published in 2018, it would take 135 years to close the gender gap in Africa and nearly 153 years to close the gap in North Africa.³⁹ Today, the scenario of gender equality in Africa seems to be a long-standing success. In 2018 African women account for more than 50 percent of Africa’s combined population but generated only 33 percent of the continent’s collective GDP.⁴⁰

Advancing the full participation of women and girls in the political, economic and social realms of their countries is a key goal of U.S. foreign policy.⁴¹ According to the U.S. security strategy promoting gender equality and female empowerment is a critical component of strong and stable Africa. Powerful Africa demands the implication of projects, programs and policies that intentionally strive to reduce gender inequalities and promote effective engagement of both men and women in sub-Saharan Africa.

Women empowerment and gender equality are the focal points of the U.S. foreign policy in Africa. Being essential part of the USAID activity, the support for the empowerment of women and girls is included across their lifespan. By encouraging African women to challenge the negative cultural and social definitions USAID induces that these actions can limit their own ability to achieve their full potential.

The USAID has a global network of more than 186 gender advisors, point of contacts, and employees who work on gender embedded throughout the Agency with the shared goal of learning across borders to accelerate the USAID’s gender work worldwide.⁴² In close partnership with the Office of Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment (GenDev) based in Washington the

³⁹ The Global Gender Gap Report 2018. World Economic Forum. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf

⁴⁰ The power of parity Advancing women’s equality in Africa. McKinsey Global Institute, November 2019. URL: <https://www.mckinsey.com/~media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Gender%20Equality/The%20power%20of%20parity%20Advancing%20womens%20equality%20in%20Africa/MGI-The-power-of-parity%20Advancing%20womens%20equality%20in%20Africa.ashx>

⁴¹ National Security Strategy of the United States. White House, February 2015. URL: <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/2015.pdf>

⁴² Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment. USAID, April 3, 2020. URL: <https://www.usaid.gov/what-we-do/gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment>

USAID provides strategic leadership, training, and technical assistance on gender equality and women's empowerment programming worldwide and works to shape and institutionalize policies that empower women and girls. Basing on the analysis of programs implemented in African countries by the USAID we will make an estimation of U.S. soft power in the field of women empowerment in Africa.

2.1 Women empowerment in Kenya

Kenya is a large and diversified economy with a population of nearly 50 million people (50.1 % female).⁴³ A leader in mobile-money with a vibrant mobile telecommunications industry, the country has a young, ambitious and well-educated workforce eager to contribute to the development of the country.

The Global Gender Gap Report 2017 ranks Kenya 76 out of 144 globally with significant inequalities between men and women in education attainment, health outcomes, representation in parliament and participation in the labor market.⁴⁴ Moreover, gender-based violence is pervasive with almost half (45 %) of women aged 15-49 having experienced either physical or sexual violence at some point in their life.⁴⁵ Today Kenya scores 81 (out of 100) on the Women, Business and the Law 2020 index⁴⁶ and ranks 109 out of the 153 countries in the Global Gender Gap Report 2020.⁴⁷

Access to education is a stumbling rock in empowerment of women in Kenya. Transition to secondary and tertiary education is limited and illiteracy rates for women are high. Due to the lack of intelligence Kenyan women are not as adequately represented at either the county government level (female representatives: 3 out of 47 governors; 10 out of 47 deputy governors; 96 out of 1430 members of county assemblies and 5 of 47 county speakers) or at the national level (female representatives: 23 out of 290 members of parliament; 3 out of 47 senators; and 6 out of 22 cabinet secretaries). Hence, there remains a need for continued gender integrated programming across all sectors to address the limited understanding of gender perspectives among the

⁴³ Population in Kenya. World Bank, 2020. URL: https://www.google.com/publicdata/explore?ds=d5bncppjof8f9_&met_y=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:KEN:UGA:TZ&hl=en&dl=en

⁴⁴ The Global Gender Gap Report. World Economic Forum, 2017. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf

⁴⁵ Kenya Demographic and Health Survey. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, December 2015. URL: <https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/fr308/fr308.pdf>

⁴⁶ Women, Business and the Law 2020 Index. The World Bank Group 2020. – P.7. URL: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32639/9781464815324.pdf?sequence=10&isAllowed=y>

⁴⁷ The Global Gender Gap Index 2020. The World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2020. – P. 9. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf

population, and to increase community involvement to ensure successful implementation of gender sensitive laws, policies and strategies.

To address these issues, the USAID Kenya and East Africa (KEA) integrates gender into its strategies, projects, and activities – which align with the USAID Gender Equality and Female Empowerment policy. The goal of this policy is to improve the lives of citizens around the world by advancing equality between females and males, and empowering women and girls to participate fully in and benefit from the development of their societies.

According to the goals of the USAID policy the financing is aimed to achieve three main outcomes. Firstly, to reduce gender inequality in order to open an access and a control over economic, political and social benefits. Secondly, to reduce genderbased violence and eliminate its harmful effects on women. As a result, it may help women to start living healthy and productive lives. And thirdly, to increase capability of women and girls to realize their rights, determine their life outcomes, increase the access to educational opportunities and influence decisionmaking in households, communities and society.⁴⁸

The core principle of the USAID work in Kenya is to engage in leadership roles women at all levels. As a result, it gives them opportunities to be an important part of decisionmaking, peace building efforts. Activities done by the USAID in Kenya reflect leadership programs, trainings, mentorship, implementing of women legislators' caucuses that enhanced women's competitiveness in areas such as law making and oversight functions, including understanding the budget making process and its relationship to county development plans.

According to the fact sheet published by the USAID where reflected major results of Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy, Kenya has made a significant progress in gender equality. As a result, 138,030 women received increased economic benefits from sustainable resource management and conservation enterprises, 11,681 young women and 9,808 young men gained access to productive resources (credit, grants, loans), improved skills, or better employment. By the help of education programs supported by the USAID 617 girls received scholarships, mentoring, life skills training, and job placement to fast track their career paths.

⁴⁸ USAID Gender Equality and Female Empowerment. USAID, March 2012. – P. 1. URL: <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/GenderEqualityPolicy.pdf>

10,126 adolescent girls under Determined Resilient Empowered AIDS-free Mentored Safe lives (DREAMS)⁴⁹ on HIV/AIDS prevention, gender norms transformation, and genderbased violence.

Women empowerment was also achieved on political life of Kenya. Today at the national level, women represent 22 % of elected and 18 % of nominated positions in the National Assembly, and chair only three of 27 committees. They hold 27 % of elected and 86 % of nominated positions in the Senate, but do not chair any committees there. At the county level, women represent 34 % of Members of the County Assembly.⁵⁰ Of that number, only 13 % were elected. The remaining majority were nominated.⁵¹

To conclude all activities that were held by USAID in Kenya reflects that the US plays an important role in women empowerment agenda in African countries. All activities held by the USAID initiative brought a positive movement towards gender equality in Kenya. The USAID Gender Equality and Female Empowerment policy initiated in Kenya has increased the engagement of women in political, economic and social life of Kenya what further contributes to the country's development and economic growth.

However, despite the strides made, several challenges compounded by the intersections of poverty, age, and education disparities remain, with stark regional disparities. Women and adolescent girls are the most vulnerable group in Kenya. They are particularly vulnerable to poverty especially at the household and community is exacerbated by gender-based violence, harmful cultural attitudes and beliefs around gender roles, norms and female empowerment.

One more reason that limits the effective work of USAID program is the fact that Kenyan economy still remains vulnerable to external shocks and unemployment continues to be a challenge and there are additional challenges for women. For instance, while over 80% of Kenyan women

⁴⁹ The DREAMS partnership - a public-private partnership to reduce rates of HIV among adolescent girls and young women in the countries with the highest HIV burdens in sub-Saharan Africa.

⁵⁰ County Assembly of Kenya - a governmental body that is obliged to vet and approve nominees for appointment to county public offices, approve the budget and expenditure of the county government.

⁵¹ Kenya Gender Equality & Female Empowerment. USAID, May 2020. URL: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/Gender_Fact_Sheet_-_Kenya_2020-final.pdf

are engaged in small holder farming, only 1% own land in their own right, access less than 10% of available credit, and less than 1% of agriculture credit.⁵²

In addition, limited control over benefits from land and other resources constrains women's successful participation in the economy, particularly as producers and market actors. Women's unpaid childcare and domestic work limits women's contribution in and benefit from productive activities, constrain their mobility, and limit their access to market resources and information while participating in the economy.

However, USAID Gender Equality and Women Empowerment policy is still not able to be worked out on the full scope. Challenges with which the U.S. meet are related to the continuous gender-based violence, including sexual violence, rape, physical violence and sexual harassment. Women's empowerment is hindered by polygamy, early marriage and harmful cultural and traditional practices such as female genital cutting. Traditional practices governing inheritance, acquisition of land and benefits accruing to land produce continue to favour men.

⁵² Republic of Kenya Country Strategic Opportunities Programme 2020-2025. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), November 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.gtai.de/resource/blob/188878/3b6339a055cf5404ce6fa4d977ce6a42/pro201911255009-data.pdf>

2.2 Women empowerment in Malawi

Malawi is densely populated low-income country, with a per capita GDP of USD 371 \$ in 2019. Women make up about 52% of the population and are more likely to be poor, as they are the most affected by the poor social indicators.

The Global Gender Gap Report 2018 ranks Malawi 112 out of 149 globally with significant inequalities between men and women in economic participation, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment.⁵³ Today Malawi scores 88 (out of 100) on the Women, Business and the Law 2020 index⁵⁴ and ranks 116 out of the 153 countries in the Global Gender Gap Report 2020.⁵⁵ Malawi ranks 173th of 188 countries on the UN Gender Inequality Index Malawi has the 12th highest child marriage rate in the world.⁵⁶ Violence against women and girls is a fundamental issue of concern in Malawi that is continuing to experience increased cases of Sexual and Gender Based Violence. Evidence suggest that 42% of married women have experienced spousal violence.⁵⁷

To address challenges that were mentioned above, the USAID in cooperation with the Government of Malawi (GoM) and a wide variety of Malawian institutions initiated a number of programs to promote gender equality and women empowerment by mainstreaming gender issues in activities across sectors. The USAID/Malawi has included women's empowerment and adolescent girls' activities in the Sustainable Economic Growth, Democracy and Governance and Education sectors.

With support from the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), in 2016 the USAID has started a Human Resources for Health in 2030 program (HRH2030). HRH2030 works in Malawi to address central-level systems bottlenecks that impede effective HRH planning, forecasting, training, recruitment, deployment, retention, and data generation and

⁵³ The Global Gender Gap Report 2020. The World Economic Forum, 2020. - P. 13. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf

⁵⁴ Women, Business and the Law 2020 Index. The World Bank Group 2020. – P.7. URL: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32639/9781464815324.pdf?sequence=10&isAllowed=y>

⁵⁵ The Global Gender Gap Index 2020. The World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2020. – P. 9. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf

⁵⁶ Gender Inequality Index. The UN Human Development Report, 2017. URL: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII>

⁵⁷ Where we are – Malawi. The UN Woman Africa. URL: <https://africa.unwomen.org/en/where-we-are/eastern-and-southern-africa/malawi>

use. Through the Malawi activity, the program also enhances the Ministry of Health’s workforce through salary support to the Ministry to recruit and deploy additional frontline health workers at PEPFAR priority service delivery points.⁵⁸

Starting from the first year the HRH2030 brought some progress. Since 2017 more than 300 health workers have been recruited in Malawi. The health workers have been deployed to both public and faith-based facilities in two high-burden districts, Lilongwe and Zomba, to fill critical gaps in health service delivery. By creating these jobs and increasing opportunities for women in the health workforce, there is a triple dividend: improving health services, advancing gender equality, and promoting sustainable development.⁵⁹

The employment of health workers in Malawi fills a critical workforce void. The PEPFAR-supported health workers bring the necessary skill and training to positively impact health outcomes. HRH2030 found that with the surge of health workers—as well as new treatment policies and other interventions—the number of facilities providing adult antiretroviral therapy and viral load monitoring has grown from 29 to 40 sites, an increase of nearly 40 %. Furthermore, the employment of women has allowed a new space for the creation of support networks, a critical aspect of empowerment and upward mobility.

The culminating effect of improved health services and advancing gender equality is sustained development. The U.S. Government’s Women’s Global Development and Prosperity Initiative⁶⁰ supports this idea, explaining that when women are economically empowered, they create a ripple effect by re-investing in their families and communities, which increases economic growth and subsequently contributes to global peace and stability. The female PEPFAR-supported health workers in Malawi are examples of how women can unlock a triple dividend - they are improving health services, advancing gender equality, and contributing to sustainable development.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Advancing Malawi’s Health Workforce. The HRH2030 Activity in Malawi. URL: <https://hrh2030program.org/malawi/>

⁵⁹ Empowering Malawi’s Women through Health Workforce Employment. The USAID news by HRH2030, July 2019. URL: <https://hrh2030program.org/empowering-malawis-women-through-health-workforce-employment/>

⁶⁰ Women's Global Development and Prosperity Initiative. White House, February 2019. URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wgdp/>

⁶¹ Empowering Malawi’s Women through Health Workforce Employment. Advancing Malawi's Health Workforce, HIV/AIDS, Malawi, Malawi News, News, Women and Gender in Health News by HRH2030. URL: <https://hrh2030program.org/empowering-malawis-women-through-health-workforce-employment/>

The USAID also is striving to exclude gendersensitive approaches to help the Government of Malawi ensure education for women. In 2015 the U.S. has announced an additional \$25 million in funding for Let Girls Learn activities in Malawi. In October of 2015, the U.S. launched the Let Girls Learn Challenge Fund, a \$25 million investment, which takes a deliberate and innovative approach to bringing stakeholders together to collectively design and pilot new programs in Malawi.⁶²

The USAID's Let Girls Learn AMAA (Give Girls a Chance to Learn) project in Malawi seeks to deliver a range of district specific activities to mitigate the barriers to girls' enrollment and retention in school. AMAA has developed a package that includes targeted yet competitive bursaries, construction of secondary schools, extracurricular and in school activities to empower girls and strategies to transform gender norms and reduce school-related gender based violence (SRGBV).⁶³

By increasing seats in secondary schools, constructing secondary schools throughout Malawi to keep girls in school and reduce their lifetime risk of HIV, demonstrating to other African countries the public health benefits of keeping girls in school. The USAID's Let Girls Learn program also gives a pathway to higher education.

The U.S. Embassy's anti-GBV program works with religious and traditional leaders to prevent GBV through social norms change and community mobilization and dialogue. U.S. investments also help Malawi scale up mobile courts for GBV response in high GBV-burden districts. U.S. agencies, across all programs, work with men and boys to increase their willingness to change gender norms to increase gender equality within homes, communities, and Malawian society. By highlighting stories of courageous teens who avoided teen marriages, of parental involvement in advancing girls' education; and girls' success in school against long odds, the U.S. works to reverse national child marriage statistics.⁶⁴

⁶² Let Girls Learn Expands in Malawi. The US Embassy in Malawi, 12 October 2016. URL: <https://mw.usembassy.gov/let-girls-learn-expands-malawi/>

⁶³ Let Girls Learn – A Comprehensive Investment in Adolescent Girls Education. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, October 11, 2016. URL: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/10/11/fact-sheet-let-girls-learn-comprehensive-investment-adolescent-girls>

⁶⁴ Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Prevention and Services. The US Embassy in Malawi, 3 October 2017. URL: <https://mw.usembassy.gov/gender-based-violence-gbv-prevention-services/>

To conclude the USAID programs conducted in Malawi show the range of activities that increase the women empowerment and eliminate the gender inequality by providing opportunities for women and girl by opening an access to schools and ensure that all adolescent girls are receiving the education they deserve, providing training for future employment, recruiting women and eliminating the GBV in among Malawians.

2.3 Women empowerment in Ghana

Ghana is one of African countries that achieved a partial success for the past 2 decades. The success was marked by impressive reduction in poverty levels: these more than halved between 1992 and 2013. The country is now the second-largest economy of the West Africa region.

The number of poor people declined by 1.6 million between 1992 and 2006, with the percentage of poor in the population decreasing from over half (51.7%) in 1992 to 28.5% in 2006. This decline was also evident in the number of people living in households headed by women, which can be among the poorest households. The population in these households decreased from 22% in 1992 to 15% in 2006, even though the proportion of households headed by women remained around 25% over the same period.⁶⁵

Ghana national GDP per capita shows also positive growth. According to the World Bank data and calculations of Ghana Statistical Service GDP per capita of Ghana boosts to U.S. \$1,100 in 2009 and \$1,347 in 2010, placing it within the lower middle-income country category.⁶⁶

Despite this important progress, there are areas of disparity persist and require targeted attention: gender inequalities, undermining poverty reduction, holding back economic growth and threatening social stability. Poverty reduction has not been spread evenly, particularly between men and women, and the north and the south.

First there is long-standing and well-documented regional disparity between the north and the south. Between 1992 and 2016, the northern regions have not seen the same reduction in poverty as the south, with the number of the poor in the rural north growing. The poverty gap is also greater in the north. Further, the emerging growth of the oil and gas industry in the south and the drain of north-to-south migration threaten to widen these gaps between the regions.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Republic of Ghana Tackling Poverty in Northern Ghana. The World Bank, Report No. 53991-GH, March 1, 2011. URL: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/445681468030627288/pdf/539910ESW0Gray00502301100BOX358360B.pdf>

⁶⁶ Ghana MICS, 2011 - Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey. Ghana Statistical Service, Final Report 2011. URL: <https://www.dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR262/FR262.pdf>

⁶⁷ Hague, Sarah & Cooke, Edgar & Mckay, Andy. (2016). The Ghana Poverty and Inequality Report. UNICEF, March 2016. URL: <https://www.unicef.org/ghana/media/531/file/The%20Ghana%20Poverty%20and%20Inequality%20Report.pdf>

Gender inequalities is also remaining Ghana across sectors. The Human Development Index 2018 rank of 140 for Ghana (out of 189 countries) puts it in the high end of the —low human development ranking, between Bhutan (134) and Kenya (142) and ahead of Zambia (144) and Cambodia (146).⁶⁸

As calculated in the Global Gender Gap 2020 and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) 2010, women remain disadvantaged relative to men across a range of measures related to employment, health, education, and political participation. The Global Gender Gap index ranks Ghana 94 out of 153 countries in economic opportunity for women, but considerably lower in other sectors: Educational Attainment (119), Health and Survival (121) and political participation (107).⁶⁹

In 2018 Ghana ranks 142 out of 168 by the Gender Inequality Index which uses a different set of indicators to reflect inequality in achievements between women and men in reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market.⁷⁰ Both indices reflect in different ways that although women are economically active and contribute significantly to the economy, they also experience serious shortcomings in education, health, and political voice.

The Government of Ghana (GOG) public policy addresses gender inequalities and meeting the needs of women, but implementation remains a challenge. The U.S. is supporting the GOG through interventions by programs in each sector. The USAID activities conducted in Ghana are aimed to support women and girls in the areas of economic opportunities and entrepreneurship, political participation and leadership, education, gender-based violence, legal rights, trafficking in persons, HIV and AIDS.

In 2003 the USAID in cooperation with the Office of Women in Development and DevTech Systems, Inc. (DevTech) funded a five-year initiative - The Safe Schools Program (2003-2008). The program was at the forefront of defining, understanding and addressing school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). The result of this program was the creation safe school environments for girls and boys. The Safe Schools Program reached over 30,000 students through training for students, teachers and community counselors, a unified teachers' code of conduct, community

⁶⁸ Human Development Indices and Indicators 2018. The UNDP Statistical Update 2018. URL: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf

⁶⁹ The Global Gender Gap Index 2020. The World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2020. – P. 9. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf

⁷⁰ Human Development Data 2018. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). URL: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>

mobilization and national-level advocacy. The training programs for teachers, students and community counselors are tools that can be used globally to reduce violence against girls and boys in schools.

The result of the Safe School program was trained 250 Girls Education Facilitators that are classroom teachers. Schools were visited by health providers to talk to girls to prevent teen pregnancy that positively affects retention. By the assistance of Accra Metro Education Office disciplinary committees were established to deal with inappropriate teacher behavior. The program provided guidance and counseling teachers to help address different needs of students. African Women Lawyers Association provided a course for teachers on human rights laws affecting women such as domestic violence and child's rights, educated people about sexual harassment in the workplace and in academia, produced a domestic violence video and led consultations with women who were victims of abuse.⁷¹

To conclude the gender equitable education is a gateway to women and men economic empowerment, good health, and active political participation. Improvements in education also correlate with better maternal and child health outcomes, improved nutrition, and increased access to water and sanitation. USAID's education program has contributed to Ghana's achievement of gender parity in girls and boys attendance. The USAID new strategy is supportive of some aspects of the Ghanaian education strategy and policies particularly those focused on improving the quality of education and strengthening teacher training. As a result, the USAID Safe Schools Program demonstrated how improvements in school safety had a positive impact on school attendance by girls.

⁷¹ Safe schools program : final report. *Washington, D.C.: USAID, 2008. URL: <https://devtechsys.com/images/eyd/safe-schools-final-report.pdf>*

CHAPTER 3. LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

Education is a one of the pillars for development of every state and society. Education gives for individuals and societies` the opportunity to better health, economic growth sustainable environment and security. Individuals' incomes are increasing by 10 % with each year of education they they complete. Women with higher levels of education have healthier children. By increasing the average level of higher education in a country by just one year can add half a percentage point of growth to GDP.

Young people represent the potential power for every state. Only educated young people will make possible to drive political, social and economic development. Today Africa is the world's most youthful continent. In 2018 nearly 50 % of Africans were under age 15.⁷² Without any doubt Africa's young people are the future leaders of African countries and will be the driving force behind sustainable growth across of the hall continent. In order to make this growth possible it is necessary to invest in education, trainings, leadership programs that are essential and vital to build an educated and skilled workforce and encourage new innovations and technological progress. Africa's youth potential is the demographic dividend if it is provided with quality education and appropriate skills.

However today African states meet the number of problems that tells about the broad education exclusion. Africa remains the region with the highest out-of-school rates for all age groups (Figure 7). According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) data 32 million out-of-school children live in Africa. Africa also has the highest rate of education exclusion, with 19% of primary school-age children denied the right to education. In total, 138 million upper secondary school-age youth were not in school in 2018.

The problem of education exclusion lays in gender disparities that is persisting at the regional level. Across Africa, 4 million girls will never attend school compared to 2 million boys. In total, 32 million children between the ages of 6 and 11 are out of school across the region. 46% of these children will start at a later age, but one-fifth will remain entirely excluded.⁷³

⁷² Population ages 15-64 (% of total population) – Africa. The Word Bank Data, 2018. URL: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.1564.TO.ZS?locations=Z>

⁷³ New Methodology Shows that 258 Million Children, Adolescents and Youth Are Out of School. UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019. URL: <http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/new-methodology-shows-258-million-children-adolescents-and-youth-are-out-school.pdf>

The provision of high-quality and free-access education for young people of Africa is vitally necessary in order to grow up successful leaders that will driver to political, economic and social development of region. The need for effective leadership in Africa is high because Africa is looking for new minds with modern ideas, democratic values, critical analysis and many other professional skills to drive the progress. But traditionally, talented leaders have not received much structured support for developing their full leadership potential. For this reason, many organizations in Africa are underperforming. By strengthening leadership skills, they could improve their business results and strengthen their prospects for sustainable growth and prosperity.

In the third chapter we will analyze the USAID leadership development initiatives implemented in African countries. Wee focus on the measures taken by the USAID to strengthen to educate young people in Africa in order to grow up effective leaders. We also outline an effective approach to leadership development that benefits both leaders and USAID.

All leadership programs supported by the U.S. are justified by the U.S. Government education strategy and the USAID Education policy. The main goal of the U.S. Strategy is to achieve a world where education systems in partner countries enable all individuals to acquire the education and skills needed to be productive members of society. By investing in education systems of developing countries and providing opportunities of international education the U.S. Government demonstrates the commitment to international education and presents an opportunity to advance global diplomatic and development leadership on pressing international education challenges. By strengthening education systems in developing countries, the U.S. achieves the foreign policy goals, promotes state and international security and helps accelerate economic growth at home and abroad.⁷⁴

The U.S. Government Strategy is accompanied by the USAID Education Policy that provides a wide vision and direction for supporting countries in strengthening their capacity to deliver quality learning opportunities for children and youth. The primary purpose of programming in education by the USAID is to achieve sustained, measurable improvements in learning outcomes and skills development. By improving the capacity of a broad range of actors the USAID contributes to achieving and sustaining learning and educational outcomes. Investing in leadership

⁷⁴ The U.S. Government Strategy on International Basic Education for Fiscal Years 2019 – 2023. Published by USAID, September 14, 2018. URL: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1865/USG-Education-Strategy_FY2019-2023_Final_Web.pdf

development the USAID is aiming to force advocacy efforts and improve institutional priority-setting and decisionmaking.⁷⁵

To achieve goals mentioned above the USAID is managing leadership programs in Africa engaging and empowering local communities. The Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) is one of the biggest projects implemented by the United States Department of State together with the USAID. The Initiative was begun in 2010 by President Barack Obama to support an emerging generation of African leaders as they work to drive growth and prosperity, strengthen democratic governance and civil society, and enhance peace and security across Sub-Saharan Africa.

In order to decentralize and to reach a lot of young leaders, the YALI has founded regional leadership centers across Africa more known as the YALI Regional Leadership Centers (RLC). There are four RLCs across Africa that are located in higher education institutions – Kenyatta University (Center East Africa, Kenya), at University of South Africa (Center Southern Africa, South Africa), at Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (West Africa Accra, Ghana) and Centre Africain d'Etudes Supérieures en Gestion (West Africa Dakar, Senegal). RLCs are providing leadership training programs to young leaders between the ages of 18 and 35. By providing in-person and online trainings (in areas such as Business and Entrepreneurship, Civil Society Management and Public Policy and Management), networking, and professional development opportunities, the RLCs serve as a place for regional collaboration driven by young leaders.⁷⁶

The YALI is aimed at educating and young African leaders with activities including the Mandela Washington Fellowship which brings them to study in the United States for six weeks, with follow-up resources, and student exchange programs. The Mandela Washington Fellowship started in 2014 gives an opportunity for young leaders between the ages of 25 and 35 from Africa to improve their skills at a U.S. higher education institution for 4-6 weeks, with support for professional development after they return home. According to data published on the website of YALI since 2014, nearly 4400 young leaders from every country in Sub-Saharan Africa have participated in the Fellowship. In 2020, the Fellowship will be given for 700 young leaders from Sub-Saharan Africa.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ USAID Education Policy. U.S. Agency for International Development, November 2018. URL: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1865/2018_Education_Policy_FINAL_WEB.pdf

⁷⁶ Regional Leadership Centers. Young African Leaders Initiative. URL: <https://yali.state.gov/rlc/>

⁷⁷ Mandela Washington Fellowship. Young African Leaders Initiative. URL: <https://yali.state.gov/mwf/>

3.1 Leadership in Somalia

According to the World Bank data in 2018, the population of Somalia was 15.1 million. The majority of Somalia's population represent youth. Data also indicates that about three-quarters of Somalis are below 30 years, and around 46 percent of the population is below the age of 15. Findings show that the future of Somalia is in hand of young people.

However, many young people experience the lack of basic education, employment opportunities, and an important connection to the issues and governance of their community. According to the report of United Nations Country Team Somalia in 2014, only 42% of children are enrolled in primary school, and of an estimated population of two million youth aged 15-24, only 6% are enrolled in secondary school. Youth unemployment in Somalia is estimated at 67%, one of the highest rates in the world.⁷⁸

In order to increase the education level and decrease the unemployment rate, the USAID funded a Somali Youth Learners Initiative (SYLI). This is a five-year program (2011 – 2016) the main goal of which was to increase education, economic and civic participation opportunities for Somali youth to reduce instability in target areas. The result of SYLI was the engagement of youth in the region with training and guidance to identify appropriate and sustainable employment opportunities. As a result, the SYLI aims supported over 160,000 youth by expanding access to quality secondary education opportunities.⁷⁹

The program was realized through the cooperation with the Federal Government of Somalia and regional Ministry of Education officials that received support in strengthening secondary education, teachers participate in trainings to enhance their classroom skills, and youth gain access to economic opportunities, enabling them to become responsible members of society that contribute to their communities.

The results of the Somali Youth Learners Initiative were recorded in the annual reports published by the USAID. The Initiative has provided training and assistance to 43 secondary schools through SYLI, focusing on schools in communities where the government and community

⁷⁸ Thematic Briefing: education/recovery and reconstruction. The UN Country Team in Somalia, August 12, 2014. URL: https://www.undp.org/content/dam/somalia/docs/Project_Documents/PSG4/Thematic%20briefing_youth_ENG.pdf

⁷⁹ Somali Youth Leaders Initiative. USAID, May 4, 2020. URL: <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/videos/somali-youth-learners-initiative>

members are able to lead reform efforts, and communities that have experienced high levels of violence or where threats of extremism and criminality are prevalent.

The SYLI cooperated with education authorities in providing education services for 16,556 (11,397 males, 5,159 females) secondary schoolaged students across Somalia. To increase access to education, 79 classrooms were completed in addition to 126 other structures, such as science laboratories, latrines, libraries, and administrative offices. The additional classroom space enabled more students to attend classes and provided a more conducive learning environment, thus increasing both access to and quality of education. This demonstrates that when given the opportunity, young people want to go to school and want to stay in school.

The SYLY also provided necessary learning material for teachers and learners (2,025 textbooks and other learning materials in total). In order to increase the effectiveness of classes the USAID sponsored management training for 81 female teachers. Training were focused on building up a studentcentered learning and improving classroom management skills as well as English, mathematics, and sciences.

The other side of SYLI activities was focused on cooperation with representatives of Somali Government. In order to build Somali capacities, the staff from the Ministries of Education in Mogadishu and Galmudug were trained and supported to help them manage public tendering processes for school construction. Potential contractors were invited to bid for contracts. The decisions were made based on predetermined criteria in a blind review session conducted by the Ministry and USAID's implementing partner. It guaranteed the transparency of decision-making process and allowed building trust in local authorities as well as for promoting equity.

The SYLI created a working opportunity for young people in order to increase their attention to the importance of educate and raise the strive to learning. To create incentives for youth to work, SYLI integrated skills development training with innovative technology for the benefit of 232 youth, 382 youth completed business skills training. 156 young entrepreneurs have received small business grants to start their own businesses. An additional 100 youth were placed in apprenticeships following completion of workforce development programs, positioning them for longer-term employment.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Somali Youth Learners Initiative. USAID Factsheet, February 2015. URL: <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/Fact%20Sheet%20-%20Somalia%20SYLI%20%2827%20Feb%202015%29.pdf>

To sum up the Somali Youth Learners Initiative activities lead to the promotion of fair and equitable secondary education services improved for Somali youth. By increasing an access to secondary education, enhanced quality of it, strengthening the Capacity of Ministry of Education and promoting business skills among youth the USAID reached the goal of leadership management and gave an opportunity for young people to become a locomotive power of Somalia and its development.

3.2 International Visitors Leadership Program

The International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) is a professional exchange program funded by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The IVLP was launched in 1940 to promote mutual understanding between the United States and other nations through carefully designed professional visits to the United States for current and emerging foreign leaders.

The program helps to strengthen U.S. relations with other countries by providing emerging leaders the opportunity to experience firsthand U.S. political, economic, social and cultural life and to build long-lasting connections between Americans and delegates from other countries. In addition, the Department hosts high-level government officials who come to engage with the Secretary and other senior officials in order to learn about current initiatives in U.S. education and to share information about their countries' education systems and political conditions.⁸¹

Every year around 5,000 International students, workers, social representatives visit the U.S. on the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP). More than 200,000 participants have engaged with Americans through the IVLP, including more than 500 current or former Chiefs of State or Heads of Government. The participants, selected by U.S. embassies in collaboration with the U.S. Department of State, represent government, politics, the media, education, nongovernmental organizations, the arts, public health, international security, business and trade, and other fields. During their two- to three-week stays in the United States, participants meet with their American counterparts to share experiences and best practices, while also learning about the rich diversity of U.S. culture and society.⁸²

The IVLP has a global scope of activity and cover many regions. Africa is not an exception. During the program activity delegations from African countries have visited the U.S. for experience and education exchange.

In 2017 delegation from Ghana visited the U.S. in the frame of the IVLP activity in Africa. The purpose of the exchange was to understand the U.S. market opportunities and requirements for textiles and apparel as well as the regulatory environment. Delegation met with the U.S. public

⁸¹ "Program history". The US Bureau of Educational and Cultural affairs. URL: <https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/about-ivlp/program-history>

⁸² At-a-Glance. The US Bureau of Educational and Cultural affairs Exchange programs. URL: <https://exchanges.state.gov/non-us/program/international-visitor-leadership-program-ivlp>

and private organizations and discussed the future development of technical regulations, marketing approaches, and import practices. Ghana delegation also visited the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), universities, trade associations and other governmental agencies involved in importing goods.⁸³

In 2019 delegates from Kenya traveled to the USA for 2 weeks where they have discussed their work on multi-levels to prevent violent extremism. During the visit the Kenyan group with 14 organisations' representatives for a range of discussions and demonstrations, including the U.S. Department of State, Search for Common Ground, the Mayor's Office of Pittsburgh, San Diego University and the Office of Homeland Security. The discussion was broad – starting from drivers of violent extremism and radicalization, good practices on countering violent extremism at the U.S. Department of State to how interfaith, youth and community prevention efforts dovetail with national countering violent extremism work.

The team from Kenya also met with a high representative of civil society, academia and faith organisations, each of which embodied the approach to countering violent extremism that has become the global gold standard. From learning about global coordination of projects to how leadership development programmes for youth by are helping to change lives. There were several important good practices to delegates took away which could be applied to the Kenyan context. Establishing local plans to respond to acts of violent extremism or terrorism before they occur was as an important lesson for Kenyan delegation.⁸⁴

In February 2019 twelve current and emerging leaders from African countries, such as Niger, Mauritius and Zambia visited Central Florida recently to learn about the I-4Ultimate project — part of their U.S. fact-finding tour to learn about transportation and traffic safety.

The delegation's visit was also arranged through the International Visitor Leadership Program. This visit focused on the role of government in providing a safe transportation infrastructure. During the visit, managers of the I-4 Ultimate Construction Program shared information about the project and explained why improvements were necessary at each interchange. Upon returning to Africa, members of the African delegation, who work in areas such

⁸³ Ghana delegation apprised of US apparel requirements. Fashion Networks, January 4, 2017. URL: <https://us.fashionnetwork.com/news/Ghana-delegation-apprised-of-us-apparel-requirements,769423.html>

⁸⁴ Delegates from Kenya and the Philippines meet U.S. counterparts to build relations and share knowledge. Strong Cities Network, March 6, 2020. URL: <https://strongcitiesnetwork.org/en/kenya-philippines-meet-us-counterparts/>

as law enforcement, traffic management, safety agencies, and communications, intend to use the information they learned to address traffic safety problems.⁸⁵

In 2020 the Oklahoma State University (OSU) School of Global Studies was visited by representatives from Ethiopia's higher educational sector as part of the U.S. Department of State ILVP. During the visit, the delegates discussed with their OSU counterparts best practices in international education, high level research, and student exchange. The result of partnership between Ethiopian and the OSU higher educational representatives, dozens of OSU faculty and staff moved to Ethiopia to establish two of the nation's top universities, Haramaya University and Jimma University.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ African Delegation Meets I-4 Ultimate Representatives. I-4 Ultimate Improvement Project, February 4, 2019. URL: <https://i4ultimate.com/african-delegation-meets-i-4-ultimate-representatives/>

⁸⁶ School of Global Studies and Partnership welcome Ethiopia Higher education representatives. USU News and information, March 11, 2020. URL: https://news.okstate.edu/articles/global-studies/2020/ethiopia_delegation.html

3.3 Transforming Leadership and Management in Africa

Last case that will be analyzed in the 3rd chapter is a program initiated by the Africa-America Institute (AAI). The AAI was established in 1952 as an international organization dedicated to advancing the Africa's development through higher education and skills training, convening activities, and promoting strong partnership between African countries and the United States. The main goal of the AAI is to empower African youth to become globally competitive.

Since foundation the AAI equipping African students with technology skills and accelerate skilled workforce development in Africa in the areas of education and healthcare through innovative uses of new technologies. AAI provides scholarships for African student to attend universities in Africa and develops programs that focus on increasing the skills of the next generation of African youth so that they become globally competitive.⁸⁷

In 2006 the AAI has started a program - Transforming Leadership and Management in Africa (TLP) on cooperation with the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation (TCCAF) and group of university partners. Since its inception, the TLP has transformed the caliber and sustainable impact of social sector service delivery to local African communities.

Africa requires a professionally skilled workers and effective leaders to fasten the development and meet global economic challenges. However, in many African countries the lack of budget for education and leadership programs is observed. For example, in South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria, the countries where TLP currently operates, tertiary enrollment ranges from 3% to 15.2% of the adult population, compared to 72.6% in the U.S.⁸⁸

The main goal of TLP is the provision of necessary management skills and leadership training to leaders of African NGOs and enterprises whose professional development has long been neglected. The TLP also strengthens the capacity of Africa-based business schools to diversify their curricula and meet the training needs of African social entrepreneurs and NGO leaders.

Today the program is operating in partnership with some of the most competitive universities in Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria and the United States. Partner institutions manage the

⁸⁷ "Our History". The Africa-America Institute. URL: <https://www.aaionline.org/who-we-are/history/>

⁸⁸ Transforming Leadership Program. The Africa – America Institute. URL: <https://www.aaionline.org/programs/transformational-leadership-program-tlp/>

curriculum development and participant recruitment components of the TLP and deliver the training. Through these partners, the TLP builds capacity in three areas that are essential for the sustainability of the social sector: Leadership, Resource Management, and Community Engagement. Courses are customized by each university and include such topics as financial management; grant writing; leadership and personnel management.

In 2013, the AAI has made an evaluation of the TLP that reflects the multi-leveled results on leadership in Africa. Since its inception in 2006, the TLP has played a significant role in transforming the composition and caliber of leadership of Africa's nonprofit sector. The TLP's 370 alumni – over 60% of whom are women – come from a diverse range of organizations, sectors and communities. TLP Alumni use their experience in the program to make significant, sustainable impact on the ultimate beneficiaries – the communities in which they work. Furthermore, as a result of the need and interest in the TLP, institutional partners have enrolled more NGO leaders and have created permanent programs inspired by the TLP curriculum.⁸⁹

To summarize, there is an urgent need in high-educated people that can bring unity, peace and stability on the African continent. During a long period of time most constituted governments in Africa have been undergoing serious and deepening politicoeconomic crisis that brought political, social and economic instability. All problems mentioned above are calling for calling attention to the problems of leadership and governance in the continent.

The U.S. plays a significant role in providing education opportunities that allows African youth become leaders and drive the continent stability and development. The results of programs and initiative supported by the U.S. proves the increase of young peoples that are receiving a chance to receive a good education at home county or abroad participating in exchange programs. The USAID education policy applies to all levels of education, starting from the pre-primary through higher education what guarantees an entire engagement if African youth in learning processes.

However, in spite of the fact that the programs conducted by the help of US governmental institutes brought a progress in leadership empowerment by opening more education opportunities, Africa continues to face serious development challenges such as dependency, corruption,

⁸⁹ Sharon M. Ravitch, Ph.D. & Michael C. Reichert. The Transformational Leadership Program (TLP). An Evaluation of Impact in a Capacity-Building Leadership Program for Africa's Social Sector. The Africa-America Institute, 2013. URL: http://www.aaionline.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/AAI-TLP-Eval-Report_final_web1.pdf

underdeveloped infrastructure, fragmentation of the region, history and knowledge, relaying the foundations of the post-colonial State, promotion of democracy and human rights and the implementation of new conditions for peace and freedom, the gauge of sustainable development. The ways in which these various challenges are tackled are crucial and should be resolved in order to give a better opportunities for future leaders.

Challenges that African youth meets today are sticking points that should be taken by the US as factors for future education and leadership initiatives in Africa. As a recommendation here could be mention the implementation the formal mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation to track and enhance youth engagement at all societal levels. Integration of reliable systems of assessment will also increase the youth participation, representation, and policy influence. The U.S. policy also may focus more on the support and assistance of African politicians in adoption of corrective policies such as capacity building, quotas for elected positions, cabinet ministries, and boards of state-owned enterprises that will enhance the participation of young people in decision making processes because the effective and accountable leadership at all levels of society is the key to unlocking the potential of African youth to create economic, political, and social policies for their bright future.

CONCLUSION

Africa has a significant importance on the global arena. The cause of high attention to the region lies in the many factors. Firstly, Africa is a cheap source of minerals and crops for countries which manufacture and consume are costly. Secondly, this is a strategically important region due to transport routes and neighboring with oil rich Arabia. Thirdly, Africa has a population more than 1 billion people. The human capital of Africa is a potential for future economic growth.

African countries partially using their potential for sustainable development and economic growth. Today the biggest challenge for most African countries is to increase their standards of living and social stability in the face of rapid population growth. The U.S. is an influential partner that helps and support African countries to achieve their goals in challenging many factors that raise difficulties to Africa's development. Corrupted governments, political stagnancy, gender inequality, social disparity and the lack of education among youth are slowing down the proceeds of full engagement of Africa in international economic and political activities.

The research was aimed to find out the peculiarities in the U.S. soft power in African countries after the Cold war when the narrative of the U.S. foreign policy was shifted from security assistance to humanitarian aid. The result of research shows key elements of the U.S. soft power impact in Africa and presents results of conducted programs.

There are many problems that Africa faces. The political underdevelopment caused by archaic political elite emerged after African countries received an independence from colonial rules, corruption that penetrates the infrastructure of public services, credibility gap between citizens and policy makers. In the first chapter we have analyzed the presence of corruption in African countries such as Liberia, Burundi and Uganda and programs initiated by the USAID focused on the fighting against it by implementation of anti-corruption programs.

The analysis of programs' goals and achievements allowed to figure out the specific nature of the U.S. influence in African countries in the sphere of political development. Firstly, the U.S. plays an **auditor and controller role**. The Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) established effective processes to control corruption in Liberia. By placing Internationally Recruited Financial Controllers in positions where the Liberian government was supposed to receive revenue and where controls on expenditures were deemed to have the maximum impact, the GEMAP has achieved a significant increase in government revenues. This power of GEMAP advisors allowed them to reduce the number of improper, unjustified or off-

budget payments. The improved budget process has resulted in numbers that make the budget closer to reality and monthly and line item allotments are now more meaningful. This discipline in the release of government funds also reduces corruption.

Apart from the financial control it is important to mention that U.S. plays a role of **supporter** in establishment of institutions that were aimed to fight with corruption precedents in Liberia. The greatest achievement is the foundation of Liberia Anti-corruption Commission, the activity of which led to changes in corruption ranking of Liberia.

The U.S. soft power also has **promoting role** that egg African countries on new legislation and reforms. For example, Burundi Policy Reform supported by the USAID was aimed to promote of sound procurment principles what led to proposed Anti-corruption law in country. By promoting advocacy and political participation skills among women leaders and civil society Burundi success in more inclusive and wellrounded policy reform.

The research of the U.S. programs strived to eliminate corruption cases in African countries shows that the most important role the U.S. soft power has a **“training supplier”**. The numerous procurement audits and training of auditees in Uganda were successful for recipients and brought systems improvements. In Liberia the LPAC is recruiting and training magistrates who are graduated from the Professional Magistrate Training Program. The result of Burundi Policy reform were trainings of 160 leading female parliamentarians, lawyers, and representatives of the civil society organizations in conflict management and anti-corruption were conducted. The trained female leaders get an access to conflict mitigation processes and mechanisms to fight against corruption with U.S. Government assistance.

Key recommendations that can be made here relate to future anti-corruption programming by the US Government. First of all, where possible, aim to combine demand- and supply-side approaches in one program because the linking of voice and accountability as a best practice. Linking enables coordination, layering and sequencing of activities that separate awards or one-sided approaches do not. In more restrictive environments, however, linking may not be possible or advised. Secondly, it is better to avoid implementing stand-alone anti-corruption programs in countries that are categorized as not free. They are unlikely to gain the space and support to undertake direct actions against corruption and are rather more likely to serve as a repressive regime. Lastly, where political will is low, consider focusing on public management systems (and

public financial management systems, in particular), inefficiencies, or service delivery at the local level that do not trigger political sensitivities.

Concluding the assessment of the U.S. soft power in political development in Africa by conducting anti-corruption programs several recommendations were made. Firstly, the future programs have to be designed by the combination combine demand- and supply-side approaches in one program. Secondly, if African country is categorized as “not free” it is better to avoid the implementation of stand-alone anti-corruption programs because there is less chance that the program will be supported by the local government and direct actions to fight against corruption are likely not to be taken. Final recommendation is focused on the support of public management systems in countries where political management systems are weak.

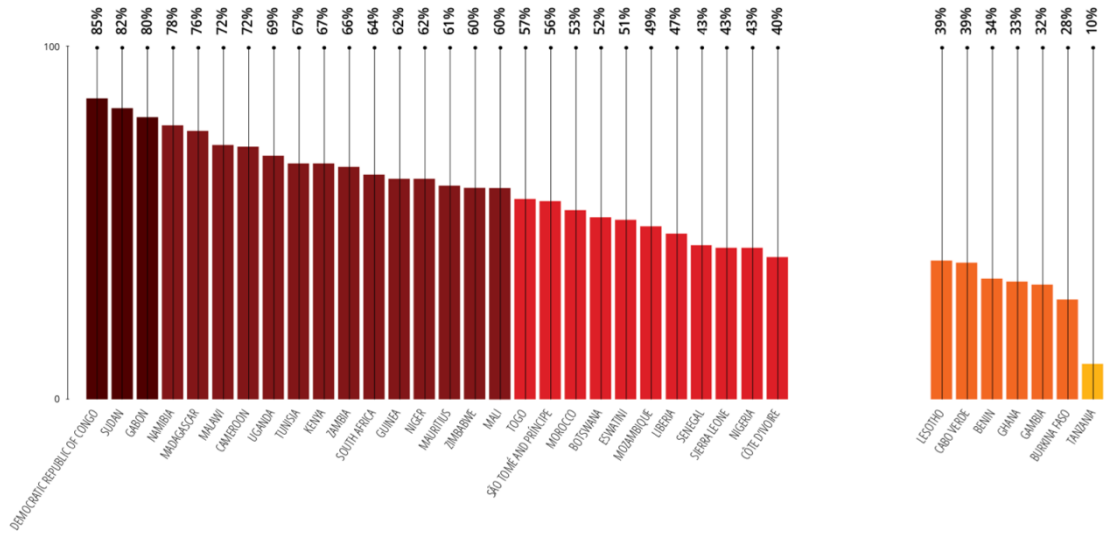
The second chapter was devoted to the research of the U.S. programs aimed to the improvement gender equality. **Advancing the women and girls participation in the political, economic and social realms of African countries** – is a particular goal of U.S. soft power in region. The result of USAID programs in Kenya showed the increase of women empowerment by conducting life skills trainings and providing productive resources - credit, grants, loans and scholarships. Women empowerment was also achieved on political life by nomination of women in governmental institutions – National and Court Assemblies. The second particularity of the U.S. policy of women empowerment in Africa related to **educational support**. The result of the Safe School program in Ghana resulted in trainings of classroom teachers on human rights laws affecting women such as domestic violence and child’s rights. The girls and women became more enlightened about sexual harassment in the workplace and in academia. In the framework of program were produced educational domestic violence videos and led consultations with women who were victims of abuse. The USAID’s Let Girls Learn project in Malawi opened an education opportunity for girls by increasing seats in secondary schools, constructing secondary schools throughout Malawi to keep girls in school. The important goal of this program was achieved – the USAID succeeded in demonstration to other African countries how public services may benefit of keeping girls in schools (reduce women lifetime risk of HIV, increase economic potential of women). However, the U.S. has met a number of obstacles in gender equality. The barriers are related to the weak economy of Kenya that is vulnerable to external shocks. Furthermore, women’s unpaid childcare and domestic work limits women’s contribution in economy and limit their access to market resources.

In the third chapter we have made a research of the U.S. soft power in African countries in the sphere of leadership development. By the support of African youth, the U.S. Government sees the possibility to drive political, social and economic development. The U.S. investments in education, trainings and leadership programs allowed young people to pass experience and knowledge for become effective leaders that drive African development. The U.S. programs focused on leadership are accompanied by the US Government Strategy and **USAID Education Policy**. The Young African Leaders Initiative **gave opportunities for young leaders from Africa to take part in training programs and receive a scholarship for exchange programs conducted in the U.S.** with support for professional development after they return home. The Somali Youth Leaders Initiative provided education services schoolaged students across Somalia. Through the initiative the U.S. build classrooms, science laboratories, latrines, libraries, and administrative offices. The activities also were focused on cooperation with representatives of Somali Government representatives to help them manage public tendering processes for school construction. As a result, the initiative in Somalia lead to the promotion of fair and equitable secondary education services improved for Somali youth. The U.S. achieved goal of leadership management and gave an opportunity for young people to become a locomotive power of Somalia and its development. To sum up the U.S. soft power plays a significant role in leadership development in Africa that allows youth become leaders and drive the continent stability and development of region.

To better understand the implications of these results, future studies could address. There are many other spheres where the U.S. soft power has a high influence. The further study may be devoted to the U.S. soft power impact on the environment and climate changes, conflict mitigation, water supply and sanitations etc. The second direction of scientific research may be focused on the evolution of the U.S. soft power with the transformation of the U.S. political system and composition of a government.

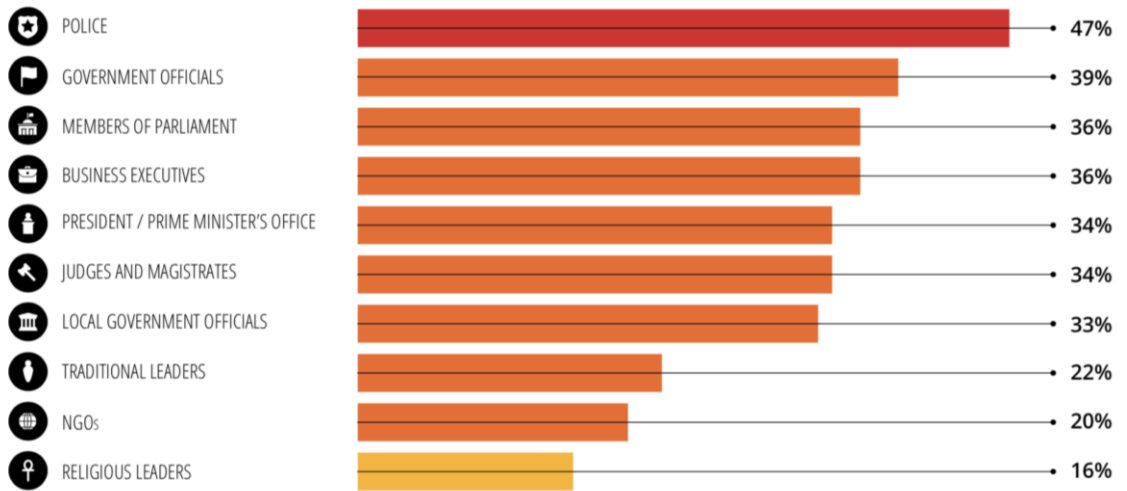
APPENDIX

Figure 1. *Percentage of people who think corruption increased in the previous 12 months. Corruption Global Index 2019.*



Source: Transparency International

Figure 2. *Percentage of people who think that most or all people in these groups or institutions are involved in corruption. Global Corruption Index 2019.*



Source: Transparency International

Figure 3. Total primary anti-corruption funding by country, 2008 – 2018.

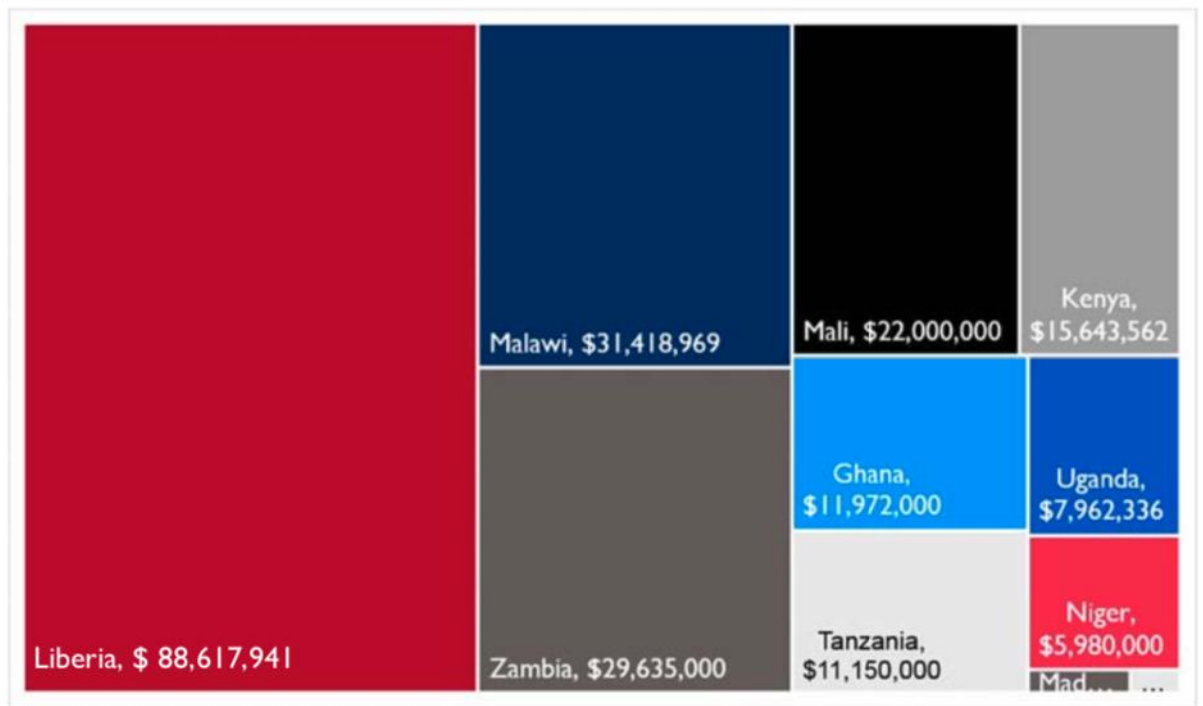


Figure 4. Government of Liberia revenue performance: quarterly growth rate by fiscal years 2005 – 2009.

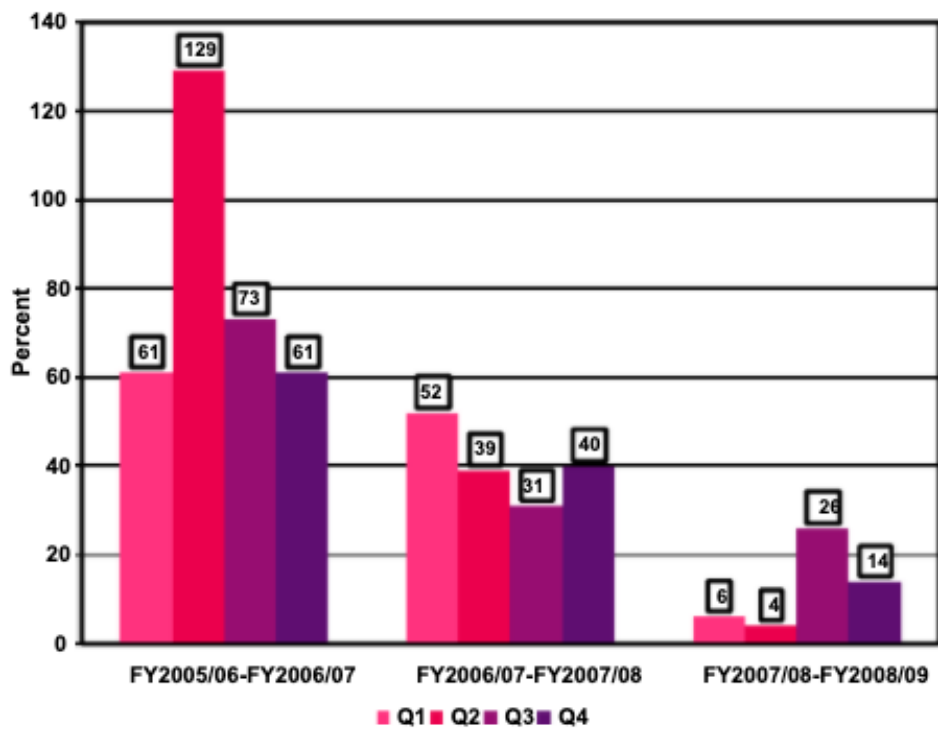
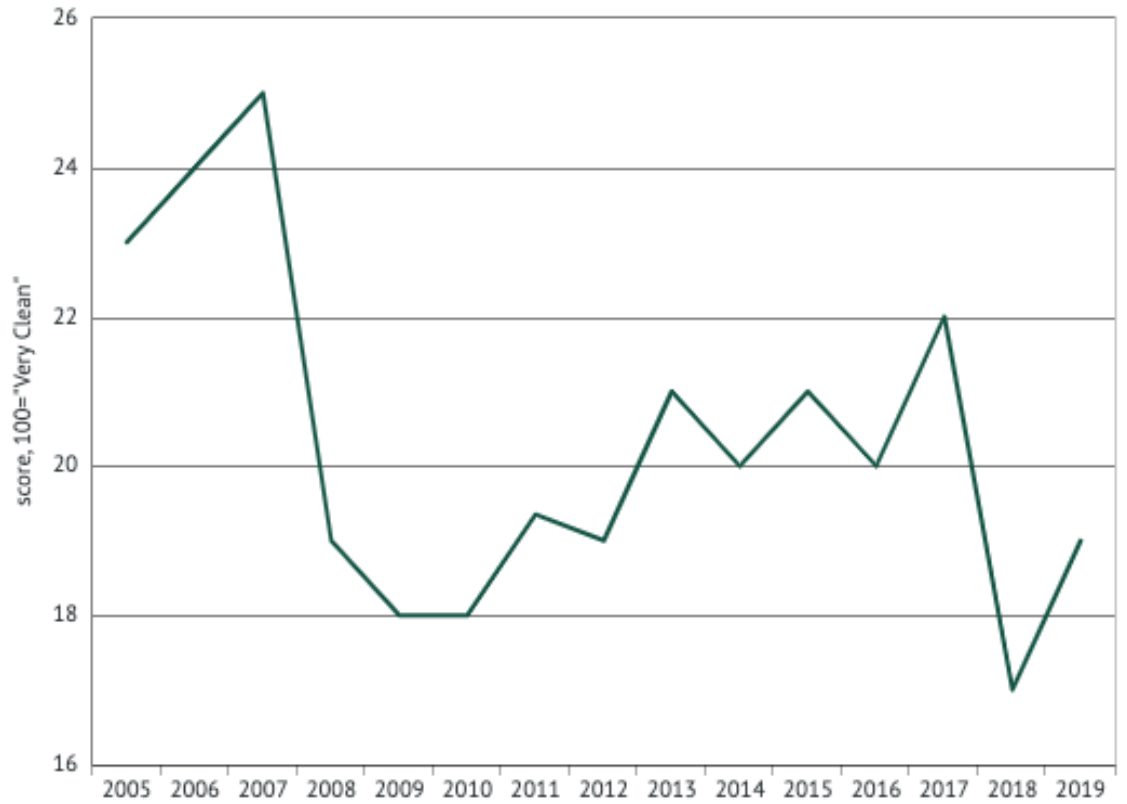
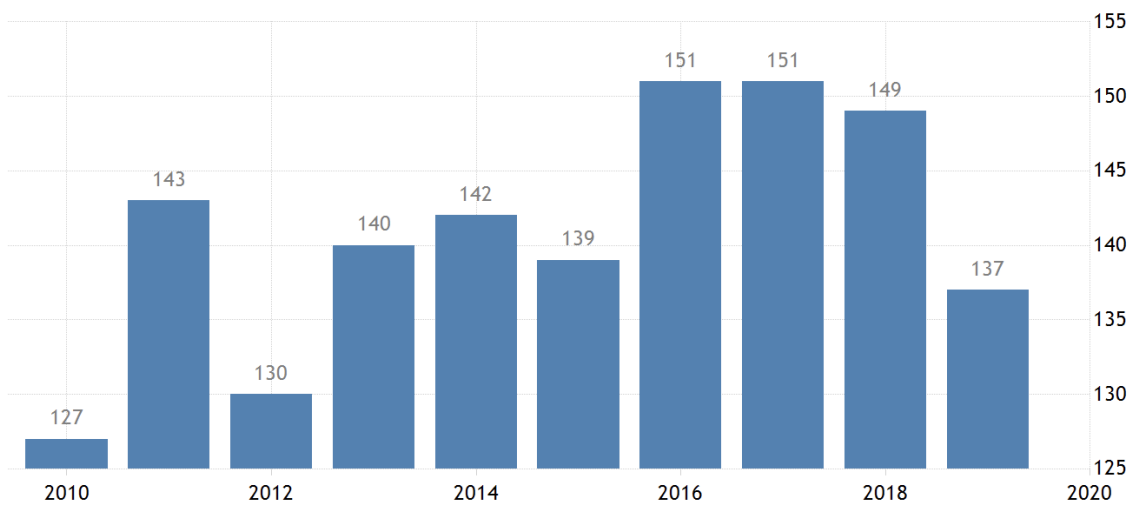


Figure 5. *Burundi corruption perceptions index 2005-2019.*



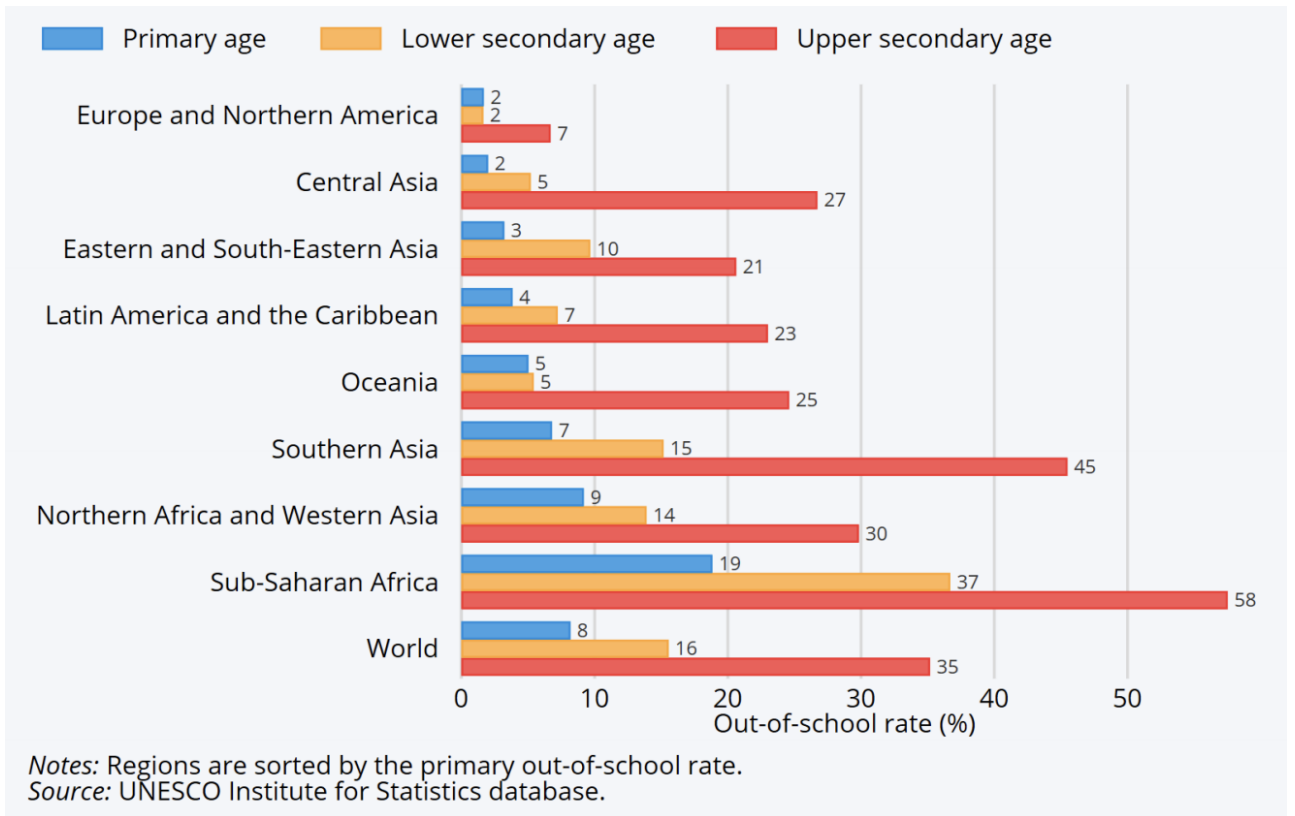
Source: Transparency International

Figure 6. *Uganda corruption perceptions index 2010-2019.*



Source: Transparency International

Figure 7. Out-of-school by region and age group, 2018.



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