

**COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF MALAWI POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
MODELS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CORRUPTION TRENDS SINCE 1964**

**MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT
THESIS**

BUBA DYSON DAMALANSAKWI NKHOMA

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI

December, 2022



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By

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Submitted to the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, Faculty of Social
Sciences, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts
Degree in Public Administration and Management

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
December, 2022

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the thesis is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other academic institution for similar purposes. Where other people's work has been used acknowledgements have accordingly been made. Hence, all errors committed herein are solemnly my own.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

The undersigned certify that this thesis represents the student's own work and effort and
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DEDICATION

To God of Oyedepo who is unveiling signs and wonders in my life. In indeed, 'the fear of the Lord-that is wisdom' (Job28:28)!

To my late Mother Cassidonia Atless Phiri, who inculcated the spirit of destiny consciousness in my early days!

To my late brother in-law Joel Thomson Chibvunika, who supported my education from primary school to university!

To people of the world who boldly speak and stand for Truth (Jesus) in the midst of contrary intimidatory agitations!

To my daughter Destiny Cassidonia Nkhoma.

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ABSTRACT

Leadership is complex and has enormous dimensions. Leadership has to be well researched and understood in order to deploy its relevant models to fight corruption. Corruption is increasingly seen as pivot on which, depending on their response to it, societies rise, decline, or even collapse (Johnston, 1995). This research study is aimed to assess role of different political leadership models in the crusade against corruption in Malawi since independence through a case study design. The study employed a qualitative research methodology through individual interviews with key informants from various social science related fields as primary source of data and an in-depth review of related documents using desk research as secondary data source. Institutional, elite and pluralist political theories were adopted as theoretical frameworks for the study. Findings indicate that Malawi's democracy has fragile institutions and offers very weak political leadership model that cannot deliver effective corruption fight as well as socio-economic transformative development. This is also supported by the notion that power in participatory governments is shared among key system organs namely: various interest groups within citizenry, monetary and tax authorities, the Judiciary, Legislature, the Executive, the Military and Police, Local governments, governing and opposition political parties. Constitutionally, these players have distinctly independent legal mandates, public economic and financial interests and socio-political pursuits which cause complex-chaotic institutional rivalries making it extremely hard for leadership at the apex of state power to pull them towards one direction of purpose and nip corruption. Thus benevolent autocracy has been found to reduce corruption because of its hegemonic nature.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACB	Anti-Corruption Bureau
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
DAHSP	District Affordable Housing Service program
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
FISP	Farm Input Subsidy Program
IIC	Institutional Integrity Committee
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
LDF	Local Development Fund
M.Ed.	Master of Education
MASAF	Malawi Social Action Fund
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
NGO	Non - Governmental Organization
NACS	National Anti-Corruption Strategy
NIC	National Integrity Committee
ORT	Other Recurrent Transactions
PWC	Price Water House Coopers
PP	People's Party
SWOT	Strength Weakness Opportunity and Threat
USA	United States of America

NATO

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The world of leadership is very complicated. Its studies contain various definitions, theories, schools of thoughts, models and different forms and styles (Borins, 2002). Furthermore, each institutional situation is unique and requires different type of leadership, although some styles are preferred over others by leaders and followers alike. It is hard to say which style works best, where and how. Hence, the science of leadership has to be studied thoroughly to deploy relevant model in the fight against corruption (Brookes, 2014).

Corruption like leadership is a science by itself, it consists of different types and forms (Frederick, George and Richard, 2013). According to (Johnston and Kpundeh, 2002) studies, corruption is more prevalent in developing countries precisely Africa and some forms of corruption are already embedded into specific cultures and traditions (Brinkerhoff, 2007). Corruption has left the public wondering what causes this epidemic that seems to be prevalent towards the public and private sectors in every industry and country across history. There are many solutions to end corruption. However, as we intend to inquire without ethics within governance systems all of these solutions are worthless (Chapman, 2000).

The research study comes as many African governments face accusations of paying lip service to fight corruption. Economy crippling corruption by elites remains one main reason for failure of African development today. From Ethiopia to Zimbabwe and Kenya to Nigeria, corruption is on national debate because of its adverse effects on the state of the economy (Agbude and Paebi, 2013).

Since the dawn of independence, Malawi has had two political leadership models which are autocratic and participatory. From 1964 to 1994, Malawi was under that autocratic

leadership of Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Thereafter, democracy was ushered in as alternative governance system-with five leaders serially coming to power under various political parties on promises of reducing poverty, fighting corruption and championing socio-economic development. The set in of contemporary times has sparked individuals and groups to mobilize and fight corruption in the public sector.

This research study comparatively analysed trends of corruption during the dictatorial and democratic leaderships in Malawi.

There is general consensus that if all initiatives to curb corruption in the administration of public affairs are to prevail, then there must primarily be willingness of leaders at the apex of state power to lead crusade against corruption. Thus, decisive leadership has been regarded as an all-season important weaponry to combat corruption (Collins & Higgins, 2000).

Hence, in this first chapter, the thesis discusses the study background, problem statement, research objectives and study rationale and significance.

1.1 Study background

Corruption is crucial socio-economic and ethical dilemma and it requires changes in values, norms and behavioral patterns of the society. This is usually a long and difficult process. Several decades pass to change mindset and transition from deep norms and values of a society (Chapman, 1993). Corruption is serious impediment to good governance and development in most developing countries (Amundsen & Andrade, 2008).

Indeed corruption is main social threat, among others, in many countries around the world. Therefore, the factors behind systemic corruption in Africa and Malawi to be specific are generally similar. Main causes for wild corrupt practices according to Rose-Ackerman (1999) are (a) the large size and structure of governments, (b) political system as whether it is democratic or autocratic , (c) the quality of state institutions within public administration, (d) economic freedom which determines level of openness of the market systems, (e) remuneration of civil service,(f)access to public information and press freedom,(g) court's integrity and judicial independence,(h) socio-cultural determinants,(i) levels of women's participation in the labor force and parliament,(j) colonial legacy and heritage and (k) richness of endowments of natural resources.

In view of Rose-Ackerman observations, this research study considered corruption which discusses issues surrounding Malawi corruption levels in political systems of democracy and autocracy, with a focus on their leaderships within specific geo-political setting over stipulated timeframes.

According to 2018 Malawi Anti-Corruption Bureau report ,there are several corruption risk areas in the public space including district councils, with enormous prevailing socio-economic costs and impacts that come with them. Some of these areas are; The inflating of prices of goods and services, laid procurement processes and procedures not followed by other sectors, systemic and coordinated stores pilferage, allocation of land without proper procedures, favoritism and nepotism in the issues of public recruitment, postings and promotions. The ACB report further points out the inclusion of ineligible beneficiaries on deceased estates, improper elevation and installation of chiefs and village heads, and giving of bribes to duty bearers, issuance of bogus and counterfeit receipts,

structured political influence in distribution of materials under District Affordable Housing Service program (DAHSP), systemic creation of ghost villages in the agricultural inputs subsidy programme, offering of bursary to ineligible students and including those that don't exist(ACB Report,2018).

The ACB report additionally notes ; pilferage of drugs and pharmaceutical facilities in the public hospitals, transportation of illegal forest products through traffic roadblocks and checkpoints, creation of ghost workers/ beneficiary identification in Local Development Fund (LDF) projects, corruption in the handling of cases in courts, seeking favors in settling labour disputes, rampant fuel mismanagement in government agencies, payment of vouchers without supporting documents, and payment of goods and services not delivered are amongst the major acts of corruption in Malawi's public sector(ACB Report,2018).

This research study also focusses on leadership so as to make sense of its linkages with the issue of corruption. Leadership has always been considered of paramount importance in the struggle against corruption (Agbude et al, 2013).Corruption in higher leadership offices plays huge role in the fall of many notable regimes today (Denhardt, 1998). Historically, one of the reasons that caused French revolution was endemic political and bureaucratic corruption (Lawton, 1998). In the modern era, many political leaders have risen to power in most African countries on the promise that they will curb institutionalized corruption that has captured governments and in the course, clobbered public service delivery and laid siege against many people's progress and destinies (Nawaz and Hodess, 2012). It is evident that corruption can go viral and even attack

leaders and managers, the very people in power that we need to lead in the fight against it (ibid).

In the same vein, a closer look at the leadership in Malawi and immediate African countries, shows leaderships that have been battered by all negative attributes one may think of including : unclear institutional vision, deals and agreements struck in darkness and secrecy, obsession with micromanagement, poor to no communication at all, negative controlling and destructive emotions, inherent inconsistencies in decision making processes and above all, blunt misrule, lack of ethics, integrity and values around the leadership (Hussein,2005).

Hence, in this study perspectives on leadership and corruption were examined within Malawian context, with the view of building and critically analyzing correlations between them.

1.2 Problem statement

Literature thus far shows that most scholars have extensively written on the theme of leadership both internationally and locally. On the international scene, for example, Andrews (2016) in “Going beyond heroic leaders in development”, researched leadership in the spheres of Public Administration and Development-the core argument centers on unveiling supporting strands of different classes of leadership in public institutions. Barth-Farkas and Vera (2014) in the paper titled “Power and transformational leadership in public organizations” uncovers one ramification of leadership model-transformative leadership; Borins (2002) studied Leadership and innovation in the public sector with an emphasis on Leadership & Organization Development. In the “Leadership in Public Services”, by Brookes (2014), he posited “Is selfless leadership an impossible ideal for

public leaders?” which detailed the price of sacrifice in the process of leading the people. Currie, Grubnic and Hodges, (2011) wrote “Leadership in Public Services Networks: Antecedents, Process and Outcome” to understand principles that encircle leadership in Public Administration and political governance. These research studies focused much on leadership and effective paradigms of public governance.

Malawian scholarship with leadership as main theme include the following studies; “the paradox of traditional leadership in democratic Malawi” (Kayuni 2019) in which it was uncovered that most Malawians trust traditional leaders rather than politicians. “Thriving on the Edge of Chaos: An Alternative Explanation to the Management of Crisis in Malawi’s Decentralization Programme” (Kayuni and Tambulasi ,2011) argues that political leadership in Malawi benefits a lot in the chaotic implementation of decentralization program and “Chaos-Complexity Theory and Education Policy: Lessons from Malawi’s Community Day Secondary Schools”(Kayuni,2010)- asserts that disorder in the execution of community day schools is exacerbated by lack of policy direction at both political and bureaucratic leadership levels in the ministry of education .

Likewise several scholars have extensively researched and reported on the theme of corruption both internationally and locally. On the international scene, Ganahl (2013) research entitled “Corruption, Good Governance, and the African State: A Critical Analysis of the Political-Economic Foundations of Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa” inquired about corruption and associated effects in developing African countries without establishing a clear link with leadership. Schmink (2010) wrote extensively on “Managerial Ethics”-a study on applicability of morality in organizations. Amundsen & Andrade (2009) looked at “Public Sector Ethics” which analyzed lapses in integrity

among public officers. Not only Chapman (1993) studied “Ethics in Public Service” with an emphasis on societal moral framework but also Lawton (1998) in “Ethical Management for the public services”. Hence, these research studies mainly focused on morality and corruption in public affairs- with no direct link to leadership.

On Malawian scholarship, Chiweza and Msiska (2019) researched on “entrenching ethical values through Codes of Conduct in the Malawi Public Service whether it constitutes Reality or Rhetoric!” –a study on morality in public service delivery, it uncovers high moral lapses and corruption in the public space.

However, in all these preceding catalogue of studies the main theme was solely centered on either leadership or corruption within dynamic governance environment. The problem statement centers on the notion that few studies have focused on linking leadership and corruption both internationally and locally despite general belief that leadership is solution to corruption.

Thus there appears to be clear void in literature with regard to studies focusing on the relationship between corruption and leadership, let alone comparative analysis of corrupt practices trends between dictatorial and democratic leaderships within the context of Malawi. In line with this research gap, research problem is mainly based on exploring the *lacuna* of bridging the two concepts of corruption and leadership together and subsequently find the role that political leadership plays in the fight against corruption in dictatorial and democratic Malawi.

As per the technical nature of the key variables under this research, it would be reasonable to inquire by oral approach from governance experts through qualitative

research to find out why one style of political leadership is preferable to the other in the fight against the malfeasance of corruption. The research approach and methodology enabled well-informed individuals to give balanced specialist perspectives and views on the subject matter under inquiry.

1.3 Research Objectives

In this section, summarised is objective of the research which comprises of main objective of the study and subsequent specific objectives which correspond with main question and specific study questions respectively. The last aspect was the supposition which laid down the research proposition.

Yin (2003) and Maxwell (2005) argue that main research objective and its corresponding core question limit what a researcher wants to understand. They suggest that these objectives and questions establish an overall guide for the conduct of the research. The literature review for the two concepts of corruption and leadership intends to develop relevant and insightful research objectives and questions about the topic being researched. The initial review of research literature prior to the practical research part in this study resulted in the thesis being re-structured or re-directed to resolve pertinent principles, theories and questions that are being addressed in the interview guide.

Therefore, the overall purpose of the study is to assess role of political leadership in the fight against corruption within autocratic and participatory spheres with intent to frame anti-corruption control tools by enhancing ability of political leadership to meet its perceived socio-economic obligation to identify and contain corruption in public governance systems. The premise that leadership is one of the viable and potent practical

solutions to corruption (Schmink, 2010) beckons an in-depth study of the connection between the two.

The first hurdles to attaining the research purpose or objective are lack of viable extant understanding of corruption and its complexities, ambiguities and cultural imperatives that tend to make developing intensive understanding of corruption very difficult. If leadership style is to be cost-effective anti-corruption solution, then the political leadership must move from being reactive to apparent social needs, to search out a more proactive means to fight corruption. On an auxiliary level, the thesis is organized to illuminate nature of corruption and leadership in all their ramifications via a comprehensive literature review, speculative thought and analysis, clarify the social consequences of corruption and its effects on the well-being of the states and societies concerned, examine moral and ethical issues associated with corruption and leadership and then determine whether moral solution alone is practical enough against corruption, test if strong political leadership at executive level can provide a cost-effective control of corruption and other governance associated malfeasance, and validate the thesis by applying its notions and conclusions from a practical research into real case studies within similar contexts. Nonetheless, the research objectives are as follows:

1.3.1 Main research objective

In light of leadership and corruption as two thematic concepts discussed in the research study, the main objective is to assess the extent one can attribute corruption to either democratic or autocratic political leadership models in government systems in Malawi since 1964.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- Investigate the scope of freedom available to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership styles in Malawi.
- Assess the level of political leadership attachment with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi.
- Establish the measure each party benefits from the social bond that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi.
- Analyse the incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi.

1.3.3 Main research question

The key research question for the study is to what extent can the increasing trends of corruption be attributed to leadership style at political level in government systems in Malawi since independence?

1.3.4 Specific questions

- How does political system offer a leader sufficient latitude to curb corrupt activities in autocratic and democratic dispensations in Malawi?
- How does political leadership attachment with society hinder corruption fight in autocratic and democratic governments in Malawi?
- What are the benefits that one gets from the other in leader - follower relationship in both autocratic and democratic political leaderships in Malawi?
- What is the incentive structure for corrupt practices in autocratic and democratic governments in Malawi?

1.4 Research proposition

Like in any other research study, the supposition acts as basis on which results found are argued either in affirmative or against, depending on whether results equate the crafted supposition or not:

The proposition of the study is that autocratic political leadership has an enormous capacity to meet its perceived social obligation of containing corruption rather than democratic political leadership in government systems in Malawi.

1.5 Study rationale and significance

The area of study uniquely links leadership and corruption as concepts that need each other in pursuit of holistic development in governance cycles. The research is significant from both an academic and practical perspectives since from an academic standpoint it: provides source of reliable and valuable secondary data for researchers and scholars hence devises an in-depth paradigms of corruption and leadership and how they consequently connect with each other, allows future academics to be aware of some consequences of corruption and how other styles of political leadership styles fail to deliver corruption fight and socio-economic development and is consistent with ethos on international public administration ethics and governance, in that it seeks both principles-based, and a procedures-based knowledge on corruption and leadership .From a practical view point , the study stand is expected to enable organisations, especially public and civil ones to raise their awareness of duty of care and consequences that may arise from a failure in that duty of care. The study may further assist government and non-governmental organisations to be aware of the potential consequences of corruption and poor leadership in their constituencies and on society in general. The study findings may be a cautionary platform that warns that even robust institutions may suffer great harm

and/or reduced wellbeing from corruption and associated malfeasance. Even more so, it will be an arena for public debate as a viable practical solution to corruption.

1.6 Thesis structure

The thesis arrangement is as follows: Chapter one, which introduces the research study, the problem statement, rationale and contribution of the research. Chapter two provides on literature review relevant to this research study. Chapter three is about dedicated to research design and methodology and this is followed by chapter four which presents findings and analysis as well as a discussion. Chapter five concludes the research study.

1.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided the introductory context for the study. It has presented the background on which the focus of the study is based. It has also provided an overview of corruption trends and leadership dilemma in Malawi. The problem statement has been outlined. The research objective in which main research question, sub-questions, main research objective and specific objectives for the study have been presented- alongside the proposition on which the entire study is premised. Rationale and justification of this study has also been discussed in summary. Finally, the brief outline of the thesis, as synopsis of the chapters that follow has been presented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides outline of various aspects of literature relating to the key concepts of the study. These main concepts are corruption and leadership. The chapter is divided into three sections. First part dwells much on constructs of the term leadership. This part also explains underlying principles for effective leadership and the capabilities of an effective leadership. Second part provides an in-depth discussion on corruption as a phenomenon, detailing what constitutes corruption and its categorizations, it also outlines dominant corruption scandals in the history of Malawi and IIC mandates and functionalities as actionable plans against corruption in local governance authorities. The last part deals with the three study's theoretical frameworks, which are; institutional theory which narrates arguments that corruption by public officers in democracy is due to weak institutions, elite theory anchors discussion on autocratic political leadership and pluralist political theory which provided better lens through which to analyze and understand issues concerning democratic political leadership.

2.1 Constructs on leadership as a concept

To understand how societies and organisations are formed, it is worth looking into the origins of leadership. Hobbes (1739) argues that the most basic human relationship is with two individuals. Because of perceived differences, one may defer to the other in various areas, critical ones being competence and personality, among others. Once the deference occurs, there is hierarchy, or an establishment of levels. Then, automatically one person takes command or leadership. Of course, a person may lead in some areas and not in others, but this simple model illustrates the process. In the absence of hierarchy, there is anarchy (ibid).

Any organisation whether public or private works as system comprising of different elements that execute tasks together to achieve specific goals and purposes. The four vital aspects for organizations to work properly are: human resources and industrial relations; material and financial resources administration; organisational leadership and management of transitions; and external relations with clients and other stakeholders (Pfeffer, 1998).

Effective human resources management and industrial relations in an organization is crucial for the attainment of improved products and services.

Prudent material and financial resources administration in an organization is one key component that ensures its progression and survival. It is essential to equip public sector managers with material and financial resources governance and management knowledge, analytical tools and skills (Quinn, 2004). An element of leadership and change management drives the organization into the future by influencing its members to behave in a certain manner with an aim of attaining stipulated objectives and targets (Pfeffer, 1998).

The other vital aspect in an organisation centers on what the institution sales and supplies to customers in general. The commercial department buys or sells and imports or exports products and requires clients as important elements. The sale of goods and services can be the lifeline of an organization if it is mainly for profit making (Ncube, 2010).

However, of all and equally important aspects, leadership has emerged as dominant factor to the success or failure of any organization. This is thus for leadership is rightly the embodiment of the collective will of members making up the organization (Ncube, 2010).

Over time, leadership studies progressed as a sole discipline, and many leadership scholars, researchers and consultants have tried to define what leadership constitute .Their conceptions of leadership have emphasized on behavior or ability of those entrusted with the position or important processes involved when leaders discharge their core functions. So, leadership can easily be understood in terms of behavior, process or ability of those occupying the office of leadership(Teelken et al, 2012).Without someone controlling direction of the plans and programs of the group, obviously no progress can be registered (ibid).

The central item is the conduct of inducing compliance which clearly is behavior. In 1997, Barnard also analyzed and came up with definition that focused on behavior(Bennett, 1991).

There is another exciting and extra-ordinary paradigm to leadership as put down by Oyedepo (2009) .As a leader himself with high success rating in the Christian cycles. He argues that it is only credentials that guarantees a job, but sacrifice is what makes a leader. No certificate or credential guarantees leadership. Therefore it is erroneous to say leadership is merely leading people. So it is not occupying a sit but making an outstanding contribution and accomplishing a feat. It is not propounding principles but showing examples (ibid).

When most people think of leadership-what often occurs to them is political leadership-no! That is just a small aspect of leadership .There is leadership in every field. Thus you have leading musician; leading lawyer; leading engineer; leading accountant; leading medical doctor; leading entrepreneur; even a leading president among families of presidents by the virtue of his outstanding accomplishment when discharging duties as

president (Oyedepo, 2009). Therefore leadership is blazing the trail, setting the pace and finding the path in your area of specialty. Centrally, it is commanding followership by outstanding performance in your field (ibid).

2.2 Underlying principles for effective leadership

The role and relevance of leadership in every sphere has become underlying principle for the very need of leadership. The overall aim of intense leadership study programs has always been to develop the ability of participants and candidates to lead within highly complex, changing and ambiguous environments, using political, psychological and emotional awareness to negotiate and influence. However, Van Wart (2012), argues that leadership starts from the very beginning, even before the work actually starts. A leader is a person who communicates the policies and plans to the subordinates to start the work. Leading in a complex setting, ensuring that the vision is real, practical and deliverable (Reid, 2014). So initiating action is a standard required of any leader (Raffel, Leisink and Middlebrooks, 2009).

Additionally, a leader acknowledges the efforts of the employees, explains to them their role clearly and guides them to achieve their goals (Tizard, 2012). A leader also resolves the complaints and problems of the employees/workers, thereby building confidence in them regarding the organisation (Pyerson, 2011). Hence, increasing the understanding of what communities want and need in the process, being able to manage expectations and raise public confidence (ibid).

However, a leader motivates the employees by giving them financial and non-financial incentives and gets the work done efficiently (Morrissey and Verschoor, 2006).

Motivation is the driving force in an individual's life (Mc Crimmon, 2005). It ensures deliverance of the best possible performance, in partnership with other agencies (ibid).

In addition, a leader reconciles the personal interests of the employees with the organizational goals and achieve a balanced moderation in the entity. A leader influences, negotiates and manages reputations in order to maintain political alliances within multi-agency environment.

Another important quality in a leader would be ability to train his/her subordinates in such a manner that they can succeed him in the near future easily in his absence. He creates more leaders (Van Wart, 2012). The last aspect is a leader persuades, clarifies and inspires employees to accept any change in the organization without much resistance and discontentment. He makes sure that employees don't feel insecure about the changes (ibid).

2.3 Capabilities of effective leadership

Often, the success of an organisation is attributed to its leaders (Morse, 2012). But, one must not forget that it's the followers who make a leader successful by accepting and supporting the leadership. Thus, leaders and followers collectively play a key role to make leadership successful. Nevertheless, leadership effectiveness is the key catalyst of organizational success or failure while examining the factors that lead to organizational success, and leadership effectiveness constitute the capabilities of an effective leader. These capabilities are simply qualities that make good leaders.

Leadership should be conceptual as to imagine an idea, visualise and analyse problems or situations and coin ways to solve them (Van Wart, 2012). A top-level leader considers both short and long term perspectives. A leader needs to handle difficult or complex

situations. A good leader takes initiative to grab the opportunities and not wait for them and use them to the advantage of the organization. Howard (1985) propounded that 'good business leaders create vision, articulate the vision, passionately own the vision, and relentlessly drive it to completion'. Good leaders always have a vision and purpose that is bigger than their capacity to accomplish (ibid). They not only visualize the future themselves but also share their vision with their followers (Teelken, Ferlie and Dent 2012). When their followers are able to see the big picture, they can see where they are heading. Great leader goes above and beyond and explain why they are moving in the direction they are moving and shares the strategy and action plan to achieve that goal (Rowland & Higgs, 2008).

A leader simply cannot expect integrity and honesty out of subordinates if he doesn't follow the same path. So a leader must have dignity, for doing this, leaders need to stick to their core beliefs and values and follow an ethical path while dealing with followers. Leaders should have a fair outlook and should base their judgment on facts and logic (Ibid). They should be objective and not biased in any way. There should not be any kind of cheating and manipulation. Dwight D. Eisenhower once said, "The supreme quality of leadership is unquestionable integrity. Without it, no real success is possible, no matter whether it is on section gang, a football field, in an army, or in an office". Thus, it is important to have compassion, and courage to maintain the right course of action among the leaders.

There is also need for a leader needs to be a good communicator so that he can explain ideas, policies, and procedures clearly to the people. He not only needs to be a good speaker but also a good listener, counsellor, and persuader. Effective communication in

two critical areas is the key to win trust and confidence of the subordinates; enabling employees to understand the company's overall business strategy; and informing the employees and sharing information with them. Simply put, if one is unable to communicate message effectively to the team, he can never be a good leader. A leader must communicate with clarity and sincerity the vision to the entire team, and share the objectives and missions in the pursuit of that bigger goal. Words hold the power to spread confidence and motivation amongst subordinates and a leader needs to exercise this opportunity to the fullest. If a leader uses words effectively, he can also achieve better results (Reid, 2014).

<i>Leadership Traits</i>		
Physical and Constitutional Factors	Personality Characteristics	Social Characteristics
Activity, energy	Achievement drive, ambition	Cooperativeness
Appearance, grooming	Adaptability	Interpersonal skills, sensitivity
Height	Adjustment, normality	Popularity, prestige
Weight	Aggressiveness	Sociability
	Alertness	Socioeconomic position
	Antiauthoritarianism	Talkativeness
	Dominance	Tact
	Emotional balance, control	
	Enthusiasm	
	Extraversion	
	Independence, nonconformity	
	Initiative	
	Insightfulness	
	Integrity	
Skill and Ability	Objectivity	
Administrative ability	Originality	
Intelligence	Persistence	
Judgment	Responsibility	
Knowledge	Self-confidence	
Technical competence	Sense of humor	
Verbal fluency	Tolerance of stress	

FIG 1: Leadership trait by (Jago, 1982)

The Figure 1 shows the four dominant traits that a leader must have .These key traits are: physical and constitutional factors, skill and ability, personality characteristics and social

features. Each key trait has not less than four affiliate attributes. For instance, under social characteristics, the attributes include; tact, talkativeness, sociability and cooperativeness (Jago, 1982).

A leader has to be decisive in managing his work and should be very firm on the decisions that are taken by him. There must be a need to identify the problems. Accordingly, alternative solutions must be listed. After analyzing the cost-benefit of every alternative solution, the leaders need to choose or select the best solution to solve the problem. It is imperative that a leader take the right decision at the right time. Decisions taken by leaders have a profound impact on masses. A leader should think long and hard before taking a decision but once the decision is taken, should stand by it-don't waver through the challenge. Although, most leaders take decisions on their own, but it is also highly advisable to consult key stakeholders before taking a decision. After all, they are the ones who will benefit or suffer from the consequences of leader's decisions (United Nations, 2001).

A leader should possess empathy towards others, which instigates him to understand the problems faced by the subordinates (Tambulasi, 2010). Unfortunately, most leaders follow dictatorial style by instructing and controlling and neglect empathy altogether. Leaders should be humanists who help people with their personal problems (Zakaria, 1997). Humanist skills refer to interpersonal skills-relating well with members. The leader must understand the feelings, emotions, and expectations of subordinates, such knowledge enables the leader to develop interpersonal relationships with followers, which is vital in any organization success. Pleasing personality sums up good physical, mental and social qualities, and this character easily influences the subjects into

following (Tambulasi and Kayuni, 2013). With emotional intelligence, leaders connect with members emotionally, and this helps to positively influence them toward a specific direction (Tizard, 2012). Emotional intelligence can also aid in controlling bad, negative and destructive emotions in discussions and interactions; and deterring hasty decisions and handle conflicts in a better way (Morse, 2012).

It is fact that no one can handle everything in an organization set-up. The leader needs to entrust tasks and responsibilities to others effectively. The leader needs to know each member's strengths and weaknesses and delegate responsibilities accordingly. This would make the members feel appreciated and recognized. A leader cannot do everything right. It is important for a leader to focus on key responsibilities while leaving the rest to others. By that, it means empowering followers and delegating tasks to them. If one continues to manipulatively control subordinates, there will develop a lack of trust and more importantly, he will not be able to focus on important matters, as he should be. Leaders must delegate tasks to subordinates and see how they perform. Provide them with all the resources and support they need to achieve the objectives and give them a chance to bear the responsibilities.

When it comes to accountability, one needs to follow the approach highlighted by Jago (1982) that good leader takes little more than his share of the blame and little less than his share of the credit'. Leaders must ensure that every one of the subordinates is accountable for what they are doing. If they do well, give them a pat on the back but if they struggle, make them realize their mistakes and work together to improve. Holding them accountable for their actions will create a sense of responsibility among subordinates and they will go about the business more seriously. one other best way to win trust of the

followers is by being transparent. Instead of hiding information, the leader should openly share it with team members. By giving visibility to the followers, they will buy into the vision and support with conviction in achieving the goal. More importantly, it gives followers clarity, autonomy and make them feel more empowered while keeping them engaged.

Leadership indeed determines the success and failure of any institution; be it government, civil society, church, mosque or private entity (Meaklim and Simsleading, 2011). Much as leadership is a relatively new academic discipline, but the act of leading has existed since time immemorial. Leadership development and success occurs through observation and understanding of principles toward effective influence. Important factors in leadership center on knowledge, behavior and context (ibid). Leadership can multiply success if well-handled or duplicate failure if grossly mishandled.

2.4 Understanding corruption and its ramifications within the context of Malawi

The role of leadership at every level in society cannot be underemphasised. In fact, many experts assert that leaders have a huge role to play in the fight against corruption (Quinn, 2004). This section reviews literature related to the issue of corruption, which is key thematic area in this research study.

Several researchers and scholars have defined corruption differently and from varied perspectives including politics, legal, sociology, economics and accountancy viewpoints. Nonetheless corruption refers to any activity that borders around misuse of public authority, which mostly involves and includes theft by trick (Elliott, 1950). Albeit, Corruption of Public Interest is the main theme for this study, considering large scale of

its devastating economic impacts on the national level. However, Corruption of Public Interest mostly occurs in the political realm. And any corrupt practice involving political authority is referred to as political corruption.

Primarily, corruption takes different forms. These forms might sometimes be referred to as acts of corruption. According to Amundsen (1999), these include: bribery; embezzlement, fraud & graft; favoritism, nepotism, cronyism and networking; patronage; trading in influence or influence peddling; unholy alliance/ties; and electoral fraud.

In this case, they are political and bureaucratic corruption, private and collective corruption and facilitation and systemic corruption as major categorizations of corruption. Corruption takes place at different levels of a hierarchy in a society (Kayuni & Tambulasi, 2011). Distinguishing the different levels creates clearer categories for the locus of the different types. Corruption at higher government spheres has all characteristics of political corruption which is also known as grand corruption, and mostly involves collusion of politicians and top civil servants to siphon mega government funds whereas bribery at lower level is mostly administrative in nature in which lower bureaucratic officers ask for processing fee in addition to their legal salary (Malena, 2009).

Political corruption is notable that it can occur in the absence of the public, people may not always notice this form of corruption, it doesn't necessarily happen on a daily basis and is often hidden from the public eye, even though may occur on a daily basis. But when open to public eye, it culminates into national and international scandal, which prompts the forced resignations and arrests of prominent government figures (Nzikamanda, 2016) Bureaucratic corruption is mostly located at the implementation

level of politics, where policies are carried out. It is also referred to as petty corruption, alluding to small amounts of money involved. It is what people on street level experience when dealing with public administration, like the treasury department, lower level tax authorities, immigration officers, traffic police officials, property regulations, school officers or health care facilitators. In Malawi for example, bureaucratic corruption occurs often when processing drivers' licenses at the road traffic directorates, water or electricity connectivity at utility corporations, traffic police checkpoints and NGO government regulatory offices. Sometimes, bureaucratic corruption is termed as administrative corruption since it happens at government service administrative points (Kuada, 2010).

Private corruption is mainly concerned with the behavior of individuals and how they are involved in conducting illegal transactions .Furthermore, private collection is also related to people who seek and collect personal benefits (Nzikamanda, 2006). On the other hand, collective corruption is more concerned with the accumulated side of corruption .In other words, it is what an economist believes to be corruption (Lawton *etal.*, 2013). Moreover, it is related to the extraction of several natural resources for personal gain of a larger group (Amundsen 1999).Facilitation corruption involves assistance in the obtaining of a service or goods (Chapman, 1993). The form of corruption can occur when an individual pays to obtain a legitimate benefit to which is entitled, but is having difficulty obtaining it due to either stringent administrative processes, red tape or other entanglements. On the other hand, it can occur when an individual wants to get something to which is not entitled (Chapman 2000).

According to the Malawi Constitution 1999, a corrupt practice means one or more of the following;(a) offering, giving, receiving, obtaining or soliciting of any advantage to

influence the action of any public officer or any official or any other person in discharge of the duties of that public officer, official or other person;(b) influence peddling;(c) the extortion of any advantage (Malawi Corrupt Practices Act -Chapter7:04). The corrupt practices Act in Malawi defines an advantage as “any benefit, service, enjoyment or gratification, whether direct or indirect, and includes a payment, whether in cash or in kind, or any rebate, deduction, concession or loan, and any condition or circumstance that puts one person or class of persons in a favorable position over another” (Malawi Government 2012).

Some leading national policies and Acts in place that guide anti-corruption activities include; (a)Malawi National Ant Corruption strategy I &II, (b) communication strategy 2017-2022, (c) corruption prevention and Fraud Policy (d) client Service Charter 2018 (e) corrupt practices Act No 17 of 2004.

In the context of Malawi, however, the government established the Anti-Corruption Bureau in 1997 to spearhead the fight against corruption in the country. In 2005 Government conducted Governance and Corruption Baseline Survey which revealed the need for holistic approach to the fight against corruption in the country (Kasungu District Social Economic Profile, 2018). This meant that besides the Bureau, there should be other structures in the general public to support the activities of the Bureau. Through the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS) which was developed in 2008, eight (8) pillars were identified (NACS Review Process, 2019). The pillars were considered to be the structures to advance the anti-corruption drive and involve the public to support the anti-corruption efforts. One of the eight pillars is the Executive arm of Government. NACS established the National Integrity Committee (NIC) which comprises heads of the

eight sectors including the Executive. NIC ensures the establishment of Institutional Integrity Committees (IICs) in all the sectors to spearhead the development of anti-corruption programmes in the public institutions (National Anti-Corruption Strategy I & II (2019-2024)).

Withal, the rationale behind the establishment of these committees is to erect a lively, revitalized, legally enabled and activated structural framework in every government branch possible that checks on any unethical related matters. The main reasons for the formation of the IICs ,include decentralisation of responsibilities as demanded by the Malawi constitution, Institutional socio-economic empowerment ,building institutional capacity to deal with corruption issues, promote institutional participation in prevention of corruption within its sphere of control ,ultimately mainstream anti-corruption efforts, and create internal champions and facilitators of efforts to entrench integrity.

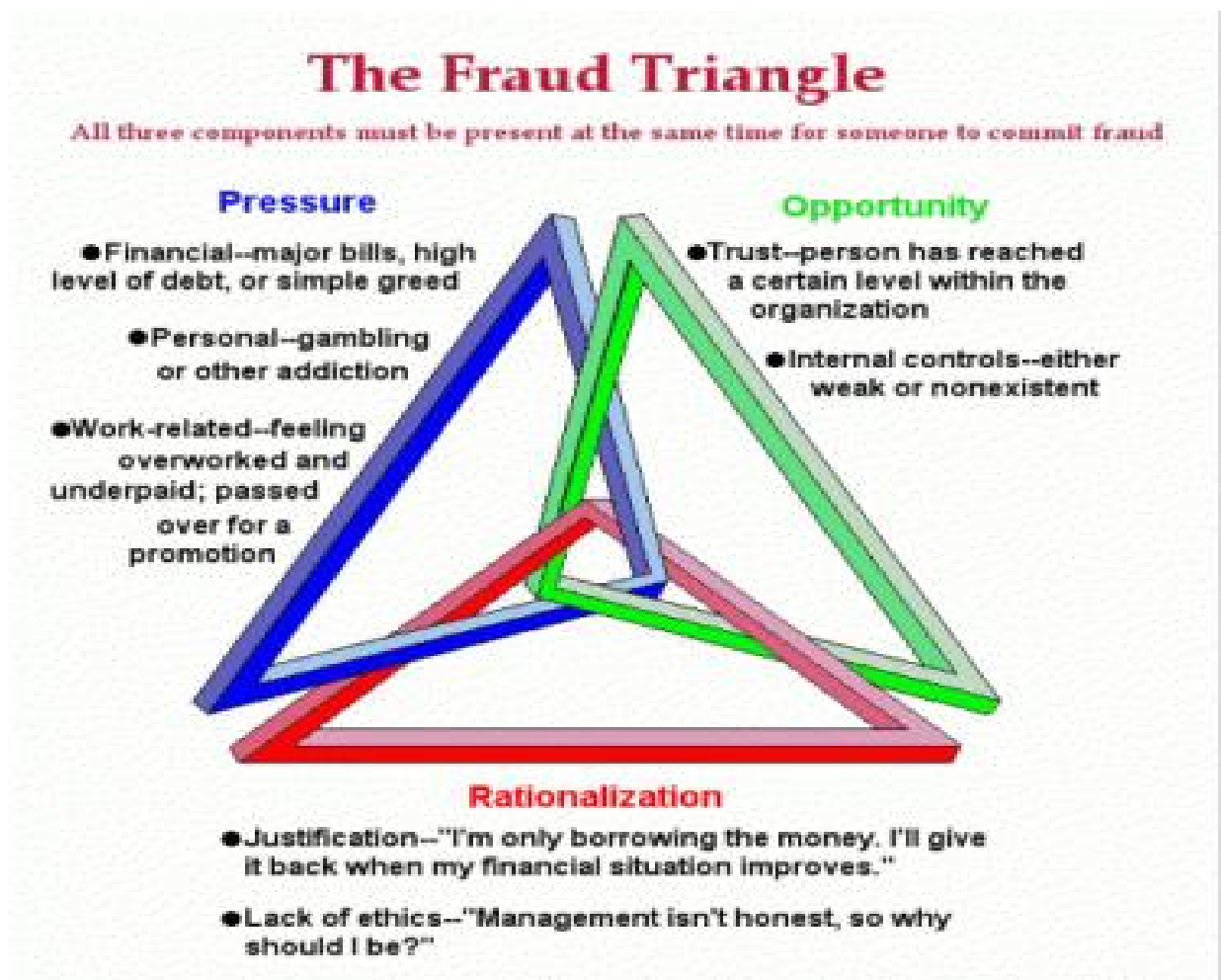


FIG2: Acemoglu and Robinson's Fraud Triangle of Bureaucratic Corruption (2012)

As shown in Figure 2, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) believe that three components must be present for fraud, which falls under administrative corruption, to take place; there must first be pressure whether financial, personal or work related, then the opportunity must also avail itself-the chance can come from trust after rising in rank/position through promotion or bestowed authority to exercise internal control over junior employees or assets and the last component is rationalization where one justifies criminal acts.. For instance, "I am just borrowing and will pay back later or management is not honest, why should I be?"(Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012)

As illustrated in Fig 2, one of the most common forms of corruption in the government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA's) is fraud. Despite factors that cause corruption in organizations, common denominator is lack of integrity. Integrity is at two levels: human Integrity and system integrity. Methods for achieving these are implied in IIC Mandate. In addition, there is a check-list for each given and specific institution commonly referred to as organizational Integrity which identifies a set of values for the organization –which can bring a shift in corporate culture towards integrity, it ensures that the organization follows these values - leadership living by them so as to promote these values by making ethics part of language in organizations and help managers to build integrity into every decision and action they take (ACB Report,2016).

Following this development and as one of the eight sectors the Executive (Government) directed that all its ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) should establish and operationalize IICs in their respective institutions. The establishment and operationalization of the Bureau's IICs is therefore in response to Government's directive. Hence, every ministry was charged to formulate these committees. In the ministry of local government and rural development, for example, efforts have been made to come up with these committees in every district council in the entire country. In this write up, the study focused on the functionalities and associated activities of IICs in two ministries, namely; ministry of justice and ministry of local government and rural development as implemented at the district level-Kasungu district council to be precise. However, in all these activities, the ACB has a prominent role, that is, to provide technical support in functioning of IICs, also implementation of some activities,

facilitation of (modest) financial support ,make follow ups, receive and analyze quarterly reports and assigned desk officers for each institution (ACB Newsletter, 2014).

In Kasungu for instance, the operationalization of IIC was done in December 2017, with a launch presided over by Anti- Corruption Bureau (ACB Newsletter, 2016). The district IIC does everything possible within its mandate and the available resources to prevent all forms of corrupt practices from taking place and ensure that where such corrupt practices take place, they should be investigated and reported to relevant authorities. Specifically, the district council's IIC: Carry out activities to promote the integrity of all officers in the Council, strengthen corruption prevention measures and ensure transparency and accountability in the delivery of services by all officers in the Council and conduct thorough investigations where suspected corruption has been reported or detected and submit the findings to management. The establishment and operationalization of the IIC in the Bureau is expected to achieve the following expected results in various district assemblies;(a) council whose officers are of high integrity with no questionable behavior; (b)officers who will discharge their duties in the most transparent manner and with full accountability of their activities;(c)operational systems which are efficient, effective and open;(d)enhanced delivery of service to customers;(e)a model to other councils and agencies in corruption prevention hence corrupt free local government councils.

In the spirit of enhanced ethical competence in the district assemblies, the process of selecting the members and composition of the committees was vested in the council's controlling officer who is also the District Commissioner (Kasungu District Social Economic Profile). As a leader in the district structure, the controlling officer appoints members of the integrity committee using the following principles and standards: (a) the

officer should exercise high level of integrity within and outside the Council;(b) should take into account vertical and sectional representation of gender; (c) at least one representation from each of the sector offices; (d) at least one representation from Directors, Internal Audit or Human Resources;(e) total committee members shall not exceed nine (9) at all times. At Kasungu District Assembly, just as many district councils, the following as office holders are members of the IIC; District Labour Officer (she also heads the committee as chairperson); Health Service Administrator (who is as well Secretary); CCJP as a representative of all district Civil Society Organization; Assistant Director of Finance, the Police, Judiciary; Senior Chief Kaomba as a representative of the traditional leaders in the district, Principal Administrative Officer and Trade officer. Nonetheless, when it comes to tenure of office, members of the IIC in the Council holds their positions for a period of three (3) years after which, new committee members have to be appointed by the Controlling Officer. However, the Controlling Officer is at liberty to retain some members from the old committee to continue but those retained may not go beyond two terms. In the event of any form of exit from the Council, the Controlling Officer will appoint new officers with similar attributes to replace them and avoid the existence of any gaps. Every effort is made to ensure a good vertical representation of members in the committee at all times (ACB Newsletter, 2018).

2.5 Catalogue of dominant corruption scandals in the history of Malawi

The Malawian corruption scenario would purely fall in the category of political corruption, not that there is no frequent occurrences of bureaucratic corrupt practices .Political corruption is solidly rife with enormous economic cost. My recent corruption study through mainstream print media; the Malawi News, Weekend Nations and The

Nation, and online Malawi newspapers; Malawi Post and Nyasa Times revealed the following scandalous, crucial and economically crippling national corruption debacles: US\$ 3, 700 bribe solicited by Sunduzwayo Madise (when he was a Football Association of Malawi official) from Global African Football consultant Ian Riley. Madise was arrested, tried, convicted and given suspended sentence-making his case first high level corruption scandal involving a senior sports official in Malawi(Tukula, 2005);MK1.7 billion president Bakili Muluzi corruption case where Anti-corruption Bureau accuses the former Malawi leader of diverting public funds into own private pocket during his reign (Meki, 2021); US \$ 92 million Field York international corruption saga which uncovered that a local company offered to supply books, pencils and other learning materials for the Malawi government to roll out free primary school education for less than the British firm had offered but the bid was ignored to unscrupulously benefit the then Minister of Education, science and technology, Sam Mpasu, who the courts convicted and sentenced to serve 6 years in jail (Chunga & Mzungu, 2018) ;Cash gate scandal where top notch politicians and bureaucrats colluded to loot over MK577 billion between 2009 and 2014 ,that is, according to former president Joyce Banda's instigated financial report by PWC (Mkandawire,2015) ; Norman Chisale corruption case involving the fraudulent importation of MK5 billion worth of Cement without tax payment under former President Peter Mutharika's tax privileges (TPIN) without the former president's knowledge (Mmana, 2021);fake academic credentials' saga involving top Chief Executives in parastatals and prominent politicians including those of former Malawi Energy Regulatory Authority chief executive officer, Collins Magalasi, current Malawi Police Inspector General, George Kainja, Leader of Opposition in Parliament, Kondwani

George Malemia Nankhumwa, former Malawi Communication Regulatory Authority Director General, Godfrey Itaye (Chitsulo , 2020) ; May 21, 2019 Malawi presidential election impasse in which Malawi Electoral Commission officials were accused of deliberately mismanaging the polls by widespread use of Tippex-correction fluid on ballot papers to alter original figures and replace them with fake ones - in an attempt to obtain results that favor one candidate over others (Chimjeka ,2020) ;Thom Mpinganjira judges bribery case, where the business mogul(Thom Mpinganjira) is accused of trying to offer a bribe of close to MK250million to each constitutional court judge in an effort to influence the outcome of presidential case in which opposition parties petitioned courts to invalidate the election of Arthur Peter Mutharika as fraudulent due to enormous electoral irregularities (Kapalamula,2021);Malawi Police funds misappropriation where MK900 million was stolen by 5 senior police officers currently answering charges of stealing by public servant (Pondani,2020); and of recent MK6.2 Covid-19 fund abuse which was masterminded by top bureaucrats and politicians which, so far, led to the arrest of 46 civil servants (Chilora,2021).These, *inter alia*, are high profile corruption cases involving an elite clique that hold political power in Malawi, showing clearly how far political corruption thrives in Malawi's democratic era.

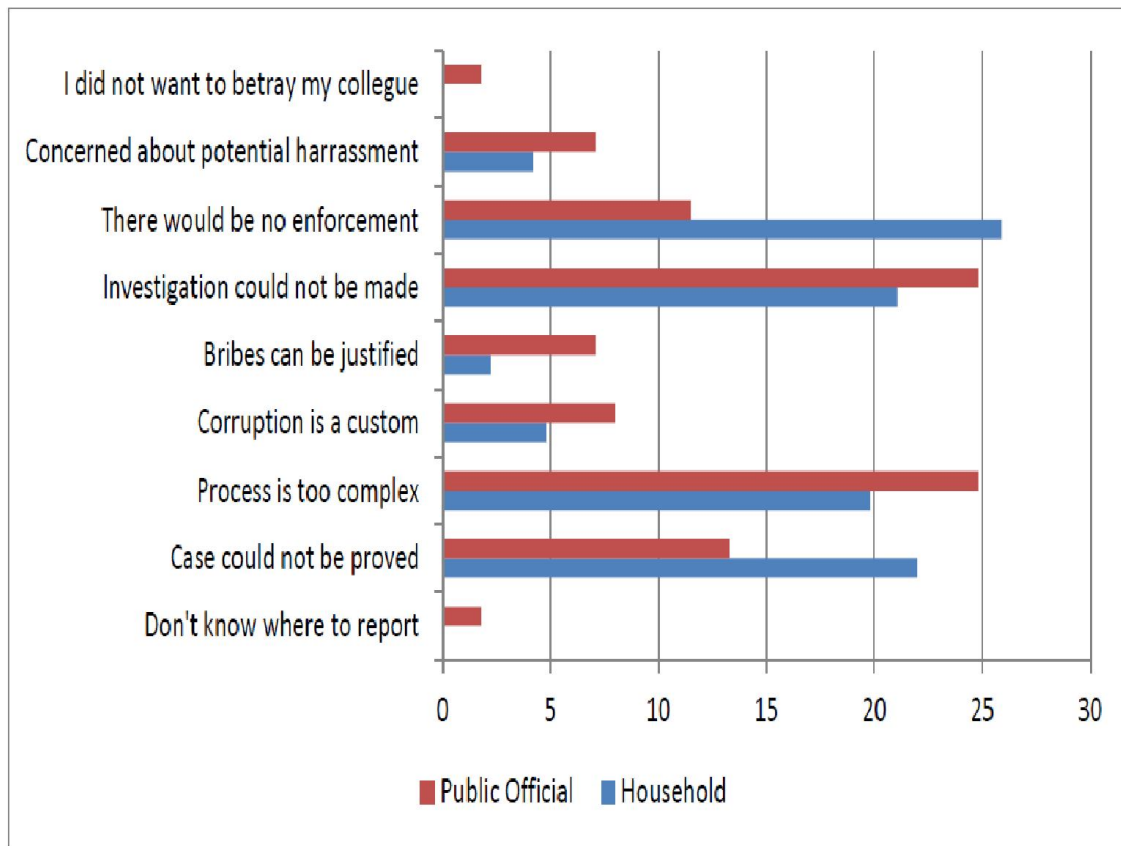


FIG3: Reasons why corruption is not reported in Malawi (ACB Report, 2014)

As depicted by the graph in Figure 3, researchers ran study in 2014 to analyse reasons why corruption is never reported in Malawi. The study was prompted by the notion that many corrupt acts were not been reported to Police, ACB or other authorities. The study targeted private citizens as individuals at household level and persons holding public office. The highest number of individuals pointed that they are never interested to report corrupt activities because there would not be any enforcement at all even if they reported. Whilst most public officials indicated that they would not report corrupt acts because investigation could not be made or the process of reporting is too complex to risk it (ACB Report, 2014).

2.6 IIC mandates and functionalities as actionable plans against corruption in local councils.

According to the Anti-Corruption Survey Report (2015), each risk area has its own specific proposed course of action to counter the risk. Some of key solutions/actions to the risks are: ethics training for bidding and supplying stakeholders, training of sector heads in procurement process and emphasize on following of framework agreements in procurement systems, quarterly physical stock taking and proper record keeping and regular audits, strict and enhanced adherence to internal financial controls and enforcement of procedures, sensitization to the community leaders and the land allocation committees, enforcement of guidelines, wills and inheritance Act, training rural masses and chiefs to follow Chiefs Act, fair enforcement of customary law, introduction of electronic receipts or/and receipts with special security features, training of the specific programs concerned committees and beneficiaries, clear separation and segregation of duties in every public institution to easily identify who does what and how, adherence to fuel management procedures and systems, training of stakeholders in court procedures and service charters, revamping and training of bursary committees operating on every level, sensitization to employees and employers and general public on corruption Act.

Mandates of IIC falls into four core functional areas: developmental function which incorporate institutional corruption prevention policies, institutional anti-corruption action plan and client service charters and ensure publicity, liaison function which coordinate to liaise with ACB in reviewing work procedures and systems, organisational capacity building function which oversees integrity and ethics Training for the Committee and integrity and ethics Training for other members of staff and enforcement

function that receive, consider and provide redress on all complaints emanating from within and outside organizations ,recommend administrative action to management ,all relating to ethical issues and maladministration and the understanding of the committee members in terms of what they are supposed to be doing in the ministry and whether this has any bearing on ethical competence(Anti-Corruption Survey Report ,2015).

According to ACB Newsletter (2016), there are seven mandates that IIC's were charged to pursue; the first mandate is to develop institutional corruption prevention Policies, "Policies" refers to a basket of "Corruption Prevention Principles of action " (Generic & Specific) ;all institutions require the Generic Policy -outlines an organization's stand on corruption and provides guidelines for dealing with corruption in general. Examples of specific policies are gifts guidelines, conflicts of Interests, codes of ethical conduct, recruitment policies, procurement policies and any others that will contribute towards improving transparency and accountability and reduce corruption in your institution. Role of IICs in Policy development are to Identify and recommend policies to management and secure support ,organise and coordinate the policy development process – including staff consultations, facilitate Policy development process (if expertise exist) or identify external players to facilitate process, coordinate implementation and review of the policies. There are three reasons why policies are a priority, that is they are mainly for predictability, transparency and uniformity in dealing with corruption .This enables anti-corruption efforts to be implemented in structured, systematic way and provide anchorage/legitimacy and meaning to anti-corruption efforts. When it comes to policy implementation, there must be information dissemination: On-going sensitization of staff and stakeholders, address the ignorance gap, make them aware of institutional position

and Policy mainstreaming: developing strategies to ensure these are weaved into fabric of institutions (e.g.) committees, risk management, whistle blowing mechanisms. The underlying principles underpinning policy development process are overt management support, staff involvement and Stakeholder support if /where necessary.

However, there are challenges with policy implementation. Which include: capacity challenges commitment (management/implementers), financial resource constraints, lack of follow up by management, implementation models fraught with loopholes and prevailing national culture of non-enforcement (Holmes, 2009).

The second IIC mandate is to development of anti-corruption action plans action plan: a document comprising of activities that will be undertaken over a defined period/within specified timelines to meet identified objectives by responsible persons and /or officers (Linley et al, 2007).

The third IIC mandate is reviewing work procedures and systems. A system is an integrated set of elements that function together to accomplish an objective. Any organisation is a system comprising of departments and sections which are assigned to perform various activities that is procurements enables organization achieve its purpose whilst a procedure is a particular course of action intended to achieve a result. A procedure operationalises the purposes of various organizational activities, for instance, procurement procedures. Corruption is a dynamic offence. It occurs when perpetrators take advantage of loopholes that exist within systems and corrupt people will always adapt their tactics to effectively compromise systems. They included two Methods of Reviewing Systems and Procedures Reactive approach which Wait for tragedy to happen and then review the systems and procedures and Pro-active approach which is scheduled

and normally on-going. It can use either: SWOT-Based approach or risk based approach. Corruption risk assessment identifies threats and vulnerabilities in organizations which focus on what can happen (real threats not imaginary ones) to this system and partly informed by what happened in the past - learning from mistakes. It also looks at sources of those risks to identify type of risks and damage they can cause, for example, financial or reputational, and to identify what controls exists within organization and respond to identified risks - whether they are adequate and to use internal expertise for instance internal audit, human resources management and information system control (Malawi Public Service Code of Ethics and Conduct, 2012).

The fourth mandate is ethics training for the committee and staff which prompts the ability to see and respond ethically may be related more to attributes of corporate culture than to attributes of individual employees .Organization is powerful influence which has potential to make an ethical person act unethically or an unethical person behave ethically (Hussein,2005).Studies have shown that ethical tone of an organization impacts upon: Efficiency and effectiveness; decision-making processes; staff commitment and job satisfaction; staff stress; and staff turnover. The role of IICs in Ethics Training is to endeavor to have knowledge about ethics; gained through training, impart this knowledge to critical stakeholders like human resource, supervisors, identify avenues which can be used to promote ethics training, for instance, orientation of new employees(Kasungu Social Economic Profile, 2018).

The fifth mandate is to develop client service charter which is a contract between institutions and their clients and stakeholders for the purpose of setting out service commitments and standards that will govern service delivery and outline what clients and

stakeholders should expect from a client and outlines how clients can help institution meet their expectations. Benefits of a client service charter are to provide a basis for improving the quality of service deliver, to re-engineer organizational culture, improves corporate image of organization and help to create a perception amongst its stakeholders that the institution is client welfare-oriented or puts clients first(National Anti-Corruption Strategy I &II (2008, 2019-2024)).

The sixth mandate is to receive and process complaints. Complaint is a report of unethical behavior or an allegation of maladministration whilst Complainant refers to a person who makes a report. There are several sources of complaints; employees (including management), clients, members of general public, internal and external audit reports and other reports, referred from other agencies (Police & ACB).What motivates people to lodge a complaint is when one Has become a victim of a corrupt act, is revengeful, is seeking some kind of monetary reward or favor, hatred or even jealous. The common methods for Reporting are; in person, by telephone, by letter, by fax or e-mail, (in all these case, the complainant may or may not identify him/herself) or from information arising from other sources such as reports or referrals from ACB. There must be an analyzing complaints where one establishes whether complainant is known, records of allegation should be done, isolates key points that complainant is raising and interpret them, accesses credibility of the complaint –possible hidden agenda/potentially unreliable, determines solvability – is there a realistic chance of achieving a satisfactory result, decides whether complaint discloses facts and not just opinions and conclusions, determines whether complainant has disclosed sufficient information, if may be traced, you may wish to contact him for more information. In this case the responsibility Of IICs

is to ensure that there are proper procedures for handling reports, a confidential database for reports has been created, there is a procedure for reviewing reports, an effective awareness system to encourage staff and stakeholders to report exist(ACB Newsletter, 2018).

The seventh mandate is recommending administrative action to management. This is on issues of maladministration and unethical conduct. Mal-administration may consist of a situation where the individual in charge is unjust or ineffective in their leadership. It mostly means circumstance is so bad & must be investigated or reprimanded. Is also frequently used to describe corrupt behavior by any public official. Also amounts to conduct that involves an action or inaction of a serious nature. Administrative Actions may include sanctioning, cautioning, interdiction, suspension, demotion and dismissal (ACB Newsletter, 2018)

There are a number of functionalities, strategies and measures which are employed by the IIC in the Councils for them to achieve their objectives of upholding integrity and curbing corrupt practices. The following are some of strategies. The first is to be integral part of staff and operations. Being part and parcel of staff and operations of the Council, it will be easier for IIC members to interact in the course of executing their duties. What is critically important is for all officers in the Council to know the role of the IIC and its overall mandate. The vertical composition of the committee members is also an advantage for all members of staff in the Council to interact freely with any member of their choice as the composition cuts across all cadres from director to lower grades (ACB Newsletter, 2016).

The second one is training of members of staff. The IIC will facilitate in the training of all members of staff in the Council. Members of staff have to know all aspects of corruption such as the definition, causes, forms as well as consequences of corruption to the Council operations. Ethics and integrity trainings will also be conducted to all members of staff within the Council. This will be done in a number of sessions until all staff members are reached and are able to demonstrate highest level of integrity.

Thirdly, the use of IEC Materials. The IIC will make sure that anti-corruption messages and information are readily available in all strategic places of all premises and buildings under the Council. This will include posters, stickers, leaflets and brochures. The service charter will also be part of this as the Council's core functions will be displayed in all strategic places of the Council's offices and premises (ibid).

Fourthly, the use of suggestion box and other reporting channels. The IIC will introduce a suggestion box which will be well secured. Only members of the IIC will have the authority to open it. Members of staff will therefore be encouraged to use it whenever they have issues to report to the IIC. Apart from these, other reporting channels will also be promoted. These include reporting in person, via phone and emails. All members of the IIC are supposed to be reached by any officer in the Council. It is for this reason that members of the IIC will declare their contact details so that members of staff should easily get hold of them whenever they have issues to report (ACB Newsletter, 2020)

The fifth functionality is Maintenance of a Confidential Register. All cases reported and handled by the IIC will be registered in a confidential register which will be kept under lock. Information in the register will be recorded as per the format provided by the Bureau.

In terms of source of funds for the IIC activities, the activities of the IIC in the Council were designed wholly to be funded by funds from the Council's ORT budget as directed by Government. IIC is required to produce a budget for every activity to be undertaken and submitted to the Controlling Officer for approval. The overall expenditure should, however, not go beyond 1% of the Council's ORT budget for each financial year. As for the frequency of IIC meetings, the IIC holds its normal meetings on quarterly basis. However, the Chairperson may summon for extra-ordinary meetings as and when necessary depending on issues at hand. The committee must likewise submit its reports to the Bureau on quarterly basis.

In summary, IIC is one viable and effective strategy of institutionalizing ethics and promoting ethical competence in the public sector in the context like Malawi. However, like in every well-intentioned programs and policies-gaps and challenges are inevitable.

Nonetheless, as shown in the literature reviewed the key variables in the study are corruption, leadership and organisation. Yet these variables in a qualitative study are well analysed better by three theories; institutional theory, elite and pluralist political theory.

2.7 Institutional theory

This research study utilized the following theories to analyse the findings: Institutional theory; Elite theory and Pluralist political theory. Institutional theory depicts rules of the game which allow and disallow behaviors in any polity (Scott, 2004). According to Scott (2004) the theory was adopted from sociology and organizational studies to understand aspects of social structure, institutional theory considers the processes by which structures including schemes, rules, norms, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior in an organisation. Different components of

institutional theory explain how these elements are created, diffused, adopted, and adapted over space and time and how they fall into decline and disuse. According to Kraft and Furlong (2007) Public Policy institutional theory is policy-making that emphasizes the formal and legal aspects of government structures. Johnston and Kpundeh (2002) however defines institutional theory as a widely accepted theoretical posture that emphasizes productivity, ethics, and legitimacy.

There are two paradigms of institutionalism thus far, old and new institutionalisms (Meyer, 1977). The old institutional theory focused only on formal structures with no regard for informal institutions. Old institutionalism began to be undermined when scholars increasingly highlighted how the formal rules and administrative structures of institutions were not accurately describing the behavior of actors and policy outcomes. However, the new institutionalism does not remove rather adds informal institutions to the formal ones. It is observed that institutional theory has regulative and normative pillars. Regulative pillars of institutions center on constraining behavior of people within context. Normative pillar lays out rights and privileges as well as responsibilities and duties of members.

The new institutional theory has three variants (DiMaggio, 1983): Historical institutionalism, sociological institutionalism and rational choice. This research study heavily adopted historical and sociological institutionalism. Historical institutionalists tend to focus on past records to understand why specific events happen. As Quinn (2004) puts it, history of what happened before and previous trends or practices from the past do influence how people will make their choices in the present. Sociological institutionalists emphasize how the functions and structures of organizations do not necessarily reflect

functional purposes, but rather ceremonies and rituals. Sociological institutionalism interpretation hold that institutions and logic of appropriateness guides the behavior of actors within an institution (Bell, 2002). It predicts that the norms and formal rules of institutions will shape the actions of those acting within them. The reasoning behind engaging in corrupt practices more in one leadership style rather than the other, shall deeply uncover institutions at play in each era. Thus historical and sociological views of institutional theory dominated the discourse on organisation.

2.8 Elite theory

Elite theory evolved from the perspective of autocracy (Polybius, 150 BC) because of its failure to apply the principle of checks and balances in political institutions and is a theory that seeks to describe power relationships in society. It argues that small minority, consisting of individual members of the socio-economic clique and policy-planning networks holds the most power and that this power is independent of democratic elections (Mills, 1956).

Through positions in corporations, posts on corporate boards and influence over policy-planning networks through financial support of foundations or positions with think tanks or policy-discussion groups, members of this group of elites exert significant power and influence over corporate and government decisions and even national political and economic direction (Robert, 1977).

The basic characteristics of the perspective are that power is concentrated, elites are unified, non-elites are diverse and powerless, interests of elites are unified due to common backgrounds and the defining characteristic of power is institutional placement

(Hunter, 1953). As an antithesis for participatory paradigm, it views democracy as utopian folly, and that in its idealized form is not realizable within capitalist realms.

According to Pareto (1910) elitism is based on two ideas; power lies in position of authority in key economic and political institutions and the psychological difference that sets elites apart is that they have personal resources, for instance capacity and skills, and vested interest in the government; while the rest are incompetent and do not have the capabilities of governing themselves, the elite are resourceful and strive to make the government work. In reality, the elite would have the most to lose in a failed state, and non-elites may sometimes use their great numbers to deliberately scheme and cause anarchy, chaos and mischief to frustrate and sabotage proper functioning of government, after all they have little or nothing to lose in case of state failure (Mills ,1956).

The most endearing trait about elites is their high intellectual, moral, and material superiority (Bottomore, 1993). They are highly esteemed, influential and organized minority whereas the masses are an unorganized majority (Hunter, 1953). Elites comprise of highest accomplishees and do their best to build and maintain national peace and tranquility since have something to lose in breakout of war than non-elites (Chambliss, 2013). Using their wealth, education, skills to organize; they uphold and secure their status by running for public offices and subtly turn governments into invisible oligarchies. However, the central argument goes since elites have strong will and other great qualities to make governments function properly, then it is justified to entrust them with every citizen's welfare through appointment into political leadership posts .Hence, elite theory provides framework to explain essentials of and for autocratic political leadership as another crucial variable in our research.

2.9 Pluralist political theory

Classical pluralism as an anchor for democratic system in public institutions including governments, has the view that politics and decision-making are located mostly in the sphere of polity, but many non-governmental groups use their resources to exert influence. The central question for classical pluralism is how power and influence are distributed in a political process (Gad, 2003).

Groups of individuals try to maximize their interests. Lines of conflict are multiple and shifting as power is a continuous bargaining process between competing groups. There may be inequalities but they tend to be distributed and evened out by the various forms and distributions of resources throughout a population. Any change under this view will be slow and incremental, as groups have different interests and may act as veto groups to destroy legislation that may favor rival camp. The existence of diverse and competing interests is the basis for democratic equilibrium, and is crucial for the obtaining of goals by individuals.

Ankerl (2000) argues that polyarchy which is situation of open competition for electoral support within a significant part of the adult population, ensures competition of group interests and relative equality. Pluralists stress civil rights, such as freedom of expression and organization, and an electoral system with at least two parties (Connolly, 2005). On the other hand, since the participants in this process constitute only a tiny fraction of the populace, the public acts mainly as bystanders. In the view of (Thomas, et al, 1999) this is not necessarily undesirable for two reasons: it may be representative of

population content with the political happenings, or political issues require continuous and expert understanding, which the average citizen may not have. Three of the major tenets of the pluralist school are resources and hence potential power are widely scattered throughout society; at least some resources are available to nearly everyone; and at any time the amount of potential power exceeds the amount of actual power (Kazemzadeh, 2020).

The list of possible sources of power is virtually endless: legal authority, money, prestige, skill, knowledge, charisma, legitimacy, free time, and experience. Actual power means the ability to compel someone to do something and is the view of power as causation (Cherniss and Hardy, 2016). Dahl (1961) describes power as a realistic relationship, for instance, A's capacity for acting in such a manner as to control B's responses. Pluralist political theory along with institutional and elite theories are the three theoretical structures through which our key variables in the research have been analyzed. The pluralist political theory uncovered underpinnings for democratic political leadership.

2.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed literature relating to the key concepts of the study. The chapter is divided into three sections: The first part analyzed the constructs of the term leadership. It also described underlying principles for effective leadership and the capabilities of an effective leadership. Second part is an in-depth discourse on corruption, detailed what constitutes corruption and its categorizations, and the corruption in the context of Malawi. It also highlighted dominant corruption scandals in history of Malawi and IIC mandates and functionalities as actionable plans against corruption in local governments. Last part dealt with the three study's theoretical frameworks, namely; institutional, elite

and pluralist political theories which provided better lens through which to analyze and understand issues surrounding corruption, autocratic political leadership and democratic political leadership respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses research design and methodology employed in this study. The chapter specifically delves into the approach, method and design, the setting, sample and sampling, data collection, processing and analysis, ethical considerations and study limitations. It also looks how data was analysed and interpreted to arrive at the results.

3.1 Research approach

Research is a systematic investigation to find answers to a problem (Punch, 1998: 4). Research in social sciences, like inquiry in other subjects, has generally followed the traditional objective scientific method. Since 1960s, however, a strong move towards a more qualitative, naturalistic and subjective approach has left social science research divided between two competing methods: scientific empirical tradition, and naturalistic phenomenological mode.

Though this is a qualitative research, it is imperative to mention that in the scientific method, quantitative research methods are employed in an attempt to establish general principles. Such scientific approach is often termed nomothetic and assumes social reality is objective and external to individual. Quantitative research is empirical research where the data are in the form of numbers (Silverman 2009). The comparative aspect helps to know what specific methodology was chosen and why. The naturalistic approach to research emphasizes the importance of the subjective experience of individuals, with focus on qualitative analysis. Social reality is regarded as creation of individual

consciousness, with meaning and the evaluation of events seen as a personal and subjective constructions. Such a focus on the individual case rather than general law-making is termed an ideographic approach (Burns, 2000: 3). Qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers. As mentioned earlier the research solely dwells on qualitative research.

3.1.1 Qualitative research

Fundamentally, research can be qualitative, if it describes and narrates events, persons and so forth scientifically without the use of numerical data (Nachmias, 2007). It is more open and responsive to its subject (ibid). It may be regarded as harder, more stressful and more time-consuming than other types. That can justify why most postgraduates get their M.Ed. dissertation or whatever credential finished quickly and easily by doing a straightforward questionnaire study. Qualitative research is only suitable for people who care about it, take it seriously, and are prepared for commitment (Delamont, 1992: viii). Qualitative research mostly is concerned with collecting and analyzing information in as many forms, chiefly non-numeric, as possible. It tends to focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or illuminating, and aims to achieve depth rather than breadth (ibid).

Qualitative research centers on subjectivity and the role of the researcher within the research process is so crucial because he or she is part and parcel of the actual research (Babbie, 2007). Interviews and observations might basically be thought of as primary qualitative techniques. Their approaches are more associated with interpretive and critical paradigms. In practice, of course, it is often more complicated than that since surveys may sometimes allow for open-ended responses and lead to an in-depth study of

individual cases still within qualitative research (Punch, 1998). Finally, the choice of approach is linked to the kind of research objectives under investigations. For example, objectives that inquire aspects surrounding “how”, ‘why’ and ‘what’ are generally associated with qualitative themes (Ibid).

3.2 Method and design overview

All types of empirical studies have either an implicit or explicit research design (Pat, 2009). A research study design depicts the procedure of how the study will be conducted whether within qualitative, quantitative or mixed method approach. This procedure consists of the form of inquiry that will be utilized in the study (Creswell, 2014). Pat(2009) provides a colloquial definition of a research design as, an action plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered (problem), and there is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions. In summary, a research design can be viewed as a plan or strategy for determining what types of research questions need to be addressed in the study, what type of data needs to be collected, and how that data needs to be analyzed in order to answer the research questions posed.

As per the technical nature of the core variables under study, it is imperative to inquire by face to face approach from governance experts through qualitative research to find out why one model of political leadership is preferable to the other in the fight against corruption. The research approach and method enable well-informed individuals to give balanced specialist perspectives and views on the subject matter.

In other words, research design is the game plan on how you intend to produce an answer for the research question that one has (Moser,1967).A research approach comprises the overall plan and procedure for the research that spells out the methods required for data collection, data analysis, as well as the interpretation of the data. The research method, on the other hand, depicts how a researcher approaches a research problem and how they go about to answer or solve it. It consists of the data collection, analysis and interpretation techniques that a researcher will utilize for their study. The research method is derived from a research approach. The three approaches to research methodology that are generally agreed upon by scientific researchers are quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods (Creswell, 2014).

In the context of this study, we can only assess the critical role of leadership in the crusade against corruption to compare the one party regime leadership style versus the multiparty regimes, having deployed qualitative research method. However, the survey or questionnaire, observation, interview and desk research methods usually engage qualitative, quantitative or both techniques at different stages in the course of the inquiry in an attempt to answer laid down specific questions. For instance, the survey or questionnaire can require numerical analysis, hence, it is quantitative technique. Whereas, the interview and desk research rely on the level of quality of the data given or mined from the interviewees and the literature, so they are qualitative techniques (Creswell, 2014). In this study, two qualitative techniques were adopted, name; interviews as primary technique and desk research which engages avid study of related policy and historical literature as secondary techniques.

3.3 Study setting, sample and sampling

A setting simply refers to the environment or organisation where the study will be conducted (Burns and Grove, 1993). This study followed two different government leadership systems as comparative cases: the dictatorial era of MCP under Hastings Kamuzu Banda and from 1964 to 1994 and the participatory governance dispensation of multiparty democracy adopted from 1994 to date. A case could be a community, organization or person (Pat, 2009). Sample is defined as set of respondents selected from larger population for the purpose of the inquiry (Kothari, 2004). Sample size is the number of respondents included in the study (Creswell, 1994). The sample of the study was drawn from Malawi's elite class, namely; economists, lawyers, political journalists, policy experts, socio-economic historians, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, government bureaucrats and politicians. The target group for the sample is what elite theory calls 'one with vested interest in government' (Gilens & Page, 2014). The reason why the sample was drawn from the group is their deep knowledge and understanding of how government works on top of their vested interests in government due to high material, moral and intellectual superiority. It is an influential group with highest accomplishments since it has wealth, education and rare skills and is usually held in high esteem by society since all political leaders come from this group. The group ensures that government works at all cost. The interview sample comprised of a couple of participants –targeting wide spectrum of audience in public sector was ideal, considering that the

sample is supposed to be manageable and representative of targeted population. However, the interviews were indefinite and they stopped when saturation point was reached. In this study 23 participants were interviewed.

Sampling means a way of choosing respondents from a larger population (ibid). Concerning the size of the sample, Punch (2000) argues that in qualitative studies sample sizes tend to be small with no statistical grounds for guidance. Punch further asserts that coming up with sample size in qualitative studies depends on the purpose of the study against the sampling frame and practical constraints that may be present.

Hence, stratified simple random sampling technique was used. Stratified random sampling technique ensures that key subpopulations are included in the sample (Bernard, 2000). Apart from saving time and resources to travel extensively, it ensures that participants from each stratum are included and represented in the sample and no stratum is missed (Babbie, 2007).

Therefore purposive sampling was used which aims at identifying respondents with critical information such as top experts and key informants (Bryman, 2004), the reason is because of that trait of possessing critical inside and expert government data and information.

The general research purpose is to know if political leadership styles relate to corruption, or if at all people think that corruption comes from people in power. Again, purposive or

judgment sampling which involves exercising the researchers' own judgment and discretion, was ideal and was used, when choosing final sample participants.

Figure 4: Shows targeted participants and the rationale

PARTICIPANTS	TARGET	RATIONALE
Political Journalist	Media House	Expert informant- Current Affairs
Economist	Ministry of Finance	Expert informant- Political economy
Policy analyst	Civil society	Expert informant-Corruption policies
Political scientist	Academic institution	Expert informant-Political leadership
Historian	Academic institution	Expert informant-Political history
Lawyer	Private practice	Expert informant-Law application
Politician	August House	Expert informant-Lawmaking
Bureaucrat	Civil Service	Expert informant-Policy execution
Philosopher	Academic institution	Expert informant-Ethics
Sociologist	Academic institution	Expert informant- social interactions

psychologist	Public Hospital	Expert informant –Human mind
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Appendix 2: Shows sample of targeted participants and the rationale.

This appendix shows all possible leadership or ethical philosophy experts within governance circle. Leadership and ethics as core fields for the research are covered by almost all social science disciplines, for instance; sociology, philosophy, political science, psychology, history, public administration, public policy, law, economics and journalism, however with different academic emphases and depths. The different perspectives with which they explain these two phenomenal concepts make the study unique, peculiar and interesting (Source: Researcher).

3.4 Data collection methods and tools

The study comprised of primary and secondary data. The primary data were basically collected through oral interviews with full regard for the privacy of participants at the study setting and context. The secondary data originates from various government policy documents, reviewed literature and case studies related to subject matter under study (Bazeley, 2009). Others were derived from credible online scholarly sources to enlarge the scope of our understanding of the subject. To collect secondary data, desk research was engaged which involves searching for information using existing materials from secondary sources, and these included academic papers from books and journal articles, electronic and print media as well as internet sources, online newspapers, independent analytical reports, archival documents and other publications that were available at the University of Malawi library and ACB resource center in Blantyre. The process culminated into a systemic cross-reference which allowed for comparing and contrasting

key arguments with critical lens. The data collected in this method mainly included newspaper articles and ACB reports and strategic plans.

As previously stated in the research design and sampling, in this study we mostly used face to face interviews and except in rare cases where we involved phone calls and submitted electronic mails attaching interview guide and the desk research allowed for document analysis to collect data. Prest (2004) argues that using multiple approaches can capitalize on the strengths of each approach and offset their different weaknesses. Nonetheless, the two data collection tools were as follows:

3.4.1 Structured interview guide

An interview guide is a data gathering instrument which is deployed on a qualitative research design (Galleta, 2013). The study used structured interview guide which spelt out areas of discussion where the respondent provided answers in line with those raised issues. Using the interview guide, the participants had the freedom to be as descriptive and explanatory in their responses as they can and could express themselves in their own words (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

An interview guide also affords the participants the choice to remain anonymous and provide answers without fear of identification and reprisal. The interview guide allows data to be collected on a broad range of subject areas within set limited periods, and it allows for more probing on crucial items (Patton, 2002). It carries not fixed sets of questions tied to the study objectives that allows probing and exercise of discretion. The interview guide carries standard format for all subjects and is independent of the interviewer's mood (Brink & Wood, 1998).

In this study one structured interview guide was designed. The interview guide was specifically developed for individuals to be interviewed as expert informants in different government administrative areas for example public economics, history, political journalism, political science, law, politics, civil service, philosophy and policy analysis. The structured interview guide was open-ended as possible to get insights and to allow for as objective analysis as we can to measure the extent we attribute the increasing trends of corruption to leadership style at political level in government systems in Malawi since independence in 1964.

The interview guides were administered mainly through physical contact in a 'one on one interface' as well as through phone interviews and electronic mail mode, when participants have insisted on these latter methods. This was allowed mainly as way of observing social distance as required under the Covid-19 protective measures. The core advantage of administering the interview guide through phone conversations, electronic mails and social media is that the interviews were ably conducted without the need to physically interact with a majority number of the respondents and this greatly saved our time.

However, some of the disadvantages are that the response rate was slow as some participants took longer to return the interview guides with the responses. AsBrink (1996) notes, some of the disadvantages of mailed questionnaire is that some of the items may be left unanswered and subjects must be literate (Brink, 1996). Nevertheless, the researcher was able to overcome the problem of slow response rate through continuous follow ups by phone calls. Some of the interview guides were therefore administered through phone interviews by the researcher.

3.4.2 Public document processing

Another equally important tool for data collection in the qualitative research design is public document processing (Bowen,2009).Document processing is systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents- both print and electronic which include computer-based and internet transmitted materials. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document processing which is done prior to analysis needs that data be examined and interpreted to specific meanings, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Cobin & Strauss,2008;Rapley,2007).

To improve the quality of primary source of data collection, this study also collected secondary data using this method of public document processing.In fact, sub- themes were cascaded from the main themes using document analysis. Specifically, the method involved reviewing government official documents, journal articles, books, newspapers and online materials. These were documents that helped come up with various sub-themes on leadership and corruption. They include Malawi government policy, documents and reports, constitution of the Republic of Malawi, public leadership and corruption publications, global, continental and regional documents that touch on public governance, politics and ethical architecture. Public document analysis yields data- experts, quotations or entire passages- that are organized in main themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis (Creswell, 1994).

3.5 Data processing and categorization

Data processing and analysis is the application of reasoning to understand with clarity and interpret the data that have been collected through interviews or otherwise (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).It is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning

to the mass of collected data. It is one of the critical processes inherited in the research (ibid).

However, our study used qualitative research method approach alone. Firstly, the analysis of data for the study was conducted using coding and content analysis as utilized in numerous qualitative studies. A code is a symbol applied to a group of words (Robson, 2002). Coding thus involves finding categories of data and relating those to different contexts (ibid). Content analysis involved categorization of both the context and content of documents. Specifically, themes were identified and the researcher focused on the presentation, frequency and treatment of each theme (Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor, 2003). Responses for each question were put together to find out common responses for that particular question. Data from interviews were recorded, typed and organized into themes and sub themes as a study report.

3.6 Ethical considerations

After consent from the Political and Administrative studies department, the researcher sought clearance from the department of postgraduate studies in line with standard operating procedures laid down by University of Malawi Research Ethics Committee (UNIMAREC) before turning the proposal into the actual study. This meant the methodology and approach were deemed ethically relevant.

Secondly, letters were sent to concerned individual participants and institutional authorities requesting permission to conduct the research with their involvement. Furthermore, an informed consent was sought from the participants before collecting data from them. The researcher clarified to the respondents that the information they gave was

solely going to be used for the study and academic purposes. In the sense that respondents' privacy was to be respected and upheld.

If there was any information that they would not want to be identified with, it did not make up part of the research. Courtesy and gender issues were observed when questioning the respondents to avoid offending them. After the topic and aim of the research were fully explained to individual participants in order to have an insight for what the study was all about, then, participants were told about their rights in order to make an informed decision. Participation in the research was voluntary as well as rights to withdraw at any point in time without being penalized was protected and guaranteed. The issue of confidentiality was taken seriously in the whole process of the study.

3.7 Study limitations

Leadership and corruption are core concepts of the research study, while in the course of this study a few difficulties were encountered like finding an all agreed upon definition for leadership as well as an absolute meaning for corruption-the terms are mostly used contingent on relative culture and regional politics, and may not meaningfully apply in all geopolitical zones. Corruption was particularly harder to define as it comes in different ways and forms and it is not always measurable (Gill & Johnson, 2002).

Concepts of corruption and leadership in a politically charged environment like Malawi are usually caught in controversy, otherwise some literally misinterpreted that the research sought to assess levels of corruption in the current presidential leadership, an act which has traditionally been looked upon suspiciously as a dangerously seditious undertaking which attracts the attention of security agents. This study had several other limitations. Most participants were not really interested to share their views and opinions

as honestly as possible, others equally refused to divulge information to the researcher since the topic itself is viewed with scorn. Some participants suggested to respond to questionnaires in place of oral interview. It was a challenge because one cannot force them to respond since the research questions are posed to be responded to on a voluntary basis and the study required oral interview not questionnaire.

The other limitation was that the population was scattered and it required the researcher to travel extensively to various individuals and public organizations in different regions to collect data in line with the spirit of unanimity and uniformity. Time was another aspect because of workload of the researcher at his work place office which divided the researcher's attention and focus. The study was conducted in Malawi hence the results may not be replicated in other African countries, even if there might be some concrete similarities in trends and patterns.

Finally, due to bureaucratic red-tape in most institutions, for the reason that, we are just researching about leadership and corruption in the public sector alone, it was difficult to access relevant personalities and hence it was not easy to get accurate information that represented the truth that was on the ground for practical and correct depictions and applications.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter introduced the research methodology used in the research study. It discussed the research approach in details which is qualitative method approach as architectural gist on which the study occurs. Then research design overview was outlined with details on study setting, sample and sampling. Data collection, processing and analysis methods

employed in the study were also explained. Lastly ethical issues and considerations were put on proper perspective and limitations of the research study were stated.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter of result findings, analyses and discussions, what was gotten was recorded after practical ground research was run to ascertain the scale one can attribute the increasing trends of corruption to leadership style at political level in government systems in Malawi since independence. In other words, the main research question centers on finding out which political leadership system between autocracy and democracy curbs corruption immersely? As case study, comparing authoritarianism under the Kamuzu Banda regime to a series of democratic government dispensations of Bakili Muluzi, Bingu wa Mutharika, Joyce Banda, Peter Mutharika and Lazarus Chakwera, details result findings of the study as presented hitherward.

These discussions are based on the researcher's analysis of interview theme findings and literature that was reviewed through document analysis. Hence, there are four specific

research questions that directly collaborated with four specific objectives which culminated into answering the main question. First specific question investigated the scope of freedom or available options to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership styles in Malawi. The second specific question was to examine the level of political leadership attachment in terms of support, legitimacy and popularity with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi. The third specific question was to find out who benefits more from the other between the leader and follower in their social relationship and interaction in both political leadership style system in Malawi. The fourth one analyzed the incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi.

Fundamentally, the study found and established that people considered corrupt activities as normal thing of daily life and that it was no longer rare to see in Malawi public offices. The reviewed literature also helped us to understand alarming levels of corruption in Malawi. Citizens of various dispositions get involved in either both petty and hefty crimes or at least witnessed them almost daily.

All the literature reviewed unanimously acknowledged that all citizens including leaders at different levels ever got involved in corruption of certain kind at some point or witnessed it occur. This notion is astonishing and argues that yes in fact corruption of different forms does exist everywhere in politics, public service and private sector in Malawi. Albeit in some places more than in others.

Nonetheless, the study has been built on four main specific objectives and their subsequent themes, outlined as follows:

- Investigate the scope of freedom to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership styles in Malawi.
- Assess the level of political leadership attachment with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi.
- Establish the extent each party benefits from the social bond that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi.
- Analyze the incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi.

4.1 Debating scope of freedom or available options for a leader to fight corrupt practices

One of the issues that the study investigated was the scope of freedom or available options for a leader to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership styles in Malawi. This objective is driven by a broader research question which highlights as: How does political system offer a leader sufficient power and latitude to curb corrupt activities in autocratic and democratic dispensations in Malawi? The three variables that were analyzed qualitatively from the data using the interview guide included; factors that capacitated Kamuzu Banda to fight financial and economic crimes in his autocratic administration; aspects that strengthened series of political leaders to fight corruption in democracy; and leadership style that gives more latitude to a leader to fight criminal activities.

These three would be basic and typical comparative characterizations that distinguish authoritarianism that run from 1964 to 1994 under Kamuzu Banda from serial democratic governments that came afterwards in 1994.

TABLE 1: Thematic table on scope of freedom to fight corruption within both political leadership styles

Objective	Themes
To investigate the scope of options to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership styles in Malawi.	• Factors that capacitated a leader to fight criminal cabals in the autocratic regime. • Factors influencing a leader to fight corruption in democracy. • Leadership style that gives more latitude to a leader to fight corruption.

The table above shows the thematic data used to discuss findings to address the objective.

4.1.1 Factors that capacitated Kamuzu Banda fight economic and financial criminal cabals

To respond to sub-question ‘what factors empowered or hindered a leader to fight corruption in the days of autocracy?’ interviewees deeply discussed typical features, traits and qualities of authoritarian MCP leadership at the helm of the executive and its government: There were all factors that empowered than hindered the leader to deal with corruption during the MCP regime and all of them were centered on personal and behavioral qualities of Kamuzu Banda as expert participants pointed them out as follows:

Kamuzu Banda as a leader was deemed trustworthy and reliable not only by remaining former colonial government officials but also the people. It is on record that he tendered resignation twice to then colonial governor general sir Glyn Jones during the first cabinet crisis, yet the British government authorities urged him on, fearing imminent chaos without him. There was no individual who was well exposed and enlightened to run government affairs successfully as Kamuzu Banda. He was independently responsible for formulating first government structure and making decisions. It was Kamuzu Banda himself who crafted and named former Nyasaland (an ex-British protectorate) to Malawi at independence. He had all levers of power to deal with any form of indiscipline and disloyalty including corrupt elements in the government system hierarchy [Political scientist, March 2022].

It was noted that the whole government machinery weighed on Kamuzu Banda’s shoulders. This required motivated, assertive and self-driven individual to make the whole public governance system work. Humorously, it must be pointed out that it could be the reason why he did not consider marrying as necessary or important since he was devotedly committed to running government business [Historian, March 2022].

Kamuzu Banda was considered man of confidence in his enormous skills and capabilities considering his impeccable education credentials and exposure to world affairs. His self-confidence helped Malawians to feel comfortable with his critical decisions to lead the country. This was well exhibited when he snubbed making relations with Eastern communist superpower nations of China and USSR for Western nations of Britain and USA. In addition, he could engage sound and productive debate and in-depth discourse with top officials in colonial government propelling them to trust in his own choices and consequently negotiated to dismantle the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland [Political journalist, March 2022].

To concur with interviewees, MCP dictatorial leadership countered team's inexperience during the transition period to independence. Most top officials in colonial government were whites and had to handover the civil service into the black indigenes that had little training with no experience. So when the autocratic leadership was put in charge of an inexperienced team, the leadership was able to get the job done by outlining specific instructions to be followed. Civil servants immeasurably benefited from the competencies offered by their leader, replicating productivity by using the leader's knowledge and experience as workplace asset for reference when there wasn't enough time to learn something new otherwise the transition project was to be completed rapidly, hence application of Kamuzu Banda's leadership skill and experience proved the best option.

4.1.2 Aspects that strengthen or weaken leaders to fight corruption in democracy

To answer the sub-question of 'what factors empower or hinder series of leaders to fight corruption in democracy?' It has been noted that more aspects mentioned weaken rather than strengthen a leader to combat corrupt practices in democratic governance. Interview participants mined Malawi mega events in political history and described the typical

features, traits and qualities of systems, key leaders and their government structure in Malawi's democratic leadership since 1994, hence the interviewees discussion summed up main points that weaken leaders to combat corruption as below:

Principle of equality before the law and justice administration have grossly been misused and abused in Malawi democracy. The equality rule is one of the key reasons responsible for enormous levels of chaos and corruption. Due to democracy, no single power can control the misbehavior of small leaders in other sections of government system. The lower-rank officer can defy his superior in spite of being unfair in his job. Hence all leaders and officials try to compromise even at the heavy cost of national prospects. They steal the resources of the country and deceive citizens. In the time past when we had one supreme power, during one party era, the extent of corruption was limited. This was because the authority to execute the bills was present in that supreme person at the executive. So companies that ever intended to bribe would do it to the supreme power only. All other subordinate officials were controlled and possibilities of misbehavior were too limited. But in a democracy where there is no supreme power, the bribe is demanded by all the leaders in the bureaucratic hierarchy. So all leaders at each level are ready to steal the resources of the country as they intend to get richer. The more the thieves, the more the robbery, and hence the country turns poorer. For this, prices and taxes for daily commodities are hiked to maintain government budget and again so that money can be misused. None has the authority to challenge and even if someone questions no one is there to answer [Lawyer, March 2022].

To support the argument, if we supposedly consider Kamuzu Banda rule-heavy taxes were levied on people. But this was not a problem as only Kamuzu Banda was trying to be rich, if at all he wanted. But in the case of democracy, everyone attempts to be a leader, and when they get a chance, they will try to be rich by corruption. So some people are ready to rob the resources and cause trouble to people within the geo-political zones.

In, another way, we see that, there is no protection of the common man. There is a great sense of ‘no one cares for anyone’, a lower-rank bureaucrat will try to defy his superior as both of them are crooked and corrupt.

Since the adoption of democracy in Malawi, there has been incessant obsession, addiction and drunkenness to power by politicians that push them to cast morals and values to the wind in full pursuit of their self-seeking personal and individual interests. The sole motto of politicians in Malawi has been to get into power and cling to it. There are very few leaders, if any, who work for the benefit of the country and ordinary citizens. Democracy is meant to elect one who is eligible and has sufficient experience and capacity to rule and lead the nation forward. But parties in Malawi compete for power without even having the right candidates for the posts. So they use different means like money, protests/demonstrations, and strikes for publicity. For instance, previously these strikes and protests historically led to the call for referendum in 1993 which culminated into re-introduction of multiparty democracy in 1994. Then serial government democracies thereafter were established. But currently behind every strike and protest, there is a hand of a political party or politician. The political parties can even halt parliament from functioning smoothly. We can notice incidents wherein one party tries to obstruct the house and see that the voice of others is not heard. Also due to these politically provoked strikes and protests, the common man is at a loss. During demonstrations, the shops and markets remain closed or else get looted. When these protests run for weeks and even months, income sources suffer, enhance destroying the economy. But in spite of this, the parties and politicians aim at their publicity but not the plight of ordinary citizenry. If someone questions this, they say it is freedom of speech and their right to protest as provided for, by and in democratic constitution .So in many ways, too much freedom has led to conflicts and corrupt rivalries instead of prosperity and development. After all, corruption thrives on chaos and disorderliness[Politician, March 2022]

In Malawian democracy, there is what is called dynastic and appeasement politics where leaders come from the same family or household not because of their

capacity or skill in public leadership but just because they control a large chunk of national resources which they mostly acquire corruptly whilst in government. This kind of politicians try to unscrupulously influence people to earn goodwill. Ignorance of the mass of citizen is taken for a ride. For this, they offer free benefits to a certain sections of society while is harmful to the whole nation and its economy. They try to encourage lethargy, improper education by offering incentives to the undeserved. However, freedom literally means anyone can be elected by the masses to rule. But we can see there are also dynastic rules. Grandparents and grandchildren of the same family are positioned for power. This can be viewed in the Mutharika, Muluzi, Kamuzu and Chihana families. This is so because they exploit the masses emotionally. They may not even know the problems of the common man. So they do not provide peaceful and transformative leadership that is very much needed. The intention in a democracy is that anyone elected by the common public should govern the nation. But the dynastic families make up a party, and all party office bearers work for them. Thus the very basic idea of democracy is destroyed. Even people also vote for them as they are brain-fed by media and party loyalists who are controlled by them. Hence you will see selfish and less capable people taking power into their hands. Even one can notice connected musicians and comedians getting into power with no much exposure and education[Bureaucrat, March 2022].

This is thus because people fail to foresee the consequences of such kind of politics. They vote just without any thought of the future. They do vote for their tribesmen, relative, caste, or film heroes, or media-created gods. In course, consolidating and legitimizing nepotistic corruption.

Malawi democracy has been highly characterized by unfair participation, emotional manipulation and distortions in public relations. Not all people participate in voting. They do not utilize their right to vote due to a lack of interest or loss of hope. Sometimes, they also do not vote if the candidate of interest is not available. In recent Malawi 2019 re-run presidential elections, certain section of the youth did not vote as they did not have a candidate of interest. In the previous

elections, they had voted for Saulos Chilima who represented the youth and promised them jobs. Politicians try to gain votes by emotional manipulation of people's minds. This is quite common in the name of nationalism, secularism, or religiosity which claims to stop something, propel certain socio-cultural narratives or achieve long-standing demands. This makes people get connected emotionally to that party or leader. Doing so, people vote for them without thinking of other factors that can be misused. Every person's perception of a political party varies to a certain extent. This includes the members of a family. A husband would like to vote for one party while his wife for another party. Similarly, this happens between brothers, sisters, cousins and friends. This variation in preferences could sometimes lead to heated debates and even discord in relationships. Some people go to the extent of staying away from their homes during elections [Sociologist, April 2022].

To support this argument, we see that the effect of electoral manipulation and mental stress during elections increases. Some would opt to return home once voting and counting processes is over. Thus, the democratic form of political affiliation can lead to troubles in relationships. That explains why democracy does not lead to prosperity but social conflict. With elections in every five years, the cycle of manipulation, stress and distortion goes on and on.

However, there are three factors that participants mentioned that strengthened and motivated leaders to fight corruption in a democracy. Though they are important on face value, these were/are:

Serial democratic leaders in Malawi that came after 1994 allowed citizens to be as participatory as they can in course of discharging government responsibilities. Participants noted that Bakili Muluzi encouraged Malawians to participate in public affairs and enacted decentralization policy in 1998 to enhance central government to share power with local administrations. He introduced local development projects such as MASAF to spearhead local development. By

involving local assemblies he encouraged rural Malawians to take part and even question decisions made in relation to the programs that will improve their socio-economic welfare. The participatory aspect strengthened transparency and accountability which are core enemies of corrupt practices [Policy Analyst, April 2022]

Democracy thrives on periodical change of leadership at political level .Hence the coming in of Bingu wa Mutharika after Bakili Muluzi set free-flow of diverse ideas and alternative development pathways from expertly appointments Bingu made in his cabinet. These technocrats had better chance of making the correct decisions that benefited as many citizens as possible. Periodic changes at political leadership level curbs continuity of certain harmful cultures entrenched in the governance systems. For example during the shortest period of Joyce Banda's reign cash-gate corruption scandal erupted, yet it took the coming in of Peter Mutharika to stop it by appointing new office bearers in strategic posts to discontinue the behavior [Political Journalist, April 2022]

Sense of fairness and justice has been another important item in the democratic era. Arbitrary arrests with possibilities of framing perceived enemies and detentions without trial which characterized Kamuzu Banda politics were stopped. Democracy re-structured the police systems and judiciary to safeguard justice and fairness. Democratic constitution and values championed in 1994 outlawed all undue biases or favoritism in application of justice. These values espoused civil liberties, rule of law and free speech to allow citizens to speak their minds without fear of reprisals and contribute equally to the decision-making processes in government. They are the same values that are used to fight all manner of corruption in a democracy today[Philosopher, March 2022].

4.1.3 Leadership style that gives more latitude to a leader to fight crimes

To respond to the question “Which leadership style gives more latitude to a leader to fight corruption?” The participants observed that Kamuzu Banda’s autocracy provided strongest form of political leadership style since an autocrat is unyielding to compromises, powerful and firm when it comes to making decisions and controlling a national direction. As an autocratic leader, he usually had military-like control and was the one who could impose decisions on a group of people to follow his rules and instructions. This characteristic played an important role in taking bold actions against detractors and outright enemies hence maintaining political stability and peace. With this kind of leadership, people had a form of security since they knew they had a strong leader who would act on emergency situations whether economic, political or territorial. Some key arguments raised by interviewees are as follows:

MCP dictatorship has had a record of having handled crisis situations efficiently and effectively. More especially those that threatened the welfare of the citizens of the nation. Typical autocratic leaders are well known in history for their ability to handle and resolve crises easily because they are the ones who are in charge. If there is a short-term problem, the expertise of the leader can be used to create a solution. For long-term issues, the autocratic leader can direct traffic in specific ways with more efficiency than any other, creating solutions that can quickly move an organization out of a troubled state. Since there is no opposition with only an absolute ruler to create and enact laws, there will be no other parties that can negate what bills or executive orders to be passed. This makes it easier for the government to come up with plans and carry them out to rectify crises. This can result into progress and prosperity of a country. In the like manner, crises emanating from corruption scandal can easily and immediately be resolved[Psychologist, March 2022].

As an autocratic government, MCP allowed for fast decisions to be made. Basically, the logic has been when there is an autocratic leadership established within an organization, there are fewer levels of administration that must be kept informed of each decision. There is also less feedback from various levels of management which must be processed. That is because there is one person and he is in charge of all arrangements. This improved the speed of decisions because only one person is weighing the pros and cons of each choice. Faster decision-making in dictatorial form of government during Banda informed that having one ruler to decide on matters concerning a nation without distractions and influences of others make it easier for the leader to make sound decisions he thinks works for the interest of the country. If the dictator is good-hearted, prioritizes national interests and is not self-serving, this form of government leads the nation to a promising future. Additionally, in emergency cases where help and action are needed, like in an eruption of corrupt case, decisions can be made and carried out immediately[Sociologist, April 2022]

Banda's autocratic leadership is reputed to have improved national productivity. Since autocratic leaders are able to move information, orders and instructions throughout an organization quickly, there are fewer delays in productivity. Public workers are less likely to stop their projects or ask for later deadlines because they receive timely decisions and communication from their leadership at the top. When there are multiple levels of leadership within an organization, a command from the top becomes like a childhood game of telephone. Each level of management can inadvertently or purposely put their own spin on the communication coming from the leadership. By the time the message reaches the front-line employees doing most of the work, the entire original message could be lost. Autocratic leadership eliminates this issue because the command goes straight to the workers involved. That creates a positive impact on the work environment, which leads to more accurate work and consistent production. This reduces employee stress levels. Although an autocratic leader had challenging personality, most employees prefer to work in an environment where there are clear expectations and goals set for them. Even workers who like to explore

creative solutions don't mind an autocratic leader when they are allowed to pitch new ideas or offer an alternative decision based on their personal experience. At the end of the day, the autocratic leader is like the captain of a ship: every decision is a weight on their shoulders and they are ultimately responsible for what happens[Economist, April 2022]

4.2 Analyses of political leadership support, popularity and legitimacy within the society

Another essential item in the study was to examine the level of political leadership support, popularity and legitimacy with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi. Political leadership support, popularity and legitimacy are simply referred to as political leadership attachment. The specific research question for the objective was: How does political leadership attachment with society affect /hinder corruption fight in autocratic and democratic governments in Malawi? The objective interrogated the three features as mentioned: Nature of attachment between citizen and leader in both eras; Strengths of ties between citizen and leader in both periods, and Leadership style that allows easy citizens' access to the leader: These three sub-themes guided us to probe more about the policy and ideological intrigues centred on attachment between leadership and followers. The research revealed that close attachment between executive leader and different groups of followers hinder corruption and crimes fight, in the sense that most members of followers take advantage of their access to the leadership for private gain. That is why individuals commit serious economic and financial offenses and hide within the presidency or out rightly join ruling parties to beat the system from impending investigations and then prosecutions. Ironically, in a democracy there is need for many groups of followers to endorse leadership for the sake of government legitimacy

and stability, making it hard to reject endorsement from crooked, corrupt and unruly groups and personalities. It has been found that in democracy, leadership-followership link is very close and strong because of the frequent elections. Besides, the president's political will to either champion for development or fight corruption is too weak because of never-ending competing and surrounding influences of groups that manipulate the leader to control the presidency to their gain. These influence groups are factions that range from relatives of the leader's spouses, leader's spouses, party zealots, tribal peddlers, party funders and religious associates. Mind you, these competing influences cannot easily be purged because of their endorsement the leader requires and many of these groups consist of foot soldiers that worked very hard to sale the candidate to the public to become a leader. Interviewees pointed that in the autocracy of Kamuzu Banda the attachment between the leadership and the followers was weak because of lack of elections except for seasonal crop inspection tours and welcome rallies from foreign trips. Malawi enjoyed political stability which bred strong positive political will to decisively deal with all criminal elements and stir the country for economic growth.

TABLE 2: Thematic table on level of political leadership support, popularity and legitimacy with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi

Objective	Themes
To assess the level of political leadership support, popularity and legitimacy with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi.	• Nature of attachment which encompasses support, popularity and legitimacy between citizen and leader in both eras. • Strengths of ties between citizen

	and leader in both periods. • Leadership style that allows easy citizens' access to the leader.
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The table above shows the thematic data used to discuss findings to address the objective.

4.2.1 Nature of attachment in terms of support, popularity and legitimacy between citizen and leader in both eras

To answer the question of ‘What enhances attachment between citizen and leader in both dispensations?’ Study participants considered positive and negative political will as an important nature of connection between citizen and leader. Positive political will has been associated with autocratic long stay in power and negative political will is linked with frequent change of leaders within democratic setting. So the key argument is that apart from regular elections, one other reason for failure by participatory leadership to decisively deal with corruption has been lack of political will. Interviewees have been of the view that strong attachment between citizen and leader instigates negative political will to curb the vice of corruption. In dictatorship, the political will to fight corruption is positive because of absence of frequent elections. In fact, the attachment between citizen and leader in autocracy is so weak.

However, Political will is described as the extent of committed support among key decision makers for a particular policy solution to a specific problem. It is also considered the slipperiest concept in the policy lexicon. Lack of or negative political will is often blamed for unresolved political issues including economic development and bad governance(Zakaria, 1997).It’s not some innate quality -- good leaders must create it. Political will was also defined as the firm intention or commitment of government to carry through

a policy, especially one that is not immediately successful or popular. Political will is not some kind of immutable and innate personal quality. It is not the same as political courage or conviction. It is a deliberate social construct, and every positive advance of public policy rests upon its successful creation (Malena, 2009). It has been argued that issues that require political will are ones that are not easily resolved.

To a larger extent, political will would simply be willingness and ability of a leader to pursue agreed upon policy direction. But to understand political will one first needs to observe indicators and secondly distinguish between will and capacity otherwise other leaders might have strong will yet lack capacity due to lack of deeper understanding (Andrews, 2008). Indicators focus on speeches and public declarations by leaders, passage of national legislation, and ratification of international compacts or treaties. However, pronouncements alone are insufficient without concrete action. Inaction is indicator of negative political will. For example, failure to pass legislation, enforce sanctions, or pursue corruption cases in the courts have all been employed as negative indicators of political will. However, such indicators are problematic in that these failures can result from a variety of factors beyond simply insufficient motivation or low prioritization, including reasons such as low levels of capacity, political or institutional rivalries (Collier & Levitsky, 1997).

The concept of political will is complex because it involves intent and motivation which are inherently intangible. They are hard to assess objectively due to manipulation and misrepresentation. Secondly, it exists at individual and collective levels. For individuals, political will can reflect through personal characteristics, values, priorities, and desires.

Aggregating beyond the individual introduces more complexity. Thirdly, though political will may be expressed in speeches, manifestos and legal documents, it is only manifested through action.

A shorthand definition of political will is: the commitment of actors to undertake actions to achieve a set of objectives – in this instance, reduced corruption – and to sustain the costs of those actions over time. The sections below specify how those actions can be analyzed, leading to a clearer picture of what political will looks like, and how it can be assessed; and suggest options for strengthening it (Johnston & Kpundeh. 2002)

Secondary data sources cast clearer picture of political will having disaggregated it from meaningful and measurable components. Strong ratings on each of these seven components sum up to the most powerful manifestation of political will. Variations in ratings on the components permit detailed, situation specific assessment, allowing for nuanced considerations of degrees of political will, from weak to strong. Political will is not usefully conceived of as a binary variable (yes, it is there, or no, it is not). Rather, political will should be assessed in terms of relative degree of presence/absence, and in terms of whether it is positive or negative.

Drawing on the author's earlier work (Brinkerhoff 2007 and 2000, Brinkerhoff and Crosby 2002) and supported by analyses of pro-poor policy design and implementation (Anderson et al. 2005, Morrissey and Verschoor 2006), political will has been separated into seven components:

First, *leadership initiative*. This component concerns the source of the impetus for a particular anti-corruption policy program choice. Political will is suspect when the push

for change comes totally from external actors. Some degree of initiative from country decision-makers must exist in order to talk meaningfully of political will. To strengthen this component there is need to identify and support public officials, civil society watchdogs and media committed to anti-corruption reforms.

Second, *choice of policy must be based on technically sound, balanced consideration and analysis of other options, anticipated outcomes, and cost/benefits*. When country actors choose anti-corruption policies and actions based on their own assessments of the likely benefits to be obtained, the alternatives and options, and the costs to be incurred, then one can credibly speak of independently derived preferences and willingness to act. To improve second pillar provide technical assistance in anti-corruption policy analysis, formulation, priority setting, program design, and analysis of the costs of corruption and equip technical assistance in citizen satisfaction surveys, including for public service delivery.

Third, *mobilization of stakeholders*. This component concerns the extent to which government actors consult with, engage, and mobilize stakeholders. Do decision-makers reach out to members of civil society and the private sector to advocate for the changes envisioned? Are legislators involved? Are there ongoing efforts to build constituencies in favor of anti-corruption policy programs? Support public education campaigns, outreach to citizens' groups and the private sector and support participatory governance that brings citizens and government officials closer together can enhance mobilization.

Fourth, *public commitment and allocation of resources*. To the extent that country decision-makers reveal their policy preferences publicly and assign resources to achieve those announced policy and program goals, these actions contribute to a positive

assessment of political will. Encourage CSO-private sector partnerships and provide support to civil society constituency building and advocacy coalitions to help boost commitment.

Fifth, *application of credible sanctions*. Without effective sanctions, corruption cannot be reduced. Well-crafted and enforced sanctions, both negative and positive, signal serious intent to address corruption. Symbolic or selective enforcement points to half-hearted political will. To revitalize the sanction application support ceremonial events where public officials make anti-corruption commitments, e.g., integrity pledges. Support national/sectoral budget formulation processes, as well as external auditing structures. Support CSOs engaged in PETS and participatory budgeting exercises. Support rule of law reform; training for investigators, lawyers and judges. Offer training for watchdog organizations and journalists

Sixth, *continuity of effort*. Fighting corruption requires resources and effort over the long-term. One-shot or episodic efforts signal weak and wavering political will. To improve this pillar provide multi-year funding for anti-corruption programs, use diplomatic tools to support reformers facing challenges, support institutionalization of accountability relationships, provide grants to CSOs and encourage media to publicize successful anti-corruption efforts.

Seventh, *learning and adaptation*. Political will is demonstrated when country actors establish a process for tracking anti-corruption policy progress, and actively manage reform implementation by adapting to emerging circumstances. Learning can also apply to country policymakers observing policies, practices, and programs from other countries and selectively adopting them for their own use. To strengthen this component support

institutional twinning, progress monitoring, evidence based decision-making, program evaluation, transnational civil society engagement and South- South cooperation.

In some situations certain actors may be motivated to hinder or actively undermine anti-corruption reforms. Such assessments can be conducted for specific actors, across categories of actors, or for different anti-corruption policy programs.

The seven tenets of political will have greater expression within autocratic rather than democratic political leadership model. Autocracy has been associated with positive political will to fight corruption.

4.2.2 Strengths of ties between citizen and leader in both periods

To respond to the question ‘How strong is the tie between citizen and leader in both dispensations?’ Interviewees raised the fact that there are stronger ties between leader and followers in the democracy than in autocracy. Central to the reason is periodic democratic elections. Research participants considered that during Banda’s dictatorship there were no elections, hence there were no reasons for him to be very close to the citizens. With an autocratic government, the ruler will stay in power as long as they live because there will be no elections unlike in a democratic government where the citizens are allowed to choose their leaders. In an autocratic leadership, succession of power will be within the family of the autocratic leader or just an appointment by the leader or party politburo. With no elections to take place, the people will not be able to demand for change and voice out issues that go against the leadership of an autocrat.

However, there are a lot of factors within regular democratic elections that strengthen leader-follower ties and yet undermine virtues of corruption fight. Some of elements with democratic leader-follower ties which overthrow anti-corruption drive were discussed by interviewees as below:

Democracy is criticized for not offering enough political stability due to recurrent elections. As governments are frequently elected on and off there tend to be frequent changes in the policies. Even if a political party maintains power, vociferous, headline grabbing protests and harsh criticism from the mass media are often enough to force sudden, unexpected political change. Frequent policy changes with regard to business and immigration are likely to deter investment and so hinder economic growth. For this reason, many people have put forward the idea that democracy is undesirable for a developing country in which economic growth and the reduction of poverty are top priority[Political scientist, April 2022].

Democracy is synonymous with short-termism in policy and ideology. Democracy is also criticized for frequent elections due to the instability of coalition governments. Coalitions are frequently formed after the elections in many countries and the basis of alliance is predominantly to enable a viable majority, not an ideological concurrence. This opportunist alliance not only has the handicap of having to cater to too many ideologically opposing factions, but it is usually short lived since any perceived or actual imbalance in the treatment of coalition partners, or changes to leadership in the coalition partners themselves, can very easily result in the coalition partner withdrawing its support from the government. Democratic institutions work on consensus to decide an issue, which usually takes longer than a unilateral decision[Lawyer, April 2022].

Manipulation of the opposition including suppression of dissent are common in democratic governments that came in 1994. Various means and reasons can be found for eliminating or suppressing political opponents. Methods such as false flags, counterterrorism-laws, planting or creating compromising material and

perpetuation of public fear may be used to suppress dissent. Fake parties, phantom political rivals and "scarecrow" opponents may be used to undermine the opposition[Political Journalist, March 2022].

There is information overload paradox in democracies. Too much information, as common in the present digital age, where people are deluged by information through newspapers, daily television, social media and various other forms, is called information overload. This creates a situation in democracies where people are too fatigued to process all this information intelligently or competently or unwilling to do so, for various reasons[Psychologist, March 2022].

The innate inability of governments to successfully deal with electoral theft is causing a crisis of democracy. It is also clear that countries with moderate levels of democracy have high corruption, as well as countries with no democracy having very little corruption. Varying types of democratic policies reduce corruption, but only high levels of and multiple kinds of democratic institutions, such as open and free elections combined with judicial and legislative constraints, will effectively reduce corruption. One important internal element of democracy is the electoral process which can be considered easily corruptible. For example, it is not inevitable in a democracy that elections will be free and fair. The giving and receiving of bribes, the threat or use of violence, treating and impersonation are common ways that the electoral process can be corrupted,¹ meaning that democracy is not impenetrable from external problems and can be criticized for allowing it to take place[Bureaucrat, March 2022].

Susceptibility to propaganda because of lack of political education. Elections in Malawian democracy are associated with low information voter, low-information rationality, deliberative democracy, and lacking in meritocracy. Voters may not be educated enough to exercise their democratic rights prudently. Politicians may take advantage of voters' irrationality, and compete more in the field of public relations and tactics, than in ideology. While arguments against democracy are often taken by advocates of democracy as an attempt to maintain or revive traditional hierarchy and autocratic rule, many extensions have been made to

develop the argument further. However, education alone cannot sustain a democracy, though it has been noted that as people become educated, they think more like economists [Economist, April 2022]

Potential incompatibility with former politics. The new establishment of democratic institutions, in countries where the associated practices have as yet been uncommon or deemed culturally unacceptable, can result in institutions that are not sustainable in the long term. One circumstance supporting this outcome may be when it is part of the common perception among the populace that the institutions were established as a direct result of foreign pressure. Sustained regular inspection from democratic countries, however effortful and well-meaning, are normally not sufficient in preventing the erosion of democratic practices [Policy analyst, March 2022]

Inefficiency of the democratic system. Economists have added that as industrial activity in a democracy increases, so too do the people's demands for subsidies and support from the government. By the median voter theorem, only a few people actually hold the balance of power in the country, and many may be unhappy with their decisions. In this way, they argue, democracies are inefficient. Such a system could result in a wealth disparity or racial discrimination. It is points out that such a result is not necessarily due to a failing in the democratic process, but rather, "because democracy is responsive to the desires of a large middle class increasingly willing to disregard the muted voices of economically marginalized groups within its own borders." The will of the democratic majority may not always be in the best interest of all citizens [Economist, April 2022].

Voter ignorance is a major problem in Malawi and is the main objection to democracies in general. Naturally, this creates a problem because an ignorant vote counts for the exact same as an informed vote. In order to be an informed voter one must have extensive knowledge of the candidate's current and previous political beliefs and tendencies. To truly be an informed voter one must be educated in other disciplines outside of politics – for instance, history and economics. While most Malawians fall short of these expectations, the cause of voter ignorance is not due to a lack of intelligence. Rather voters are simply

rationality ignorant and rationally irrational. Firstly, rational ignorance means that voters are logical and/or reasonable for staying uninformed about politics. This is because to become an informed voter it would be extremely cost-prohibitive to the individual. It would take an enormous amount of time to become informed to such a level and stay informed about current political events. When doing a cost-benefit analysis, most people would find that becoming informed is not worth their time. There are other alternatives that would be more worth the individual's time/effort. Therefore, people are considered rational for choosing not to be informed. Secondly, rational irrationality refers to the fact that it is logical for people to have cognitive biases resulting in irrational beliefs. Similar to why it is rational for voters to be ignorant, the cost-benefit analysis to correct cognitive biases is not in favor of the informed voter. As Brennan would claim that just as it is instrumentally rational for most people to remain ignorant about politics, it is instrumentally rational for most of them to indulge their biases. The costs outweigh the benefits because it would take an excessive amount of work to find neutral/fair information and correct one's own biases. In both cases, voters remain ignorant and irrational because the costs to become an impartial, informed voter do not outweigh the benefits. The impact of a competent vote is futile. In the grand scheme of things, a single vote amounts for very little. The chances that one's vote would be the deciding factor in the election is minuscule; therefore, why would one take the time to inform themselves with very little reward? One could spend an abundance of time becoming informed and rational only to result in the same outcome [Political scientist, April 2022]

Limited responsiveness and representation. Democracies as systems of government that respond nearly fully to each and every one of their citizens. He then poses that no such, fully responsive system exists today. However, this does not mean that partially democratic regimes do not exist—they do. The question is not whether a country is a democracy or not. The question is to what extent a country is experiencing democratization at a national level. And this measures democratization in terms of the country's endorsement and reception of public contestation. Polyarchy or rule of the many people is the only existing form of

democratizeable government; that is, it is within polyarchies that democratization can flourish. Countries do not immediately transform from hegemonies and competitive oligarchies into democracies. Instead, a country that adopts democracy as its form of government can only claim to have switched to polyarchy, which is conducive to, but does not guarantee, democratization [Philosopher, March 2022]

Manipulation or control of public opinion. Politicians and special interests have attempted to manipulate public opinion for as long as recorded history – this has put into question the feasibility of democratic governments. They claim that mass media actually shapes public opinion, and can therefore be used to control democracy. Opinion polls before the election are under special criticism. Furthermore, the disclosure of reputation-damaging materials shortly before elections may be used to significantly manipulate public opinion. It has been said that misinformation – such as fake news – has become central to elections around Malawi. On -line propaganda outlets as well as search engine result algorithms may be used to alter the perception and opinion of voters. This highlights that a significant criticism of democracy is that voters can be so easily manipulated [Sociologist, March 2022]

4.2.3 Leadership style that allows easy citizens' access to the leader

To reply to the question ‘Which leadership style allows for easy citizens’ access to the leader?’ Interviewees argued that democratic governments allow for easy citizen’s access to the leader. Autocrats like Kamuzu Banda try hard to identify with the nation by denying partisan and narrow sectarian pursuits. That is why it is very difficult to access them easily. Unlike with democratic leaders, because of the frequent occurrence of campaigns during elections which require regular rallies, lack of positive political will to fight corruption and absence of strategies for economic development due to leadership capture by different interest groups. One interviewee pointed:

That is why leaders in a democracy engage in unnecessary interactive rural movements and rallies explaining what they are doing instead of showing what they are doing. It has been in democratic leadership systems where a leader identifies with specific regions of origin, tribal inclinations and religious sects. Most members of these groupings claim ownership of the presidency. For example, Bakili Muluzi leadership closely identified with Eastern region districts of Machinga, Mangochi, Zomba and Balaka as places of his origin; the Yao tribal lineage and Islamic religious sect. Any prominent individual of either Mangochi origin, Yao tribe or Moslem religion would easily access statehouse and land for himself an appointment in government taking advantage of the easy access to the leader [Political Journalist, March 2022]

4.3 Exploitation of social bond as capital to pursue individual interests

The other important item we looked at was the measure a leader or follower exploit the bond of social capital that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi. Social capital in our context entails the mutual networks between citizens and political leaderships and their interactions as they live and work to enable nation state to operate and function effectively.

Mutual networks allow the effective functioning of social groups through interpersonal relationships, mutual sense of identity, shared understanding, passed norms, shared values, trust, cooperation, and reciprocity. Social capital measures value for resources, both tangible such as public spaces, public property and public infrastructure and intangible including actors, human capital, people, political inclination, social loyalty and the impact that these relationships have on the resources exchanged in each relationship, and on larger groups. Some have described it as a form of capital that produces public goods for a common purpose. In leader-citizen relations, public leaders chart national

direction through provision of clear vision. The vision translates into nation development programs and projects that improve living standards and welfare of the citizens. Whereas, citizens voluntarily offer votes as support and legitimacy to the leader. By encouraging citizens to embrace peace, tranquility and tolerance, leaders save the country from anarchy and chaos that turn nation states ungovernable (Reid, 2014).

So in leader-follower link, there is great sense that one party needs the other in some unique way. Social capital has been used to explain the improved performance of diverse groups, the growth of entrepreneurial firms, superior managerial performance, enhanced supply chain relations, the value derived from strategic alliances, and the evolution of communities. However, objective three was looked into in line with the research question: What are the benefits that one gets from the other in leader – follower relationship in both autocratic and democratic political leaderships in Malawi? To appreciate the type and depth of the benefits one gets from the other, the following two elements were assessed: Party that needs the other more in citizen- leader link in both eras and enablers for leader to control citizens or vice versa in both periods. Research participants viewed social capital as a relatively neutral resource which can either be positive or negative based on machinations of the type of political leadership.

TABLE 3: Thematic table on extent a leader or follower benefits from the social bond that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi

Objective	Themes
To establish the extent a leader or follower benefits from the social bond that	• Party that needs the other more in citizen- leader link in both eras

exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi.	• Enablers for leader to control citizens in both periods.
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The table above shows the thematic data used to discuss findings to address the objective.

4.3.1. Party that needs the other more in citizen- leader link in both eras

To reply to the sub-question of ‘Who needs the other more between citizens and a leader in both government systems?’ Underlying interactions were looked at in citizen-leader link to assess which party needs the other the most. Interview participants posited around social interactive frameworks. These have been referred to as tangible social substances which count for most in the daily lives of people and their leaders, namely, goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among leaders and group of individuals and families who make up a social unit. Interviewees argued that:

The dawn of democracy has sparked raise of negative exploitation of social capital. More especially for the reason that in Malawian democracy, leaders need contributions of different stakeholder groups of followers. Therefore, instead of using normal channels to parcel development to the citizens, leaders increase unnecessary interactions with the people, cut corners and bribe their way for support and legitimacy. Periodic elections of every five years turn them to operate in perpetual panic mode with no plan or strategy of what to do. In Malawian democracy, relations between leader and general citizenry has had adverse effects. The exploitation of social capital has been linked to civic associations which give rise to governance activist movements. These movements are mostly centered on propping up tribes, regions, religions and specific classes. Social capital has practically produced and reproduced socio-economic inequality, demonstrating for instance how people gain access to powerful positions in government through direct and indirect employment of social connections. An example of the complexities of the effects of negative social capital has been rise of criminal cabal activities entrenched through the strengthening of intra-group relationships.

The negative consequences of social capital are more often associated with bonding or bridging for corrupt activities among leaders and groups of followers. Without social capital bridging, bonding groups can become isolated and heavily disenfranchised from the rest of society losing operating interests on the way[Sociologist, April 2022]

In Malawian democratic leadership, social capital can also perpetuate sentiments of a certain group, allowing for the bonding of certain group and their leaders together upon a common radical ideal. The strengthening of social ties with leaders can lead to a variety of effects such as ethnic marginalization or social isolation. In extreme cases ethnic cleansing may result if the relationship between different groups is so strongly negative. In mild cases, it just isolates certain communities such as certain cities, rural villages, and remote districts. Negative items that were pointed out within the element of social capital in Malawian democratic leadership are as follows:

Social capital is not equally available and accessible to all, in much the same way that other forms of capital are differently available. In a democracy, individual's geographic origin and social isolation limit access to this resource. Secondly, not all social capital is created equally. The value of a specific source of social capital depends in no small part on the socio-economic position of the source with society. Four negative consequences of social capital include: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedom and downward levelling norms. Yet these are fully felt in fragile democracies like Malawi's.

Social capital leads to bad outcomes if the political institutions within democracy in a specific country like Malawi is not strong enough and is therefore overpowered by the social capital groups. Because the political institutions were so weak people looked to

other outlets. During Joyce Banda era, for instance, Malawians threw themselves into their clubs, voluntary associations, and professional organizations out of frustration with the failures of the national government and its political party- People's Party (PP) to fight cash gate, thereby helping to undermine her government to facilitate election of Peter Mutharika to power. Social clubs and similar associations in countries that did not transition to democracy, were organized in such a way that they fostered a "we" instead of an "I" mentality among their members, by arguing that groups must possess work culture that stress solidarity over individuality. The key line of thought has been:

Within democracies, leader's tribe and ethnicity can be viewed as social capital. Using a network-based conception for characterizing the social capital of collectivities negative social capital may be the cause for disadvantageous differences among minority versus majority associations. For example, negative social capital can be created when the owner of private company is pressured to engage in social behavior not conducive to the institution's profits and survival. This is demonstrated in Malawi's democracy by donations that Mulli Brothers Limited Company makes to DPP whenever there are elections. The relations between the DPP political party and Mulli Brothers Limited Company fosters corrupt activities. Social capital and associated growth of public distrust are inhibited by immigration for businesses and rising ethnic diversities in communities. Lack of homogeneity leads to people withdrawing from even their closest groups and relationships, creating an atomized society as opposed to a cohesive community [Historian, March 2022].

It is very imperative for policy makers at local level to monitor the magnitude of perceived socio-economic threat from immigrants even within regions because negative attitudes towards immigrants make integration difficult. However, one interviewee argued that;

Social inequality is another negative effect brought about by exploitation of social capital in realms of democracy. Mining social capital within democracy eventually leads to the creation of human capital for the future generations. Human capital as a private resource could be accessed through what the previous generations accumulated through social capital. This process could lead to the very inequality positive social capital attempts to resolve. Not denying the class reproduction that could result from accessing such capital, given that individuals worked toward their own benefit [Sociologist, April 2022]

To this end, it is the social exchange and interaction between leader and follower that illustrate the assumption that an individual wishes to better his place in society by whatsoever means possible. Therefore he accumulates social capital by involving himself in a social network, adhering to the norms of that group, allowing him to later access the social resources gained over time. If, in the case of education, one uses these resources to better his educational outcomes, thereby enabling him to become socially mobile and upfront, he effectively has worked to reiterate and reproduce the stratification of society. This may be one negative aspect of social capital, but seems to be an inevitable one in and of itself, as are all forms of capital.

4.3.2. Enablers for leader to control citizens or vice versa in both periods.

To respond to the sub-question of ‘What factors enabled leader to control citizens or vice versa in both eras?’ we analyzed enablers for leader to control citizens or the other way round in both governments. Research interviewees emphasized that dictatorship has been closely linked to positive extraction of social capital. In interviews, participants argued that during the MCP regime, the people needed Hastings Kamuzu Banda more than he needed them. That meant ceding their power to him. In other words, in an autocracy,

leader controls followers and democratic political leadership is perpetually manipulated by interest groups of followers. In fact, in extreme cases any leader within democratic cycles turns into puppet to powerful forces around, reducing him to mere face for the system.

Hence, within autocracy leader enjoys complete control of the citizens' activities. Historically, the followers required social and political emancipation from colonists and wanted an enlightened and exposed individual to lead them before the leader showed up. When Kamuzu Banda was ushered in as Head of State and Government, people's expectation was that he spearheads national economic development agenda. In a fashion of reciprocity, give me freedom and economic development and I will give you power to control me. Positive aspects that were pointed out within the element of social capital in Malawian dictatorial leadership are as follows:

The selfishness motive in a dictatorial leadership assumes that an agent's allocation of a scarce resource is independent of his relationships with others. This motive is sometimes referred to as the selfishness of preference assumption in neoclassical economics. Social capital motives assume that agents' allocation of scarce resource may be influenced by their sympathetic relationships with others which may produce socio-emotional goods that satisfy socio-emotional needs for validation and belonging. Different levels of social capital seeks; for validation by acting consistently with the values of one's ideal self, to be validated by others by winning their approval, to belong, recognizing that one may not be able to influence the sympathy of others, persons seeking to belong may act to increase their own sympathy for others and the organizations or institutions they represent and to recognize that leader's sympathy for another person will motivate us to act in their interest. In doing so they satisfy followers' own needs for validation and belonging[Economist, April 2022]

Interethnic networks within Kamuzu Banda's autocracy were agents of peace because they build bridges and managed tensions, by noting that if communities are organized only along intra-ethnic lines and the interconnections with other communities are very weak or even nonexistent, then ethnic violence is quite likely. Three main implications of inter-communal ties explain their worth; facilitated communication in the communities across ethnic lines, squelched false rumors and helped the administration carry out its job and in particular peace, security and justice[Political scientist, March 2022].

4.4 Incentive structure for and against corrupt activities

Furthermore, critically analysed was the last item which constitutes incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi. This objective was assessed alongside research question: What is the incentive structure for corrupt practices in autocratic and democratic leadership governments in Malawi? The study findings point to many reasons why individuals in political leadership posts are prompted to engage in corrupt practices; key among them, we found: Greed of and for money and incessant desire to accumulate wealth and property, weak public sector bureaucracies and institutions, administrative structures that are inefficient and ineffective, large scale ethnic divisions, high levels of in-group nepotism, favoritism and cronyism, politically motivated social instability, and higher commitment to self rather than to society and nation at large. Yet, all these mentioned reasons are more synonymous with democratic form of government leadership than autocracy. Nonetheless, the objective was tackled by considering the following three major thematic areas; factors that promoted or deterred corruption in the MCP era; incentives for or against corruption in democratic Malawi and leadership style that incites corrupt practices in Malawi political history.

TABLE 4: Thematic table on incentive structure for corruption in both dispensations in Malawi

Objective	Themes
To analyze the incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi	• Incentives that deterred corruption in the MCP era. • Incentives of corruption in democratic Malawi. • Leadership style that incites corrupt practices in Malawi history.

The table above shows the thematic data used to discuss findings to address the objective.

4.4.1 Incentives of corruption in the MCP era

To reply to the research question ‘what factors promoted or deterred corrupt activities in MCP dictatorial era?’ The respondents emphasized that the absolute power that emanated from installed fear helped MCP leadership to curb economic and financial criminal activities including corrupt syndicates. One interviewee pointed that the party politburo enacted motto centered on discipline, loyalty, obedience and unity. Critics of the then MCP autocratic government say that with this kind of leadership, power was only exercised by one person- Hastings Kamuzu Banda. If the leader was greedy and not a good person, he would use the power to accumulate riches and abuse national resources including human resources(people). A dictatorial government, with only one person controlling levers of governance powers left people fearing for their own lives. This is because in this form of government, the people are expected to obey the rules or face hefty fines and punishments for not following the ruler. Just like in some countries where

dictatorial government exists, people exercise caution and restraint because they know what a dictator is capable of doing. However, on the flipside, MCP autocracy rode on instilled discipline to clamp down criminal activities whilst propelling socio-economic development. Study participants' excerpts revealed:

Crucial factor that helped to minimise corruption during MCP's autocratic regime was strong state of judicial instruments of crime deterrence and sanctions .It has been noted that sanctions matter and punishing corrupt activities is very vital component of any effective anti-corruption drive. Strength of judicial instruments of deterrence and sanctions have been mentioned as central in incentive structure against crimes. During Kamuzu Banda regime, the Malawi Police was one of the most effective and efficient public institutions that fought all elements of rogue, chaos and anarchy in the public domain. The Malawi Prison conditions were among the toughest in the region and beyond. As such, it was anathema for one to deliberately commit crimes as people do today. In contrast with the democratic Malawi, where instruments of crime deterrence and sanctions are as many as the Police, Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB), Judiciary, office of the Attorney General, Office of the Ombudsperson, office of the Directorate of Public Officers' Declaration of Assets, interest and liability, Directorate of Public Prosecution and Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU).However, as these institutions have distinct mandates on different public fronts, yet they have miserably failed to curb corrupt practices in Malawi[Lawyer, April 2022]

In addition, the principle of deterrence as was pointed out argues that punishing crimes can prevent future offenses. If crimes go undetected, investigated or unpunished, malefactors can enjoy all the benefits without fear of the costs-inciting many rational individuals to engage in criminal behavior more often. Three aspects of sanctions are important to the fight against corruption; certainty of detection, severity of punishment and swiftness in sentencing offenders (Mkandawire, 2018).). If democratic governments

can bolster any of these three mentioned factors, they can increase the costs of corruption and thereby deter corrupt acts. One research interviewee posited that:

Swift punishment is the most important deterrent—perhaps because slow punishments allow corrupt officials to enjoy prolonged payoffs and prompt would-be offenders to conclude that benefits exceed costs. Increasing detection of corruption, reduces corrupt activities no matter the likelihood of subsequent investigations and punishments. Improving detection can include formal actions such as audits, forensic checks, detailed investigations as well as taking steps to boost public awareness and report of violations. In line with deterrence principle, the severity of punishment does prevent crimes. Possibly threats of imprisonment and long jail terms, debarment from holding public office for longer periods, the forfeiture of the acquired assets and property, heavy fines or other harsher penalties disincentivize public officials from cutting corners while they hold government posts. These three factors were found to be intertwined. For example, more frequent audits will have little effect if offenders who are caught are not quickly punished. As deterrence principle predicts the incidence of corruption is affected by would-be offenders' expectations about punishment. Hence, swift punishment, long jail terms, and certainty of detections during MCP era discouraged citizens from engaging in crimes and corruption [Lawyer, April 2022]

MCP dictatorial leadership espoused micromanagement which did not offer sense of professional ownership. Because it is autocratic leader's reputation on the line, not the workers doing the job, late President Kamuzu Banda tended to supervise every small detail of the work being done. Like many autocratic leaders, he turned into serious controller, making it difficult for workers to take advantage of their jobs for personal gain otherwise they were always forced to report on what they are doing at any given moment. Ultimately, productivity levels tended to increase over time instead of decrease. Autocratic leaders are in charge and they make this fact known. They get to take all the credit for the work that gets done. That means

workers do not take ownership of the work they do because there is no incentive to do so[Economist, March 2022].

MCP political leadership created work culture centered on the leader which thrived on dependence system. Normally, when an autocratic leader is consistent with ethics and is determined to create a fair working environment, then there can be a lot of positives for the citizens and workers in government systems. If the leader offers questionable ethics, however, and refuses to create fairness by doing contrary to what he says in public, then there is no one who can really hold that person accountable. The work culture is based solely on the ethics and morality of the leader, which means poor working environment is not likely to change. In case of the MCP leadership under Hastings Kamuzu Banda, everything government revolved around the president. Workers were forced to rely on the leader for all feedback, instructions, and work duties. If they faced decision in the work they are doing, they were almost forced to go to the leader for advice on what to do instead of making the decision on their own[Policy analyst, April 2022].

Unlike in democracy, under the MCP leadership of Hastings Kamuzu Banda, it was a challenge for one to accumulate wealth through corruption due to his autocratic leadership style. Employees relied on his decision-making abilities in that nothing progressed if the leader was not present for some reason.

4.4.2 Incentives of corruption in democratic Malawi

Under this sub-theme, the question was ‘What factors encourage or discourage corruption in a democracy?’ For most part, the factors that were raised by respondents centered on those that promote corruption under democracy, in fact almost all interview participants hinted that democracy has brought corruption and underdevelopment. The central argument posited that since ushering in of democracy in 1994, Malawi established full spread and evergreen corrupt system because democratic leader is in a position for a

limited period. So there is tendency to make huge wealth by use of power. Once one loses power, they can live flamboyantly in different country and evade the laws of the nation. In Malawi democracy, corrupt activities cannot be controlled unless people of the entire nation unite to fight it. This includes political leaders, public officials, ordinary citizens, businessmen, and other stakeholders. Otherwise even if one is not corrupt, the entire system will go against him and gradually he too has to adopt corruption as a norm. Key incentives for corruption in Malawi democracy that were raised by interviewees were as follows:

On the judicial flank, it was pointed that unprofessionalism of judges and the whole judiciary in the discharge of their duties is one great incentive for corruption. Reports have emerged in all democratic governments of rampant incidences surrounding misconduct of judges, through receiving bribes, improper sentencing of convicted criminals, bias in the hearings and judgment of arguments and other such related malfeasance [Politician, April 2022]

In view of the foregoing, governmental corruption of the Judiciary is broadly known in Malawi because through Legislature the national budget is subtly controlled by Executive. The latter undermines the separation of powers, as it creates critical financial dependence of the judiciary. The proper national resources distribution which includes government spending on the judiciary is subject to the constitutional economics within executive and parliament (Mzikamanda, 2016). However, study participants emphasized that it was important to distinguish between the two classes of corruption within judiciary: that of executive arm of government which comes through stifled budget planning and other privileges, and private one where judges obtain bribes to sell justice. One interviewee observed that;

Judicial corruption in a democracy has proved difficult to completely eradicate, even in other developing countries. Corruption in judiciary also involves the government in power using the judicial arm of government to oppress and suppress the opposition parties. Yet the point still remains that widespread

instances of corruption within Malawi judiciary instigate corruption among general citizenry. The argument goes, 'if the judiciary- the very custodian of justice is corruptly rotten, who am I to behave otherwise?' Furthermore, Malawi democracy offers no protection for the common man and his interests as the leaders themselves try to misappropriate state funds in full public view. Even security personnel and police treat injustice differently. They favor those in power or those with wealth and neglect or even cause trouble to those who are weak socially [Lawyer, March 2022].

To emphasize, it has been in democratic dispensations where leaders try to play divide and rule games. They, divide the people based on tribe, religion, caste, language and region. This makes it easy to gain votes and get into power though there are not worth of it. Even during elections if the candidates standing for election is not of their interest, people abstain from voting itself. In addition, one participant pointed that:

Malawian democracy thrives on unfair trade and business practices to get financial support for electoral campaigns. This is seen as most politicians endorse rich business people's project contracts in return for monetary benefits like party funds. So, these businesses would be least concerned about health, occupation safety standards and their adverse effects on population while executing their mega environment hostile projects.

In dictatorial days one could notice, journalists championing for their freedom and rights. But since inception of democracy, we have seen enormous abuse and misuse of the same rights and freedoms where media try to fool the people so that they influence voting behavioral pattern. In many instances, media channels work for some specific individuals peddling certain party narratives and ideologies. They even have no value for nation prospects. They make news that can be problematic to the nation's security. Their goal will be to portray one leader as evil as a way to influence masses to favor their candidate of choice in an election. This is possible because few political parties or leaders control the media outlets [Political scientist, March 2022]

In a democracy justice loses power to freedom. Democracy in Malawi is one wherein there is a delay in prosecution under the guise of investigations. It would

be noted that in Dr. Banda's rule, the punishments were not only severe but very fast after the crime. But in democracy, the sentence can be declared after all those involved in the case become too old to serve a sentence or close the case due to death of the accused. So freedom can seem to be evil[Policy analyst, April 2022].

4.4.3 Leadership style that incites corrupt practices in Malawi history.

Democracy has been found to promote corruption and hence is bad for economic development. However to respond to the question, 'Which leadership style promote (d) corruption? Several aspects were raised by interviewees. In a typical democratic system such as Malawi - the leaders are chosen by the people. Like in many democracies in the world, including the United States, Zambia and Tanzania, Malawi operate under a constitutional democratic form of government. There are several factors which study participants pointed to that democracy incites corrupt activities. Some of the arguments raised by interviewees have been that:

In Malawi democratic political leadership set-ups choices and decisions on national budget, socio-economic development projects or natural disaster response programs take time to make and are slow to implement. In most instances, they spend more time engaging in empty routine consultations with other national stakeholders such as donor community, senior party cadres, faith leaders and private sector gurus. The prolonged process of deliberations may cost time, financial resources and even life during an occurrence of natural disasters. Activities centered on making public choices and decisions like budget consultative forums give chance to public officials to unnecessarily draw very fat allowances in the name of passing through democratic processes and channels as prerequisites for undertake national programs before their implementation. The consultation ritual is followed even on choices and decisions that in the end may be denied[Philosopher, March 2022].

Unrealistic policies, sentimental plans and unfulfilled promises have taken center stage in Malawi democratic era .Since the dawn of democracy, policy makers are corruptly forced to adopt suggestions which might not be reflective of the country's developmental needs and priorities, thereby affecting the country's pride and overcrowding economic trajectory. For instance, education system has changed numerous times, in the end destroying the best education standards we had earlier adopted as a nation. Malawi democratic dispensation has seen growth of marketing and championing of unrealistic development programs that are either misrepresented or out-rightly non-implementable in order to outshine counterparts or/and rivals. Sugar coated manifestos with which when voted into power, the citizenry are left disappointed at their unsatisfactory delivery. There is so much emphasis on quantity, not quality. Public officials are free to pursue unsustainable developmental projects of bad quality such as roads being constructed in many districts of Malawi with corrupt underhand. Politician's core interest is on maximizing budgets and votes so that they should be re-elected [Political Scientist, March 2022].

These two points were raised in addition to many arguments in the research concurring that democratic Leadership style incites corrupt practices in Malawi.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided research findings into four major themes: The first one is debating scope of freedom of leader to fight corrupt practices which has three minor themes of; factors that capacitated late Kamuzu Banda to fight crimes in his regime; Aspects that strengthened a leader to fight corruption in democracy, and leadership style that gives more latitude to a leader to fight crimes. The second major theme is analyses of political leadership attachment with the society- which was broken down into three elements: Nature of attachment between citizen and leader in both eras; strengths of ties

between citizen and leader in both periods; and leadership style that allows easy citizens' access to the leader.

The third major component constitutes exploitation of the bond of social capital which has two minor aspects; party that needs the other more in citizen- leader relations in both eras and enablers for leader to control citizens or vice versa in both periods. The fourth and last is the incentive structure for or against corrupt activities which has the following minor themes; factors that promoted/deterred corrupt practices in the MCP era; incentives for/ against corruption in democratic Malawi, and leadership style that incites corrupt practices in Malawi history.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses summary of the research findings highlighting key components on debates on scope of freedom of leader to fight corruption, analyses of political leadership attachment with the society, exploitation of the bond of social capital, and the incentive structure for and against corruption activities. Lastly, the chapter delves into the implications of the research study and suggested areas for further research.

5.1 Summary of the research findings.

This section has provided outline for summary of the research findings in four major themes; debate on the scope of freedom of leader to fight corrupt practices, analyses of political leadership attachment with the society, exploitation of the bond of social capital, and the incentive structure for and against corruption activities as follows:

5.1.1 Debating Scope of freedom of leader to fight corrupt practices

In conclusion, to understand scope of freedom that a leader enjoys to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership systems in Malawi, three variables were analyzed qualitatively from the data, and these are; factors that capacitated the late Hastings Kamuzu Banda to fight crimes in his regime; aspects that strengthened series of political leaders to fight corruption in democracy; and leadership style that gives more latitude to a leader to fight criminal activities. Auspiciously, however, participants raised that there were more powerful factors that enabled the late Kamuzu Banda to fight criminal cabals in his regime than those raised in a democracy. Interviewees pointed out that:

The late Hastings Kamuzu Banda as a leader was deemed trustworthy and reliable not only by remaining former colonial government officials but also the citizens generally, it is on record that he tendered resignation twice to then colonial Governor General Sir Glyn Jones during the first cabinet crisis, yet the British government authorities urged him on, fearing imminent chaos without him. It was noted that the whole government machinery weighed on late Hastings Kamuzu Banda's shoulders. This required assertive and self-driven individual to make the whole public governance system function. Kamuzu Banda was considered man of confidence in his skills and capabilities, considering his impeccable education credentials and exposure to world affairs. His self-confidence helped Malawians to feel comfortable with his critical decisions in various spheres of public sector as he led the country. MCP dictatorial leadership countered civil service team's inexperience during the transition period to independence.

In response to the sub-question of 'what factors hinder series of leaders to fight corruption in democracy? The aspects that weaken leaders to fight corruption in democracy were looked at. Some of these are that: The principle of equality before the law and in political administration has grossly been abused in democracy. Since the adoption of democracy in Malawi, there has been incessant obsession, addiction and drunkenness to power by politicians that push them to cast morals and values to the wind in full pursuit of their self-seeking personal interests.

In Malawian democracy, there is what is called dynastic and appeasement politics where leaders come from the same household not because of their capacity in public leadership but just because they control large chunk of national resources which they mostly acquire corruptly whilst in government. Malawi democracy has been highly characterized by

unfair participation, emotional manipulation and distortions in public relations. Not all people vote because of loss of hope.

However, there are three factors that participants mentioned that strengthen leaders to fight corruption in a democracy. These are; serial democratic leaders in Malawi that came after 1994 allowed citizens to be as participatory as they can in course of discharging government responsibilities. Democracy thrives on periodical change of leadership at political level. Hence the coming in of the late Bingu wa Mutharika after Bakili Muluzi set free-flow of diverse ideas and alternative development pathways from expertly appointments Bingu made in his cabinet. Sense of fairness and justice has been another important milestone in the democratic era. Arbitrary arrests with possibilities of framing perceived enemies and detentions without trial which characterised Kamuzu Banda's politics were curbed.

Nonetheless, participants observed that Hastings Banda's autocracy provided strongest form of political leadership style to combat corrupt activities since as he was unyielding to compromises, powerful and firm when it comes to making decisions, controlling and championing nation state into one direction of purpose. Hence, autocratic leadership style gives more latitude to a leader to fight crimes than participatory system. MCP dictatorship has had great record of having handled crises efficiently and effectively. More especially those that threatened security and the welfare of the citizens of the nation. As an autocratic government, the MCP allowed for quick decisions to be made. Banda's autocratic leadership is reputed for improved national development. For reason that autocratic leaders are able to move communications, information, orders and instructions throughout government organization quickly, there are fewer delays for productivity.

5.1.2 Analyses of political leadership attachment with the society

In summary, a look at the level of political leadership attachment with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi prompted the question as follows: How does political leadership attachment with society affect /hinder corruption fight in autocratic and democratic governments in Malawi? The objective mined the three aspects namely: Nature of attachment between citizen and leader in both eras; strengths of ties between citizen and leader in both periods, and Leadership style that allows easy citizens' access to the leader.

The research revealed that close attachment between executive leader and different groups of followers in democracy hinder corruption and crimes fight, for that most members of followers take advantage of their access to the leadership to pursue personal interests. The trend is made worse by regular elections. Interviewees pointed that in the autocracy of Hastings Kamuzu Banda the attachment between the leadership and the followers was weak because of lack of elections. In addition, the president's political will to either champion for development or fight corruption is weakened because of never-ending competing and surrounding influences of groups that manipulate the participatory leader to control the presidency to their gain.

In response to the question 'What enhances attachment between citizen and leader in both dispensations?' Study participants considered positive and negative political will as an all-important nature of connection between citizen and leader. Positive political has been associated with autocratic long stay in power and negative political will is linked with frequent change of leaders within democratic setting. Interviewees have been of the view that strong attachment between citizen and leader instigates negative political will to curb

the vice of corruption. But to understand political will one first needs to observe indicators and secondly distinguish between will and capacity otherwise other leaders might have strong will yet lack capacity due to lack of deeper understanding. Indicators focus on speeches and public declarations by leaders, passage of national legislation, and ratification of international compacts or treaties. However, pronouncements alone are insufficient without concrete action. Inaction is indicator of negative political will. For example, failure to pass legislation, enforce sanctions, or pursue corruption cases in the courts have all been employed as negative indicators of political will.

Hence, political will has been stratified into seven components: leadership initiative; choice of policy must be based on technically sound, balanced consideration and analysis of other options, anticipated outcomes, and cost/benefits; mobilization of stakeholders; public commitment and allocation of resources; application of credible sanctions; continuity of effort and learning and adaptation

To respond of the question ‘How strong is the tie between citizen and leader in both dispensations?’ Interviewees raised the fact that there are stronger ties between leader and followers in the democracy than in autocracy. Central of the reason is periodic democratic elections. We considered that during Banda’s dictatorship there were no Elections, hence there were no reasons for him to be very close to the citizens. However, there are a lot of factors within regular democratic elections that strengthen leader-follower ties and yet undermine virtues of corruption fight.

Some of elements with democratic leader-follower ties which overthrow anti-corruption drive include::failure by democracy to offer enough political stability due to recurrent elections; democracy is synonymous with short-termism in policy and ideology;

manipulation of the opposition including suppression of dissent are common in democratic governments that came in 1994; there is information overload paradox in democracies; the innate inability of governments to successfully deal with electoral theft is causing a crisis of democracy; Susceptibility to propaganda because of lack of political education; potential incompatibility with former politics.; inefficiency of the democratic system; voter ignorance is a major problem in Malawi and is the main objection to democracies in general ;limited responsiveness and representation and manipulation or control of public opinion.

To reply to the question ‘Which leadership style allows for easy citizens’ access to the leader?’ Interviewees argued that democratic governments allow for easy citizen’s access to the leader. This is so because of the frequent occurrence of elections which require regular campaigns and the political will to fight corruption and orchestrate economic development is weak due to leadership capture by different interest groups.

5.1.3 Exploitation of the bond of social capital

However, to ascertain the measure a leader or follower exploit the bond of social capital that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi, we looked at relations between leader and citizen as social capital. Social capital in our context entails the mutual networks and interactions between citizens and political leaderships as they live and work to enable nation state to function properly. To appreciate depth of the benefits one gets from the other, the following two elements were assessed: Party that needs the other more in citizen- leader link in both eras and enablers for leader to control citizens or vice versa in both periods. Research participants viewed social capital as

neutral resource which can either be positive or negative based on machinations of the type of political leadership.

To reply the sub-question of ‘Who needs the other more between citizens and a leader in both government systems?’ Research interviewees emphasized that democracy has been associated with negative mining of social capital because leaders need followers more than followers need leaders. Therefore, instead of using normal channels to parcel development to the citizens, leaders increase unnecessary interactions with the people, cut corners and bribe their way for support and legitimacy. Periodic elections of every five years turn them to operate in perpetual panic mode with no plan or strategy of what to do.

An example of the complexities of the effects of negative social capital has been criminal cabal activities entrenched through the strengthening of intra-group relationships. In Malawian democratic leadership, bonding social capital can also perpetuate sentiments of a certain group, allowing for the bonding of certain group and their leaders together upon a common radical ideal.

Social capital is not equally available and accessible to all. Social capital leads to bad outcomes if the political institutions within democracy in a specific country like Malawi is not strong enough and is therefore overpowered by the social capital groups.

Within democracies, leader’s tribe and ethnicity can be viewed as social capital. Using a network-based conception for characterizing the social capital of collectivities negative social capital may be the cause for disadvantageous differences among minority versus majority corporations. Social inequality is another negative effect brought about by

exploitation of social capital in realm of democracy. To this end it is the social exchange and interaction between leader and follower that illustrate the assumption that an individual has but one wish- to better his place in society by whatsoever means possible.

To respond to the sub-question of ‘What factors enabled leader to control citizens or vice versa in both eras?’ The enablers for leader to control citizens or vice-versa in both governments were analysed. Research interviewees emphasized that dictatorship has been closely linked to positive extraction of social capital.

The selfishness motive in a dictatorial leadership assumes that an agent's allocation of a scarce resource is independent of his relationships with others. Social capital motives assume that agents' allocation of scarce resource may be influenced by their sympathetic relationships with others which may produce socio-emotional goods that satisfy socio-emotional needs for validation and belonging. Some participants argued that interethnic networks within Kamuzu Banda's autocracy were agents of peace because they build bridges and manage tensions, by noting that if communities are organized only along intra-ethnic lines and the interconnections with other communities are very weak or even nonexistent, then ethnic violence is quite likely.

5.1.4 The incentive structure of corrupt activities

Research interviewees observed that there were several disincentives for corruption in the MCP era and central among them was strong state of judicial instruments of crime deterrence and sanctions. The study found that severity of punishment does control corrupt behavior. Threats of imprisonment and long jail terms, debarment from holding public office for longer period, forfeiture of the acquired assets and property, heavy fines and harsher penalties disincentivize public officials from abusing government posts.

During old MCP, Malawi Prison service and Police Force were uncompromised state security institutions which were ready to bounce on anybody suspected to have corruptly abused public office or got criminally enriched until he has satisfactorily exonerated himself before set authorities.

MCP dictatorial system espoused micromanagement which did not offer sense of professional ownership. This gave no room for public officials to manipulate government institutions for private gain. Hastings Banda's leadership created work culture centered on himself as a leader which thrived on dependency, and there was nothing critical that ever happened in government without his knowledge.

Interviewees pointed that there were more incentives for than against corruption in democratic Malawi. On the judicial front, lack of professionalism among judges and the whole judiciary in the discharge of their responsibilities is one great incentive for corruption in democracy. Participants also noted that Malawi democracy offers no protection for common man and his interests as the leaders themselves behave corruptly in public eyes without fear of retribution.

It has been in democratic dispensations where leaders try to play divide and rule to plant anarchy and chaos as means to cover up mega corruption scandals. Malawian democracy thrives on unfair trade and business practices to get financial resources to support for election campaigns. This is seen when responsible government agencies process major project bids, tenders and procurement deals. Since inception of democracy, we have sighted gross abuse of the media where it manipulates people to influence voting behavioral patterns. In many instances, media networks work to peddle certain political

party narratives and ideologies. In Malawian democracy justice has lost power to freedom.

Hence, study participants concluded that democratic leadership style has incited corrupt practices in Malawi history. In fact, In Malawi democratic political leadership setups choices and decisions on national budget, socio-economic development programs or natural disaster response projects take time to make and implement. Unrealistic policies and unfulfilled promises have taken center stage with prominent politicians corruptly cashing in on these lapses.

5.2 Implications of findings

Malawi is at the crossroads having seen how democracy fails to deliver on corruption fight and socio-economic development. Despite popularized western narrative that democratic leadership guarantees power decentralization, low levels of discrimination, high levels of liberty, freedom in cultural values, beliefs and religion, low levels of inequalities and assurance of human rights, the empirical findings show enormous anarchy and chaos with reduced patriotism where top government officials corruptly divert huge chunks of resources from national treasury with no iota of shame or regret into private pockets. With this systematized corrupt behavior, it is close to impossible to advance a least developed country like Malawi. Some interviewed governance experts went overboard and argued that the current Russian war on Ukraine has exposed weaknesses of democracy as leadership model in the western world. USA led NATO's failure to confront Russia over Ukraine illegal invasion under international law implies that superpowers led by autocrats like Russia, Iran and China are more organized and assertive in their pursuits militarily, economically or otherwise than Western nations that

run on democracy. In the impending shift of world order, democracy will have no choice but easily cede for autocracy.

5.3 Reflections on the operationalization of theoretical frameworks.

The study was anchored on three theories. These were institutional, elite and pluralist political theories. Each theory provided frame to explain for each key variable in the inquiry. The fundamental variables in the research have been autocratic political leadership, democratic leadership and corruption. Hence, the research study utilized an eclectic approach and was built around these three theoretical frameworks.

This research study heavily adopted historical, sociological institutionalism and rational choice within institutional theory to narrate events related to corruption. Institutionalists tend to focus on past trends of behavior to understand why specific occurrences happen. Holm (2016) argues that history of what happened before and previous practices from the past do influence how people will make their choices in the present and even in the future. Institutionalists do not necessarily focus on the way functions and structures of organizations reflect functional purposes, but rather ceremonies and rituals peculiar to the organizations. Of course, sociological institutionalism interpretation hold that institutions and logic of appropriateness guides and moderate the behavior of actors within an institution (ibid). It predicts that the norms and formal rules of institutions will shape the actions of those acting within them (Bell, 2002). The reasoning behind engaging in corrupt practices more in one leadership style rather than the other, deeply uncovered institutions at play in each era. Thus historical and sociological views of institutional theory dominated the conversation (ibid).

The elite theory, nonetheless, hold that individuals that rule nations basically come from the elite class. This group of elites has its members in every society that invest effort and energy to make government systems work.

The most important trait about elites is their high intellectual, moral, and material enrichment. They are highly esteemed, influential and organized minority whereas the masses are an unorganized majority. Elites are of highest accomplishes and do their best to build and maintain national peace and tranquility since have something huge to lose in breakout of war than non-elites. Using their wealth, education, skills to organise; they uphold and secure their status by running for public offices and subtly turn governments into invisible oligarchies and business ventures. However, the central argument goes since elites have strong will and other great qualities to make governments function properly, then it is justified to entrust them with every citizen's welfare through appointment into political leadership posts .Hence, elite theory provided good framework to explain essentials of and for autocratic political leadership as another crucial variable in our research.

The relevance of pluralism as a theoretical plank for understanding the state-society interaction on multi-party political leadership cannot be over-emphasized. Pluralism is a more tenable theory, an option that has gained more relevance with the popularity of democracy and free market systems (Jordan, 1990).

The main frame of engagement pointed to Ankerl (2000) who explained that polyarchy is situation of open contention for electoral support and legitimacy within a significant part of the adult population, ensures competition of group interests and relative equality. Pluralists advocate for core liberties, such as freedom of expression and organization, and

an electoral system with at least two parties. However, since participants in this process constitute only small fraction of population, public acts mainly as spectators. As earlier argued, this is not necessarily undesirable for two reasons: it may be representative of population content with the political happenings, political issues require expert understanding, which ordinary citizen may not have(Ankerl, 2000). Three of major principles of the pluralist school are resources and potential power which are widely scattered throughout society though in different group settings; at least resources are available to nearly member of the society and every citizen of the country; and at any time the amount of potential power exceeds the amount of actual power (ibid).

Therefore, institutional, elite and pluralist political theories while being applicable in developing countries, in developing countries like Malawi have more fertile ground to be tested.

5.4 Research study contribution to the body of knowledge

The research considers corruption trends with specific political leadership styles in the public sector realm to create insights to benefit scholars and social practitioners to come up with academic theories. In spite of that, as the *lacuna* plainly suggests that there has been no scholarship that directly link corruption trends to specific political leadership styles of autocracy and democracy in Malawian setting since independence, hence the research study contributes to the fore stated void.

The research seeks to make a contribution to literature by synthesising reviews on corruption and leadership applicable within public administration, political science, sociology and economics disciplines. One fundamental notion that the research adopted and maintained from the onset of the study has been that corruption is bad for national

development and morally evil for society, therefore there is need to shake it out. Hence, the synthesis narrates that the battle against corruption and misadministration are often fought on moral rather than economic grounds. Nonetheless, reality also frequently shows that economic factors are equally important elements in the struggle against corruption, more especially in terms of both motivations and consequences. A discussion of literature on political leadership has historically emphasized on participatory model rather than autocracy which is paradigm ideologically advocated for by western centered international development agencies and public governance institutions. Categorisation of different corruption ramifications and their indices which is new to the study of corruption help researchers and cohorts become aware of possible limitations to the struggle in their studies.

In addition, there has been strong correlations between corruption and socio-economic dwindling in development more especially in third world countries like Malawi. The correlations are so strong that both developed and developing countries need to be aware of the harmfulness of corruption and need for collaboration and proactivity through deployment of right political leadership styles in attempt to mitigate abuse of public office if nation states need revitalized, continued and all-inclusive economic growth, security and an all-out stabilization. A study of the economic and social development costs of corruption within political leadership styles may be more meaningful than just common simplified portrayal of corruption as a cancer within a society. It is well noted that a key cost of corruption and maladministration is its disruption of trust and the resulting increase in transaction costs.

Therefore, the gist of the thesis facilitates introduction of variety of political leadership models in the national political lexicon that play strong anti-corruption roles in administration of public affairs by researching on each classical leadership style with its respective corruption trends not only to craft relevant scholarly theories but also to represent on efficient political leadership for cost-effective corruption fight, socio-economic development and ethical public governance within set context.

5.5 Suggested areas for further research

In the course of this research on the comparative case study of Malawi political leadership models and their respective corruption trends since independence, the study exposed gaps, excavated new information and stumbled across grey areas that require further future scholarly exploitation. Such further research thematic questions and their brief explanations are:

- What are key driving factors of anti-corruption strategy as main government policy in crusade against corrupt practices in Malawi? Here the main variables in the investigation are principle tactics deployed in the combat against corruption and dominant corrupt activities that cripple the Malawi social political economy.
- To what extent do Malawi Public service Acts, Regulations, Charters, and Code of Ethics and Conduct are effectively applied within Malawi? With the main research question above, the gap is an exhaustive analysis of public governance moral instruments and their effect when rightly applied in the Malawi context.
- Gender and leadership in public sector: Comparative analysis of Malawi's Parliament and Judiciary. The topic would study performance of top managerial leaders within Malawi legislature and Judiciary with an emphasis on key differences on gender. It

can encapsulate performances of men and women in parliament and likewise in judicial systems as arms of government.

- Political leadership and the quest for unity and socio-economic development in Malawi. With this study, an inquiry can be made on each political leadership model that Malawi has had and its respective socio-economic trends, with an aim of identifying political leadership style which can bring the most sought after socio-economic development.
- Fragmenting values: Exploring anti-corruption policy implementation problems and solutions within Malawi public sector. There is general outcry that Malawi is rich in good policies and implementation poor. This study can explore Malawi anti-corruption policy execution problems with an aim of improving policy delivery and results on the ground to reduce occurrences of corrupt activities which remains huge socio-economic problem today.
- Evaluation of leadership and organizational performance in statutory corporations in Malawi. Case of selected parastatals within Capital Lilongwe. This could be great comparative case study to assess why some statutory corporations perform better than others when the leadership changes. Is it that specific leadership styles directly influence organizational performances? So by studying several parastatals within the Capital Lilongwe. We can deduce recommended leadership styles to enhance performance in statutory bodies which are usually associated with poor performance.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Dyson Nkhoma B.D.. I am a Master's degree student at Chancellor College, University of Malawi. I am conducting a study as part of the requirements for the completion of the degree.

The title of my study is: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF MALAWI POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MODELS & THEIR RESPECTIVE CORRUPTION TRENDS SINCE 1964. The study seeks to assess the extent we can attribute the increasing trends of corruption to either democratic or autocratic political leadership styles in government systems in Malawi since 1964.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the study. Before we start I would like to emphasize that

1. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary;
2. You are free to decline to answer any question at any point
3. You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time

I also assure you that the interview will be kept strictly confidential and your name will not be declared at any point in the final report of the study.

Please sign this form to show that I have read the contents to you.

..... (Signed)..... (Date)

Appendix2: Shows targeted participants and the rationale

PARTICIPANTS	TARGET	RATIONALE
Political Journalist	Media House	Expert informant- Current Affairs
Economist	Ministry of Finance	Expert informant- Political economy
Policy analyst	Civil society	Expert informant-Corruption policies
Political scientist	Academic institution	Expert informant-Political leadership
Historian	Academic institution	Expert informant-Political history
Lawyer	Private practice	Expert informant-Law application
Politician	August House	Expert informant-Lawmaking
Bureaucrat	Civil Service	Expert informant-Policy execution
Philosopher	Academic institution	Expert informant-Ethics
Sociologist	Academic institution	Expert informant- social interactions
psychologist	Public Hospital	Expert informant –Human mind

Appendix 3: Interview guide

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF MALAWI POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MODELS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CORRUPTION TRENDS SINCE 1964

Name

Gender.....

Post.....

Department.....

Grade.....

Number of years in current post.....

Date.....

Time.....

Welcome Remarks

Thanks for accepting to join us to talk about corruption and leadership in Malawi. My name is Dyson Nkhoma B.D. and with me is research assistant. We are from the University of Malawi, Chancellor College.

Participants introduce themselves (their names and where they live).

Introductory remarks

Our topic is to what scale we can attribute the increasing trends of corruption to leadership style at political level in government systems in Malawi since independence. This is part of thesis study as a requirement for the master's program that I am pursuing. You were chosen because you deeply understand dynamics of public sector leadership and corruption within Malawi context.

The Objectives of this study are four, namely, to:

- Investigate the scope of freedom to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership styles in Malawi.
- Assess the level of political leadership attachment with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi.
- Establish the measure a leader or follower exploit the social bond capital that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi.
- Analyze the incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi.

Ground rules

Be free to share your views with us freely. You have probably noticed the microphone. We are tape recording the session because we do not want to miss any of your comments. People often say very helpful things in these discussions and we cannot write fast enough to get them all down.

Your names will not appear anywhere in our report so you may be assured of complete confidentiality. The results of this study will be used for research purposes to establish the reasons behind these differences.

QUESTIONS

Objective 1-How political system offers a leader sufficient power to curb corrupt activities in autocratic and democratic dispensations in Malawi?

1. What factors empowered or hindered a leader to fight corruption in the days of autocracy?
2. What factors empower or hinder a leader to fight corruption in democracy?
3. Which leadership style gives more latitude to a leader to fight corruption?

Objective 2-How does political leadership attachment with society affect /hinder corruption fight in autocratic and democratic governments in Malawi?

1. What enhances attachment between citizen and leader in both dispensations?
2. How strong is the tie between citizen and leader in both dispensations?
3. Which leadership style allows for easy citizens' access to the leader?

Objective 3-What are the benefits that one gets from the other in leader – follower relationship in both autocratic and democratic political leaderships in Malawi?

1. Who needed the other more between citizens and a leader in both government systems?
2. What factors enabled leader to control citizens or vice versa in both eras?

Objective 4-What is the incentive structure for corrupt practices in autocratic and democratic governments in Malawi?

1. What factors promoted or deterred corruption in the days of autocracy?
2. What factors encourage or discourage corruption in a democracy?
3. Which leadership style promote (d) corruption?

Appendix 4: Letter for request to access ACB librarydocuments

Dyson Nkhoma B.D.
 C/O Mr. Chiyanjano Chipinga
 Kasungu Secondary school,
 P.O.Box316-Kasungu
0881404479/0881307990
dyson.nkhoma@gmail.com
 17th March, 2022

Through
 MPAM Programme Coordinator
 Post-graduate Studies Department
 Department of Political and Administrative Studies
 Faculty of Social science
 University of Malawi
 P.O.Box 280-Zomba

Attention: The Director General
Through: The Public Relations Officer
 National Head Office
 Malawi Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB)
 Lilongwe

Dear Madam,

RE: REQUEST FOR ACCESS TO A.C.B. LIBRARY DOCUMENTS FOR SCHOLARLY PURPOSE

I herein refer thee to above captioned subject matter.

I am postgraduate student with University of Malawi –Chancellor College, presently doing research on leadership and corruption in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of degree of Master of Arts in Public Administration & Management (MPAM). Some relevant details include:

Registration Number: MA/PAM/08/2019.

Thesis Topic Title: *Comparative case study of Malawi Political leadership models and their respective corruption trends since independence.*

Main supervisor: *Prof. Happy Kayuni, hkayuni@unima.ac.mw/088243625.*

Co-supervisor: *Mr. Gift Sambo, gsambo@cc.ac.mw/0884502493.*

Main research question: *To what scale can we attribute increasing trends of corrupt practices to leadership model at political level in public systems in Malawi since 1964?*

Research specific objectives:

- *Investigate scope of freedom to fight corrupt practices within democratic and autocratic political leadership models in Malawi.*
- *Examine level of political leadership attachment with the society in both authoritarian and democratic regimes in Malawi.*
- *Ascertain measure a leader or follower exploit the bond of social capital that exists between political leaderships and citizens in both eras in Malawi.*
- *Analyze incentive structure for corruption in both authoritarian and democratic dispensations in Malawi.*

However, since I reside nearby Blantyre, I would be thrilled to access Blantyre Library.

I look forward to your positive consideration.

Yours Faithfully,

Dyson

Dyson Nkhoma B.D.

MPAM PROGRAMME STUDENT



VICE-CHANCELLOR
Prof. Samson M.I. Sajidu, BSc Mlw, MPhil Cantab, PhD Mlw.

Our Ref: UNIMA/VC/1/1/1
Your Ref:

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P.O. Box 280, Zomba, Malawi

Telephone: (265) 1 526 622
Fax: (265) 1 524 031
E-mail: vc@unima.ac.mw

Department of Political and Administrative Studies

20 April, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION: MR. DYSON NKHOMA - MA/PAM/08/19

The bearer of this letter is Mr. Dyson Nkhoma. He is a student in Master of Public Administration and Management programme in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Malawi.

Our students are required to write a dissertation in order to complete their master's programme. Therefore, Mr. Dyson Nkhoma intends to carry out a data gathering exercise for this purpose in your office.

Any assistance rendered to him in the course of this exercise will be highly appreciated. Let me also point out that the information gathered will be treated as confidential and purely for academic purposes.

Yours faithfully,

Associate Prof. M. Chasukwa, PhD
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT



Appendix 5: Introductory letter

