THE IMPACT OF GOVERNANCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MALAWI

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Abstract

The concept and discourse of good governance has been given a lot of emphasis in the international development space. It is mostly emphasised as a critical element in developing countries that deploy various development policies with little or no improvements in economic development.

The study focused on Malawi which is still poor despite having adopted a series of policy interventions through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund-backed structural adjustment programs (SAPs). It further implemented the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), Malawi Growth and Development Strategy papers (MGDS) 1-3) but poverty and underdevelopment continue to rise in Malawi. In this regard, the study aimed at finding what causes the persistent poverty and underdevelopment between the internalist and externalist forces. Further the study aimed at providing recommendations to addressing the governance gaps of compliance and collaboration, which entail policy implementation and effectiveness for the former and an effective nexus between the state and policy networks for the latter.

With a postpositivist approach the study aimed at investigating what causes the continued poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi between the internal and external forces. Data was collected from officials in various government ministries and statutory entities as they were experts in the provision of public services and are either part of the governance machinery or institutions that aim at improving social economic welfare of the citizenry. Semi structured interviews were carried out and data was analysed in two parts, firstly using a Likert scale analysis, and secondly using thematic analysis for the qualitive responses from the interviewees.

The study found that from a historical viewpoint colonialism played a role in establishing economic structures which are still present in post-colonial Malawi. In addition, the study found that internal factors such as poor leadership, lack of political will, corruption, and regime change in a democratically governed state contribute to persistent poverty and underdevelopment. The study established that improvement in these areas would bring about good governance which would i yield reduced poverty and improved social-economic development in the long term.

Key words: Governance, good governance, economic development

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Governance (Development and Economics) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

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Dedication

I dedicate this study to my dad, Jeffrey Lester Ngalande, and my mum, Anne Ngalande. Your love, hard work, sacrifice, and encouragement always inspires me to do more today than yesterday. Your legacy lives on.

To my sister Danielle Chiyembekezo Ngalande. Forever my twin.

To Takondwa, for your inspiration and modesty.

To Malawi, a country which has so much unlocked potential to attain sustainable social-economic development. It is this intrinsic potential that gives me hope and inspires me to seek ways of how it can be unlocked for sustainable and improved welfare for all.

To the Omniscient One, the source of all knowledge and wisdom.

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List of Abbreviations

AIP	Agriculture Input Program
ASM	Artisanal Small-scale Mining
EP&D	Economic Planning and Development
HDI	Human Development Index
HHI	Henry Henderson Institute
ICT	Information, Communication, and Technology
IFI	International Financial institutions
IFMIS	Integrated Management Information System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Programmes
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MGDS	Malawi Growth and Development Strategy
MDAs	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies
NES	National Export Strategy
NPC	National Planning Commission
NTMP	National Transport Master Plan
ORT	Other Recurring Transactions
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STI	Science, Technology, and Information
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
WB	World Bank
WGI	World Governance Index
WWII	World War Two

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This chapter will commence with a background from which the aims and objectives of the study are derived. Further, the scope and limitations of the study will be highlighted coupled with the structure of the dissertation.

This research focuses on Malawi which, like many other sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries, is still poor, despite having adopted a series of policy interventions through the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF)-backed structural adjustment programs (SAPs). The aim of the SAPs, adopted in the 1980s throughout Africa, was to grapple with the two main problems of poverty and underdevelopment through approaches focused on liberalisation of the economy and public policy (Logan, 2015; McCandless, 2021). It is widely believed that these policies did not achieve their intended goal of economic growth (McCandless, 2021) and the question that has arisen is: why did they fail? Some attribute this to policy design by international financial institutions (IFIs) (Aman & Aman, 2015; Logan, 2015), while others, including IFIs, attribute this to local political-economy forces (Dollar & Svensson, 2000); poor state capacity, as postulated by Cheru (2002); or resource mismanagement and bad local governance (Crockett, 2012). SAPs being an externally driven intervention and adopted by internal local political-economy forces raises yet another question of who is really to blame for the post-SAP increases in poverty and underdevelopment between the external designers of the SAPs and the internal local implementers? Another neutral question perhaps being whether both external and internal forces could have each, in their own right, contributed to the continued poverty and underdevelopment in SSA.

Further to the argument of external policy design as the cause of underdevelopment in Africa, Nunn (2007) attributes to additional factors; colonial rule and slave trade which collectively were extractive and moved productivity to a suboptimal production equilibrium. In addition, Nunn's study finds that even after the end of the period of external extraction, societies remained trapped in the suboptimal production equilibrium. The study also looks at these two variables in the Malawian context considering that the country also experienced both slave trade and colonisation prior to independence.

Some scholars argue that continued underdevelopment in SSA can be attributed to poor local governance systems. An internalist school of thought, amplified by Ayittey (1999), which faults African leaders for the continent's state of poverty, highlighting that they have created 'vampire states' that swindle the poor rather than improve social welfare. Further, some scholars identify a governance gap of compliance and collaboration which is plaguing the internalists (Olsen et al., 2015b) They state that governance of compliance entails policy implementation and effectiveness, while governance through collaboration entails an effective nexus between the state and policy networks. Ayittey (1999) further asserts that the poverty and underdevelopment crises in Africa can ultimately be resolved through state reformation which must entail politics of inclusion rather than exclusion. On the other hand, externalist proponents, such as Geo-Jaja (2008), Abiola (2010), Rodney (1972), and Cacho (2005), attribute Africa's underdevelopment to colonialism, slave trade and IFI policies (Evarestus, 2020). For instance, Rodney (1981) puts forth a twofold answer to the question of who and what is responsible for Africa's underdevelopment. On the one hand, the answer, he states, is an imperialist system which retards Africa's economic progress. On the other, those who manipulate or are accomplices to the imperialist system. Augmenting to the externalist proponents is Moyo (2009) who adds on to blame IFI policies of aid which she asserts perpetuates aid dependency, fuels corruption and conflict, thus affecting efficiencies in Africa's political-economy systems of governance.

Contrary to Ayittey, Lawal (2006) introduces a middle ground and argues that Africa's underdevelopment is due to a combination of both external and internal factors. He calls for the need for internalists to build well defined political and social economic systems for accountability and reform, while the externalists must develop sincere development programs of partnerships rather than competition for development. In line with the middle ground introduced by Lawal (2006), it can be inferred that the critical point in this trio-debate about whether or not poverty and underdevelopment is driven by externalists, internalists, or both, rests upon the internal local political players. The latter are the group that are responsible for implementing policies and driving reforms that must yield social-economic improvements for the citizenry. Whether these policies are externally or internally designed, they have to be implemented by local political-economy forces. As such, it can further be postulated that in this debate, the role of governance is pivotal to the fight against poverty and underdevelopment. In addition, governance is critical as some scholars have posited that good governance is important and good for economic growth and development (Fayissa & Nsiah, 2013). Augmenting the same, Asefa and Huang (2015) posit that governance reduces poverty, which means it can be asserted that the lack of good governance results into poor economic growth and development and an overall increase in poverty levels. The assertion, therefore, is that governance yields an outcome which, among other things, is the improvement of citizenry welfare, without which there would be poor or bad governance. For this study, good governance will entail a system of leadership characterised by political stability and government institutions that effectively and efficiently deliver improved economic welfare for all.

In addition to this assertion, is the definition of governance by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2022), which brings a connotation of a social contract between the society and those that govern. Governance is thus defined “as the provision of political, social and economic public goods and services that every citizen has the right to expect from their government, and that a government has the responsibility to deliver to its citizens”. Failure of government to provide public goods and improve the quality of life the citizenry would then be attributed to poor governance and again brings a connotation of an expected role of the state within the social contract. Haque (2006) highlights that such failure of the state to improve welfare of its citizenry yields underdevelopment and is attributed to weak, missing, or perverse institutional systems. Several studies (Asefa & Huang, 2015; Hopkins, 1994; Mindzie et al., 2022; Ricz, 2019; Schoeberlein, 2020) have conveyed a governance challenge in SSA which has been counterproductive and to which Malawi as a developing country in SSA is also not immune. This also resonates with a concern from IFIs that provide assistance to developing countries. They do so with an expectation of improved welfare of the citizenry and yet local governance systems fail to deliver results (World Bank, 2017). This concern is echoed again by Sayeh (2022), Deputy Managing Director of the IMF who states that the “issue of good governance and transparency is more than just about wasted money – it is about the erosion of a social contract and the corrosion of the government’s ability to grow the economy in a way that benefits all citizens”. The situation in Malawi is in fact not any different from that of SSA.

1.1 Research Problem

Malawi’s various development policy documents such as the SAPs, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), Malawi Growth and Development Strategy papers (MGDS) 1-3) give the impression that poverty and underdevelopment are a permanent feature (Tsoka, 2013). Malawi is ranked 169 out of 184 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI) with an HDI score of 0.512, which is lower than the SSA average of 0.547 (UNDP, 2022). Since 1981, various economic development policies have been implemented in order to curb poverty and spur economic growth and development. However, compared to the country’s poverty rate of 64% in 1997, poverty increased by 6% to 70.3% in 2016 (World Bank, 2020). As underdevelopment remains a problem and poverty remains stubbornly high, the question is whether this is due to externally imposed policies or internal poor local governance? The externally imposed policies are those that are developed by external non-state actors such as IFIs and enforced upon national governments for implementation, while internal poor local governance is characterised by misguided political leadership, weak institutions, corruption, and government ineffectiveness that results into poor economic performance. In essence, the study sought to explore who or what is responsible for perpetuating poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi. These forces which form the variables of the study were analysed using both descriptive and thematic analysis. The preliminary to the descriptive analysis was a test of the internal reliability consistency by using Cronbach’s Alpha.

1.2 Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this research was to establish the extent to which the persistent poor economic performance in Malawi is impacted by either externalist forces or internalist poor local governance. The primary research question is:

- Do internalist or externalist arguments better explain continuing poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi?

To complement the main question, the study sought to answer the following three secondary questions:

- What impact have precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial eras had on development?
- What impact has the fight against corruption had on development? And
- What impact has the integration of SDG16 had on development?

1.3 Methodology and Data

The study adopted a post-positivist approach with the aim of investigating what causes the perpetuity of underdevelopment in Malawi between the internal and external forces. The research design or framework for the collection and analysis of data was cross-sectional. The cross-sectional design was used because according to Bryman (2012a), it is associated with both quantitative and qualitative research. Although it is firmly placed in the context of quantitative research, it is also used in qualitative research when a study uses unstructured interviews. A non-probability sampling technique was used and preliminarily, senior government respondents were identified purposively. Subsequent respondents were selected using a snowballing technique as per advisement from the senior government officials. In order to improve reliability and validity of the research, data was collected from officials in various ministries and statutory entities who are experts in the provision of public services and are part of the governance machinery or institutions that aim at improving social economic welfare of the citizenry. Semi structured interviews were carried out with responses analysed in two parts, one part with Likert scale and the other with a thematic approach. In addition, Cronbach's Alpha was used to test the internal reliability consistency of the research instrument that guided the semi-structured interviews.

1.4 Key Findings and Significance of The Study

The review of literature discusses the impact of IFI-imposed SAPs on African economies and interrogates whether the adverse impact was the fault of IFI policy design, or poor in-country implementation. Momoh and Oppong (2016; 2014) attribute the failure of the SAPs to the former. In addition, being skewed towards the internalist school of thought, the discussion on patrimonialism and governance is brought up. On the one hand, the importance of Literature depicts a pathology of neopatrimonialism prevalent in Africa that distorts what would otherwise be good governance. On the other hand, the importance of governance to the study is conveyed as a perquisite and a cause to the consequential effect of economic growth and development. The study therefore sought to close this gap by investigating what better explains the continuing poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi between poor governance or international economic policy prescriptions, or whether it could be both. This was achieved through testing the externalist and internalist theories, the findings which will verify or falsify the theories. The results of the study further provide policy recommendations that inform the leadership of governance characteristics and qualities required for Malawi and other SSA countries to get out of the poverty and underdevelopment trap and hopefully realise sustainable economic growth and development for the future.

1.5 Structure of The Research Report

The report is broken down into five chapters which comprise of an introduction, literature review, methodology, data analysis and findings. Chapter one lays out an introduction and background from which the aims and objectives of the study are derived. Further, the scope and limitations of the study are also highlighted coupled with the structure of the dissertation. Chapter two is the literature review which critically compares, contrasts, and critiques studies of others and aims at building a framework for the study. Chapter three outlines the methodology that was used for the study. It articulates the post-positivist perspective of the research philosophy and further outlines the research approach taken and why. It also discusses the sample size, as well as the data analysis techniques that were used. Chapter four discusses the presentation of research data analysis techniques that were used in the study. Building on the same, the chapter brings to the fore the findings of the study as derived from the analysis of the initially collected primary data. The findings are debated with respect to the gaps and conformities to themes in other studies as presented in the literature review. The final Chapter five is the final chapter which provides a summary of the study and findings. The chapter wraps up the study while fortifying the critical results and is coupled with a section of reflection on the challenges and ethical issues faced during the study. In addition, the chapter ends with policy implications which government is at liberty to consider adopting. This chapter is followed by a bibliography section which outlines the secondary resources that were referred to during the study and the appendices section contains all the appendices used in the study.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will critically compare, contrast, and critique studies of others and aims at building a framework for the study. The significance of this chapter is echoed by Jankowicz (2005, p. 159) who posits that “knowledge doesn't exist in a vacuum” and that the significance of one’s work and findings is substantiated and based upon the “extent that they're the same as, or different from, other people's work and finding”. The literature review discusses four themes which comprise of underdevelopment, SAPs, the externalist versus internalist debate, and governance. The first theme of underdevelopment sets a dialectical approach upon which the subsequent three themes build. In essence, underdevelopment will be discussed from a historical perspective, in order to provide comprehension around the topic. The significance of the discussion on SAPs further helps provide some historical perspective on efforts of the IFIs to curb poverty and underdevelopment. This is followed by a debate on the externalists’ versus the internalists’ school of thought. The importance of this argument is that it highlights the question to whom the blame of underdevelopment in developing countries must go. The internationalist school of thought is then introduced as a middle position in the debate which opposes viewing underdevelopment from a polarized view point between the lenses of the externalists and the internalists. Considering that Douglas (2017) warns that underdevelopment was driven by politics and sustained by social structures, political theory is discussed in line with governance. Governance is then discussed because it is through systems of governance that development can or cannot be achieved, the former which in accordance with political theory is a social contract expected by the citizenry.

2.2 The Dialects and Paradigms of Underdevelopment

There are several debates around underdevelopment where some scholars view it as a lack of independence from the Global North (Momoh, 2016), while others view it as a lack of economic transformation (Venables, 2016) despite having numerous natural resources. Douglas (2017), on the other hand, looks at underdevelopment from a political and dialectical lens which entails focusing on a system and then using history to get a better appreciation of the larger whole. The system, on the one hand, is said to comprise political activities and social structures which when combined, form an impetus to think in terms of totalities and not at individual parts in isolation. History on the other hand, aims to explain how things came to be and gives comprehension. Another explanation of a dialectical approach is provided by Wagner (2012), which entails the systematic comparison of opposing arguments and then finding a coherent solution to both. Proceeding with Douglas (2017), the dialectical framework asserts underdevelopment to be a product of an active political relationship which strives to expand productive and social capacities. The effects of which, according to history, result into a zero-sum game in which development for some was achieved through the underdevelopment of others. The understanding informed from looking at the system and history then yields enlightenment which may contradict with and change what was previously a rational viewpoint. In essence, the dialectal approach calls for a three-pronged analysis which entails looking at underdevelopment in totality and not in part, historically, and through contradictions that drive change because one is then able to fully comprehend an argument from a wholistic perspective. It is further asserted that there is an unfortunate tendency of isolating economics from politics and further divorcing the present from the past which "prevents a comprehensive treatment of the relationships of underdevelopment which are not only historical, but include the interaction of the economic, political, sociological and psychological factors" (Magubane, 1973, p. 133).

On the other hand, McCandless (2021) views underdevelopment from a paradigmatic lens. She states that the paradigms or philosophical frameworks inform how development can be understood and resultingly guide action. Some of the development paradigms she discusses are liberalism and Marxism. On the one hand, development through the lens of liberalism emanated from post-World War II reconstruction which focused on macroeconomic stability. On the other hand, Marxism looks at development as being exploitive in nature between the social classes of capitalists and proletariats. The result being huge inequalities and uneven geographic development between the social classes.

In tandem with Douglas (2017), Venables (2016) states that underdevelopment must not be looked at in isolation and neither must development be looked at as self-contained. Secondly, he states that through a historical process we comprehend the relationships between the developed and the underdevelopment. We further comprehend how underdevelopment came to be a derivate of political struggles for power and influence which McCandless (2021, p. 3) refers to as “asymmetrical power relations”. The political power struggles are said to have further resulted into the development for some being driven by the underdevelopment of others (Venables, 2016). Further, in line with Venables who states that underdevelopment must be looked at from a historical view point, McCandless (2021) shares a liberalist development paradigm which begins with reconstruction after World War II. This is followed by modernisation between 1950s-60s which replaced traditionalism with Western capitalism as the main driver of economic growth. The third is growth with equity in the 1970s which was followed by SAPs in the 1980s-1990s.

The latter part of the developmental paradigm tackles human development, sustainable development and other Innovations which are in line with Venables third dialect of contradictions which is complex. It entails that after looking at underdevelopment from a totality and historical viewpoints, this results into a new perspective or reality. This realisation of a new irrational perspective is said to contradict a previously existing rational understanding of underdevelopment which then drives change (Venables, 2016). It is this dialectical approach that informs the totality and historical discussion of the SAPs, as well as the externalist and internalist views of underdevelopment. It helps us to understand what policy tools were at play in the past and their outcomes. Governance then tackles the active political relationship and institutions that can either perpetuate or resolve underdevelopment.

2.3 The Outcomes of SAPs

Learning from Douglas (2017), it is important to historicise the context which resulted into the SAPs for us to comprehend how the SAPs came to be and then further comprehend the trajectory that ultimately yielded the concept of governance. Moyo (2009) informs that the SAPs was in fact an IMF re-active economic policy solution that was derived from the failure of poor countries to meet their public debt obligations to bank creditors. The intervention was intended to have poor countries restructure their debt as IMF continued to lend them money to repay what they owed. Logan (2015) debates whether or not SAPs assisted African development. His study articulates the duality in the outcomes of SAPs. On the one hand, the success of SAPs is attributed to the financial assistance that developing countries received from the IFIs to achieve economic development. On the other hand, the failure of SAPs is attributed to the persistent poverty in Africa coupled with a paradox of IFIs aid-derived debt which African countries could hardly repay (Langmia, 2021). In her study, Moyo (2009) highlighted that the SAPs pushed poor countries deeper into dept and increased their international aid-dependency. She adds that budgetary support that came through SAPs was concessionary as poor countries had to agree to embrace free-market solutions to development approach. This approach entailed minimizing the role of the state and privatizing previously nationalised state-owned entities. Specifically, for Malawi the SAPs focused on the liberalisation of the agricultural sector, trade, exchange rate, and interest rate. They also focused on the reform of the parastatal sector, financial sector, privatisation, and the rationalisation of the budget (MPRSP, 2002). The SAPs are reported to have had limited impact on economic growth and the reduction of poverty.

A further debate ensues on who is to blame for the persistent poverty between the African governments and the IFIs. In addition, Heidhues et al. (2011) argue that one of the pitfalls of SAPs was the focus on economic development plus the institutional weakness of developing countries rather than the social development dimension. Thomson et al. (2017), for instance, cite SAPs to have adversely impacted child and maternal health by undermining the access to quality and affordable health care. The failure of SAPs to give attention to social provisions led to a call for SAPs with a 'human-face'. Modifications to the SAPs were then done resulting into the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which focused on good governance (Nur, 2015). This call for good governance is also something that Moyo (2009) had alluded to in the hope that it would eliminate corruption and bad government and ultimately yield into the much needed intended results of social and economic development for poor countries. Nur (2015) further states that despite the implementation of the PRSPs in developing countries, poverty in absolute terms continues to rise coupled with a corresponding widening global income and wealth inequality. It is therefore argued that the PRSPs are also not the adequate policy instruments for development in Africa (Heidhues et al., 2011). Oppong (2014) adds to the argument by asserting the failure of SAPs to have been attributed to policy design rather than policy implementation. Having discussed SAPs and PRSPs, with the failure of the former being attributed to the omission of governance and yet with the focus on governance by the latter poverty still rises. The question of blame becomes quite subtle as both the design of SAPs and implementation of PRSPs with focus on good governance still result into a rise in poverty and income inequality gaps.

2.4 Externalist Versus Internalist Views

In an attempt to find a response to what better explains the continued poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi, the externalist and internalist views are examined. The externalist view asserts Africa's poverty to be a derivative of external factors while the internalist view attributes it to internal factors (Shitta-Bey, 2014). On the one hand, the external factors asserted to be perpetuating underdevelopment are said to be colonialism, imperialism, the hegemonic structure of the modern world, slave trade, and policies imposed by IFIs (Evarestus, 2020; Rodney, 1981). Colonialism at face value may just be attributed to a foreign state assuming political control over another, but Rodney (1981) further expounds on this by looking at colonialism as a deliberate system designed for the under for the underdevelopment of Africa. On the other hand, the internal factors causing underdevelopment are said to be bad governance, tyranny, corruption, misguided leadership, economic mismanagement, declining investment, collapsed infrastructure, decayed institutions, senseless civil wars, flagrant violations of human rights, and military vandalism (Ayittey, 2005; Evarestus, 2020). These two schools of thought are discussed in the broader African regional sense by Ayittey (2005) and Acemoglu & Robinson (2010a) who attempt to answer the question: why is Africa poor? Augmenting to the debate, Mkandawire and Soludo (2003) recount the dichotomy of the schools of thought but do not necessarily resolve the debate.

2.4.1 The Externalists and Africa's Underdevelopment

The externalists advance the view that Africa's problem of poverty and underdevelopment is an outcome of Western colonialism and imperialism which replaced the continent's indigenous technologies with Western modernity, (Ayittey, 2005). Rodney (1981) highlighted this much earlier by having discussed colonisation as a system that was designed for the underdevelopment of Africa and rather for the development of the colonisers. This was achieved by means of exploitation and oppression of the native population (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2010a; Rodney, 1981). For instance, with regards to replacing the indigenous technologies, Rodney (1981) informs that during pre-colonial Africa, Africa's education system was relevant to Africans. It was holistic and had no separation between education and productive activity. It further had no separation between manual and intellectual education. However, the colonial system distorted Africa's holistic approach to education and replaced it with an approach that aimed at making Africans faithful and obedient subjects. It further aimed at training Africans to manage local administration at the lowest ranks and also to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In essence, the colonial education system had nothing to do with creativity and any productive activity. He further states colonial rule purposefully destroyed the autonomous development of the African society and their power to be creative as no African was allowed to build anything, no matter how much of a genius they may have been. It is sad to note as Rodney highlights, that from the 15th century going forward the connection between Africa and Europe aimed at blocking the spirit of technological innovation in Africa both directly and indirectly. Considering that education is important to preserve the lives of members in any society and also maintain their social structure while also promoting social change, the ripple effect of the colonial system to this day cannot be ignored. Compared to the pre-colonial education era it can be asserted that the mindset of African's shifted from being Afro-optimistic and self-reliant upon various indigenous productive activities to an Afro-pessimistic and Eurocentric perspective that seeks solutions from and praises the West (Mutharika, 2010).

A further discussion into the colonial oppression over the colonised is the low wage that colonial capitalist employers paid for African labor. African labour was cheap leaving African employees with a disposable income that was below a living wage. In their justification, capitalist paid themselves a much higher wage by stating that cost and standards of living was higher in their countries compared to colonial countries and as such the African employee did not deserve similar high wages. This essentially made it impossible and difficult for African employees to progress a higher pay than the below a living wage. For instance, in the event that a colonial employee shared the same post with an African employee in the colonial government civil service, the former earned a much higher wage. In one instance Rodney (1981) provides evidence that before World War II, European civil servants received 40 pounds per month plus accommodation and other privileges compared to an African civil servant who received only 4 pounds. In some cases, some Europeans could earn as much as twenty-five African assistants put together. It is sad to note that, as a ripple effect from the colonial times, this tendency continues today with huge income inequalities between expatriates and local talent.

Dembele (2012) augments the debate by underscoring that colonisation was in fact the primitive method of accumulation by the capitalist European economic hegemons which impoverished and exploited Africa for its natural wealth. This again echoes the exploitation and oppression assertion by Rodney (1981). From a historic point of view, colonisation can be traced from the 1400s when the Portuguese developed a political and economic system along the West African coast (Crowder, 1978; Newitt, 2010) and portrays the deep and strong roots that colonisation has had on the African continent. Establishing these roots even further, colonisation was later formalised at the Berlin Conference, in 1884-1885, the first ever international conference to discuss the division of Africa into colonial possessions, and yet no African country was privy to the conference (Shepperson, 1985). The division and colonisation of Africa was a systemic way of apportioning and plundering the continents riches justified by the interest of civilisation and the tutelage of barbarians. In addition to colonisation, Moore-Sieray (1997) highlights the detrimental impact of external influence of IFIs on Africa's development. As per the outcome of the SAPs (Logan, 2015), Africa's economic capacity and hope of attaining sustainable development was thwarted by misguided foreign policies. Shitta-Bey (2014) further states that the remedy to the African problem must also be externally driven through foreign aid, debt cancellation, reparation, and foreign direct investments.

2.4.2 The Internalists and Africa's Underdevelopment

As mentioned earlier, the internalists blame internal factors for the underdevelopment of Africa, some of which are corruption, lack of good governance, systemic corruption of institutions, declining investment, infrastructural problem, misguided leadership, mismanagement (Ayittey, 2005; Lawal, 2006; Shitta-Bey, 2014). Unlike other scholars who generalise the internal factors, Ayittey strongly blames African leaders while Acemoglu & Robinson (2010a) blame it on weak political and economic institutions. These two viewpoints are important because they provide a basis for the discussion of neopatrimonialism and governance. Ayittey highlights that much as internalists acknowledge that colonisation and neo-colonisation have contributed to the underdevelopment of Africa, African leaders must stop using external agents as an excuse for poverty and underdevelopment, but should take responsibility and act to avoid exacerbating the underdevelopment situation. Shitta-Bey (2014) further sites three cases of pre-colonial leaders that demonstrated their misguided leadership, misgovernance and economic mismanagement. The cases are of the splendor of wealth in Malinke (present day Mali) by Mansa Musa during his pilgrimage to Mecca between 1320 and 1325; the reservation of nuggets to the pre-colonial king of Ghana who left the gold dust to the people; and the depletion of the treasury of Africa's precolonial great Songhai Empire by Askia Mohammed Toure who also ousted the legitimate successor Sanni Ali.

Another internalist perspective is shared by Acemoglu & Robinson (2010a) who blame Africa's underdevelopment on weak political and economic institutions to drive modern economic growth. For instance, they call out the fact that politicians are not motivated to provide public goods and African citizens lack the incentive to save and invest. Considering that institutions create an incentive structure of the economy and shape the direction of economic change towards growth, stagnation, or decline (Sultan & Washbrook, 2017) it can be asserted that the lack of motivation from politicians to provide public goods and the lack of citizens to save and invest is dysfunctional and in itself a recipe for economic decline. In addition, Mindzie et al., (2022) also echo the same by calling out Africa's three governance challenges of lack of accountable governance; lack of visionary leadership; and weak democratic institutions. According to Acemoglu & Robinson (2010b), these weaknesses and governance challenges of Africa's democratic institutions are attributed to delays in state-formation relative to Eurasia. This is coupled with institutions that were absolutist and patrimonial which reinforced poverty through being unable to drive modern economic growth and development post-colonisation.

Augmenting to the notion of patrimonial institutions, Mkandawire (2015) asserts the post-colonial institutions now have a combination of both patriarchal traditional type of organisation and modern administrative styles, thus neopatrimonialism. The discourse was introduced by Eisenstadt (1973) which entails the co-existence of traditional-patriarchal rule and modern legal-rational system of governance (Bechle, 2010). Criticising the concept, Mkandawire highlights that neopatrimonialism is a conceptual disorder prevalent in African politics and is characterised by despotism, cronyism, corruption, and regionalism. Africa's neopatrimonialism is further termed pathological as economic development is perpetually not achieved. This pathology of neopatrimonialism is compounded by three main features which are an acceptable and legitimised “moral economy of corruption”, submission to authority by members of society, and self-interest of big men in power (T. Mkandawire, 2015, pp. 571–572). The characteristics of neopatrimonialism circle back to colonialism as well as the leaders behind African politics. Colonialism brought a new governance system which deepened existing patriarchal systems while the leaders of African politics, as Ayittey (2007) alludes to, are power-loving and represent no good for the welfare of the people. It is this crisis of leadership that calls for a unique type of internalist governance systems that must usher Africa out of poverty and underdevelopment.

2.5 Counter Argument Against Weak Precolonial Political and Economic Institutions

Contrary to the argument of delayed state-formation as a reason for weak institution by Acemoglu & Robinson (2010b) some studies have portrayed good governance systems during the pre-colonial era. It is thus important to take this into account for one to fully understand the dynamic of governance in Africa before total blame can be given to the local political systems. For instance, as already alluded to by Newitt (2010) the fact that the Portuguese introduced new political and economic systems when they landed in West Africa in the 1400s means that they replaced the local systems they found with their colonial political and economic systems. In addition, even West African studies beyond the 1400s convey governance systems in AD1000 that entailed organising the community life and enforcement of law and order. Some of these systems worked without chiefs, kings or central government while others founded large states and empires. These systems of governance cut across the faculties of politics, society, and commerce. One of the famous Moroccan travellers in the fourteenth century by the name of Ibn Batuta is in fact, reported to have praised the good governance of Mali. He praised the safety of the land expressing that the security was an attribute of great political and social achievement (Davidson & Buah, 1977). As these were governance systems that were in place before the colonisation of the Portuguese in the 1400s, it can be inferred that these local systems were replaced by the Portuguese political and economic systems thus thwarting any the great governance systems that once existed in West Africa.

Another counter argument to the delayed state-formation and patrimonial institutions is the case of eighteenth-century Dahomey which had a unique political management and public administration system based on indigenous culture and traditions. The system was acknowledged by foreign observers for its outstanding efficiency and excellent results. It sadly has a huge contrast to its present-day systems which are now modelled on systems from France (Claxton, 2010). Another view is by Ibrahim (2014) who argues that prior to colonialism Africa had societies with their traditions, nature of technologies and administrative systems that were distorted with the introduction of colonial systems. It can be further be argued that both Claxton and Acemoglu & Robinson could be correct in the respective context within which they discuss institutions and governance systems. Claxton in line with Ibrahim discuss governance systems prior to colonisation which worked as observed in the Dahomey kingdom. It can then be asserted that with the distorted African systems, weak political and economic institutions would be inevitable as African states would have then been introduced to new colonial systems to which they lacked the expertise. A gap however lies in the question of whether African states would have advanced further than they are today if the (patriarchal) pre-colonial systems had not been distorted?

2.6 The Integrationist School of Thought

Contrary, to both the externalist and internalist view is the mid-point debate which integrates both the externalist and internalist schools of thought. The integrationist school of thought which was coined by Fredua-Kwarteng (2005) opposes the isolation into silos of the causes of Africa's underdevelopment and rather considers both forces external and internal as causing underdevelopment in Africa (Evarestus, 2020). The premise of this school of thought is grounded in the theory of symbolic interactionism which at a micro-level entails how an individual connects to the social structure with an interplay between themselves and others in the society. In essence, the theory looks at how individuals interact with society based on the relationships and interpreted actions from others in that society. As Evarestus, alludes, the symbolic interactionism theory by Mead and Blumer (1980) is fundamental to the integrationist's school of thought. This is because from a pan-Africanistic point of view, the assumption is that African countries are not necessarily being passive on their respective development agendas. They are rather being responsive and creative to both historical and contemporary global events in the construction of their development agenda. The development agenda is progressive development while being cognizant of the fact that both external and internal forces played a hand in the causes of underdevelopment in Africa.

This school of thought can also be said to concur with sentiments of Magubane (1973) and Douglas (2017) who state that underdevelopment does not need to be looked at in isolation, but rather must be viewed historically for a better comprehension, but also with regards to interactions with other macro factors in the environment. In essence, to avoid tackling underdevelopment on a face value basis, it is imperative that an extensive an integrationist investigation be carried out, the findings which will then inform the ideal strategy and tactics of African emancipation and development (Rodney, 1981). Rodney further highlights however, that the imperialist system of the underdevelopment of Africa has yoked the continent for over five centuries. It can thus be asserted that a radical break with the imperialist system which is the only possible way to the development Africa would require an integrationist governance system that balances the drive of Africa’s core development agenda with those of external policy networks. This is what brings us to the discussion of governance and why it is important for economic development and sustaining the economic development in Africa in the long term.

2.7 Political Theory, Governance, and The Role of Government

The discussion of governance is imperative to this research as several studies have conveyed the importance of the role of governance to economic development (Azam & Emirullah, 2014; Haque, 2006; Hopkins, 1994; Liou, 2001; Mindzie et al., 2022). Intrinsically, the role of governance insinuates a social contract embedded in the society's expectation of governments duty to deliver improved overall societal welfare. Thus, the importance of governance lies in the citizenry's expectation that it must result into improvements in the welfare of the society through economic development. Any deviation from this social contract expectation would result into loss of government popularity, trust, and possible civil unrest (Hopkins, 1994). It would therefore be asserted that with governance and the social contract therein comes an expected role of government which is the improvement in social and economic welfare of the citizenry. Linking governance, social contract, and the role of government, is the statement by Douglas (2017) that entails underdevelopment to have been generated politically and sustained by certain social structures. Inferring that the solution to underdevelopment must also be political and social. The political part is where governance and role of government come in, as it is those in politics when voted into power form governments that must govern to either perpetuate or curb underdevelopment. In addition, before being voted into power, those in politics form social contracts during campaigns as they normatively utter value judgements and promises to the citizenry. The expectations of which are anticipated to be achieved through their anticipated governance systems.

From a political theory point of view which aims at understanding the nature and purpose of government and political institutions (Held, 2000), the politicians' campaigns are the normative approach which aim at appraising their values with a commitment to moral duty once voted in power. When voted in power they set political institutions which answer to how governance is executed. These institutions define the structures, rules, and organized practices of the governance game within which government must operate to deliver improvements in social and economic welfare of the citizenry (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2010a; Rhodes et al., 2006). Economic institutions are said to be dependent on the nature of political institutions and it could therefore be asserted that every new government in a democratic system comes with a different set of rules and practices within which they operate. These different governance systems in consequence have different ways of impacting or influencing economic institutions. It is therefore important for those in governance to ensure that their political systems are set in a manner that fosters economic institutions to drive economic growth and development. As asserted by Held (2000), political theory must entail both theory and practical issues. As such the normative statements of politicians must also be concerned with a view of what they actually put into practice. This therefore leads to the discussion of the behavioural approach to political theory, an approach which is also known as empirical. The empirical element makes this approach objective since it is based on facts. It entails the collection of and analysis of data to avoid subjectivity. It is, further, primarily concerned with the objective examination of the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals in politics and government rather than the characteristics of the political institutions. Through this approach the citizenry can weigh the expected outcome of actions of the politicians in governance against the normative statements uttered during campaigns, the deviation of which would be interpreted by the citizenry as failed governance. This therefore calls for effective governance by those in politics and governance institutions to fulfil the social contractual duty of improving the welfare of the citizenry. The following section defines governance from various perspectives all of which are aimed at providing a comprehension of the terminology of governance and how it fits in the study.

2.7.1 Governance

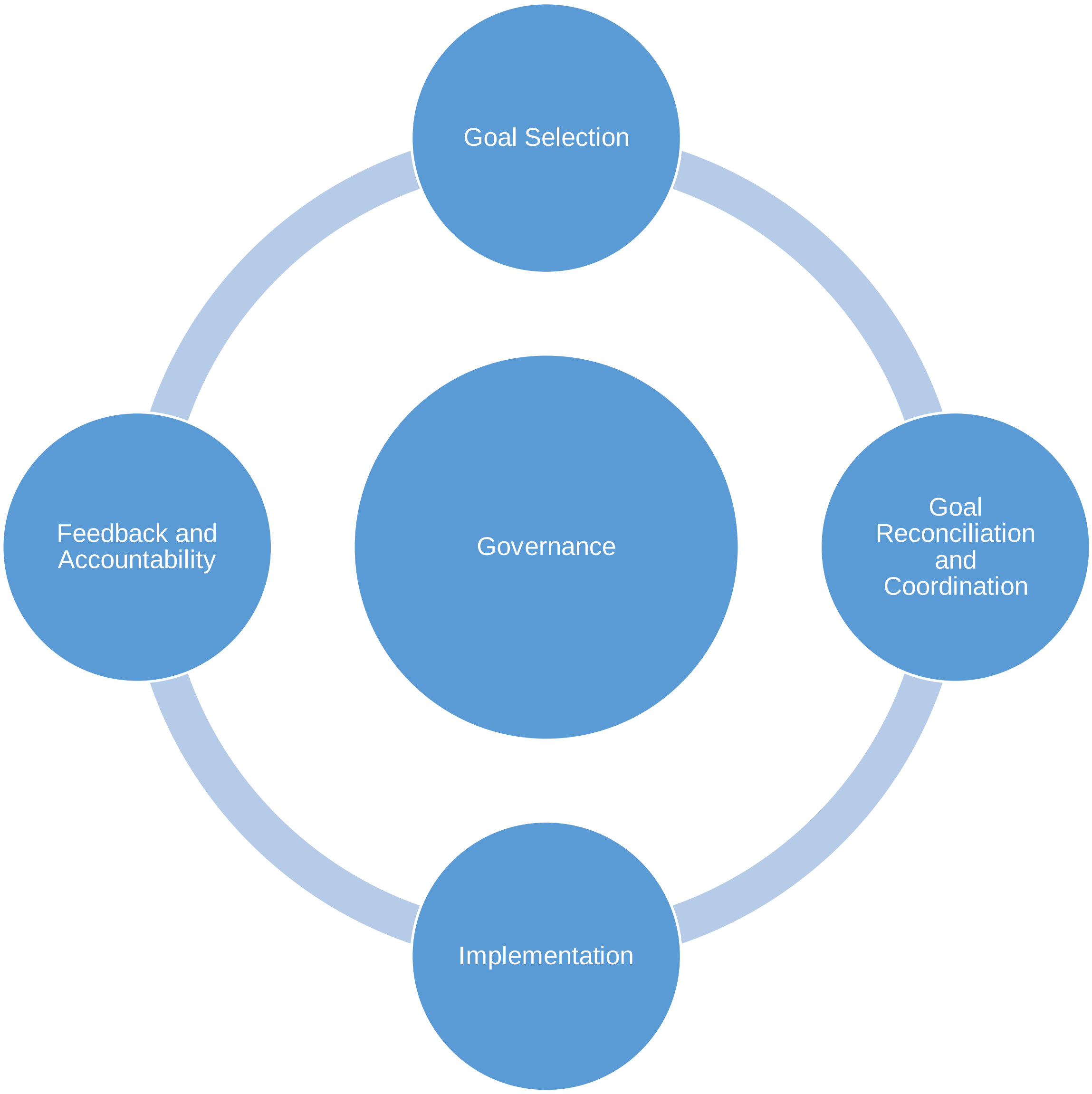
Several studies have conveyed various meanings of governance which provides a challenge to establish a universal definition of the term. Nonetheless, looking at various perspectives of governance sheds more light to the word and how it can used in this study. Bevir (2009) defines governance as a historic descriptor of the “changes in the nature and role of the state” that occurred after the reforms of the public sector in the 1980s and 1990s. The distinctive change as highlighted by Bevir resulted into a shift from an exclusive bureaucratic state governance to an inclusive state and partnership governance. According to the neoliberal approach, it can be observed that this shift derives from the failure and inadequacies of the state as an exclusive player in the delivery of public interests. As an historic descriptor, governance can be looked at from the internalist and externalist viewpoints which was different between the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial times. In essence, governance styles were different in all three eras as evidenced by the previously discussed background of the colonialists having brought new political and economic systems that replaced the precolonial systems.

Levi-Faur (2012a, p. 3), on the other hand, defines governance as rather a fluid and interdisciplinary term which typically insinuates “modes of control” that result into order “within the state, by the state”. Augmenting on the bringing of order, Bevir (2009, p. 3) asserts governance as a reflection of a system or “pattern of rule” which must fundamentally yield order within a business or state. It can be asserted that the delivery of this order is the role of the state which is classified two-fold; as normative and positive (Tanzi, 1997). The former role is defined to entail what government should do to maximise economic welfare, while the latter role entails the description and analysis of what the government actually does. This argument is echoed by Levi-Faur (2012a) who states that governance, on the one hand, falls under a normative dimension of political theory which entails what government ought to do. On the other hand, it said that governance has a positive or empirical approach which as highlighted in the behaviouralist approach to political theory, also entails what government actually does. In an ideal world, governments would be expected to mirror the positive roles with the normative, but deviations between the two are inevitable. This is what introduces the concept of good governance which calls for a merge of the normative political philosophy and the positive approaches of governance (Levi-Faur, 2012a).

In addition, Levi-Faur (2012a) further highlights Deutsch’s (1981) sentiments that governance in fact entails comprehending the problem of ‘steering’ rather than the problem of ‘power’. In essence, it can be purported, that governance entails how those in power steer or control the state in order to achieve order and maximized economic welfare. Related to this definition of governance is the definition asserted by the World Bank (1992) which entails the way those in power manage a country’s economic and social resources for development of the country. Peters (2012) concurs with this argument by looking at governance as a political theory which entails a nexus of state and non-state actors in delivering direction and control for the society and the economy. This governance is further purported as functional governance which through positive approaches must achieve the normative political theory elements. This, Peters argues requires fulfilling four basic functional activities; ‘goal selection’ for steering towards the goal, ‘goal reconciliation and coordination’ for prioritisation amongst numerous goals from multiple actors within the nexus, ‘implementation’ for putting things into effect, and ‘feedback and accountability’ to allow for learning, unlearning, relearning, and for continuous improvement. With regards to this study, governance would in essence, require these four functional activities to ensure that economic development is achieved.

Figure 1 : Governance Functional Requirements

Governance Functional Requirements



Note: Figure by author, concept adopted from Peters, B. G. (2012). Governance as Political Theory. In J. Yu & S. Guo (Eds.), *Civil Society and Governance in China* (pp. 17–37). Palgrave Macmillan US.

2.7.2 Good Governance

Building on governance having a functional connotation, Rothstein (2012) introduces the concept of good governance which becomes very important whenever there are governance systems and institutions that provide public goods. The aim of good governance is asserted to ensure state capacity and quality of governance in attaining the functional governance element of goal selection. In essence, good governance helps governments achieve the goal of improved social and economic welfare. Levi-Faur (2012b, p. 158) provides a World Bank definition of good governance as:

> The traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced, the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies, and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

This definition, although it provides a basis for the measure of world governance indicators, has been criticised for combining both policy content and procedures as well as institutions for access to power and those that implement laws and policies. However, Levi-Faur (2012b) concludes his paper by stating that good governance must be about the outcome. The outcome must be about attaining the goals that that governance systems have set. In essence, good governance must be about merging normative approaches to the empirical approaches of governance which when combined must yield goal attain that improves the quality of lives of the citizenry.

It is thus the obligation of the internalist local leaders to adopt good governance systems that must usher developing countries out of poverty eradication and towards sustainable economic development. Most important to note for governments is that as the political and economic environments change so must governance styles. They must then seek to answer the question of how to govern in order to attain order and economic welfare. The answer to this question lies in the definitions already provided by Bevir (2009) and Levi-Faur (2012a) that denote ‘steering’. However, this may lead to yet another question of ‘What methods to be used?’ This could be answered by the other definition of governance that entails a pattern or system of rules, structure, process, mechanism, and strategy (Bevir, 2009; Levi-Faur, 2012a) which could then be encoded in policies. This further feeds into a potential third and final question ‘with whom to partner?’ in order to achieve order and the public interest. This can be answered by the partner networks and calls for dynamic transformational governance which is in essence a nexus of state and policy networks.

As Tanzi (1997) mentions of the normative and positive roles of government, it can be purported that its biggest responsibility would be to balance the two roles so as to ensure the least deviation possible. If any deviation should exist, it must be for governments to have the positive roles exceed the normative. However, this is sadly a scarce reality for most developing countries and is referred to as wishful thinking (Pritchett & de Weijer, 2010). In addition to wishful thinking are the concepts of isomorphic mimicry and pre-mature load bearing which could, relatively, have some adverse impacts on fragile states. On the one hand, isormorphic mimicry is said to be caused by three types of pressure. The first is ‘coercive’ from external agents while the second is ‘normative’ because it is an acknowledged best practice. The third is ‘mimetic’ simply because practices of other organisations or states can be copied. On the other hand, pre-mature load bearing refers to the speed at which fragile states are asked to achieve policy goals which is self-destructing as it creates risks that collapse the little capabilities that may have been created in the fragile states.

With these pressures on governments amidst the inherent development goal of growing the economy and improving overall social welfare, they are inevitably forced to operate under a pretext of mimicking other developed economies’ characteristics. They in turn miss out critical focus on the core developmental priorities indigenous to their very own fragile states. The biggest responsibility for governments in fragile states would then be a balancing act between indigenous core developmental goals and those from external agents.

2.7.3 Characteristics and Significance of Governance to Economic Development

In order to attain good governance, several studies reveal a number of prerequisite elements that must be set in order to ultimately result into economic growth and development, which according to this study is the significance of good governance. For instance, in an early study, Hopkins (1994) highlighted four qualities that a government needs in order to create a conducive environment for economic growth and development. These qualities which he claims to be universally applicable are openness, institutionalised legitimate rule of law, respect for human dignity, and civic mindedness. Openness he states refers to transparency in public life where the citizenry is encouraged to speak truth to those power. Rule of law entails an environment where there is justice and individuals are protected against larger, potentially predatory institutions including the state itself. In essence, the rule of law ensures that no one is above the law. As an extension to the first two qualities of openness and the rule of law is respect for human dignity. This third quality entails governments respect of each citizen. The extension to the first two qualities is linked by the fact that when government respects citizens, the rule of law would demand due process for the respect of citizens human dignity which would consequentially increase the practice of openness. The fourth quality of civic mindedness entails a twofold approach which firstly calls upon the self to obey the state, and secondly to voluntarily participate in civic activities.

On the one hand, it asserted that if the citizenry is long exposed to authoritarian structures in both educational and workplace situations, it is unlikely to have the occurrence of a sense of participation and obligation to speak out or provide correction to failures of rule of law. On the other hand, if governments build pride in a national self-referent manner, it expands the capacity of the state to operate effectively. This fourth quality of civic mindedness becomes ever so relevant to a country like Malawi which has transitioned from the pre-colonial system, colonial system, and post-colonial systems of governance, the post-colonial system which has had an authoritarian one-party system post-independence to an eventual multi party and democratic system. It is also important to note that these qualities are said to be associated with a democratic governance system and therefore Hopkins (1994) highlights that focus must rather be put on the quality of governance rather than characteristics of the regime in power. This quality of governance is said to be determined by the impact of the exercise of power by those in government on the quality of life enjoyed by its citizens (Jomo & Chowdhury, 2012). In essence, the four qualities of government raised by Hopkins (1994) must, as the end goal for those in governance, result into an enjoyable and improved quality of life by the citizenry.

Augmenting to the 4 qualities of government, the World Bank and UN have also contributed towards the discussion on good governance. The world Bank for instance, introduces 6 world governance indicators (WGIs) as being the fundamental concepts of governance while the UN contributes 8 characteristics of good governance. The WGIs consist of Voice and accountability (VA), Political stability and absence of violence (PS), Government effectiveness (GE), Regulatory quality (RQ), Rule of law (RL), and Control of corruption (CC) (Jomo & Chowdhury, 2012) The 8 characteristics from the UN entail good governance to be consensus oriented, equitable and inclusive, effective and efficient, accountable, encourage participation, promote rule of law, transparency, and be responsive (UNESCAP, 2016). These indicators and characteristics could be considered as extensions to the initial 4 qualities of government by Hopkins (1994) in that they all aim at attaining effective and good quality governance. The exception however being a critique of the WGIs which are said to measure perceptions and not the specific measure of the respective index that each of them portrays (Thomas, 2010).

Unique from the two additions, however, is the highlight on curbing corruption plus the UN's call out that good governance must also be responsive to the present and future needs of society. This characteristic of responsiveness can be related to the concept of dynamic governance which encompasses good governance, dynamic governance and agile governance paradigm Neo and Chen (Neo & Chen, 2007). This concept entails the continuing and improving of good governance. It also focuses on adaptive policies and conveys the need for those in government to have three capabilities which are thinking ahead, thinking again, and thinking across to achieve better than good governance. It can be inferred that the concept of dynamic governance assumes a duty for those in government to fulfil, which entails developing progressive policies that must result into continuously improving the quality of life of the citizenry. This leads to the subsequent section therefore which discusses the roles of government in development.

2.7.4 The Role of Government In Development

An early study by Mason (1960) conveys the notion that the role of government changes over time in its relationship to economic development. As an illustration, the study cites the minimal role that government played in the Western Europe during the beginning of industrialisation by getting out of the way of the private sector. Beginning with a very low involvement at the onset, the main role of government only became prominent when some of the players in the private sector became monopolistic and then regulations had to be introduced. As highlighted by Mason, this element of change in society is what leads to a transition in the role of government. Government now has to bring some order by introducing institutions for regulations that aim at breaking the dictatorship of the capitalists. It moves away from merely responding to the private sector's need for government's action to further their economic interests.

The study by Hopkins (1994) further adds three roles of the state that affect the pattern of governance for economic development, and these roles are the state as an arena, actor, and developer. The role of state as an arena entails a political economy ideology where the state is a place for competing interest groups between the capitalist and the proletariat. The power groups are said to have partial or complete power over the instruments of the state and use them to propagate their interests which only coincidently promote the interest of the society as a whole. This ideology can be related to the role of government during the beginning of industrialisation during which the government stayed out of the way of the private sector and deployed actions that fostered interests of the captains of the private sector.

The role of the state as an actor on the other hand implies administrative monarchy and portrays elements of self-interest by those in power with an aim of maximising state power and incomes of its officials. This ideology is said to have been portrayed by King Louis of XIV France who perceived himself as the state having uttered the words “l’Etat c’est moi!” This ideological role has however received numerous complaints as it portrays absolutism and divine right by those that govern (Ansari, 2013; Fox, 1960; Hopkins, 1994; Rowen, 1961; Zuck, 2011). The third role of state as developer entails that state being responsible for building the social capacity of a country and strengthening as well as continuously optimising the overall national-state desiderata of security, growth, and welfare. This role is the overall significance of governance which is to improve the social economic welfare of the citizenry.

Building onto the changing role of government over time, Tarp and Hjertholm (2000) identify three phases of time from the post-WWII era which also highlight how the role of the state in development has evolved. The first phase between 1940 and 1979 is where government was considered by classical development economists, a prime mover which, due to insufficient entrepreneurial actors, entailed government assuming the role of entrepreneur. The role required government to drive the growth process through systematic resource allocation from low productivity to high productivity sectors. The second phase between 1979 and 1996 is where government was considered a problem by neo-classical development economists. The government had to drive export-led growth to push the low domestic aggregate demand for commodity products through market liberalisation.

The counter argument with regards to less developing countries was that the market liberalisation approach lacked an element of accumulation and growth as it drove efficiencies in static resource allocation. Chang (2002) further argues that the now developed countries such as the United Kingdom and United States mislead developing countries with the focus on market liberalisation policy while they in fact firstly protected their infant industries before liberalising their own markets. In essence they accumulated and grew first prior to advocating for liberalisation. The third phase considered government to play the role of rehabilitating the economic development process through promotion of policy and institutional reforms. This entailed improving governance and calling it out as the key element in developing countries.

An early study by Stiglitz (1997), acknowledges the changes in the intellectual framework used to approach development that have been driven by changes in the world over the decades. Stiglitz cities the development success of South Korea, United States, and other East Asians economies which were driven by a market-based development strategy. A further comparative observation was made on planned economies which experienced slow growth, stagnation, and even a collapse as observed in socialist economies. Stiglitz postulates that between the two extremes of planned and market economies, countries will go through different stages of development which will require different choices along the continuum. He argues however, that markets are at the centre of the economy and suggests that the optimal role of government should be to intervene selectively while establishing infrastructures that must support the market to fulfil its role of increasing wealth and living standards.

The role of establishing infrastructure results in Stiglitz highlighting six roles of government that spurred developed in the United States and East Asia namely, promoting education, promoting technology, supporting the financial sector, investing in infrastructure, preventing environmental degradation, and creating and maintaining social safety nets which included access to basic health. Chang & Rowthorn (1995) add the role of promoting economic change and they demonstrate this critical role through three economic theories of interventionism, socialism, and liberalism that were applied in different countries and yielded a vigorous domino-effect economic backlash across the globe post world war two. Chang (2003a) further states that due to economic changes, the roles of government further include designing, defending, and reforming both formal and informal institutions in the context of structural change.

This process entails the state assuming the role of an entrepreneur to establish a vision and build necessary institutions that will promote growth and reduce poverty while simultaneously assuming the role of managing conflicts that arise due to the process of structural change (Chang, 2003b; Kumssa & Mbeche, 2004). The entrepreneurial and managerial roles replace and are a shift from the bureaucratic and administrative roles especially in developing countries (Batley & Larbi, 2004). It is further highlighted that the shift in roles was driven by the fact that governments proved to have weak capacities to deliver basic services. Instead of governments being concerned with delivering basic services they now collaborate with partners who ensure that the delivery of service is done. The proven weak capacity in delivery on the government roles leads into another critical discussion of challenges of development in Africa which will also tackle the challenges faced by governments in executing their roles in Africa. This brings us again to the externalist and internalist argument.

2.8 External Governance Conditionalities: A Challenge of Role of Governments In Africa

From the discussion of the role of government, it is evident that there are several views of the role of government and that the roles have indeed changed over time. The question however of what is the appropriate role of the state has remained a topic of controversy for two or three centuries (Burlamaqui et al., 2000). From the onset of the SAPs in the 1980s, there has been a neoliberal approach to the role of the state being analysed as either a ' predator ' or as a vehicle for politically powerful groups to advance their personal interests. As a consequence, there has been a strong call by donors and IFIs to reduce the role of government by reforming traditional public sector bureaucracies and adopting aspects of private sector principles and practices (Batley & Larbi, 2004). This neoliberal call for reform, often put as a conditionality for aid in developing, reiterates the externalist versus the internalist debate as Africa adopts policies at the mercy of external donors and IFIs. As pointed out by Hopkins (1994, p. 102), it is important to point out that as governments carry out their roles during different periods in time which demand them to assume different roles, government and private sector should not be considered alternative or competing methods of resource allocation. The state and private sector should rather be considered “fundamental elements of human activity, each requiring the other and each able to stimulate or undermine the ability of the other to achieve collective human benefits. It is in the organization and interrelationship of these that welfare, development and equity emerge”.

Several studies have highlighted the failure of the reforms on Africa attributed to the lack of appropriateness and capacity for the continent as the policies we adapted from advanced countries from where the polices made sense and supported with strong institutional capacity. Even though these reforms may have been defined out of meaning purpose from the donors and IFS, Ansari (2013) postulates that the outcomes convey the policies as tools for the suppression of developing countries. Poorer countries are weaker and experience a lot of difficulties in reform implementation (Batley & Larbi, 2004). This can be asserted to a condition of isomorphic mimicry and premature load bearing which results into less-than-ideal impacts on weak states (Pritchett & de Weijer, 2010).

2.8.1 Malawi As the Country of Focus

The study focuses on Malawi because as a country it has firstly undergone different eras of governance namely pre-colonialisation, colonisation, and post colonisation. The precolonial Malawi spans across time before 1891, while the colonial Malawi spans between 1891 to 1964. The postcolonial Malawi spans from 1964 to date and within which the governance system has changed from a single party to a multi-party system of government since 1994. It must, however, be highlighted that the first multi-party election was in 1961 amidst the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) led by Kamuzu Banda, the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) led by Chester Katsonga, the Christian Liberation Party (CLP) led by TDT Banda, and the United Federal Party (UFP) of Sir Roy Welensky who represented the Europeans and Asian’s (EISA, 2002; Maxey, 1976). Secondly, post colonisation Malawi has adopted several economic policies including structural reforms aimed at sustaining growth, but the country remains one of the poorest in the world. According to the Mo Ibrahim index of governance Malawi’s rank has stagnated at 18 between 2012 and 2021 with a drop in the public perception of overall governance by 13,8 from 62.7 in 2017 to 48.9 in 2021.

In addition, the choice of Malawi is based on the premise that compared to its neighbouring Zambia and Zimbabwe which were collectively one country known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, only Malawi has a Low HDI score ranking while Zambia and Zimbabwe are in the Medium HDI rankings. Zambia attained independence in the same year as Malawi and Zambia has surpassed Malawi on the HDI score. According to the United Nations Development Program (2022), Zambia has a medium HDI score of 0.565 and ranks 154 while Malawi has a low HDI score of 0.512 and ranks 169. In addition, Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980 which is sixteen years later than Malawi, but Malawi still has a low HDI score compared to Zimbabwe which has a medium HDI score of 0.593 and ranks 145, thus excelling well beyond both Malawi and Zambia. It is also imperative to note that compared to Malawi, both Zambia and Zimbabwe have HDI scores that are above the score for SSA of 0.547. In addition, Malawi also has a lower HDI score than both the least developed countries' score of 0.540 and the low human development group score of 0.518.

The third reason of selecting Malawi as a country of focus is that the country has been ranked amongst the poorest countries in the world with high poverty levels for a long period of time. For instance, prior to the SAPs of the 1980s Malawi was the third poorest country in 1972 (McCracken, 1977), Over the years Malawi has implemented various poverty reduction policies with a focus on economic growth, infrastructural development and the provision of basic services through structural reforms. Some of the policies implemented include the SAPs of the 1980s, the Poverty Alleviation Program (1994); the MPRSP (2002–2005); and the MGDS (2006–2011, 2011–2016, 2017 - 2022). However, despite the implementation of these various policies and measures, poverty remains widespread in Malawi. Despite all these policies, Malawi still remains amongst the poorest countries in the world with the majority of its people living in poverty and heavily dependent on agriculture (International Monetary Fund., 2017; World Bank, 2020) it is therefore imperative to find out what is causing the persistent poverty between policy design and implementation.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Malawi: Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post-

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a history background of Malawi by outlining three important time periods namely pre-colonial Malawi, Colonial Malawi, and the current post-colonial Malawi.

3.2 Pre-Colonial Malawi Before 1891

According to the concept of historicization, a background of Malawi's precolonial era is discussed as it helps us to provide an understanding of how the Malawi there is today evolved from what it used to be. Further, it is worth highlighting that the exact period of precolonial Malawi is difficult to ascertain because different authors divide the period into different times. The country before adopting the name Malawi was known as Nyasaland, a former British Central African Protectorate until 1964. Prior to this era Malawi was known according to tribal settlers that migrated from other regions of Africa which was also an internal determinant of political systems of governance. The Maravi tribe, from which the country derives its name, for instance, are recorded to have migrated into Malawi in the fifteenth century from uluwa in Congo. However, at the time, the Maravi found the proto-Chewa inhabitants and imposed upon them a system of political organisation. The tension between these two tribes resulted into them mutually agreeing that the Maravi emerge as rulers both politically and economically while the proto-Chewa retain their prestige as owners of the land. The economic rule came about as the Maravi had developed trade relations in ivory with the Portuguese before and during their migration into Malawi. The Maravi excelled in their rule through kinship and organisation and this is asserted as one of the early developments of state formation in Malawi and by 1650 the Maravi became an empire (Kalinga & Pike, 2000; Morris, 2006; Phiri, 1988).

Further, the Chikunda migrated into Central Africa in 1780 and the Ngoni in central and Northern Malawi after 1850 and the Yao from Mozambique in the mid-19th century (Kalinga & Pike, 2000; Phiri, 1977, 1988). Like the Maravi, Phiri (1977) conveys the significance of the Yao tribe which was well organised and traded with the Nyanja, Arabs and the Portuguese. As part of the Yao's organisation in society, they like the Chewa, had a court system in each village where the village headmen or chiefs presided over and operated with the good will of their subjects. They aimed at providing objective counsel as any element of favouritism and partiality meant they would lose respect, be discredited, and seen as an enemy of society preventing justice and objectivity over their subjects (Lamba, 1985).

With regards to trade by the Yao, they initially exchanged ivory, iron, and tobacco for cloth, salt, and beads in exchange of salt, slaves for guns. Ironically, the Nyanja who had exhausted their supply of ivory began to offer unwanted people in the village to the Yao in exchange of the cloth, salt and beads that they had come accustomed to. The supply of slaves was a result of the increased demand from those who brought commerce to Africa from as early as 1510. In Malawi, slave trade is recorded from 1840 with the arrival of the Sawhili-Arabs from Zanzibar in search and demand of salves until the 19th century (Malawi Embassy - USA, 2023). Overtime, slave trade was not only driven by Swahili-Arab traders but other European colonisers as well. For instance, Doctor David Livingstone is quoted to have once lamented the following that 'We are guilty of keeping up slavery by giving increased prices for slave-grown cotton and sugar. We are the greatest supporters of slavery in the world-unwittingly often, but truly' (Kalinga & Pike, 2000, p. 104).With regards to the position of slaves and without putting all blame on externalists, Lamba (1985) points out that slaves amongst the Yao and Chewa were predominantly products of war between tribes. It was prisoners of war that were captured and taken as slaves. Some were presented to the chiefs and were not captured merely for the purpose of exchange, but rather allowed to integrate into the society and numerically expand the tribe. The unwanted slaves were then sold to those that travelled to the coast for the purpose of giving them an opportunity to start over in a new settlement. This however cultivated mistrust between African tribes during both the intra Africa and intercontinental slave trade business (Nunn & Wantchekon, 2011).

The precolonial Malawi era can therefore be seen as a time when there were several tribes migrating into the country, the migration which further resulted into the emergence of decentralized systems of political, economic, and judicial governance. As time progressed, the discovery of the third largest lake in Africa, lake Nyasa which is now lake Malawi in 1859 by David Livingstone aroused interest in the British. As such they increased their missionary and commercial efforts in Malawi which however made the Portuguese claim the territory in the 1880s because of their presence in neighbouring Mozambique of the Portuguese East Africa (Great Britain, 1920). In retaliation, Great Britain on May 14, 1891, declared Nyasaland a protectorate which later in 1953 joined Zimbabwe (former Southern Rhodesia) and Zambia (former Northern Rhodesia) to become the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

3.2.1 Colonial Malawi - Nyasaland: 1891 to 1961

It is important to note that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland also known as the Central African Federation (CAF) was advanced to thwart the Portuguese and drive economic development of the territory. The economic gains were to provide improved living standards for the colonial settlers as well as social and material advancement of the natives (Rosberg, 1956). The preliminary task of Great Britain was to establish their authority in the Nyasaland colony and bring it under civil administration. The establishment of control by the British required force in some tribes which provided resistance, but other tribes easily accepted this. Through negotiation and interaction with the local leaders a hybrid form of governance was attempted by introducing a central colonial government alongside local government. The central government was responsible for the major responsibilities of external affairs, defence, European education and agriculture, and health services while local government was responsible for the territorial day-to-day services (Somerville, 1963).

Despite the process of indirect rule starting in 1912 in Nyasaland, it was only finally introduced in 1933 and entailed a system of local administration through an agency of chiefs who assumed executive authority (Tangri, 1968a). Beyond the day-to-day services, Green (2011a) highlights that one of the main aims of the indirect rule was to protect rural Africans from modernity and as quoted from the Colonial Office in Britain, the purpose of the indirect rule was an attempt to deploy an administrative system for a people “not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world” (Great Britain Colonial Office, 1930; Green, 2011a). It is however noted also that Great Britain used this system to intervene in the rural areas for the purpose of changing farming methods that lacked major technological and institutional changes. This was achieved using the chiefs and village headmen to cascade information and propaganda. This strategy is also depicted in the Colonial Office’s handbook which highlights their need to have supplemented with other lines, the inadequate railroad transportation network of the Shire Highlands Railway from Blantyre to Port Herald (present-day Nsanje) and from Port Herald to the Zambezi River in Mozambique. The improvement in the transportation network was planned for the purpose of facilitating the supply chain of the country’s main crops; coffee, cotton, tea, and fibers (Great Britain, 1920).

On the one hand, the indirect rule was a ploy to further increase African commercial agriculture while on the other, it was a huge contradiction to their initial intent of governing an African people that were unable to adapt to the modern world (Green, 2011b; Spear, 2003). Over the years, resistance against the indirect rule grew from the protectorate and led to several events that resulted in a state of emergency within the Federation. From the onset of the Central Africa Federation in 1953 there was resistance from many Africans especially in the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as they saw the Federation as a means of extending European influence in the territory (ACOA, 1959). Even though the integration of the three-nation territory was to drive social and economic growth, there were huge differences in the political and economic development between the territories. Inherent in the territories was brewing a political opposition to the Federation of Africans in the protectorates (Somerville, 1963). Some of the resistance observed, for instance, was from the political strengths of the Ngoni chiefs who did not act as agents of the colonial administration but rather as principals of their own tribe. From 1896, it was difficult for the colonial administration to have the chiefs tax their people since the chiefs were capable of managing the affaires of the own people. The Ngoni's territory was only incorporated in the protectorate in 1904 when the colonial authorities signed a contract with Paramount Chief M'belwa chief of the Ngoni's, granting him rights to tax the Ngoni. However, the colonial administration still had challenges in ensuring that the Ngoni chiefs would act as agents of the protectorate. It is further highlighted that, the challenges of cooperation with the Ngoni's was so intense that the governor in 1913 once commented confidentially that nothing would benefit the colonial administration more than to shoot a few down, burn their villages, deport the so-called chiefs and confiscate the cattle (Green, 2011b).

Tangri (1968b) brings an interesting insight on how missionaries introduced Africans to the modern world and also through their mission schools equipped the African Leaders with skills and inspired capacity to evaluate and challenge the indirect rule. For instance, it is stated that there was growing peasant discontent after 1949 following the enforcement of various agricultural rules by the colonial administration. The rules were harsh and clumsily imposed and resulted into lower yields. Apparently, when and if the rules were not adhered to, African farmers were fined or imprisoned. This development inherently created a critical mass base for the National African Congress (NAC) now Malawi Congress Party (MCP) that was formed in 1944 by the mission-trained African leaders. Tangri (1968d) further highlights that in the following years MCP continued to protest against discrimination and urged the colonial authorities to, among other things, ensure provision of better educational facilities and include African representation on the Legislative Council. The turning point in Malawi's politics of nationalism was July 1958 when Dr. Hastings Banda arrived in Malawi from the United States and Britain where he trained as a medical doctor. Banda was appointed President-General of NAC and led in a dynamic efficient, and charismatic manner contrary to the militant and uncompromising manner of his mission-trained African colleagues. In 1959, Banda strongly denounced the imposition of the agricultural rules which as result fuelled widespread antagony. There was a declaration of a state of emergency by colonial governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage. NAC was banned, and its leaders arrested including Banda himself. The colonial authorities, portraying themselves as open to radical political change released Banda in 1960 and enabled the formation of MCP which won the 1961 August elections and later progressed into independence in 1964 (Banda & Kayira, 2012; Murphy, 2010; Tangri, 1968c; Willson, 1964).

3.2.2 Post-Colonial Malawi – One-Party System: 1961 to 1994

Contrary to the expectation that the 1964 independence would result into the absolute liberation of Malawians from colonial rule, Banda fraternized with the remaining colonial authorities in Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa (Chinguwo, 2002). In the process, Malawi became the only independent African state to have opened an embassy in South Africa. From the freedom fighters and independence movements of Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, this was considered an act of betrayal to the cause of the liberation struggle. The feeling of discontent also brewed in Malawi as his cabinet ministers on 5th August 1964 expressed their fear, mistrust, and dissatisfaction over the way Banda was running the government and specifically the Banda's domestic and foreign policies. They later revolted and the majority resigned from cabinet causing a crisis. This cabinet crises was the critical juncture where hopes for a democratic Malawi were squashed and Banda instituted a personalised totalitarian rule (Kayuni & Tambulasi, 2010; van Donge, 2003; White, 2003) . This fear and discomfort from the Ministers that was expressed on 1964, according to Cameron (2018) and Power (1998), appears to have started in 1962 when Dunduzu Kalui Chisiza, the likely successor of Banda who was then the Secretary General and financial brain of the MCP died in a car accident. The accident was believed to have been a politically motivated murder since the relationship between Banda and Chisiza was not smooth as they clashed on a number of occasions (Cameron, 2018; Power, 1998). Dunduzu Chisiza in his paper 'Africa – What Lies Ahead? had once cautioned that Banda would be a dictator and indeed by 1970 Banda had full control over the political system of Malawi which was repressive and dictatorial (Cameron, 2018; Ihonvbere, 1997; White, 2003).

As a result of the one man rule by Banda, Ihonvbere (1997) provides a series of six events that ushered Malawi from Banda's dictatorial rule into democracy. First, is the instability of the economy due to the SAPs through the badly run monetarist policies which unintentionally further impoverished the already poor citizenry and alienated them from the state. The citizenry ended up seeing the state as being directly responsible for their poverty and seeking solutions in the message of the opposition. This resulted into the second factor which is external forces who saw this as an opportunity to put pressure on Banda to meet political human rights conditionalities with donors for instance withholding aid. Third was the church through eight Catholic priests who on Sunday 8 March 1992, released a pastoral letter in which they denounced the corruption, indiscipline, repression and human rights abuses in the country. The fourth factor is based on the growing confidence of local opposition forces which came as a result of the Catholic pastoral letter as students at the university of Malawi embarked on several strike actions to protest against human rights abuses. They further leveraged on the opportunity to openly call for the introduction of multiparty politics. The fifth factor was the role of the foreign-based opposition such as the Socialist League of Malawi (LESOMA), the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo) and Congress for a Second Republic (CSR). These opposition entities were constrained by division, suspicions, harassment and poor leadership but were united in their commitment to getting rid of Banda's dictatorship. The final factor involved exiled pro-democracy movements such as the United Front for Multiparty Democracy (UFMD) who engaged with local underground opposition organisations to force Banda to agree to multiparty democracy. This resulted into the return from exile of Chakufwa Chihana in 1992 who was nonetheless arrested upon entry after delivering a speech that called for multiparty democracy. This agitated Malawians and more widespread demonstrations followed with a unified call to multi-party democracy and a demand to release Chihana. Eventually, a referendum on the introduction of multiparty democracy was announced and was had in June 1993 which was followed by elections in May 1994.

3.2.3 Post-Colonial Malawi – Multi – Party 1994 – 2020

The multi-party elections of May 1994 were contested by three major parties namely; MCP, Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), and the United Democratic Front.(UDF). AFORD was led by Chakufwa Chihana and the UDF was led by Bakili Muluzi a former Secretary General of MCP until 1982. UDF had operated underground in Malawi and was launched in 1992. It won the elections and ruled for 10 years between 1994 to 1999. Bingu wa Mutharika succeeded Bakili Muluzi under the UDF government and later formed his own party the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) which ruled between 2004 to 2012 until his death in office. He was succeeded by Joyce Banda of the People's Party (PP) who served between 2012 and 2014. She was followed by Arthur Peter Mutharika whole ruled between 2014 and 2020. And the incumbent is Lazarus Chakwera who has been in office since 2020 and is due in 2025.

Considering that it is the role of government to improve social economic welfare of the citizenry and that effective governance is the achievement of the improved welfare, a look into the macroeconomic indicators provide measure of the various governance system deployed by the respective leaders since independence until 2020. The indicators for the time that the incumbent MCP has been in office was not included in this study since their tenure runs until 2025. It must also be noted that indicators for PP are only for two years and considering lags in policy implementation versus results this could raise questions of validity. Nonetheless the PP data would still provide a fare view of the short-lived rule. The data is represented as means for the duration of the respective leadership tenures. The data depicts the highest annual GDP growth rates of 4.26% and 4.10% for Bingu Wa Mutharika and Banda, respectively. The data also shows low annual inflation rates of 10.91% and 12.60% for Kamuzu Banda and Bingu Wa Mutharika, respectively. From Banda's one party system of government to the first democratic rule of the UDF, GDP growth rate dropped from 4.10% to 3.09% and inflation rose from 10.91% to 18.10%. Bingu Wa Muthariaka reversed these trends by registering the highest ever GDP growth rate of 5.84% which has since been in decline from the era of Joyce Banda to Bingu's brother Peter Wa Mutharika. Again Bingu Wa Mutharika lowered inflation from 18.10% under UDF rule to 12.60%. inflation rose to 21,95% under Joyce and dropped 20.86% with Peter Mutharika which are the highest rates yet. With no available data to calculate poverty rates for all leadership regimes it is worth noting that poverty still remains stubbornly high. From the data, it can be depicted that the different governance styles from the leaders is mirrored by the indicators against their respective tenures. It would thus be crucial to understand the governance style of Bingu Wa Mutharika that led to the highest GDP growth rate from an initially declining GDP growth rate under Bakili Muluzi and also how Bingu Wa Mutharika reversed a previously increasing inflation under UDF. This could result in the assertion that the governance of Bingu Wa Mutharika was the most effective under the democratic system of government which other leaders are unable to emulate.

Table 1 Leaders and Macro Economic Indicators

Year	**Political Party**	**Leader**	**GDP %**	**Inflation %**	**Poverty %**
1964 – 1994	MCP	Kamuzu Banda	4.10	10.91	
1994 – 2004	UDF	Bakili Muluzi	3.09	18.10	67.6
2004 – 2012	DPP	Bingu Wa Mutharika	5.84	12.60	70.6
2012 – 2014	PP	Joyce Banda	4.26	21.95	
2014 – 2020	DPP	Peter Wa Mutharika	3.66	20.86	70.25
Source: World Bank Mean Calculated By Author					

3.2.4 Malawi Strategy Papers

Since 1981, Malawi has been waging a war against poverty with a series of policy interventions through SAPs which were put in place to address structural weaknesses and adjust the economy to attain sustainable growth. In 1994 the SAPs were complemented by the Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) which aimed at "raising national productivity through sustainable broad-based economic growth and socio-cultural development" (Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning, 2002, p. xi). Complementing to both the SAPs and the PAP, Malawi in the year 2000 embarked on an ambitious journey to attain its Vision 2020 mission which stated as follows.

> By the year 2020, Malawi as a God-fearing nation will be secure, democratically mature, environmentally sustainable, self-reliant with equal opportunities for and active participation by all, having social services, vibrant cultural and religious values and being a technologically driven middle-income economy (NEC, 2000, p. 27).

Attributed to the lack of focus on specific development goals, the Vision 2020 mission was not achieved even though several short to medium term strategies were developed as steppingstones to the overall goal. The strategies that were developed were articulated in various strategy papers; the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRSP) 2002-2005, Malawi Economic Growth Strategy (MEGS) - 2004, Malawi Growth & Development Strategy (MGDS) Paper 1 – 2006-2011, MDGS 2 – 2011-2016, MDGS 3 – 2017-2022, as well as the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) – 2012. Over and above these strategy papers, Malawi also subscribed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – 2000 - 2015 which have now evolved into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – 2015-2030. Of the previous eight MDGs Malawi only made inroads on only four goals none of which were economic but social. The achieved goals were the reduction of child mortality, the combat of HIV and Aids, Malaria, and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing a global partnership for development. Pressure then mounts for Malawi to achieve the now extended 17 SDGs.

On the one hand, the MPRSP focused on four pillars; sustainable pro-poor economic growth, human capital development, improving the quality of life for the most vulnerable, and good governance. On the other hand, the MGDS focused on six pillars; agriculture and food security; irrigation and water development; transport infrastructure development; energy generation and supply; integrated rural development; and prevention and management of nutrition disorders, and HIV/AIDS. These six pillars were also expected to accelerate Malawi’s attainment of the MDGs in the areas of health, education, gender, environment, and governance. Further, this was expected to transform Malawi from being a predominantly importing and consuming economy to a predominantly manufacturing and exporting economy, (MGDS, 2006-2011).

It is worth noting the salient cross cutting objective which can be referred to as the need to migrate from poverty through sustainable socioeconomic growth and development. However, it must be highlighted that much as the normative intent of these strategy initiatives is great, over three decades and a half later, very little can be said about the actual strategy results. According to the MPRSP poverty is still widespread and severe, and inequality remains stubbornly high with an undiversified economy that is vulnerable to external shocks (Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning, 2002). Beyond these strategy papers, the country has now adopted yet a new policy paper known as the Malawi Vision 2063 whose vision is for the country to be “an inclusively wealthy and self-reliant nation” (National Planning Commission, 2020).

3.2.5 Summary of Malawi’s Political Economic Timeline

From the overview of the pre-colonial Malawi era, it is observed that governance institutions existed in society and within the respective tribes. There were several tribes each of which had unique governance systems of chieftaincy, communism, justice, and commerce. With respect to the externalist debate where slave trade is seen as an external factor to causing underdevelopment, it is interesting to note that intra-continental slave trade did exist. This was as a result of the tribal wars from which prisoners of war were taken as slaves by the winning tribe. In time, Great Britain shielded the Portuguese from claiming the Malawi hinterland by declaring Malawi a British protectorate. Once Malawi joined the CAF as a Protectorate, the colonial authorities introduced a dual governance system that gave majority power of the state to the colonial authorities and through indirect rule empowered chiefs to exercise local authority responsible for day-to-day operations. With the indirect rule introducing regressive rules in the agriculture sector, resistance began which was amplified by missionary-trained African leaders which led to the referendum after the arrival of Kamuzu Banda. Contrary to people’s expectation, Banda became a dictator, crushed his opposition which resulted into the cabinet crises of 1964 as his cabinet ministers revolted against Banda governance style. Resistance against Banda grew, and this led to a referendum for the introduction of multi-party with the elections being in 1994. Since the dawn of multi-party system of governance, Malawi has had different leaders, each with their own governance style, the effectiveness of which is depicted through various macroeconomic indicators. Under the multi-party system of government, it is only the governance of Bingu Wa Mutharika which registered the highest GDP growth rate and a declining inflation rate. In addition, a review of the various strategy papers that Malawi has adopted, demonstrates the aggressive fight against poverty since the 1980s. However, poverty still remains high, and Malawi remains one of the poorest countries in the world.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research approach and strategy that guided the study. Further, the research design, sampling, data collection methods and the research instrument used in the study are illustrated. In addition, it discusses how data was analysed and also explains how issues of reliability, validity, and ethics are addressed.

4.2 Research Approach

This study adopted a post-positivist philosophical paradigm as it aimed at investigating what explains underdevelopment. According to Robson and McCartan (2016), post-positivist research aims to find the truth about something, and in this case it was for the purpose of finding out the truth between the internalist and externalist theories of underdevelopment. Creswell (2013) highlights though that the post-positivism philosophy challenges the absolute truth of knowledge and in this case it challenges the truth of knowledge of either side of the externalist and internalist argument. This is especially because we cannot be absolutely positive when studying the behaviour and actions of humans which in this case are those that are in governance positions and institutions. In addition, Creswell (2013) adds that with post-positivist research, causes probably determine certain outcomes thus the testing of whether or not externalists or internalists are to blame for the perpetual underdevelopment in Malawi. It is further argued that with a post-positivist approach, the research process makes claims which are then refined or abandoned in the light of evidence (Robson & McCartan, 2016). The findings may therefore either verify or falsify the externalist and internalist theories making the study deductive (Bryman, 2012a).

The study further adopted a cross-sectional research design because it was associated with both quantitative and qualitative elements. Data was collected via interviews and guided by a semi-structured interview guide. It was from the semi-structured interview guide that both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. Thus, the data analysis was two-fold. The quantitative data was analysed using Cronbach's Alpha, Lickert scales and descriptive statistics while qualitative data was analysed using a thematic and content approach. This approach catered for all variables in the research questions namely; precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial impacts on development, impact of corruption on development, and the impact of the integration of SDG16 on development.

4.3 Research Strategy and Sampling

The study was carried out in Malawi because the country is ranked amongst the poorest countries in the world despite having adopted various economic policies aimed at alleviating poverty and improving development. The country has also, since independence in 1964, had various governments under the multiparty system of government each with a different governance system that yielded different economic results with regards to GDP and inflation. Further, the country has a rich history of precolonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance systems. The study used semi-structured interviews. The study used the non-probability sampling technique with a convenience approach to the selection of government and quasi governments units from which the respondents were selected. For instances the government units were the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, and the Ministry of Finance at at the Capitol Hill in Lilongwe,, and the National Planning Commission (NPC), and the Economics Association of Malawi (ECAMA) . Purposively, the researcher chose three preliminary respondents from each of these units. These three key informants from each unit were identified as target respondents and were from both senior and middle management. Specifically, from the ministries, the target respondents were Directors, Deputy Directors and Chief Economists and a similar target respondent configuration was maintained at the Economics Association of Malawi, and the National Planning Commission of Malawi. The lead ministry was the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (EP&D) as it is the ministry responsible for Malawi's economic development. Having selected the three key informants, subsequent respondents were identified using a snowballing technique as advised by the senior government officials in their respective units.

4.4 Data Collection

Data for the research was collected using the interview method and as such a semi-structured interview guide was the research tool used for data collection. The semi-structured interview guide had a set of Likert scale items and some probing questions. The data was collected during face-to-face interviews with key people in the ministries, the NPC, and ECAMA. In total the study aimed at engaging with between 15 to 20 respondents and the study ended up engaging 21 respondents. All 21 respondents provided both qualitative and quantitative responses using the semi-structure interview guide. The interviews covered the following themes: governance, development, economic growth, IFI prescribed policies, and the SDGs.

Below is a list of all interviewees which omits the names of the interviewees to respect their confidentiality and as such each respondent has a unique code as their identifier. There were 15 male respondents and six female respondents, representing a split of 71.4% and 28.6%, respectively. The ages of the respondents ranged between 25 years to 55 years. For ease of analysis, the ages were split into six age groups with a six-year interval. For instance, 4.8% of the respondents were in the 25 – 30 years age group, 14.3% of the respondents belonged to the 31 – 35 years age group, 47.6% of the respondents belonged to the 36 – 40 years age group while another 14.3% of the respondents belonged to the 41 – 45 years age group. Another set of 9.5% respondents each belonged to the 46 – 50 years and 51 – 55 years group, respectively.

Table 2: List of Interviewees

Interviewee Number	**Respondent Code**	**Role Of Respondent**
Interviewee 1	RQ01AM	Senior Official in the Ministry of Trade & Industry
Interviewee 2	RQ02TK	Middle Management Official in the Ministry of Economic Planning & Development, Debt & Aid Management
Interviewee 3	RQ03AT	Senior Official in the Ministry of Economic Planning & Development, Debt & Aid Management
Interviewee 4	RQ04SM	Middle Management Official at National Planning Commission
Interviewee 5	RQ05JC	Senior Official at Treasury
Interviewee 6	RQ06AM	Senior Official in the Ministry of Trade & Industry
Interviewee 7	RQ07UM	Middle Management Official at Treasury
Interviewee 8	RQ08FC	Senior Official at ECAMA
Interviewee 9	RQ09PM	Senior Official in the Ministry of Finance
Interviewee 10	RQ10MC	Senior Official in the Ministry of Economic Planning & Development, Debt & Aid Management
Interviewee 11	RQ11MN	Senior Official in the Ministry of Economic Planning & Development, Debt & Aid Management
Interviewee 12	RQ12OC	Senior Official in Ministry of Local Government, Unity and Culture
Interviewee 13	RQ13PD	Senior Official in Legal Affairs Committee of Parliament
Interviewee 14	RQ14JK	Corporate & Investment Management Office
Interviewee 15	RQ15ES	Senior Official in the Ministry of Economic Planning & Development, Debt & Aid Management
Interviewee 16	RQ16LC	Senior Official at Ministry of Education - Malawi School of Governance
Interviewee 17	RQ17LC	Middle Management Official Ministry of Local Government
Interviewee 18	RQ18JM	Senior Official Ministry of Health
Interviewee 19	RQ19LN	Senior Official at ECAMA
Interviewee 20	RQ20SN	Senior Official in the Ministry of Agriculture
Interviewee 21	RQ21LC	Middle Management Official of The Malawi Police Service

Out of the 21 respondents, 4.8% had attained a diploma as their highest qualification. Then 14.3% that had attained bachelor's degrees as their highest qualification. The majority 76.2% of the respondents had attained master's degrees and 4.8% had attained a professional postgraduate diploma as their highest qualification. The respondents came from a wide range of professional backgrounds. Of the respondents 9.5% indicated they were in the Accounting profession and each had been in their position for between 11 – 15 years. There was also 4.8% in the professional position of Governance and another 4.8% in the position of Principal Officer who indicated they had been in these position for between 11 – 15 years. Another 9.5% of the respondents indicated they were in the Principal Audit profession where 4.8% had been in the position for under five years while another 4.8% had been in the position for between 16 – 20 years. A set of 4.8% of the respondents each indicated they were in the following professional position: Chief Enterprise Development Officer, Corporate & Investment Management Office, Deputy Director, Development Economist, Development Planning Officer, Economist Debt & Aid Officer, Executive Director, Principal Auditor, Principal Budget Analyst, Research Coordinator, Agricultural Officer, and Police Officer. All these indicated they had been in the position for a period of under five years. Another set of 4.8% respondents indicated they were in the following professional positions, Principal Analyst, and Principal Debt & Aid Management Officer. Both of which had been in their position for between 5 – 10 years. The respondents with the longest duration had served for between 16 – 20 years and these were positions in Finance Officer and Principal Auditor, respectively.

Roles of Respondents

The respondents had different roles in line with their respective professional positions. Different as they were, the roles involved formulation or development of policy, implementation of policy. For instance, one of the respondents stated that their role was 'to facilitate the creation of an enabling environment through which Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises might thrive. This is done through policy formulation and implementation". Another respondent stated that their role was to "support the formulation and implementation of medium to long-term national development plans" while another respondent stated that their role entailed "coordinating development and implementation of programmes and activities targeting persons with disabilities."

In addition to roles of policy formulation and implementation, one of the respondent's roles entailed economic research which informed national policy formulation. They stated that the role entailed "initiating and facilitating economic research and dissemination of key research findings, collecting and reviewing relevant data on current economic situation of the country and producing professional policy briefs." The other roles were intrinsic to the entity they worked for as they further stated that the were also involved in "leading in preparation and implementation of strategic planning and annual budgets for approval by the Board, developing and implementing a properly structured resource mobilization and sustainability strategy, and leading the staff towards focusing on achieving the association's mission, vision and strategic aims".

Further, roles of some of the respondents involved "providing strategic guidance on macroeconomic issues." While others involved analysis of policy documents as one of the respondents stated they were involved in "analysing the national budget to help Members of Parliament deliberate on the budget from the point of knowledge and understanding before passing it." Other respondents' roles entailed an element of management as one of the respondents stated that their role entailed "financial management of donor funded projects", while one stated they were involved in "assisting in managing debt and aid". One respondent in audit stated they were "responsible for financial statement opinion's". Another respondent stated their role involved "monitoring of cross-border foreign exchange transactions, enforcing the repatriation of export proceeds back to the country and mobilisation of diaspora remittances." Respondent RQ20SN stated that their role was to "provide good agricultural practices and extend messages to farmers through trainings, promotion of modern technology adoption. I also develop programs through farmer participatory approach to address existing challenges which affect food security for the nation".

4.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis is split into two parts, the first being a preliminary analysis that covers Likert scale items and the second part which tackles the quotes and interview responses. The data collected was analysed using descriptive statistics for the Likert scale items and thematic analysis was used for the probing questions. While Saunders et al. (2016) highlight that thematic analysis is the generic approach to analysing qualitative data, Othman et al.,(2011) inform of controversies around the use of descriptive statistic for analysing Likert scale data. To mitigate the controversies, the study used Cronbach's Alpha to measure scale reliability followed by a descriptive statistical analysis. The descriptive analysis focused on means and standard deviations, the importance of which is that they highlight the most influential independent governance variables that affect economic development. In line with what Olsen et al., (2015a) refer to as text analysis, the data collected from various participants was analysed and coded according to thematic areas. In addition, the general strategy that was used for the thematic analysis of the qualitative data was guided by a framework provided by the National Centre for Social Research in the UK. The framework is also described as a 'matrix based method for ordering and synthesising data (Bryman, 2012b).To help when searching for themes, Bryman (2012a) further recommends looking for repetitions, indigenous typologies, transitions, linguistic connectors, and theory related material which will be adhered to by the researcher.

4.6 Reliability, Replication and Validity

Reliability entails whether the research results are repeatable (Bryman, 2012a) and the repeatability of this study is taken care of by the interview guide which can be used by another researcher should they wish to repeat the research. This also tackles the replicability of the research which is further supported by the research design. Wagner (2012) advances validity of research to entail the degree to which the conclusions of a research can be deemed accurate and generalisable. The generalisability will be based on the microcosm sample which includes units from various entities representing external and internal viewpoints. In addition, Bryman (2012a) advances validity of research to entail the integrity of the conclusions of a research. The importance of research validity cannot be overemphasised, considering that if the integrity of the conclusions of the research is questionable and not accurate, the whole study could be rendered null and void.

Specifically for qualitative research, Bryman highlights that scholars have suggested an alternative criterion of trustworthiness which is used to assess reliability and quality of qualitative study. Further, trustworthiness is said to have four criteria namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Cognizant of the fact that a sample size of 21 affects validity of the research, it was imperative to validate the participants as per guidance from Wagner (2012). The validation of the participants was based on a top-down approach form the Directors and Heads of Departments who through a snowballing approach recommended relevant personnel in the departments to participate in the study. The participants that were recommended were specialists in their field and provided information based on their expertise and experience as public servants whose aim is to provide public goods for the development of the country. This therefore ensured trustworthy and credibility. In addition, data was collected in an unobtrusive manner as all interviews were carried out in the participants natural environment. The interviews were carried out in their offices to make them feel safe, relaxed, and non-threatened. In addition, the participants were assured that the identities and information provided would be treated with confidence and necessary sensitivity. In order to ensure credibility, findings of the research were submitted to the key participants for validation and confirmation. This is a process which is also referred to as respondent validation (Bryman, 2012a). Transferability was also ensured by the researcher having made sure there was a collection of thick descriptions from the key participants. Dependability was ensured by having made sure that interview scripts from the selected key participants were kept. The final criteria of confirmability was ensured by making sure that the study was conducted in good faith and that the research itself and its findings thereof were not swayed by positionality of the researcher.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Saunders et al., (2009) state that gaining access to data and research ethics are key to conducting any research. In essence, the inference is that the method of getting results of the study is just as important as the results themselves. In this regard, the researcher will adhere to ethical behaviour and principles that were broken down by Diener and Crandall (1978) in Bryman (2012a) so as to ensure overall research integrity. The four ethical principles are concerned with whether; there is harm to participants, lack of informed consent, an invasion of privacy and involvement of deception. To avoid harm to participants which could be psychological, emotional or reputational (Wagner, 2012) participants were respected for their time commitments, privacy and information shared. Informed consent was managed by writing consent letters to the ministry of finance and the Economics Association of Malawi which are included in the appendices section of this report. Further respondents were asked to sign the WITS participant sheet. In addition, the ethics application form was submitted to the school's ethics committee and upon presenting the consent letters from the Ministry of Finance and the Economics Association of Malawi (ECAMA) to the committee an unconditional ethics certificate WSG-2022-24 was issued.

4.8 Positionality

As a citizen living in a country that gained its independence in 1964, the researcher struggles to understand why until now Malawi is ranked one of the poor countries in the world. Even though the academic background of the researcher is in Business Administration, marketing, and management, his passion ever since his undergraduate years has been in development economics and specifically the economic development of Malawi. The struggle to understand the countries development progress was sparked again during President Bingu Wa Mutharika's reign when during his leadership, the economy of Malawi with reference to Table 1, registered its highest annual GDP growth rate yet of 5.84% from the lowest GDP growth rate of 3.04% in the preceding government era compared to other leaders. Within his first term of office, the economy showed signs of recovery, development efforts which immediately and sadly reversed with the succeeding leadership. It is this internal struggle and the observations of governance that make me want to investigate this further to get an understanding of why Malawi's development ranking remains low, and poverty continues to rise. The knowledge of which will help the citizenry and those in government to develop policies for sustainable economic development.

In addition, the researcher had a more informed perspective of the history of Malawi and about the governance style of Kamuzu Banda, the father and founder of the Malawi nation. Knowledge of how he oppressed his opposition and radically changed from the goal of liberating the Nyasaland people from colonial shackles and yet introducing his own dictatorial shackles provided a disturbing revelation. The introduction of the multi-party system of government appears to have been the true liberation of the Malawi people from both colonial and Banda's repressive rule, the success of which needs effective leadership that is able to pass on and sustain the button of development from successive governments going forward.

4.9 Limitations of Research

The limitations of the study were access to copies of original SAP documents that Malawi signed with the World Bank and IMF and availability of key participants to be interviewed. However, access to other policy documents was through the ministry of EP&D as well as through the World Bank's Independent Evaluation Group. In addition, key participants were communicated to in good time. Another limitation is the inductive nature of the research which could be a difficult strategy to follow as this was a new approach for the researcher. The researcher thus adhered to the general strategies of qualitative data analysis guidelines provided by Bryman (2012a), Saunders et al., (2016), and Wagner (2012). Another limitation of the study is that data collected was not broken down by the timelines of the respective postcolonial leadership regimes. It amalgamates Banda's one-party system of governance with the various political parties that have ruled after the introduction of the democratic multi-party governance until 2020.

4.10 Summary

This chapter has outlined the justification for the choice of research methodology for this study. It justifies the post-positivist approach considering the need to establish the truth about what causes continued poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi. The study used an interview guide whose data collection was split into two parts. The first part used Likert scales and the second part involved interviews with respondents. The interview guide informed how data was analysed as it was also split into descriptive analysis for the Likert scale items and secondly, thematic analysis for the qualitative data.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH DATA

5.1 Introduction

Building on the data analysis techniques to be used, this chapter will bring to the fore the findings of the study as derived from the analysis of policy papers as well as the primary data collected from the interview with participants. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews with officials from the Ministry of Finance, National Planning Commission, and the Economics Association. The purpose of the research was to establish to what extent the persistent poor economic performance in Malawi is impacted by poor local governance or driven by external factors and legacies of colonialism. The primary research objective was to determine what best explains the continuing poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi? This question was complemented by the following three secondary questions:

- To what extent has government performance influenced development levels?
- What impact has the fight against corruption had on development? And
- How has the integration of SDG16: governance into development impacted development?

5.2 Analysis Overview

The analysis is based on the questions on the interview guide which were categorised in four sections that looked at persistent poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi, policy and relevance, the impact of Governance on Development, and the integration of SDG16: Governance into development. The specific categories and questions are outlined below.

Section on Persistent poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi

Q - Close to 60 years post-independence, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the development progress of Malawi

Q - Malawi is ranked as one of the world's poorest countries, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following causes of underdevelopment.

Section On Policy Relevance

Q - How relevant and what impact did the various policies have on Malawi's development – SAPs, PRSPs, and MGDS 1 - 3?

Q - What lessons can be drawn from the implementation of the various policy documents – SAPs, PRSPs, and MGDS 1 -3?

- Q - With the transition from SAPs, PRSPs and now MGDS 1 -3 what would be the underlying gaps in these policies if poverty continues to rise in the country?
- Q - What can Malawi do differently to reverse the poverty situation in Malawi?

Section on Impact of Governance on Development

Q - What impact has governance had on development: compared between colonial and post-colonial rule?

Section on Integration of SDG16: Governance into development

Q - How has the integration of governance into development impacted development?

5.2.1 Preliminary Analysis

The analysis begins with testing the internal reliability consistency of the research instrument that was used for data collection. On the one hand, validity and reliability of the open-ended items was based on the age, qualifications, role and years the respondents had served in their respective positions. On the other hand, the responses for the Likert items were based on a linear scale indicating the extent to which respondents agreed or disagreed with each statement. The generic response continuum was 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. On the other hand, the open-ended questions were analysed thematically.

5.2.1.1 Internal Consistency Reliability: Likert Data Type Items and Scale

Cronbach's Alpha was used as it is the widely used measure of scale reliability (Peterson, 1994) and further this statistic measures the degree to which items, tests and scales constructed for a research are fit for purpose (Taber, 2018). Items measured were under respective scale sections which are; persistent poverty and underdevelopment, policy relevance, impact of governance on development, and the integration of SDG16: Governance into development. Using a wide range of descriptors to interpret the alpha values by Nunnally (1967), the persistent poverty subscale was found to be acceptable (3 items; $\alpha = .641$). This was achieved by reverse coding item 7a and 7b to have the responses in the same direction. This alpha value can, however, be contested to be not satisfactory according to values stipulated by Taber (2018). This variation in interpretation also highlights the numerous debates around acceptable values of Cronbach's alpha.

The underdevelopment subscale was found to be not satisfactory (15 items; $\alpha = .418$). Field (2009) nonetheless highlights that even though other authors such as (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016) stipulate alpha values of .7 to .8 to be acceptable, psychological constructs such as attitudes can be expected with values below .7 because of the diversity of the constructs being measured. This is relatable to the underdevelopment subscale whose items seeking opinions on the causes of underdevelopment are diverse. A reliability analysis was also carried out on the policy relevance subscale, and this was found to be acceptable (9 items; $\alpha = .878$).

The impact of governance on development scale was found to be excellent (18 items; α = .905). Further, under this scale, the colonial rule subscale was found to be strong (9 items; α = .866) and the post-colonial subscale was found to be excellent (9 items; α = .918). The last scale integration of SDG 16: Governance into development was found to be excellent (20 items; α = .934).

5.2.1.2 Persistent Poverty and Underdevelopment

This scale of persistent poverty and underdevelopment had two subscales the first which focused on the level of development and the second on causes of underdevelopment. Descriptive statistics is used to analyse the five-point Likert items with the mean being significant as a measure of central tendency. A mean from 1 to 1.80, is interpreted as strongly disagree while from 1.81 to 2.60 it is interpreted as disagree. From 2.61 to 3.40, it is interpreted as neutral. From 3.41 to 4.20, it is interpreted as agree, while from 4.21 to 5.0, it is interpreted as strongly agree.

Table 3 : Descriptive Statistics on Development Progress

Descriptive Statistics On Development Progress

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q7a-Development Should Have Been Less Than It Is Now	18	1.00	4.00	1.5556	.85559
Q7b-Development Is Where It Is Supposed To Be	18	1.00	2.00	1.3333	.48507
Q7c-Development Could Be Better	21	3.00	5.00	4.7143	.56061
Valid N (listwise)	18				

The first item Q7a had a mean of 1.56 (SD = .86). This means that most respondents strongly disagreed that the development in Malawi should have been less than it is now. In addition, they strongly disagreed that development is where it is supposed to be as the mean for this item Q7b was 1.33. (SD = .49). The mean for the item Q7c third statement is 4.71 (SD = .56) which means that most of the respondents strongly agreed that development in Malawi could be better.

Causes of Underdevelopment: External Forces

The scale on causes of underdevelopment was categorised into two subscales. The first category was for external factors while the second category was for internal factors.

Table 4 Descriptive Statistics on External Causes of Unemployment

Descriptive Statistics on External Causes of Underdevelopment

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q8a-Underdevelopment is caused by the Swahili-Arab Slave Trade	19	1.00	3.00	1.6316	.59726
Q8b-Underdevelopment is caused by colonisation	19	1.00	5.00	2.4737	1.26352
Q8c-Underdevelopment is caused by neo-colonisation	18	1.00	5.00	3.3333	1.23669
Q8d-Underdevelopment is caused by international policies	19	1.00	5.00	3.4211	1.01739
Valid N (listwise)	18				

Item Q8a had a mean of 1.63 (SD = .60) meaning that the respondents strongly disagreed that underdevelopment is caused by the Swahili-Arab Slave Trade. They further disagreed that underdevelopment is caused by colonisation as the mean for this item Q8b was 2.47 (SD = 1.26). Respondents were also both neutral on underdevelopment being caused by neo-colonialism as well as international policies as these items Q8c and Q8d depicted means of 3.33 (SD = 1.23) and 3.42 (SD = 1.27), respectively. The main qualitative comment that came around this underdevelopment subscale was that underdevelopment was caused by lack of political will and an increase in the levels of corruption.

Table 5 Descriptive Statistics on Internal Causes of Unemployment

Descriptive Statistics on Internal Causes of Underdevelopment

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q8e-Underdevelopment is caused by poor government policies	19	2.00	5.00	4.0526	.84811
Q8f-Underdevelopment is caused by poor governance systems	21	4.00	5.00	4.6190	.49761
Q8g-Underdevelopment is caused by over population	19	1.00	4.00	2.8421	1.11869
Q8h-Underdevelopment is caused by lack of education	19	2.00	5.00	3.5789	.90159
Q8i-Underdevelopment is caused by poor quality education	19	2.00	5.00	3.7895	.71328
Q8j-Underdevelopment is caused by poor healthcare	19	2.00	4.00	3.3158	.74927
Q8k-Underdevelopment is caused by violation of human rights	19	2.00	4.00	2.7368	.80568
Q8l-Underdevelopment is caused by corruption	21	4.00	5.00	4.7619	.43644
Q8m-Underdevelopment is caused by poor public works and infrastructure	20	2.00	5.00	3.8500	.98809
Q8n-Underdevelopment is caused by poor Agricultural Productivity	21	1.00	5.00	3.8095	1.07792
Q8o-Underdevelopment is caused by poor rains & climate change	19	1.00	5.00	2.6842	1.05686
Valid N (listwise)	19				

The mean for item Q8e was 4.05 (SD = .85), which means that the respondents strongly agreed that that underdevelopment is caused by poor government policies. The mean for item Q8f was 4.62 (SD = .50) which means that respondents also strongly agreed that underdevelopment is caused by poor governance systems. The other item to which respondents strongly agreed to was Q8l that underdevelopment is caused by corruption. This item had a mean of 4.76 (SD = .44). There were four other items to which respondents agreed as causes of underdevelopment and these were Q8h lack of education with a mean of 3.58 (SD = .90), Q8i poor quality education with a mean of 3.79 (SD = .71), Q8m poor public work and infrastructure which had a mean of 3.85 (SD = .99), and Q8n poor agriculture productivity which had a mean of 3.81 (SD = 1.08). All the other remaining items in the internal causes of underdevelopment subscale had neutral scores between 2.6 and 3.4. As such this means that all respondents neither agreed nor disagreed to Q8g underdevelopment being caused by overpopulation which had a mean of 2.84 (SD = 1.12), Q8j poor healthcare which had a mean of 3.32 (SD = .75), Q8k violation of human rights which had a mean of 2.74 (SD = .81), and Q8o poor rains and climate change which had a mean of 2.68 (SD = 1.06).

5.2.1.3 Policy Relevance

The policy relevance scale tackled statements concerning the Structural Adjustment Programs, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, and the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy papers.

Table 6 Descriptive Statistics on Policy Relevance: SAPs

Descriptive Statistics on Policy Relevance: SAPs

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q9a-SAPs Were relevant for Malawi	20	1.00	5.00	2.9000	1.25237
Q9b-SAPs improved economic development	19	1.00	4.00	2.5263	.90483
Q9c-SAPs improved social-human development	18	1.00	4.00	2.7778	.94281
Valid N (listwise)	18				

The mean for item Q9a was 2.90 (SD = 1.25) which means the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that SAPs were relevant. The mean for item Q9b was 2.53 (SD = .90) which means that the respondents disagreed that SAPs improved economic development. The respondents also neither agreed nor disagreed that

SAPs improved social-human development as this item Q9c had a mean of 2.78 (SD = .94).

Table 7 Descriptive Stastics on Policy Relevance

Descriptive Statistics on Policy Relevance: PRSPs

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q9d-PRSPs were relevant for Malawi	19	1.00	5.00	3.4737	1.12390
Q9e-PRSPs improved economic development	20	1.00	4.00	2.6000	.99472
Q9f-PRSPs improved socio-human development	19	1.00	5.00	2.8947	1.14962
Valid N (listwise)	19				

The respondents agreed that the PRSPs were relevant for Malawi as the item Q9d had a mean of 3.47 (SD = 1.12). They however disagreed that the PRSPs improved economic development as this item Q9e had a mean of 2.60 (SD = .94) and they neither agreed nor disagreed that the PRSPs improved socio-human development as this item Q9f had a mean of 2.89 (SD = 1.14).

Table 8 Descriptive Statistics on Policy Relevance: MGDS

Descriptive Statistics on Policy Relevance: MGDS

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q9g-MGDS were relevant for Malawi	21	1.00	5.00	3.7143	1.23056
Q9h-MGDS improved economic development	20	1.00	5.00	2.8500	1.13671
Q9i-MGDS improved socio-human development	20	1.00	5.00	2.8000	1.15166
Valid N (listwise)	20				

The item Q9g had a mean of 3.71 (SD = 1.23) which means that the respondents agreed that the MGDS were relevant for Malawi. However, they neither agreed nor disagreed to items Q9h and Q9i as they each had means of 2.85 (SD = 1.14) and 2.80 (SD = 1.15), respectively. The respondents in essence neither agreed nor disagreed that the MGDS improved both economic development and socio-human development.

5.2.1.4 Impact of Governance On Development

This subscale tackled governance from two eras, one being the colonial era while the other being the postcolonial era. The analysis is thus categorised into two Likert scales; colonial subscale and postcolonial subscale.

5.2.1.4.1 Colonial Governance and Development

Table 9 Descriptive Statistics on Colonial Governance and Development

Descriptive Statistics on Colonial Governance and Development

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q13a-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Health	20	1.00	4.00	3.1500	.87509
Q13b-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Quality Health	20	1.00	4.00	2.9000	1.02084
Q13c-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Education	21	1.00	4.00	3.2381	.99523
Q13d-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Quality Education	20	1.00	4.00	3.1000	.91191
Q13e-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Public Works & Infrastructure	20	1.00	4.00	3.3000	.86450
Q13f-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Quality Public Works & Infrastructure	20	1.00	4.00	2.8000	.83351
Q13g-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Good Governance Systems	21	1.00	4.00	2.8571	.85356
Q13h-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Economic Development	20	2.00	4.00	3.0000	.79472
Q13i-Colonial Rule Resulted Into Social-Human Development	21	1.00	5.00	2.7619	1.09109
Valid N (listwise)	20				

All the items from Q13a to Q13i had means between 2.40 and 3.6 which means that the respondents were neutral regarding the impact of colonial governance on development in Malawi. Item Q13a had a mean of 3.15 (SD = .86) and item Q13b had a mean of 2.90 (SD = 1.02). Item Q13c had a mean of 3.24 (SD = .99) and item Q13d had a mean of 3.1 (SD = .91). Item Q13e had a mean of 3.3 (SD = .86, and item Q13f had a mean of 2.8 (SD = .83). Item Q13g had a mean of 2.86 (SD = .85), while item Q13h had a mean of 3.00 (SD = .79), while item Q13i had a mean of 2.76 (SD = 1.09). In essence, the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that colonial rule resulted into, access to health, quality health, education, quality education, public works and infrastructure, quality public works and infrastructure, good governance systems, economic development, and socio-human development. In addition to this, respondent RQ08FC highlighted how development in colonial era was pro-colonialist by stating that

> Under British colonial rule, the administration did not focus on building schools and hospitals. Malawi schools and hospitals were mainly introduced by Christian missionaries such as Doctor David Livingstone. Examples of these are Henry Henderson Institute (HHI), Mulanje Mission Hospital, Nkhoma mission Hospital, Likuni Mission Hospital, and Saint Gabriel Mission Hospital. I do not remember all of them, but these are some of them, but the aim of the missions was to promote Christianity and provide education and health which is something that a government must do.

Respondent RQ08FC also added by stating that:

> The colonial government established Malawi as a supply economy and made us [Malawi] a cash crop economy that is why we have tobacco as our main cash crop. If we had started to produce and manufacture in the colonial days, the structure of our economy could have been better, but our economy started as a primary producing economy which is not sustainable in the long run. You well know how agriculture is vulnerable to weather shocks and how this impacts yield and food security. This year for instance there was the cyclone Idai which disrupted so many things for our economy, agriculture, and power generation. And we seem not to have recovered from the disruption in power generation and supply. In any case our development challenges started a long time ago.

In addition to Malawi having been established as a supply economy, respondent RQ08FC further stated that:

> Malawi provided labour in southern Rhodesia and Southern Africa, many Malawians migrated to Zimbabwe in Salisbury which is now Harare and also ku Theba in South Africa to work in farms and mines, that is how and why we have a good number of Malawians in our neighbouring countries.

On the contrary 23.8% respondents highlighted that the colonial government did provide development in Malawi where one of the respondents is quoted to have stated that “a good example is Queen Elizabeth Central hospital in Blantyre which shows that colonial leadership brought development in the health sector of Malawi.”

With regards to colonial governance, one respondent provided a historic event that reiterated that the colonial governance systems were pro-colonialist and not developed in the interest of the colonised. For instance, respondent RQ08FC stated that;

> Governance was set to achieve colonial interests. “Do you know that Malawi had a state of emergency in the past because the colonial government was governing indirectly through local chiefs? The state of emergency came about because the native Malawians did not like this type of rule and most of the influential Malawian leaders were arrested including the likes of Kamuzu Banda.

5.2.1.4.2 Post-Colonial Governance and Development

Table 10 Descriptive Statistics Post-Colonial Governance and Development

Descriptive Statistics Post-Colonial Governance and Development

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q13j-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Health	20	1.00	5.00	3.1000	1.11921
Q13k-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Quality Health	21	1.00	5.00	2.8571	1.06234
Q13l-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Education	19	1.00	5.00	3.4211	.90159
Q13m-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Quality Education	21	1.00	5.00	3.1905	.98077
Q13n-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Public Works & Infrastructure	20	1.00	5.00	3.2000	.95145
Q13o-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Access To Quality Public Works & Infrastructure	21	1.00	5.00	2.9524	.97346
Q13p-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Good Governance Systems	21	1.00	5.00	2.4286	1.07571
Q13q-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Economic Development	21	1.00	5.00	2.4762	1.03049
Q13r-Post Colonial Rule Resulted Into Social-Human Development	21	1.00	5.00	2.8095	.98077
Valid N (listwise)	19				

Like the colonial governance subscale, except for three items Q13l, Q13p and Q13q, all items in the post-colonial subscale had a mean of between 2.81 and 3.60. This means that the respondents were neutral regarding the impact of postcolonial governance on development. They neither agreed nor disagreed that post-colonial rule resulted into access to health, quality health, education, quality education, access to public works & infrastructure, and socio-human development. They nonetheless agreed to item Q13l that post-colonial rule resulted into access to education as it had a mean of 3.42 (SD = .90). On the other hand, they disagreed to items Q13p and Q13q that post-colonial rule resulted in good governance systems and economic development. These two items had a mean scores of 2.42 (SD = 1.07) and 2.48 (SD = 1.03), respectively.

One of the respondents, RQ04SM advised that it would have been good to split the postcolonial scale into different eras as there have been several governments since independence ranging from a one-party system of government to a multi-party system of government. The respondent stated that

> During the one-party system of government by Dr. Banda, there was a lot of discipline and integrity in the public sector. People were not as corrupt as they are now these days, if you were caught stealing government money you were sent to prison.

The respondent further stated that

> Stealing in the old days was not tolerated at all. People were put in prison and some people even went into exile for fear of going to prison but now people can steal as much as they want with little or no repercussions.

5.2.1.5 Integration of SDG16: Governance into Development

Table 11 Descriptive Statistics on Governance into Development: Policy Papers

Descriptive Statistics on Governance into Development: Policy Papers

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q14a-SAPs Were Well Designed	21	1.00	5.00	2.8571	1.23635
Q14b-SAPs Were Well Implemented	21	1.00	4.00	2.3333	.96609
Q14c-SAPs Outcome Due To Policy Design	21	1.00	5.00	3.1429	1.23635
Q14d-SAPs Outcome Due To Implementation	20	1.00	5.00	3.1000	1.29371
Q14e-Improved Implementation With PRSPs	20	1.00	5.00	2.6500	1.08942
Q14f-Economic Development Improved With PRSPs	21	1.00	5.00	2.8095	.98077
Q14g-Social-Human Development Improved With PRSPs	21	1.00	5.00	2.7619	.99523
Q14h-Malawi's Development Goals Are Aligned With SDGs	21	1.00	5.00	3.8095	.98077
Valid N (listwise)	20				

The mean for Item Q14b was 2.33 (SD = .97), which means that the respondents disagreed that SAPs were well implemented. The respondents, however, neither agreed nor disagreed to item Q14a, SAPs being well designed (*M* = 2.86, *SD* = 1.24), item Q14c, SAPs outcome being due to policy design (M= 3.14, SD = 1.24), and item Q14d, SAPs outcome being due to implementation (M = 3.10, SD = 1.30). With regards to the PRSPs, the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed to items Q14e, that there was improved policy implementation with PRSPs (*M* = 2.65, SD = 1.09), Q14f, that economic development improved with the PRSPs (M = 2.81, *SD* = .98), and Q14g that there was an improvement in social-human development with PRSPs (M = 2.76, SD = .99). However, the respondents agreed that Malawi's development goals are aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (M = 3.81, SD = .98).

Table 12 Descriptive Statistics on Integration of SDG 16: Governance into Development

Descriptive Statistics on Integration of SDG16: Governance into Development

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q14i-SDGs Influence Malawi's Development Goals	19	1.00	5.00	3.8421	.95819
Q14j-Vision MW2063 Influences Malawi's Development Goals	20	1.00	5.00	3.8500	.93330
Q14k-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Improved Malawi's Development Progress	20	1.00	5.00	3.4000	.94032
Q14l-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Improved Access To Health Care	20	1.00	5.00	3.0500	.94451
Q14m-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Improved Access To Quality Health Care	20	1.00	5.00	3.0500	.94451
Q14n-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Improved Access To Education	20	1.00	5.00	3.1500	.93330
Q14o-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Improved Access To Quality Education	20	1.00	5.00	3.1000	.91191
Q14p-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Increased Public Works & Infrastructure	20	1.00	5.00	3.2500	.91047

Q14q-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Improved Quality Public Works & Infrastructure	20	1.00	5.00	3.2000	.89443
Q14r-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Has Reduced Corruption Levels	20	1.00	5.00	2.8000	1.00525
Q14s-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Is Same Governance Introduced With PRSPs	20	1.00	4.00	2.7000	.86450
Q14t-Integration of Governance in Development - SDG16 Will Make Malawi Achieve Its Development Objectives	21	1.00	5.00	3.4286	1.07571
Valid N (listwise)	18				

According to the descriptive statistics on the integration of SDG 16: governance into development, the respondents agreed to items Q14i, Q14j, and Q14t. The respondents agreed that SDGs influence Malawi's Development Goals (M=3.84, SD = .96). They further agreed that the vision MW2063 influences Malawi's goals (M = 3.85, SD = .933). They also agreed that the integration of governance in development will make Malawi achieve its development objects (M = 3.43, SD = 1.08). With specific qualitative reference to item Q14i, respondent RQ04SM confirmed SDGs influence on Malawi's development by stating that "you can actually confirm the alignment by looking at the UNECA Dashboard on national, regional, and global development framework alignment tracer called 'Integrated Planning and Reporting Tool". Further to this qualitative response, the respondent highlighted that "the questionnaire centered on SAPS, PRSPs and MGDSs - so this is misleading. Otherwise, development planning in Malawi has been reflective of the global development frameworks like MDGs and SDGs. Otherwise, development planning in

Malawi has been reflective of the global development frameworks like MDGs and SDGs".

All the items from Q14k through Q14s had means of between 2.61 and 3.40. This means that the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed to the statements that integration of SDG 16: governance in development has improved Malawi's development progress (M = 3.40, SD = .94, access to health care (M = 3.05, SD = .94), and quality health care (M = 3.05, SD = .94). They further neither agreed nor disagreed to introduction of governance in development through SDG 16 to have improved access to education (M = 3.15, SD = .933), quality education (M = 3.10, SD = .91), public works and infrastructure (M = 3.25, SD = .91), and quality public works and infrastructure (M = 3.20, SD = .89). The respondents also neither agreed nor disagreed to the statements that integration of governance in development reduced corruption (M = 2.80, SD = 1.00), and that the integration of SDG 16: governance into development is the same governance that was introduced with the PRSPs.

5.2.2 Thematic Analysis

5.2.2.1 Lessons that can be drawn from Implementation of various policy documents

5.2.2.2 Poor Implementation

Respondent RQ02TK confirmed that "implementation of various economic policy documents does have an impact on economic development, and the manner of implementation is what we must focus on". Another four respondents stated that Malawi has good policies but lacks implementation. On the other hand, respondent RQ06AM expressed doubt as to whether these good policies have helped Malawi. "Policies have been drafted, but I am not sure if they have helped Malawi because Malawi is still one of the poorest countries in the world". Specifically, respondent RQ15ES highlighted implementation as the key problem by stating that "actually, implementation of policies is the main problem in Malawi". The lack of implementation was said to be preventing the country from yielding the much-needed development.

In conformance to this, respondent RQ16LC shared his sentiments by stating that "it is not a matter of developing policies. Government should be able to implement policies if development must take place in the country." Echoing the same, respondent RQ21LC stated that "the lesson learnt is that in Malawi we are good at paperwork than implementation of the same. We lie too much instead of doing real things and deal with real issues at hand. Too much hypocrisy". RQ17LC concurred by stating that "Malawi is good at crafting good strategy papers, but implementation has always been very poor*".* Adding to poor implementation, respondent RQ09PM stated that "there are no clear instruments for measuring, tracking, and enforcing things contained in these documents". Respondent RQ20SN concurs by adding that "there is no proper monitoring on the implementation progress and more importantly accountability". Respondent RQ13PD also adds to this by stating that "talk is cheap. Systems and policies are as good as the people using them". Stressing the point further, respondent RQ19LN stated that "good policies with poor implementation do not bring desired change" while respondent RQ08FC augmented to the same by stating that "a policy document without proper implementation is not worth the paper on which it is written. In Malawi we always come up with good policies, but we lack the political will to implement them fully". The latter part of this response brought to the fore another theme on political will.

5.2.2.3 Political Will As A Requirement for Implementation

There were 23.8% of respondents who stated that there was no political will to drive economic development in the country and that this is coupled with changes in political regimes under a democratic system of governance, and a focus on recurrent short-terminist-benefits policies as opposed to a focus on long-term development policies. Political will is considered an internal factor and linked to the behaviour approach of political theory considering that political will informs behaviour or actions of those in government. Respondent RQ12OC highlighted the importance of political will by stating that “political will and leadership are very key”. Respondent RQ19LN added to the importance of political will by stating that “political will to addressing development challenges is crucial for the development of Malawi”. Thus, respondent RQ14JK called for political will by stating that “there is need for political will when it comes to implementation of various policy documents”. Respondent RQ07UM adds to the importance of political will by stating that “Malawi as a country has failed to implement fully various policy documents due to various reasons stemming from lack of governance, changes in political regimes and political interest”. Having probed the respondent to expound on their response, respondent RQ07UM stated that “different regimes have different political interests which affects the way they govern and with the limited terms of office that they have in power, their political interests are not entirely on the welfare of the people that voted them into power”.

Cutting across poor implementation, political will, and discontinuation of development programs, respondent RQ04SM stated that “it is very important to divorce development efforts from complete political capture to remove political short-termism and discontinuity”. He continued by stating that; “additionally, there is need to have a coordinating agency to oversee the implementation of development plans and to keep the entire process accountable – providing real time redress on any deviations that might arise”. Respondent RQ02TK shared her thoughts by stating that;

Government knows what needs to be done, all the master plans are there. There is no need to open their eyes to what to what needs to be done the question must really be ‘how do we get government to start implementing the master plans? For instance, we have a very good National Transport Master Plan (NTMP) which covers the entire transport sector from road, rail, air, and marine. Part of the plan is to migrate from transporting goods from road to rail as this is cheaper, but this is not implemented because politicians do not have the will to do so. They are benefiting from the current road transportation system because the majority of them, for instance, own tankers that transport fuel, and trucks that transport maize or fertilizers on behalf government or the nation. This fetches them huge sums of money through government contracts, and these are funds which if rail was used would have been optimised and allocated to development projects. In essence, there are some people who benefit from our broken system and so there is no political will to fix the problems for the benefit of the people of Malawi because the politicians and their counterparts would then seize to benefit from the current system.

5.2.2.4 Prioritisation of Long-Term Development Policies

There were 14.3% of respondents who specifically highlighted the need to prioritise policy implementation. Respondent RQ15ES stated that “there is need for prioritisation in order to have meaningful impact of strategic documents” she continued by adding that that there is “need for earnest alignment of policies to the national budget”. She further clarified by stating that “the government has too many priorities some of which are misaligned with the national budget, and this spreads resources too thinly. This results into no meaningful impact”. With regards to prioritisation, one highlighted the focus should be on policies that would yield development as opposed to focusing on policies that yield short term recurrent benefits. Specifically, responded RQ05JC stated that there is need to:

> Objectively, assess the impact of such policies first, before implementation, on the country’s development. Policies which have short term benefits such as hand-outs of food stuffs must never be adopted. Rather long-term impactful ones on the population’s wellbeing should be considered for adoption.

Respondent RQ18JM added to this sentiment by highlighting the role of government by stating that

> There is need for government to balance how it is to investment in national development programmes versus social protection programmes. Government must aim to develop other sectors that have potential to contribute to national development other than the agriculture sector alone.

Respondent RQ01AM echoed a similar sentiment by stating that:

> There has been too much investment in raw agricultural production at the expense of high economic return areas such as knowledge-based enterprises or Science, Technology, and Information (STI) as advocated for in the MW vision 2063. For example, Affordable Input Subsidy (AIP) has caused a surge in public debt of at least US800million in the past 10 years alone. If the funds were invested in infrastructure such as road networks and energy, the country would have produced a surplus for exports in the country’s strategic value chains such as food crops, live stocks, fisheries, mines, among others.

As part of prioritisation respondent RQ01AM continued to state that,

> The country should focus on knowledge based or technology-led enterprises to enable increased productivity and production in the country. Lack of export diversification has cost the country a lot. It’s high time Malawi diversified into high value strategic value chains such as Macademia, Rice, fisheries, mines, among other value-added products stipulated in the National Export Strategy Two (NESII). Also, the country should consider trade in services as an alternative posed by the increase in human capital. For example, consultancy services in management, accounting and finance, taxation, insurance, ICT, engineering and more.

Adding to the need for the country to diversify, respondent RQ21LC highlighted that “Malawi should strive to be a pre-dominantly producing and exporting country, rather than a pre-dominantly importing and consuming country as is the case now”.

5.2.2.5 Discontinuity of Development Progress

From the responses already recorded, 9.5% of respondents expressed concern over the lack of continuity of development programs. Respondent RQ18JM stated that “There is need for continuity of programmes and projects despite changes in government”. In addition, respondent RQ01AM stated that;

> There is need for a master plan for economic development such as the Malawi Vision 2063. More importantly, there should be major programmes and megaprojects in strategic industries that leverage on Malawi’s endowments in land, human capital, entrepreneurship, and technology to ensure a sustained competitive edge. The country should focus knowledge based or technology-led enterprises to enable increased productivity and production in the country.

5.2.2.6 Buy-In From Policy Networks

There were 14.3% of respondents who highlighted that part of the lessons learnt has been the lack of buy-in from various policy networks including the private sector. Respondent RQ07UM shared her thoughts by saying that:

> I think that there is a lack of buy-in and support from private sector civil society in implementing policy documents. This could either be due to lack of awareness of the policies or lack of integration of ideas by various players in the respective sectors.

Respondent RQ10MC highlighted the importance of involving policy networks by stating that “stakeholder engagement and involvement is very crucial from consultative phase all the way to implementation stage to encourage an inclusive buy-in from all concerned parties.” Adding to this, respondent RQ14JK stated that “there is also need for awareness as well as harmonisation of initiatives throughout the public and private sector”.

5.2.3 Underlying Gaps in Policies: SAPs, PRSPs, and MGDS

5.2.3.1 Policy Mismatch With Reality On The Ground

Another 14.3% of respondents stated that there was a mismatch of policies and the reality of issues they were trying to address on the ground. Specifically, respondent RQ04SM stated that "the gaps in the listed strategies are inappropriate application and being mismatched to the economic reality on the ground, especially SAPs and lack of implementation, fostered by a weak institutional set up to ensure the same”. Respondent RQ09PM expressed concern over the wide scope and indifferent nature of the policies by stating that “there was not too much difference with the MGDS to begin with, and overall, they were just too broad and all over. Thus, as a country we still lacked purpose”.

In addition, respondent RQ05JC stated that “if poverty continues to rise then it means these are misguided policies and our leaders must open their eyes before adopting such policies”. Specifically, regarding SAPs, respondent RQ03AT stated that “a one-size fits all approach does not work”. Respondent RQ11MN argued that SAPs and other externally imposed policies are “meant to empower the west and weaken our economy, production and debt repayment capacities”. In addition, respondent RQ18JM asserted that “these national development frameworks are more politicised as such, there is more discontinuity in their implementation. Each coming government decides on which priorities to undertake”. Along with the mismatch, respondent RQ15ES highlighted the “need for earnest alignment of policies to national budget”.

5.2.3.2 Implementation

There were 42.9% of respondents highlighted poor implementation as the major gap and cause of persistent poverty in the country. This theme resonates with the subscale Q12 that tackled lessons learnt from the implementation of various policy documents. Again, with this item, respondent RQ17LC stated that the underlying gap with these policies is “poor implementation and laissez faire attitude”. Respondent RQ19LN echoes the same by stating that “implementation is the biggest challenge not necessarily crafting of the strategies”. Complementing to this, respondent RQ06AM repeated their sentiment by further reinforcing that “it seems implementation of such policies is lacking because Malawi is still one of the poorest countries in the world.” Respondent RQ16LC augments by saying that the despite the transition of the various policy documents, “they are still not bringing any economic changes to the people of Malawi”. Further respondent RQ14JK stated that:

> The main gaps were the actual implementation of the policies. A lot was lacking in terms of making the policies drive the main agenda of the policies themselves, but also there was no continuation of initiatives the moment there changes in the political parties.

In addition, respondent RQ13PD stated that the “major gap is action. We have brilliant papers and strategies but poor implementation.” The respondent further stated that as a country “we know what ought to be done but we do not do it”. Respondent RQ03AT highlighted the “need for clear and detailed implementation plans with milestones and targets clearly stipulated”. Augmenting to this RQ01AM highlighted the need for having detailed plans and resources for priority program by stating that the gaps inherent in the policy documents “include lack of detailed implementation or operational plan and resources allocated to priority programmes as a means to an end”.

On the contrary, respondent RQ02TK stated that

> One of the main challenges that Malawi has with policy implementation is financial resources. It is sad to see that the allocation of resources from the national budget is skewed towards recurrent expenditure and there is inadequate resources allocated towards master plans that have been intentionally designed for the development different economic sectors of the country. For instance, you should be aware that the budget is split into three categories, personal emoluments, other recurring transactions (ORTs), and development sub budgets.

Unfortunately, the budget is heavily skewed towards personal emoluments and ORTs. The development budget gets inadequate allocation. The personal emoluments budget is there to finance things like salaries, allowances, and pensions all of which are non-developmental and for such a poor and developing country, the government has a very huge wage bill. The ORTs finance activities for operations in the ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs).

The activities are mainly routine administrative stuff and also covers things like economic planning at MDA level. Both these two budgets are non-development in nature. The development budget is meant to finance things such as roads, hospitals, schools etcetera but the sad thing is that the actual monies that get to the actual physical development projects is minimal. This is because officers usually spend money on travel allowances for meetings, workshops, and due diligence. They spend too much money buying very expensive cars for new development projects while the actual development itself does not get adequate allocation.

Huge chunks of money is paid towards subsistence allowance, it is sad, it is sad, it is really sad. We waste money in government, hiring consultants, carrying out feasibility studies, before the actual development projects can be carried. If you see the benefits that are given to officers, especially for fuel and the very expensive vehicles, it is just absurd for such a developing country like ours. It is also sad to see, for instance, that under ORTs we have social cash transfers to the vulnerable citizens, but the biggest chunk of the funds allocated towards the social cash transfer goes to the officers facilitating the cash transfers versus the actual funds transferred to the vulnerable. These costs would be travel allowances and fuel which collectively, outweighs the funds for the actual social transfer.

Respondent RQ19LN expressed her concern about poor implementation by stating that "it is hard to attribute Malawi's development to most of the strategies that have been developed because they have largely been poorly implemented". Respondent RQ18JM highlighted that the country's dependency on development partners affects implementation by stating that the "challenge is that we rely on development partners to provide the country with resources to implement these plans. Government resource commitment is minimal". Respondent RQ11MN stated that as these policies are pro-west, they "are not home-grown policies, not focused on real needs of producing products or manufacturing for revenue generation".

5.2.3.3 Good Governance and Political Will

Similar to lessons learnt from the implementation of the various policies in item Q10, political will was mentioned as an underlying gap in the transitioning of policies from SAPs to the current MGDS. What resonated was the fact that Malawi has good policies but lacks the political will to see them through. For instance, respondent RQ08FC stated that as a country "we lack the political will to fully implement these policies. The policies themselves are good". Respondent RQ12OC echoed "leadership acceptance and political will" as gaps to the underlying policies. Respondent RQ07UM reiterated the same sentiments as per the item that looked at the lessons learnt from the implementation of the various policy documents. The respondent RQ07UM again stated that "Malawi has failed to implement fully various policy documents due to lack of governance, changes in political regimes and political interest". In addition, respondent RQ09PM stated that "whatever programs, good or bad, on their own have no effect because it rests on the governance and government during the period". Adding on governance, respondent RQ02TK said that the "underlying gaps in the policies is the lack of good governance". The respondent further stated that "political will is key to addressing poverty" and complemented the response by stating that "another gap is lack of capacity". Respondent RQ17LC added by stating "a laissez faire attitude and poor support systems" as the underlying gaps in the implementation of policies.

5.2.4 What can be done differently to reverse the poverty situation in Malawi

5.2.4.1 Implementation

With regards to what can be done differently to reverse the persistent poverty in Malawi, 28.6% of respondents highlighted the need for improved implementation of policies. For instance, respondent RQ18JM stated that there is need to "improve how we implement our development policies. We have good policies, but the problem is how we implement them". Respondent RQ07UM stated there is need to "focus on implementation gaps. Work on accountability and ownership of policy implementation, division of tasks as well as gaining public trust". With regards to the MW Vision 2063, respondent RQ01AM stated the need to "implement the Malawi Vision 2063 through development of major programmes and megaprojects that expedite the transition". While 50.0% of the 28.6% respondents stated the need to ensure that policies and strategies are implemented fully. Respondent RQ17LC simply states that Malawi needs to "implement and improve on the implementation of development programs". Respondent RQ15ES reiterated the need to "ensure implementation of the policies, improve governance, and prioritisation". Respondent RQ21LC stated that it is "time to start implementing rather than just talking and writing on papers". In addition, respondent RQ13PD added to this by stating that "we need to seriously begin to implement the brilliant strategies" and ended their response by calling for "Action. Action. Action".

5.2.4.2 Homegrown Productive Policies

There were 19.0% of respondents who highlighted the need for homegrown policies that resonate with the development needs of the country. For instance, respondent RQ18JM stated that as a country Malawi we ought to" Reduce our dependence on donor support or borrowing". Respondent RQ11MN concurs by calling on Malawi to have "homegrown solutions, value addition, and manufacturing including good governance". He continues by stating that

> We need homegrown funding institutions, not the World Bank, and IMF. We need to dispense with the USD and have a common African market and currency like what the Eastern countries have done. We need to produce and within Africa be allowed to freely trade with developed countries. They should remove administrative restrictions. Agriculture in Africa should be treated like the business it truly is.

Respondent RQ19LN complemented that "Malawi needs to be committed to the development process of the country by changing the structure of the economy". She added that "export development and promotion needs to be upscaled to ensure sufficient export generation". Respondent RQ01AM expressed the need for Malawi to diversify while respondents RQ14JK and RQ21LC complemented by expressing the need for Malawi to become a producing nation and develop an export initiative.

> Lack of export diversification has cost the country a lot. It is high time Malawi diversified into high value strategic value chains such as macadamia nuts, rice, fisheries, mines, among other value-added products stipulated in the National Export Strategy (NESII). Also, the country should consider trade in services as an alternative posed by the increase in human capital. For

> example, consultancy services in management, accounting and finance, taxation, insurance, ICT, engineering and more.

Augmenting the call for diversification, respondent RQ19LN already stated that the country needs "export development and promotion needs to be upscaled to ensure sufficient export generation". In addition, respondent RQ14JK stated that,

> There is need to become a producing nation as opposed to a consuming nation so we can achieve the dreams we have of becoming an economically empowered nation. We have spent more on the consumption side, we have overly imported. We have invested in infrastructure but with no supportive developmental activities to bring value from such infrastructure. Since there is more drive to invest more in Infrastructure such as Railways, roads, airlines, secondary cities, energy, what we need to do more is to prepare the mindset of Malawians to look at such investments as a way of us coming out of property as opposed to easing transportation of people and putting our lives at ease. We need to attract more goods that will unlock revenue and export proceeds for our country. We need to teach our citizens to work hard and be ambitious and go to the battlefield together if we are to win this poverty war. No one must be left behind.

In addition to this, respondent RQ01AM also highlighted the importance to invest in human capital as one of the fundamental driving factors of economic production. The respondent further stated that there is need to "continue investing in human capital development in science, technology and information (STI), and entrepreneurship training which must be incorporated in the primary school education system to foster a savings and entrepreneurship culture."

Out of the 19.0% respondents who indicated the need for homegrown policies, 50.0% suggested as part of the change in the economic structure for Malawi to focus on the extractive industry. Respondent RQ06AM stated that "we need to do more research on minerals and oil under Lake Malawi" while respondent RQ18JM on the other hand stated the need for "government to reconsider investing in other sectors that have potential to contribute to national development such as mining". Highlighting some risks to the homegrown policies, however, respondent RQ05JC stated that there is need "to abandon the current policies [and] objectively evaluate what is really important to the people of Malawi and stand up for that, even though often times it may risk their lives too". Abandoning other policies would require a mindset change which as alluded to by respondent RQ16LC, there would be need:

> To come up with deliberate national inclusive policies that will continuously change the mindset of Malawians from the grassroots level. As such there is quite a lot of work to be done if Malawi must attain the MW2063 vision. Apart from asking for debt relief Malawians need to be hard workers and work together in addressing national challenges.

Respondent RQ02TK also adds that;

> Regarding mind-set change, the vice president indeed spoke about mind-set change which is important but maybe it is also important to intentionally highlight what we want the people to be thinking about. How should we think as a country? This mind-set change concept is cross cutting issue and as a nation for instance we need to have a mind-set change from looking outward for help to a mind-set of looking inward for solutions. We need to believe that as a nation we can attain self-reliance and not always be dependent on donors and the international development community. Belief is very powerful and as long as we believe that we can do it, the ripple effects would be great.
>
> This mind-set change is trying to respond the question how should we think as a nation? And what should we be thinking about? It is important to decolonise our curriculum from the grass roots level. Our curriculum should not train for employment but should borrow a leaf from other countries who train children at a very young age to be creative and independent. We need to educate and train the country from a young age as early as kindergarten and nursery to develop the culture of self-reliance, innovations, and creativity which will have a great long term ripple development effect. For instance, parents now are always sceptical when they hear their child would like to be an entrepreneur in the future. They even become scared when their child decides to quit employment and pursue the entrepreneurial dreams. The challenge is in the governments themselves because they do not think about

how as a country we should get out of the dependency culture. This is at times reflected in our foreign policy which portrays a begging culture. It focuses on globe-trotting for foreign financial assistance, debt relief, and thus sustaining and indirectly communicating the dependency culture.

5.2.4.3 Political Will As A Solution

There were 14.3% of respondents who highlighted the need for political will as an area that can be done differently. For instance, respondent RQ08FC stated that as a country “we need to start implementing policies and plans fully. We need to develop political will and reduce rhetoric”*.* Respondent RQ02TK also stated that “there is need for political will”. Related to political will is what respondent RQ07UM stated earlier which entails working “on accountability and ownership of policy implementation, division of tasks as well as gaining public trust”*.* In addition, respondent RQ08FC stated that as a country “we need to develop the political will to fully implement our policies and stop blaming colonialism or the Bretton Woods institutions for our own mess.” The response ended by highlighting that as a country we need to realise that “it is time to move on” from the blame game and take responsibility for the development that we want.

5.2.4.4 Fight Against Corruption

There was 28.6% of respondents who highlighted the need to address poverty as it was hindering the countries development progress. For instance, respondent RQ19LN stated that “corruption needs to be fought seriously and the procurement process in Government needs an overhaul”. With regards to government procurement, respondent RQ20SN echoes the same by stating that “in most cases, transparency lacks when it comes to procurement matters and contract awards”. Respondent RQ21LC calls for the country to “go for zero tolerance on corruption” while RQ14JK adds that “we must continue fighting corruption which is a big enemy of success”. She emphasized calling on the entire citizenry to join the fight. “We all must take part to watch against it and fight this enemy”. In addition, respondent

RQ03AT stated that corruption has to be addressed" and respondent RQ18JM stated that "It is a must to end corruption". Some respondents including RQ01AM mentioned corruption in the context of governance by stating that there was need to "fight corruption and implement development programs" and "improve on the governance systems to ensure zero corruption".

Respondent RQ14JK further stated that "the government must invest in systems and have robust governance structures to eradicate corruption, and everyone must become selfless if we are to win". Respondent RQ17LC adds that as a country we need to "fight corruption". Respondent RQ01AM cites the adverse impact that corruption has had on the nation's journey to development. "Corruption has deprived the economy of the much-needed growth. Governance systems ought to be improved to address loopholes in the Integrated Financial Management Information System (IFMIS)". Respondent RQ03AT added by sharing sentiments of a previous minister who is cited to have shared the extent to which corruption affects the national budget. "About 30% of Malawi's national budget is lostthrough corruption. Therefore, corruption is critical and needs to be addressed".

5.2.4.5 Leadership and Governance

There was another 28.6% of respondents who highlighted the need for good leadership and governance systems. With regards to leadership, respondent RQ09PM stated that

> The only solution is to get good leadership that will love the country enough to at least do the bare minimum and close out revenue leaks and contain expenditures, cut corruption, borrow based on the high return investment priority, promote industrialisation, just to mention a few.

Respondent RQ05JC augments by sharing her anticipation of Malawi landing a good leader.

> The day we have a leader in Malawi who loves the people of Malawi and is willing to take this country to a higher level and say no to those counter-productive, counter development policies currently being executed in Malawi, we will engage into the initial phase of development.

Although respondent RQ10MC spoke in general terms regarding governance by saying that “Malawi should enhance its governance systems to improve policy implementation outcomes”, it was noted that the responses to governance were discussed in the context of reducing corruption. For instance, respondent RQ01AM stated that there was need to “improve on the governance systems to ensure zero corruption” while respondent RQ14JK echoes the same sentiments that “the government must invest in systems and have robust governance structures to eradicate corruption, and everyone must become selfless if we are to win”. As part of improving governance systems and complementing towards robust governance structures, respondent RQ04SM acknowledged that;

> The establishment of an autonomous quasi-public institution like the National Planning Commission to oversee the country’s development efforts is a good step in the right direction. The country now must ensure that its actions are responsive to the planned development plans – even as reflected in our yearly national budgets.

As a general comment, respondent RQ01AM highlighted the importance of governance by stating that “governance plays a critical role in ensuring systems work hence should be at the centre of sustained economic growth and development.” In addition, respondent RQ08FC stated that “good governance is key in achieving Malawi’s development objectives”. Respondent RQ02TK also highlighted that “governance has an impact on economic development, therefore good governance, needs to be taken care of. However, respondent RQ14JK expressed concern that despite having integrated SDG 16 in development, “we are yet to experience results of integration of the SDG 16 with MW2063 strategy in Malawi, but they are currently aligned and giving us the much-needed hope as long as they are both well implemented”.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 DISCUSSION

This section provides a further discussion and interpretation of the research findings where and how they link with the literature review. The analysis is derived from responses from both the Likert scale and open-ended items. The chapter begins with a highlight of the research problem that the study aimed to address followed by an analysis as per the research questions. The layout of the chapter is as follows.

1. The Research Problem
2. Causes of Persistent Poverty and Underdevelopment
3. Government Performance in the colonial and postcolonial eras and Its Influence on Development Levels
4. The Impact of Fighting Corruption on Development
5. The Impact of Integrating SDG 16 on Development

6.1 Causes of Persistent Poverty and Underdevelopment

The causes of persistent poverty and underdevelopment are best discussed inthe subsequent sections. This is because as the report discusses government performance in the colonial and postcolonial eras, the factors either external or internal shed light in themselves to the causes of poverty and underdevelopment.

6.2 Government Performance and Its Influence on Development Levels

The study split the influence of government performance on development levels into two eras: colonial and postcolonial. The colonial government performance was categorised under externalist causes of development while the post-colonial was categorised under the internalist causes of development.

6.2.1 Externalist Causes: Colonialism and Precolonial Swahili-Arab Slave

The study found that colonial governance brought social policy developments in religion, education, and health. In addition, there was no clear element of causality between the Swahili-Arab salve trade and underdevelopment as respondents unanimously disagreed that poverty and underdevelopment are a derivative of the salve trade in Malawi. Despite this finding, it is important to note that Nunn (2008) reports that slavery did have an adverse effect economic development in Africa. In line with the precolonial and colonial history of Malawi, it is also important to note that missionaries also contributed towards the abolition of slave trade which was a good social development in this regard.

6.2.2 Internalist Causes: Good Policies and Sub-optimal Governance

The study found that Malawi has good development policies, but the only challenge is in the manner of implementation. Further, the study established that governance has resulted into sub optimal development performance as with a mean of 1.56 the respondents strongly disagreed that the development should have been less than it is now. This means that development should have been more than it is now. This inference resonates with the respondents having also strongly disagreed that development is where it is supposed to be as this had a mean of 1.33. As the respondents strongly agreed with a mean of 4.71 that development in Malawi could be better. It can be inferred that the internalist governance systems post-independence have been sub-optimal as the development of the country is not at the level it was supposed to be. In essence, the governance systems should have resulted into greater and better levels of development than they are now.

6.2.3 Internalist Causes: Political Will and Implementation

Despite the existing good policies that the country has, the study established lack of political will as one of the main causes of persistent poverty and underdevelopment. With no political will and interest to implement development policies, it is unlikely that development can be attained. As asserted by Douglas (2017), development and underdevelopment are derivatives of political struggle for power and influence. Consequently, despite having good policies, but if there is no or insufficient political will to struggle for this power and influence implementation of development policy, a zero-sum game ensues where others develop while others wallow in persistent underdevelopment.

6.2.4 Internalist Causes: Corruption and Poor Governance

From the quantitative analysis, on the one hand, the study depicts that the two main causes of underdevelopment are corruption and poor governance systems which had the highest mean values of 4.74 and 4.68, respectively. This conforms to Fayissa & Nsiah (2013) whose study indicated that lack of good governance and institutions hampers the attainment of economic growth and development goals. On the other hand, corruption and poor governance also emerged as some of the major themes from the qualitive analysis. The study further depicts corruption as a dependent variable of poor governance and poor governance systems. This is attributed to the response from respondent RQ01AM who asserted that there is need for good governance and good governance systems to ensure zero corruption.

6.2.5 Internalist Causes: Education, Infrastructure, and Agriculture

In addition, the other moderating variables with means ranging from 3.59 to 3.89 are lack of education, lack of quality education, poor infrastructure, and poor agriculture productivity. As education is an important factor and determinant of economic growth (Mariana, 2015), the findings indicate that if there is no education or if the quality of education is suboptimal then this would perpetuate and increase poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi. As education increases an individual's and a country's productive powers of labour (Smith & Wight, 2007), it can be inferred that a citizen with no education would be deprived of capacity that would enable them to have productive powers. This would partly influence the wage of any labour they would be involved in. And again, if they attain poor quality education then the quality and wage of their productive powers of labour would be suboptimal and aggregately adversely affect quality of national productivity, thus perpetuating poverty, and underdevelopment.

With regards to poor agriculture productivity causing underdevelopment, this finding resonates with Kamrany (1975) who highlighted the ecological-agriculture circle as one of the vicious circles of underdevelopment. This vicious circle of underdevelopment affects agricultural based countries like Malawi which as characterised by World Bank (2021) is vulnerable to weather-related shocks. The shocks further affect the country's main export crop tobacco as well as the staple crop maize. In essence, once yield and quality of yield is affected by the weather-related shocks, food security becomes an issue and puts pressure on government to import maize from neighbouring countries. This becomes a recurrent foreign expense on the national budget which adversely affects the countries already unsustainable fiscus. On the other hand, with regards to tobacco which is the country's main foreign exchange earner, low yields and low quality affects the price per leaf which adversely affects the total foreign exchange revenues to be realised that would have otherwise improved the country's fiscal space for development.

6.2.6 Internalist Causes: Regime Change and Short-Termism

One of the themes that was established by the study was the impact of regime change on economic development. Due to the multiparty system of government, Malawi ushers in a new government every five years. This as per respondent RQ07UM has an impact on political will, policy implementation, and governance systems. Every new government has its own political agenda which sets the tone of governance for the five-year tenure in which they must govern. In addition, the study established a pathology of short-termism as the five-years of a singular party in leadership puts pressure on the government of the day to prioritise policies that may be recurrent and short-term to secure their re-election. These recurrent policies are implemented in opposition to policies that are long-term and more productively beneficial to the country and the citizenry. In addition, this pathology of short-termism also impacts the implementation and discontinuity of ongoing good development-policy implementation landed by preceding governments. The discontinuation ends up retarding or even eliminating any hard-earned development gains attained from the abandoned policies. It must also be highlighted that despite that regime change and short termism are found to contribute to the stifling of development, the underlying assertion is the difference in vision for the country and governance styles by the respective parties and their executive leadership. Therefore, extended leadership term is not necessarily a guarantee for yielding better social-economic results, but rather calls for the need for those in leadership to have and implement good visions for the country. Theses must be guided a non-partisan national development agenda. Thus, respondent RQ04SM stated the need for non-partisan implementation of national development policies to ensure continuity and steady progress in the country's development journey.

6.2.7 Internalist Causes: Coordinating Agencies

From establishing the varying degrees of political will and interests to prioritise and implement national development policies which derive from the changes in governments in a democratic governance system, the study further establishes the need for coordinating agencies. These agencies should ensure prioritisation, implementation, and continuity of national development plans despite changes in the government of the day. As previously highlighted by respondent RQ04SM, the National Planning Commission (NPC) is currently overseeing the implementation of the country's development vision MW2063 which is a step in the right direction. This would also in some way mitigate the impacts of short termism

6.2.8 Internalist Causes: Impact of The fight against corruption On Development

The study established corruption as one of the main causes of underdevelopment with a mean of 4.76 (SD = .44). It was established that corruption had disrupted and continues to disrupt development progress. Respondent RQ14JK is cited to have said corruption is "a big enemy of success" while respondent RQ01AM states that corruption has deprived the economy of the much-needed growth. It further established that despite introducing SDG 16: governance in development, corruption still exists as the respondents echoed the need to fight, stop, and eradicate corruption so that we begin to see the much-needed development gains.

6.3 The integration of SDG16: governance into development and its impact on development

The study established that the integration of governance into development through the SDG 16 has not yielded adequate gains to development. The finding follows an agreement by the respondents with a mean of 3.4 (SD = 1.12) that the integration of governance into development will make Malawi achieve its development objectives. This governance is a combination of peace, justice, and having strong institutions. It aims to ‘promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels’ (United Nations, 2018). For instance, respondent RQ20SN cites the lack of transparency in government procurement systems. Respondents RQ21LC and RQ14JK both cited the need to fight corruption which has adversely affected development in the country.

6.4 Limitations of the Study Highlighted By Respondent

One of the respondents highlighted that the postcolonial era was generic considering that there have been different regimes since the dawn of the multi-party system of government. Each of these regimes have since had different approaches to governance and a comparative study into the difference types of governance can be studied in future. The study also was limited to SAPs, PRPSs, MGDS, and the SDGs instead of incorporating other development papers such as the MDGs,

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

Chapter seven provides concluding remarks as well as recommendations for possible areas for further research. The study sought to examine the root causes of persistent poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi. The purpose of this research was to establish to what extent the persistent poor economic performance in Malawi is impacted by poor local governance. The primary research question was what better explains the continuing poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi between externalist and internalist factors? The main research question was complemented by the following three secondary questions: to what extent has government performance in the colonial and postcolonial eras influenced development levels? What impact has the fight against corruption had on development? And how has the integration of SDG16: governance into development impacted development? As per the presentation of data and analysis of the research, the following can be concluded.

7.1 Theoretical Setting

The study was hinged on theories of governance and good governance. On the one hand, the theory of governance, entails a functional requirement to reduce the deviations between the normative political theory and the positive political approach. On the other hand, good governance entails the capacity to get things done. The study also was premised on the theory of economic development which was considered as the intentional outcome to the theories of governance and good governance. In essence, economic development was looked at as the reduction of poverty and improved social welfare. According to these theories, the theories of governance and good governance are considered to be the pre-requisites for effective policy implementation that results into the achievement of economic development.

7.2 What Better Explains Continued Poverty and Underdevelopment

The study concludes that between the two forces external and internal what explains the continued poverty are the internal elements. The Swahili slave trade did not cause and does not perpetuate underdevelopment in Malawi an outcome contrary to Nunn (2007) due to the relatively simplistic research design of this study.. The study does acknowledge some of the legacies of colonisation and concludes that perpetuity of underdevelopment is not due to colonisation but rather governance systems and the political will of those in leadership to mitigate corruption and put the welfare of the citizenry first.

7.2.1 Externalist Causes: Swahili-Arab Slave Trade and Colonialism

Contrary to Nunn (2007), the study established that external factors of the Swahili-Arab Salve Trade did not cause underdevelopment in Malawi while there was neutrality on the other external factors such as colonialism, neo-colonialism, and international polices as the causes of underdevelopment. The element of neutrality was countered by the qualitative responses which depicted the impact of colonialism on development. The study depicts colonialism to have had an impact on development by having introduced three social policy gains of religion, education, and health. Even though the colonial government was not the main driver behind these social policy gains, it operated under a governance of collaboration (Olsen et al., 2015b) which entailed an effective nexus with various Christian missionaries into Malawi such as Dr. David Livingstone and the Livingstonia Mission. The researcher suggests that the findings would have been similar to Nunn if a similar path dependence and multiple equilibria model was used.

7.2.2 Colonialism

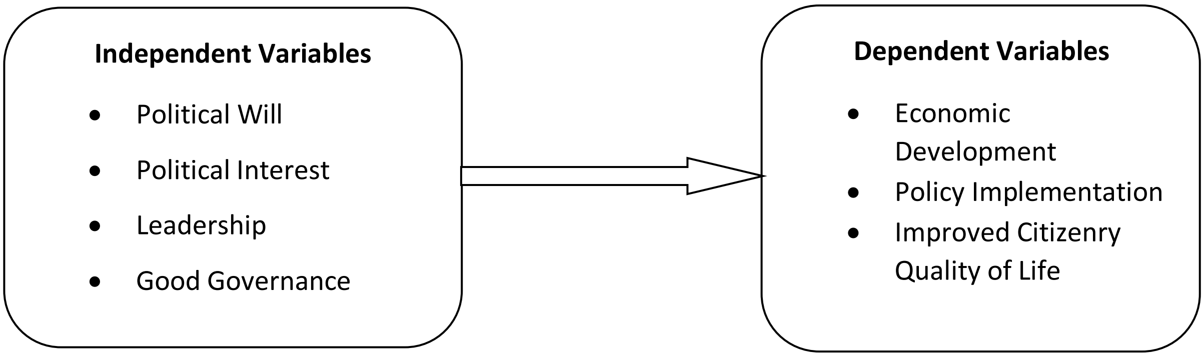
From a historical basis, the study concluded that colonialism did play a role in the development of this country by contributing towards three social policy gains of religion, education, and health. This was achieved by the colonial government through governance of collaboration with various missions into Malawi. It is argued by authors such as Rodney (1972), Magubane, (1973) and Mhango (2018) that these three so called social policy gains are, in fact, the very foundations for colonisation and exploitation of Africa. In addition, the colonial government contributed towards the country's economic policy by establishing Malawi then Nyasaland as a cash crop economy. The inference from the study is that the colonial set up of the country as a cash crop economy is a legacy Malawi's economic structure is suffering to break away from and transform into an industrialised economy close to 60 years post-independence. The legacy is not only on the economic structure, but also the missionary-derived social structures of religion, education, and health. As Douglas (2017) states, the spirit of underdevelopment analysis must involve a historic view for one to understand the process by which underdevelopment came into being.

On the other hand, the colonial government itself contributed towards Malawi's economic policy by establishing Malawi as a crash crop economy complemented by a labour economy that provided human resource in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This was a governance of compliance as the colonial government was effective in the implementation which nonetheless mainly served colonial interests as opposed to Malawi itself. It can be inferred that Malawi's economic dominance post-colonialism suffers traits of colonial legacies of a cash crop economy which it was established as during the colonial era. There were little to no industrialisation structures that could have likely resulted into a progressively transformed and sustained economy overtime.

7.2.3 Leadership, Political Will, Political Interest and Poor Implementation

The study concluded that continued poverty and underdevelopment is caused by a plethora of variables the main of which are lack of political will, lack of political interest, and poor policy implementation. It was established that lack of leadership, political will and interest adversely affect the implementation of policies and thus purports political will and political interest as being key in implementing development policies. In tandem with Olsen et al., (2015b), political will, good leadership and political, drive the implementation and effectives of policies. This is in essence a governance for compliance. In addition, the study also established some cause-and-effect relationships in the variables. The main construct established by the study is that political will and political interest influence and determine the effectiveness and efficiencies of policy implementation. As such political will and political interest are considered the independent variables whereas policy implementation is considered the dependent variable.

Figure 2: Inducted Research Framework



7.2.4 Governance Systems and Corruption

It was established from the study that good governance and governance systems are important to ensure a governance for compliance which must ensure that polices are implemented and effectively solving the social and economic problems that they were meant to solve. As Olsen (2015b, p. 5) assert, this can be achieved by reinforcing 'robust regulatory and policy regimes'. Complementing the governance systems for compliance is the variable of corruption which the study established exists and derives from poor governance systems. As echoed by respondent RQ01AM, the study established the need for effective governance systems that must ensure no corruption. In essence the study established that governance systems and corruption are moderating variables to the initially inferred construct of political will, leadership, and political interest being independent variables that influence and determine economic development through policy implementation.

7.2.5 Regime Change, Discontinuity of Policy Implementation, and Policy Prioritisation

The study also established that due to a multiparty system of government, changes in political regimes upon every election affects the implementation and continuity of development policies. This becomes detrimental to development as elected governments thwart policies of previous governments even if the policies are pro development. Development policies are discontinued causing a disruption and regression in national development progress. As echoed by respondent RQ04SM, “it is very important to divorce development efforts from complete political capture to remove political short-termism and discontinuity”. It can be inferred that even though regime change is a moderating variable between political will, leadership, political interest and development, regime change could also be considered the first domino to the research construct. Regime change determines the government that would govern and the leadership in the governments have different political will, political interests. They set the tone that moderates governance systems that collectively influence policy implementation which either resolves or propels underdevelopment. For a country that is persistently in poverty and underdevelopment, the study also established the need for prioritisation of development policies versus recurrent policies. This however is moderated by the political will, and political interest coupled with the need to appease the citizenry for the purpose of securing votes in a next election, all of which are influenced by regime change.

From what has been established by the study, government performance has not improved development levels. This is evident by the lack of political will and political interest that has yielded poor policy implementation. The governance systems have also not been effective and efficient as corruption remains an issue of concern which is stifling the country’s development progress. In addition, despite integrating SDG 16: governance into development, it can be inferred that the existence of corruption means this has had little impact on development progress as respondents stated that eradication of these flaws would help the country realise the much-needed development gains.

7.3 Contributions To Knowledge

There is need for post-colonial governments to understand the historic perspective of underdevelopment in Malawi for them to be able to identify gaps in the current development state and develop appropriate strategies that must yield the much needed social-economic development gains. Post-colonial governments must not settle for the colonial legacy mentality of the country's economy being a cash crop. They need to break away from this mentality and develop a strong industrialisation policy that must transform the structure of the economy from a predominant and vulnerable primary cash crop economy to a secondary productive, industrialised, and exporting economy.

With regards to leadership, political will, political Interest and poor Implementation, leadership in the respective and successive governments must set a positive tone at the top that drives a culture of effective and efficient policy implementation. This tone must be adopted by all in the various arms of government. Leadership must also set good governance systems and structures that must ensure exceptional governance of compliance. There is need for more transparency and accountability with policy implementation. The citizenry must be updated and kept abreast about the policy implementation process. Leadership and the citizenry must also enforce a system of consequences for poor implementation of policies.

In order to ensure effective governance systems and mitigate corruption, leadership must set a positive tone at the top that drives a culture of integrity and honesty. This tone must be adopted by all in the various arms of government. There should be strong autonomous institutions that work in sync to ensure the governance for compliance which entails effective and efficient implementation of policy. To stamp out corruption, leadership must enforce a system of consequences for corruption. Prosecuting agencies and the rule of law must act objectively without cherry picking culprits.

Because of the multi-party system of governance which results into regime change and discontinuity of policy implementation it is important that there should an establishment of quasi-public institutions that must oversee and ensure the continuity of the country's development efforts. The autonomous quasi-public institutions which are more permanent than political parties that come and go, can be inferred to as a safeguard to sustainable national development. Quasi-public institutions would be part of the governance institutional system that would provide good governance for compliance as they could provide objective guidance, monitoring and evaluation for national development. In addition, quasi-public institutions could also be the first point of reference for political parties vying for election into government. Political party manifestos would have to refer to national development plans such as the current MW2063 so that development is sustained and not intermittent. The national development plans would be the goals that the political parties would have to steer the country towards. The quasi-public institutions would in turn oversee that policies are implemented for the benefit of the country and the citizenry in line with the national development plans. Not only would the quasi-institutions oversee development policies, but also would play a critical role of mitigating the national development disruption that emanates from regime change.

7.4 Limitations of The study

This study is limited to public service officers and two quasi-public institutions in Lilongwe. It did not include participants from IFIs such as the World Bank, IMF, and the African Development Bank. Nonetheless, as the participants were officers in both public and quasi-public institutions the findings can be deemed accurate and generalisable.

Even though the study looked at governance between colonial and post-colonial eras, the study was limited to the post-colonial era that was looked at as a singular period with one governance approach. The post-colonial era in fact from 1964, has had six government regimes which have all had different governance styles yielding different policy implementations and varying development outcomes. The presidents have been Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Bakili Muluzi, Professor Bingu Wa Mutharika, Joyce Banda, Peter Mutharika, and the incumbent Lazarus Chakwera.

7.5 Possible Future Research Areas

The study of governance and its impact on development in Malawi provided some great insight into the causes of increased poverty and under-development. This provides room for further research in the following areas of recommendation:

a) Impact of governance on development analysed from the perspective of the World Governance Index (WGI)

b) Regime change in a democratic state and its impact on economic development.

c) The impact of each regime changes since democratic governance on development.

d) The impact of regime changes on governance in local government

e) How citizens can get politicians to implement the policies and master plans that are already in place.

f) Role of the anti-corruption bureau on promoting good governance through fighting corruption

g) The role of policy networks and their impact on economic development

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter recaps the research objectives which the study aimed to achieve, and the research problem addressed. It further discussed, the recommendations based on the analysis and interpretation of findings presented in the preceding chapters. The study sought to explore what causes the persistent poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi between external and internal factors. It found out that it is the internal factors that are perpetuating poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi. Specifically, the study found that political will, political interest, corruption, and regime change adversely affect policy implementation. The result of which is a vicious cycle of poverty and underdevelopment. In order to have effective policy implementation that yields development for the country, there is need for leaders to have political will and the welfare of the citizenry at heart. Leaders must set a determined tone from the top in developing and nurturing a high-performance culture. Good governance systems must be established to curb corruption and enhance policy implementation through compliance and collaboration and enforce a system of consequence management for poor or non-performance. In conclusion, we cannot as a nation keep pointing fingers, and asking who is to be blame for underdevelopment between the externalists and internalists. All we must do is simply act upon what we know and what must be done for as a Chinese proverb states that “He who blames others has a long way to go on his journey. He who blames himself is halfway there. He who blames no one has arrived”, (Chapman, 2014, p. 168)

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9.0 APPENDICES

9.1 Interview Guide

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

INTERVIEW GUIDE ON THE IMPACT OF GOVERNANCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MALAWI

Student name and student number

Frank Ngalande – 1775131

Ethics Clearance Number: WSG-2022-24

Supervisor

Dr Halfdan Lynge

Wits School of Governance

The aim of this research project is to is to establish whether the persistent poor economic performance in Malawi is driven mainly by imposed policies from international financial institutions or by poor local governance.

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Research Instrument: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Section A. Demographics

1. What's your gender?

Gender	Please check with an 'x' against one number where applicable
Male	①
Female	②

2. What's your age?

What is your age	Please check with an 'x' against one number where applicable
25 – 30 years old	①
31 – 35 years old	②
36 – 40 years old	③
41 - 45 years old	④
46 - 50 years	⑤
51 - 55 years	⑥
56 years or older	⑦

3. What's your highest level of education?

Level of Education	Please check with an 'x' against one number where applicable
Highschool Certificate (e.g., MSCE)	①
Diploma	②
Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA)	③
Master's degree (e.g., MSc, MA)	④
Doctorate (e.g., PhD, EdD)	⑤
Other………………………………	⑥

4. What is your current professional position?

5. How long have you been in this position?

Length In Role	Please check with an 'x' against one number where applicable
Under 5 years	①
5 – 10 years	②
11 – 15 years	③
16 – 20 years	④
21 - 25 years old	⑤
26 – 30 years	⑥
31 years or more	⑦

6. Please describe your role.

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Section B: Persistent poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi

7. Close to 60 years post-independence, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the development progress of Malawi.

(Please check with an 'x' against one number for each row)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Development would have been less than it is now	①	②	③	④	⑤
Development is where it is supposed to be	①	②	③	④	⑤
Development could be better than it is now	①	②	③	④	⑤

8. Malawi is ranked as one of the world's poorest countries, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following causes of underdevelopment.

(Please check with an 'x' against one number for each row)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Underdevelopment is caused by the Swahili-Arab slave traders	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by colonisation	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by neo-colonisation	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by international policies	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor government policies	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor governance systems	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by over population	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by lack of education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor quality education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor healthcare	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by violation of human rights	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by corruption	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor productivity in Agriculture	①	②	③	④	⑤
Underdevelopment is caused by poor rains & climate change	①	②	③	④	⑤

Section C: Policy Relevance

9. How relevant and what impact did the various policies have on Malawi's development?

(Please check with an 'x' against one number for each row)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were relevant for Malawi	①	②	③	④	⑤
Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) improved economic development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) improved social/human development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) were relevant for Malawi	①	②	③	④	⑤
PRPSs improved economic development	①	②	③	④	⑤
PRPSs improved social/human development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Malawi growth and development strategy papers (MGDS) were relevant for Malawi	①	②	③	④	⑤
Malawi growth and development strategy papers (MGDS) improved economic development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Malawi growth and development strategy papers (MGDS) improved social/human development	①	②	③	④	⑤

10. What lessons can be drawn from the implementation of the various policy documents?

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11. With the transition from SAPs, PRSPs and now MGDS 1 -3 what would be the underlying gaps in these policies if poverty continues to rise in the country?

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12. What can Malawi do differently to reverse the poverty situation in Malawi?

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Section D: Impact of Governance on Development

13. What impact has governance had on development?

(Please check with an 'x' against one number for each row)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Colonial rule resulted into access to health	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into access to quality health care	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into access to education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into access to quality education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into access to public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into access to quality public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into good governance systems	①	②	③	④	⑤

Colonial rule resulted into economic development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Colonial rule resulted into social/human development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into access to health	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into access to quality health care	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into access to education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into access to quality education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into access to public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into access to quality public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into good governance systems	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into economic development	①	②	③	④	⑤
Post-colonial rule resulted into social/human development	①	②	③	④	⑤

Section E: Integration of SDG16: Governance into development

14. How has the integration of governance into development impacted development?

(Please check with an 'x' against one number for each row)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Structural adjustment programs were well designed	①	②	③	④	⑤
Structural adjust programs were well implemented	①	②	③	④	⑤
Outcome of the Structural adjustment programs was due to policy design	①	②	③	④	⑤
Outcome of the Structural adjustment programs was due to implementation	①	②	③	④	⑤
Implementation improved with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)	①	②	③	④	⑤
Economic Development improved with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)	①	②	③	④	⑤
Social/human Development improved with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)	①	②	③	④	⑤
Malawi's development goals are aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	①	②	③	④	⑤
The SDGs influence Malawi's development goals	①	②	③	④	⑤
The vision MW2063 influences Malawi's development goals	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has improved Malawi's development progress	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has improved access to health care	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has improved quality of health care	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has improved access to education	①	②	③	④	⑤

Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has improved quality of education	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has increased public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has improved quality of public works and infrastructure	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) has reduced levels of corruption	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) is the same as the governance that was introduced with the PRSPs	①	②	③	④	⑤
Integration of governance in development (SDG:16) will make Malawi achieve its development objectives	①	②	③	④	⑤

Section F: General comments

Thank you for your participation!

9.2 Ethics Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE **PROTOCOL NUMBER: *WSG-2022-24***

PROJECT TITLE The Impact Of Governance On Economic Development in Malawi

INVESTIGATOR **Frank Ngalande**

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR Wits School of Governance

DATE CONSIDERED 18 May 2022

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE Approved unconditionally

RISK LEVEL **Low Risk**

EXPIRY DATE Date of submission of the project Research Report

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 14 November 2022 **CHAIRPERSON** Rekgotsofetse Chikane
Rekgotsofetse Chikane

cc: Supervisor: Halfdan Lynge

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date** 24 / NOV / 2022

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

9.3 Consent Letter: Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs

Telephone: +265 1 789355
Fax: +265 1 789173
Telegrams: Finance, Lilongwe
Telex: 4113 EXTERNAL
Email: stfinance@finance.gov.mw
Website: www.finance.gov.mw
All communications should be addressed to:
The Secretary to the Treasury

MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
P.O. BOX 30049
CAPITAL CITY
LILONGWE 3
MALAWI

Ref. No. FIN/DAD/RM/5/2/2/18

13th July, 2022

Frank Ngalande
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Sir,

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR MINISTRY OF FINANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR RESEARCH

We refer to you letter dated 21st June 2022 in which you were requesting a consent letter from the Ministry of Finance for you to distribute a questionnaire to and conduct interviews with officers for their responses in respect of your academic research.

We wish to advise that we have reviewed your request and consent has been granted for you to proceed. As this is a topic of national interest, we would be happy to receive a research report on your findings.

We wish you all the best in your academic endeavours.

Yours faithfully,

Nations Msowoya
For: **SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY**

9.4 Consent Letter: Economics Association of Malawi

ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION OF MALAWI

Area 10/47
Behind Pacific Mall
P.O. Box 31722
Capital City
Lilongwe 3
MALAWI

Tel: 0885280198
E-mail: secretariat@ecamamw.com

15th September, 2022

Mr. Frank Ngalande
Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management
Private Bag 3 Wits, 2050

Dear Mr. Frank Ngalande

CONSENT FOR ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION OF MALAWI TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR RESEARCH

Reference is made to your letter dated 21st June, 2022 in which you requested consent from the Economics Association of Malawi (ECAMA) to participate in your academic research by conducting interviews with our members of staff.

We are pleased to provide you consent and would also like to request that you share the findings of your research which with your permission we can collaborate to disseminate to government officials, the general public and other stakeholders.

We wish you success in your academic endeavors.

Yours sincerely

Frank Chikuta
Executive Director