

Friendship with a Purpose

Malawi and Scotland for
Sustainable Development

Kenneth R. Ross



ScotlandMalawi
P A R T N E R S H I P

Contents

- 3 Acknowledgements
- 4 Executive Summary
- 5 Unfinished Quest: International Development Today
- 9 The Scotland and Malawi Story
- 14 Main Features of Malawi-Scotland Engagement
- 21 Partnership at Work between Malawi and Scotland
- 36 Meeting the Challenges of Development Today
- 41 Malawi and Scotland Today: Achievements and Challenges
- 44 Bibliography

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Acknowledgements



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This booklet is a thoroughly revised and updated version of *Malawi, Scotland and a Relational Approach to International Development*, published by the Scotland Malawi Partnership in 2015. I am grateful to the SMP for permission to produce this new version. Though three years is not a long time, it has been a period of such dynamic and exponential

growth in the engagement between Malawi and Scotland that a text that was written in 2014 already looks very dated. While the principles undergirding the interaction between the two countries have been consistent, the outworking of those principles in practical action has been rapidly developing. Hence, particularly in view of the “Malawi and Scotland for Sustainable Development” Conference being organised by the Malawi Scotland Partnership in September 2018, it is necessary to attempt a fully up-to-date account of the people-to-people relationship between the two countries.

Many hands have played their part in the making of the story that is told in this little book. Successive Board members at both the Scotland Malawi Partnership and the Malawi Scotland Partnership have contributed much to shaping the thinking that it attempts to elaborate. The members

of both organisations have, time and again, added dashes of inspiration. Key players both in the Malawi Government and in the Scottish Government have also played a vital role. This book simply seeks to gather together and articulate the values and principles that have been hammered out through innumerable encounters on the Malawi-Scotland axis over the past fifteen years. Particular debts are owed to Dixie Maluwa Banda, Maxwell Mezuwa Banda, Margaret Banjo, Charlie Bevan, Stuart Brown, Isabel Bruce, Colin Cameron, Heather Cubie, Susan Dalgety, Brian Dornan, Andrew Goudie, Daniel Gunya, David Hope-Jones, Heather Jones, Garton Kamchedzera, Vera Kamtukule, Edge Kanyongolo, Archwells Katani, Chimwemwe Katumbi, Happy Edward Makala, Address Malata, Alex Benson Maulana, Jack McConnell, the late John McCracken, Claire Martin, Francis Moto, Kena Mphonda, Matthews Mtumbuka, Wapulumuka Mulwafu, Silas Ncozana, Howard Matiya Nkhoma, Timothy Nyasulu, Levi Nyondo, Andrew Parker, Elspeth Pentland, Dickson Vuwa Phiri, Kings Phiri, Colin Reilly, Bernard Sande, Rob Sangster-Poole, the late Jack Thompson, Brighton Uledi-Kamanga, Maureen Watt, Peter West and Ben Wilson. Their thoughtful analysis and profound commitment to the shared effort of Malawi and Scotland has been invaluable to me in the preparation of this booklet. For its remaining deficiencies I alone, of course, bear full responsibility.

Executive Summary

Attempts to achieve international development have proved unsuccessful so far as the “bottom billion” are concerned. As a result, the received paradigm of international development is open to question. An innovative feature of the landmark UN Sustainable Development Goals is the inclusion, as the final goal, of “Partnerships for the Goals”, recognising that without global collaboration the ambitious goals are unlikely to be achieved. In this context two countries already working on the basis of dignified, two-way, people-to-people partnership are Malawi and Scotland. As one of the world’s poorest countries Malawi provides a good test case for any attempt to meet the challenge of underdevelopment. On the basis of longstanding shared history, Malawi and Scotland have recently collaborated to create a development-oriented interaction marked by the priority of the relational, mobilisation of civil society, synergy of Government and people, and a reciprocal partnership for development.

By building and strengthening the connections that make people feel passionately about Malawi’s development this approach generates both political momentum and practical assistance as the key element of motivation makes for active citizens. At the same time, many of these citizens are highly competent professionals who offer their knowledge and expertise as a resource with which to engage the challenges of extreme poverty. This approach has qualities

that enable it to meet such development challenges as participation and empowerment, local ownership and capacity, accountability, monitoring and evaluation, and an integrated approach. It therefore merits consideration in the wider debate about the future direction of international development. Meanwhile those involved in the growing level of interaction between Malawi and Scotland are challenged to consider how the virtues of their approach can be applied not only at a micro but also at a macro level to help counter poverty and underdevelopment in Malawi.



Unfinished Quest: International Development Today

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), known for short as the “Global Goals”, provide an implicit recognition that international development is an unfinished quest. Originating from the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro in 2012, the objective of the Goals is to meet the urgent environmental, political and economic challenges facing our world.¹ Building on the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015) the SDGs are based on recognition that the defeat of poverty will involve interlocking engagement with a range of social, economic and ecological challenges. The landmark UN framework includes, as its final goal, “Partnerships for the Goals”, recognising that without global collaboration the ambitious goals are unlikely to be achieved.

In this context two countries already working on the basis of dignified, two-way, people-to-people partnership are Malawi and Scotland. Their friendship stretches back over almost 160 years and has been revitalized from 2005 when the Scotland Malawi Partnership hosted an inspirational conference in the Scottish Parliament and the two Governments signed a Cooperation Agreement. Since then both Government and civil society in both countries have been actively engaged on a partnership basis in a very wide range of initiatives, primarily geared to counter poverty in Malawi while at the same time carrying a reciprocal character so as to work to the benefit of Scotland also.

A defining event that sparked this endeavour was the “Malawi After Gleneagles” conference held in the chamber of the Scottish Parliament in November 2005.² The meeting of the G8 at Gleneagles in Scotland in July 2005 is remembered for the great “Make Poverty History” march which saw some 250,000 people gather in Edinburgh to demand that the G8 take firm steps to counter the extreme poverty that is still the daily experience of too many of the world’s citizens. One way of focussing this challenge in Scotland was to give renewed attention to the strong historical relationship that the nation enjoyed with Malawi, one of the world’s poorest countries. Hence the conference hosted by the Scottish Parliament concentrated on the development challenges faced by Malawi and the role that the relationship between Scotland and Malawi might play in meeting them. As President Bingu wa Mutharika stated in his address on that occasion: “Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I have titled my address to this house this afternoon, ‘Working Hand In Hand against Poverty’. This is because Scotland shares with us our vision of seeing my country emerge from poverty to prosperity. This is also to recognise the special relations that exist between Malawi and Scotland that began way back in the nineteenth century.”³

Implicit, and sometimes explicit, in the conference was a sense that orthodox development theory was not proving to be very effective and that the challenge/opportunity for Scotland and Malawi was to draw on their shared history

and mutual understanding to develop a new approach to international development. In a powerful address, economist Professor Thandika Mkandawire pointed out that, despite the country's diligent fulfilment of the requirements of the International Monetary Fund, "Malawi's per capita income fell from US\$156 in 1980 to 143 by 1990 in constant US Dollars terms. Even by 2003, Malawi had yet to reach the peak of 1979."⁴ Swallowing the prescriptions of Western development experts had led to underdevelopment in Malawi. Mkandawire called for Scotland and Malawi to adopt a different approach, based on "dialogue and a more deliberative partnership".⁵

Despite great strides being made in economic development in many parts of the world there remain areas where extreme poverty represents an affront to human dignity and a potentially destabilising factor in international relations in future. As Paul Collier has persuasively argued, the post-war development paradigm was predicated on a "rich world of one billion people facing a poor world of five billion people".⁶ The early 21st century, however, witnesses many of the five billion (about 80%) benefitting from rapid development. Today, "the real challenge of development is that there is a group of countries at the bottom that are falling behind, and often falling apart."⁷ Collier recounts how it was a visit as a young man to Malawi – "the poorest country on the continent" – that focussed his attention on what he came to call "the bottom billion".⁸ Currently ranked 170th out of 186 countries on the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme, Malawi today remains firmly entrenched in this unenviable category.⁹ It is therefore a country that presents something of a test case when it comes to the quest for a successful model of development.

By 2015, the end point of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, it was apparent that, while there were

areas of substantial progress and achievement, there were countries where most of the goals remained stubbornly unfulfilled. As regards eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, and ensuring environmental sustainability, in Sub-Saharan Africa the MDGs were not to be met by 2015 as had been hoped. On the contrary, a UN report found that: "Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region that saw the number of people living in extreme poverty rise steadily, from 290 million in 1990 to 414 million in 2010, accounting for more than a third of people worldwide who are destitute."¹⁰ Malawi lies at the heart of this region and represents a prime case of this disturbing trend.

The Integrated Household Survey conducted by Malawi's National Statistics Office during 2010-11 revealed that, "on average, a Malawian consumes about MK150 per day".¹¹ In 2011 the exchange rate averaged around MK250 to £1, meaning that, in sterling terms, a Malawian's average consumption per day is around 60 pence. In terms of basic necessities, 38.3 % of households complained that they had inadequate food, 40.5% that they had inadequate housing, 32.7% that they had inadequate healthcare and 55.6% that they had inadequate clothing.¹² In terms of basic household furnishing and equipment, only 34.8% of households own a bed, only 32.2% own a table, only 38% own a chair, only 38.6% own a bicycle, only 11.4% own a clock and only 12.7% own an iron.¹³

32.5% of the population are categorised as being subject to "very low food security", where: "Households experience multiple indications of disrupted eating patterns and reduced food intake. They report reduction in food quality, variety, quantity and frequency of food consumed. Consumption by

adults could have been restricted in order for small children to eat and could also depend on food assistance from relatives or friends.”¹⁴ Regarding the nutritional status of children under five, 1.2% are severely underweight for their age and 30.6% are moderately underweight while 14.0% are severely stunted and 48.1% are moderately stunted.¹⁵ The probability of a child dying before reaching the age of 5 is currently 118 per 1,000 live births.¹⁶ Overall, 50.7% of the population is categorised as “poor” and 25% as “ultra-poor”.¹⁷

To find such a situation prevailing in the early 21st century calls into question how much has been achieved by the conventional post-war understanding of international aid and international development. Serious questions have been raised about the methodology of making large grants or loans from Governments or international bodies to national Governments in order to achieve economic development in poor countries. The traditional paradigm of an endless transfer of aid has become discredited as donor countries face popular concern about the ineffectiveness and misuse of aid while the people of recipient countries often mirror these concerns as they perceive international aid as one pillar of a corrupt system that entrenches an elite and excludes the majority.

Dambisa Moyo has gone so far as to argue: “More than US\$2 trillion of foreign aid has been transferred from rich countries to poor over the past fifty years—[with] Africa the biggest recipient by far. Yet regardless of the motivation for aid-giving – economic, political or moral – aid has failed to deliver the promise of sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction.”¹⁸ Moyo argues that aid creates a vicious cycle: “The cycle that chokes off desperately needed investment, instils a culture of dependency, and facilitates rampant and systematic corruption, all with deleterious consequences for growth.

The cycle that, in fact, perpetuates underdevelopment, and guarantees economic failure in the poorest aid-dependent countries.”¹⁹ William Easterly reaches a similar conclusion:

How can the West end poverty in the Rest? Setting a beautiful goal such as making poverty history, the Planners’ approach then tries to design the ideal aid agencies, administrative plans, and financial resources that will do the job. Sixty years of countless reform schemes to aid agencies and dozens of different plans, and \$2.3 trillion later, the aid industry is still failing to reach the beautiful goal. The evidence points to an unpopular conclusion: Big Plans will always fail to reach the beautiful goal.²⁰

It is a conclusion that it is difficult for the West to swallow since it does not sit easily with its own self-image and view of the world. Nonetheless, the evidence of lack of success is so overwhelming, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, that the case for a rethink is difficult to resist.

The weakness of Western efforts to date is further highlighted by some simple deconstruction of the impressive-sounding \$2.3 trillion of international aid. Doing some rough arithmetic, Andrew Parker points out that if Africa received \$1 trillion of the \$2 trillion over 50 years that would amount to \$20 billion a year. Across an average of 500 million people this would mean that each person received an average of \$40 a year. “That’s not enough to bring a medieval-level of well-being up to standards we wish (i.e. removing low life expectancy and avoidable deaths, giving an education that is both a human right and a pillar of a sustainable economy, building infrastructure). In reality, the money is often diverted back into wealthier countries through consultancy and agency fees. Finally, the amount of aid that is going into these countries is dwarfed by the wealth that is coming out.”²¹ The

result is that the Government of a country like Malawi remains chronically under-resourced, its entire national budget being roughly the same as that of the London Borough of Hackney. Both in terms of quantity and quality there appear to be questions that the orthodox post-war model is unable to answer. Despite vested interests in the received tradition, the need for fresh thinking is increasingly widely acknowledged.

Ben Ramalingam, for example, argues that the conceptual equipment of most international aid agencies is fundamentally flawed: “Conventional aid conceives of systems and problems, behaviours, relationships and organizations, and dynamics of change in highly abstract, idealized and simplified ways. These are ... poorly matched to the reality of the world.”²² As a result, “whether for political expediency or administrative convenience, or because of conceptual small-mindedness, there is a pervasive and longstanding bias towards treating the world as a simple, predictable place in which aid can be delivered, as if on a global conveyor belt, to bring about positive changes.”²³ The “rules of the game” of foreign aid “... amount to a widespread bias towards seeing interconnected, dynamic, open problems as simple, closed problems that can be planned for, controlled and measured. This leads to a whole host of ill-advised actions and mistakes.”²⁴ Ramalingam concludes that, “On the whole, the aid system’s pronounced addiction to seeing the world through a classic reductionist lens is not trivial: such processes lead to problems being defined and solutions chosen prematurely to give a sense of closure and certainty.”²⁵ To make matters worse, “... despite reinventing itself throughout history, the aid industry retains many of its old problems – by not facing up to these systemic problems, those who would seek to transform aid are in fact busily streamlining and improving a system that is

known to be flawed.”²⁶ No wonder the call for fresh thinking and different approaches grows ever more insistent.

The call for a rethink is often expressed in terms of the need for “sustainable” models of development, commonly understood as meaning a short-term intervention from a development partner resulting in long-term impact as the programme continues to unfold through local ownership and commitment. Sustainability is often presented as the opposite of dependency – where the result of provision of aid is that its recipients become disempowered to the point where they are entirely reliant on a continuing flow of aid. Others see market forces as holding the key. Neoliberal critics such as Easterly and Moyo look to the unleashing of entrepreneurial talent and the creation of a favourable environment for business as the most promising drivers of development. As the limitations of Government bureaucracies are exposed, others again look to non-governmental actors – civil society – as the base for effective development work. Another approach prioritises education in the belief that the more educated the population the better it will be equipped to achieve development.

While this debate has been raging, the people of the two small nations of Malawi and Scotland have evolved a development-oriented way of working together that puts a premium on the relational dimension. The strength of their shared history makes Malawi’s development a matter of profound common concern to people in both countries. This booklet will briefly trace that history, identify the main features of the approach to international development that has resulted from it, illustrate these with an extensive sample of organisations and institutions working between Scotland and Malawi, and evaluate this approach against the principal challenges facing development work today.

The Scotland and Malawi Story

The two nations have a long history of interaction going back to the first contact being made in 1859 by David Livingstone during his Zambesi expedition. Livingstone had established a strongly relational approach to his work in Africa. To capture this in just one sentence: "Africans remember Livingstone with great affection because he loved them."²⁷ This shaped the thinking of those who were inspired to attempt to continue his work.²⁸ Prominent among them were the Scots who established the Livingstonia and Blantyre Missions in what is now Malawi in the mid-1870s. The Missions were planned and named as initiatives that would bring to fruition Livingstone's dream of a central Africa freed from the slave trade, embracing Christian faith and prospering through legitimate commerce.²⁹ In their early years the Scottish Missions built up relations with local communities in a pre-colonial context. Only when faced by the twin threat of Portuguese annexation in the south and "Arab" slavers in the north, did they campaign successfully for the British Protectorate, which became a reality in 1891.³⁰ No longer would Malawi be an exclusively Scottish interest, so far as European involvement is concerned, but Scots continued to be disproportionately highly represented not only among the missionaries but also among the settlers and planters.

The Scottish Missions, Blantyre in particular, had a robustly critical relationship with the British colonial administration as it came into effect during the 1890s.³¹ On the crucial inter-linked issues of land, labour and taxation, the Blantyre missionaries consistently took the side of African communities as they faced the pressure of the colonial regime on these fronts. As a settler dominated economy and an accompanying racist ideology came to hold sway, the Missions stood for

African advancement and for appreciation of the positive qualities of African life and culture. The primary instrument through which they worked was the vast network of schools that they developed. Through the schools they cultivated values that implicitly challenged racism and colonialism, and educated the Malawians who in due course would form the nationalist movement that led the country to independence.

Though it must be acknowledged that the Scottish missionaries, particularly after the First World War, were by no means free from the prevailing racist assumptions of their day, nonetheless they entered into a sympathetic understanding of African life and community. Fluent in indigenous languages, they formed friendships that proved to be deep and enduring. From an early stage they also invited promising African leaders to spend time in Scotland, further cementing the distinctive connection between the two peoples.³²

A growing number of families and communities, in both Nyasaland (as Malawi was known from 1907 to 1964) and Scotland, became aware of one another and of the particular history that united them. This came into focus when Nyasaland faced its political nemesis in 1953 when it was incorporated, against the clearly expressed wishes of its entire African population, into the racist Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The British Government took the view that this new arrangement would be economically beneficial and that the African population would eventually come to recognise its advantages. It was only in Scotland that there was significant resistance as the many personal connections brought it home to people how strong was the

African resistance to the Federation.³³ When the nationalist movement revived over the next few years to defeat the Federation and pave the way for independence, Scots were prominent among its members and supporters, with one – Colin Cameron – becoming the only European to be appointed to the Cabinet when self-government was achieved.³⁴

During the post-independence era, Malawi continued to have a special relationship with Scotland, grounded in the earlier history. It now moved, as seemed appropriate, into a lower key and might have been expected to become a receding historical memory. Around the time of the Millennium, however, it became apparent that something was stirring in Scotland-Malawi relations. Both nations had undergone significant political changes during the 1990s. Malawi had broken the stranglehold of its one-party dictatorship and embarked on the path of multi-party democracy. Scotland, after almost three hundred years without its own Parliament, achieved a devolution settlement that provided for the re-introduction of a Scottish Parliament with extensive, though limited, powers. New political energy, both in Scotland and Malawi, created the potential for fresh interaction between the two nations.

A spark, however, was needed to ignite the new possibilities. In the event it came from Strathclyde University, which incorporates David Livingstone's alma mater, and Bell College, the higher education institution closest to his birthplace. Together, as the year 2000 approached and institutions sought meaningful ways of marking the auspicious moment, they created the Malawi Millennium Project, which quickly caught the imagination of a new generation of Scots and completed significant development projects in Malawi.³⁵ Meanwhile old links took new forms as many churches and schools, taking advantage of

improved communications, formed twinning relationships and such bodies as Local Authorities, Universities and Health Boards built collaborative connections.

This fresh enthusiasm gave rise to a new round of networking, bringing together groups large and small whose work expresses the close relationship between the two nations. Public lectures in Glasgow, by Peter West of Strathclyde University, and in Edinburgh, by Andrew Ross of Edinburgh University, rallied support. The Lord Provosts of both Glasgow and Edinburgh gave their backing as a formally organised Scotland Malawi Partnership came into being in 2004. In their invitation to the launch they invoked the historical memory: "As the Lord Provosts of Glasgow and Edinburgh, we have agreed jointly to launch a campaign to have Scotland commit itself to extending its support for Malawi. The original name of the country, Nyasaland, was given to it by David Livingstone, who is revered there. Over the succeeding 150 years, the force of Scottish opinion has twice saved Malawi. Now it needs further help....."³⁶

From the Spring of 2004, the Scotland Malawi Partnership took shape as a civil society alliance bringing together a wide variety of organisations concerned with Malawi. It aimed to increase collaboration and multiply best practice. Its stated objective is "to inspire people and organisations of Scotland to be involved with Malawi in an informed, coordinated and effective way so that both nations benefit."³⁷ Simultaneously in Malawi, through the good offices of British High Commissioner Norman Ling, a Committee was formed to build up the Malawi end of the renewed partnership. In July 2004 this Committee, together with their Scottish counterparts, met with the new President of Malawi, Bingu wa Mutharika, who announced his backing.

This upsurge of activity on the Malawi-Scotland axis found a catalyst in the 2005 meeting of the G8 that was hosted by the UK at Gleneagles in Scotland. This was the G8 meeting that formed the focus of the “Make Poverty History” campaign and had a strong emphasis on meeting the challenges of international development. There was a perceived need to take advantage of the hosting of a major high-profile global event in Scotland and project the country more forcefully onto the world stage. This implied seeking substantive economic advantage for Scotland from trade and tourism, but also looking to demonstrate the global interests and responsibilities of Scotland, over and above those that were represented by the UK as a whole. In this context, the First Minister Jack McConnell sought to display his support for the G8 Africa theme by raising the profile of Scotland’s historic relationship with Malawi, a country that sadly demonstrated the stark nature of the development challenge and the inadequacies of past development policy and, therefore, the case for the G8 seeking real progress in the attack on global poverty.

Until that time, it had been presumed that international development was the sole responsibility of the UK Department for International Development (DFID), but the First Minister succeeded in forging a close working relationship with the UK International Development Secretary, Hilary Benn, and secured his agreement for pursuing a modest international development programme in Scotland. Importantly, and in accord with the Scotland Act, Scotland’s role would remain subject to the Crown and, in practical terms, subject to the on-going agreement of the DFID Secretary. The new Scottish interest at the governmental level was, however, warmly welcomed

by the then Secretary and the Scottish Government international development policy rapidly took root as a small but symbolically significant policy. It derived much of its credibility from its capacity to coalesce with the rising tide of civil society activism and project work that marked relations between Malawi and Scotland at this time.

The development of the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of Malawi and the Scottish Government was the clearest manifestation of this renewed relationship. It was a notable Agreement in many respects: firstly it was negotiated personally between the President and First Minister; secondly, it was widely welcomed in both countries as a potentially valuable step; and, thirdly, it was the clearly articulated view of both the President and First Minister that the Agreement was not to solely represent an expression of friendship and goodwill, but was to lead to real and significant collaborative work that would see tangible outcomes that impacted directly on the people.

Indeed, the insistence of the Malawian President that the Cooperation Agreement should be underpinned by an annual meeting of the Joint Permanent Coordinating Commission, to ensure momentum and hard outcomes from the programmes, was indicative of the seriousness of this aspiration. In addition, the acknowledgement and acceptance that, while rapid developmental progress was indisputably desirable, the reality of past efforts suggested that, even with significant improvements in the model of development that the new relationship sought to capture, the challenge of poverty and development in Malawi required a sustained effort that might last for many years. A relationship that looked well into the future was therefore both realistic and necessary.³⁸ As Jack McConnell commented on the day of the

signing: “It is a friendship and a partnership that is unique and historic but it is a friendship and a partnership for the long term. It is signed in a spirit of tolerance, solidarity and respect, rooted in the principle of mutuality, because it is simply intolerable that when we in the developed world have so much, so many in your world have so little.”³⁹

The Government to Government relationship drew its vitality and found its effectiveness from the multitude of links made by civil society – schools, Universities, health boards, local government, community groups, faith-based organisations etc. It was here that the Scotland Malawi Partnership, as a civil society alliance, had a key role to play. The Partnership exists as an independent charitable company and is at pains to clarify that it is not an arm of Government. While it values very highly its close working relationship with the Scottish Government, it is purposely a non-governmental body and is free to offer constructive criticism of Government policy or action when required.

With the unfailing support of the Scottish Government, the Partnership seeks to forge a new form of inter-national relations. It has stated its identity and vision in these terms: “It pioneers a new approach to North-South relations, one built on friendship and respect between two nations built up over generations of close collaboration. It works today on the basis of mobilising a network of Scottish-based commitment to Malawi in order to develop best practice and maximise impact, ensuring that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.”⁴⁰ This vision has brought together an alliance which is ground-breaking in the range and diversity which it brings to the quest for a vibrant civil society-based approach to the development of the relationship.

This successful creation of a coordinating body on the Scottish side called for an equivalent organising agency on the Malawi side. This came into effect in mid-2012 when the Malawi Scotland Partnership (MaSP), the Malawi-registered and Malawi-run counterpart to the SMP in Scotland, established an office in Lilongwe, supported by grant funding from the Scottish Government.⁴¹ MaSP made great strides during the 2012-15 period under the inspirational chairmanship of Matthews Mtumbuka, who championed the Malawi-Scotland model and did much to put it on the map. Further advance occurred during 2015-18 with MaSP’s next chair Andrew Namakhoma bringing passion and insight to the development of the organisation. The first Chief Executive Happy Makhala established the office and built the fundamentals of the organisation. His successor Vera Kamtukule is building on this base by extending the reach of MaSP into many sectors of Malawian society. Like two sides of a hinge, MaSP and the SMP link and coordinate the vast web of interaction and exchange taking place between Malawi and Scotland.

This fresh round of Malawi-Scotland interaction has been consciously inspired by what went before. A sense of affinity, mutuality and affection drives a determination to counter poverty in Malawi. In the process it is evolving an approach to development that is marked by some original features. It is well placed to fulfil the need identified by Ramalingam for the role of “aid” in development and humanitarian assistance to “shift from ‘external push’ – filling gaps in a predictable and linear fashion – to ‘internal catalyst’”. Catalytic aid would not create development but it would identify, expand and sustain the space for change.”⁴² Current interaction between Malawi and Scotland demonstrates a number of features that suggest it can fulfil this kind of catalytic role.

When the Scottish Government launched a public consultation on its international development policy in early 2016 it was made clear from the outset that the relationship with Malawi would remain at the heart of it. When it published its new policy document at the end of the year, Malawi remained fundamental.⁴³ Two years later, in 2018, the inter-governmental agreement between Malawi and Scotland was renewed under the new title “Global Goals Partnership Agreement”.⁴⁴ This new agreement opens by referencing the long history of connection between the two countries but moves on to indicate its relevance to the United

Nations Global Goals, which succeeded the Millennium Development Goals from 2015.⁴⁵ “The Scotland-Malawi collaboration may be historic,” it states, “but the advent of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (‘Global Goals’) has put it at the cutting edge of modern development.”⁴⁶ The landmark UN framework includes, as its final goal, “Partnerships for the Goals”, recognising that without global collaboration our hopes for development are sure to be dashed. In this space Scotland and Malawi can justifiably claim to be ahead of the game, having forged their partnership across 150 years of cooperation.



Main Features of Malawi-Scotland Engagement

Drawing on shared values and aspirations built up during the long history of interaction between the two nations, Malawi and Scotland have in the early 21st century developed a distinctive approach to meeting the challenges of development.

Priority of the Relational

First and foremost, it promotes a people-to-people model of development, rooted in the shared history between the two nations. It focuses on active relationships between people to foster a shared understanding of the development challenges facing Malawi and to support the creation of practical, sustainable solutions. A Chatham House study observes that: "Senior UK diplomatic officials have pointed to the focus on relationship-building as a factor which makes Scotland's involvement with Malawi stand out from that of other donors."⁴⁷ Dixie Maluwa Banda, while Director of Higher Education in the Malawi Government, sought to explain the distinctive place of the Scots in Malawi by describing them as "abale athu" – "our brothers" or "our kinsfolk".⁴⁸ It is through their sense of kinship and their shared human experience that the people of Scotland and Malawi aim to effect real and lasting change, both through their own activity and by influencing the policies and actions of governments and institutions.

The distinctive genius of this approach is its grounding in the friendship – both individual and institutional – which has built up between the two nations over the past 150 years. As the long-serving Scottish missionary Cullen Young once expressed it: "The cry in Africa ... is for the feel of human relationships and comradely activities at all costs, even if great schemes

for political or educational or economic amelioration seem to be pushed into an inferior place."⁴⁹ This perspective was echoed at a seminar on Scotland-Malawi relations held at Chancellor College, University of Malawi, in January 2014 when participants pled for an approach to development which not only addresses material considerations but also answers the cry for human dignity.⁵⁰ It was confirmed by recent field research conducted by Alaynah Imlah who concluded: "Friendship, however, does not normally trade in power, friendship is normally conceived by the partners involved as about a relationship of equals; and this is a unique element of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, between two small countries caught up global process, yet with a friendship at its core."⁵¹ The relational character of Scotland-Malawi undertakings provides a capacity to reach this level. Though the language of friendship and "auld alliance" is often used by politicians and diplomats to characterise the relationship of two countries, it is rare that this is so deeply grounded in the genuine affection and practical activism of ordinary citizens.

Between March and May 2018 a team of researchers led by Colin Reilly of the University of Glasgow carried out a public awareness study to assess the extent of public awareness, engagement and support for Scotland's links with Malawi.⁵² This built on an earlier study conducted on the same basis in 2014. 449 randomly selected Scots were stopped on the streets of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Cumbernauld and St Andrews and asked six quick questions relating to Scotland's links with Malawi. Every reasonable effort, within the limitations of the study, was made to select a random cross-section sample and to record their views and opinions with as little influence as possible. The 2018 results are remarkably similar to the

2014 data, with very similar levels of public awareness and engagement, and a slight increase in public support (3.3%).

The study concludes that there remains a genuinely remarkable degree of public awareness, engagement and support for Scotland's links with Malawi, with roughly half the sample set able to name a friend or family member with a connection to Malawi, and the overwhelming majority of respondents in support of such links (98% of those with an opinion, positive or negative, were in favour and 71% were "strongly in favour"). The study notes that 92.5% of respondents who said that they knew Scotland had a strong longstanding relationship with Malawi were able to name a friend or family member involved in a link with Malawi. It speculates whether the remarkably high level of popular support may stem from the fact that so many respondents view the bilateral links through a lens of local participation and volunteerism, seeing individual beneficiaries in Scotland as well as Malawi. The study suggests that this is an engagement between two nations that rests on friendship at individual, family and community levels.

The Scotland Malawi Partnership and the Malawi Scotland Partnership, as civil society alliances, do not seek to operate as large, centrally funded aid operations. Rather, they both function by uniting the great variety of organisations and individuals that operate bilaterally between the two nations. By offering a coordinating function they counter the fragmentation that has been identified as an endemic weakness of the international aid system.⁵³ Bringing together a wide range of bilateral partnerships, these alliances seek to engage extreme poverty, the great moral challenge of our time, not as an array of statistics nor as TV footage of

crisis situations nor with any simplistic mechanistic formula, but by coming alongside in a spirit of mutual respect, forming friendships and working together practically and purposefully. Nicola Sturgeon, First Minister of Scotland, has observed that the Scotland Malawi Partnership, "shows the depth of the enduring relationship we enjoy, with links to Malawi from communities in every part of Scotland."⁵⁴

The members of the Partnership add value to their often modest budgets by the strength of the relationships which they enjoy and the depth of mutual understanding which they have built up. Benefits flow in both directions, and a cumulative effect is built up, allowing good experiences to inspire further initiatives. As Ruth Davidson, Leader of the Scottish Conservative Party, explained: "At heart this is about friendship. Not just between governments, but between two peoples. Each year thousands of Scots and Malawians stand side-by-side and work together to achieve common goals."⁵⁵

Mobilisation of civil society

Through this initiative, ordinary people and local communities are mobilised to offer their time, energy, resources, experience and expertise to Scotland and Malawi's shared effort. The 2018 Global Goals Partnership Agreement between Malawi and Scotland claims to offer a "unique model of international development" and argues that, "in a world where development is often criticised as too impersonal, as disconnected from real needs on the ground, or as enjoying dwindling public support, the Malawi-Scotland model can point the way towards demand-driven development that is rooted in long-term partnerships and built on a history of cooperation and friendship."⁵⁶

This is not to usurp the role of development professionals but it is to place their work in the context of strong popular ownership and involvement. It represents a vote of confidence in the people and in their capacity for active participation in the close relationship between two nations committed to working together for the common good.

As stated in the 2016 Scottish Government International Development Strategy: “we have developed a unique development partnership model with Malawi through the civil society links between our two countries. The approach is people-led, which we consider key to learning and building on our successes in international development. We believe this “bottom up” and “partnerships of equals” approach to international development is a particular Scottish strength in addressing the shared challenges that our world faces.”⁵⁷

It draws on democratic and communitarian traditions both in Scotland and Malawi to move away from hierarchical and top-down approaches in favour of working from below. Scotland has been described as “... a country whose tradition is communitarian rather than individualist, deeply suspicious of its own and everyone else’s elites, obsessive about equality.”⁵⁸ This strikes a chord with the strong sense of community and mutual obligation that prevails in Malawian culture, as stated in the celebrated axiom *munthu ndi munthu chifukwa cha anzake* (a person is a person because of his/her community). As First Minister Jack McConnell stated at the Malawi After Gleneagles conference: “I wish the Scotland Malawi Partnership well. And I hope that this conference can be another catalyst in the development of our national effort to make this friendship real: amongst people of all ages, throughout urban and rural communities, from all walks of life. Such a national effort here in Scotland would make a real difference in Malawi.”⁵⁹

The scale of civil society involvement is remarkable. Using a form of the Social Return on Investment framework, Gerhard Anders of Edinburgh University prepared a report in April 2018 in which he estimated the numbers of people involved and the total financial value of their work. Anders concluded that:

- The value of inputs made by members of the SMP to Scotland’s links with Malawi is estimated at over £49 million between April 2017 and end of March 2018.
- An estimated 2.9 million Malawians have benefited directly from these activities in 2017-18. For instance, Mary’s Meals feeds 937,997 Malawian school children per day. This is 30% of primary school aged children across the country.
- More than 208,000 Malawians and 109,000 people in Scotland have been actively involved in delivering these partnerships.⁶⁰

On the basis of these findings Anders concludes that: “The value of all inputs in just one year, approximately £49 million, highlights the scale of the relationship and the goodwill invested in the links between Scotland and Malawi. It is an impressive figure and, in conjunction with the findings that an estimated 2.9 million Malawians directly benefited from the activities of SMP members and more than 109,000 people in Scotland were involved in them, demonstrates that the links between Scotland and Malawi are extremely valuable to both countries.”⁶¹

Coordination of this engagement is provided by the Scotland Malawi Partnership which aims: “to inspire the people and organisations of Scotland to be involved with Malawi in an informed, coordinated and effective way to the benefit

of both nations”.⁶² Both the SMP and its Malawi-based counterpart, the Malawi Scotland Partnership, work on a basis of networking and collaboration. As membership-based charitable companies, working from a very modest resource base, together they act as the catalyst for an ever expanding and maturing engagement between the people of the two nations. They are comprehensive and multi-sectoral in their approach, promoting mutually beneficial interaction that ranges from national Parliaments in capital cities to primary schools in remote areas. This gives them a capacity to address such pressing issues as healthcare or climate change by drawing on a very wide range of perspectives and contributions. They capture the contribution of highly specialised professionals, often unavailable to traditional development practice through NGOs. This vision has brought together an alliance spanning the two nations that is ground-breaking in the range and diversity that it brings to the quest for a vibrant civil society-based approach to the development of the relationship.

In his assessment of aid agencies, Ben Ramalingam suggests that: “... a very rigid organisation would soon become obsolete, whereas a highly malleable one would be hyperactive, pushing image over substance. Instead, agencies should aim to be a poised network, with some clear areas of focus and stability and some scope for flexibility and adaptation.”⁶³ The Scotland Malawi Partnership and Malawi Scotland Partnership have already gone quite some way towards fulfilling this aim. As Alaynah Imlah’s research concluded: “these networked civil society organisations are providing platforms for people and organisations to have their voices heard, in local, national, and transnational fora.”⁶⁴ As “network weavers,” they “... pay serious attention to context and patterns, and do not seek to exert control, but rather foster and facilitate.”⁶⁵ The mobilisation of

civil society is greatly strengthened by the element of coordination and networking that is found at the heart of it.

Government in synergy with people

A particular feature of this new round of Scotland-Malawi engagement is that it forges creative synergy between popular activism and Government engagement. The Government-to-Government relationship draws its vitality and finds its effectiveness from the multitude of links made by civil society— schools, universities, health boards, local government, community groups, faith-based organisations, and so on.

It creates a virtuous circle between Government and people where popular support inspires Government efforts while Government support stimulates popular engagement. The result is that resources committed by Government are multiplied many times over by institutions and individuals within civil society.

Anyimadu points out how it was this synergy that made Malawi, from the outset, central to Scottish Government international development policy:

The lobbying efforts of the Scotland–Malawi Partnership, an umbrella organization of civil society groups, made the choice of Malawi attractive.... The existence of the Scotland–Malawi Partnership was advantageous for the Executive, as it showed that development initiatives were already taking place which would be bolstered significantly with more funding, so there would be no need to start projects from scratch. Politicians highlighted Malawi’s position as one of the ten poorest countries in the world in 2005, and also adopted the Partnership’s reference to David Livingstone, the

nineteenth-century Scottish missionary, and his focus on trade, the church and education in Southeast Africa. This historical association with Malawi was presented as an old friendship with the potential to be reignited.⁶⁶

Moreover, while the First Minister determined that Scotland could indeed play a greater role in international development than that already provided on its behalf by DFID, Scottish Government resources were clearly very limited and any government-to-government engagement would necessarily be similarly limited. Consequently, he focussed the Scottish effort predominantly on a single country, Malawi, in order to ensure that this new initiative should be meaningful and would make a difference. The existing intensity and extensiveness of the Malawi-Scotland engagement, as Anyimadu suggests, provided the perfect platform upon which to build. This focus did not preclude the demonstration of Scotland's wider global concerns and small humanitarian resources were effectively deployed alongside the Malawian programmes to signal both a real and symbolic contribution.

The Scottish Government international development interests rapidly became embedded into Government policy and, indeed, broader Parliamentary thinking. The 2005 initiative certainly captured the prevailing mood of many Scottish people and a genuine wish of the Parliament to play a role on its own behalf. Many have suggested that this emergent Parliamentary interest played a valuable – albeit, of course, small – role in the maturing of the fledgling Parliament. In the early years, it persistently was dogged by claims that it was too insular and too parochial, with no sense of global issues. Many claimed that the Parliament had been actively discouraged from having these interests both by statute – the defining of issues reserved to Westminster – and by personnel – being comprised of

people with relatively little global experience. The new Malawi policy provided the opportunity to look outwards. It offered a focus for demonstrating global responsibility and a reduced preoccupation with local self-interest.

The 2005 Cooperation Agreement identified civic governance and society, sustainable economic development, health, and education as broad themes on which collaboration would be developed. Through the newly established International Development Fund, the Government began to make grants to support initiatives in these areas, with upwards of £5 million being granted to Malawi work in most years since 2005, the cumulative total to 2017-18 being £51,320,737.⁶⁷ For the 2018-23 period, building on the Partnership Agreement signed in 2018, the Government has committed to spend £2.5 million per annum on development assistance grants as well as further funding being channelled through distinct streams of Capacity Strengthening and Investment. Additionally, most of the Government's £3 million per annum Climate Justice Fund is spent on programmes in Malawi. A significant innovation in 2013 was the introduction of a Small Grants Scheme. Recognising the unique role smaller and community-led organisation can play in international development, the Scottish Government has ring-fenced £500,000 a year of the International Development Fund specifically for projects run by organisations with an annual turnover of under £150,000.

While splitting this sum between dozens of different organisations, rather than just one or two large aid agencies, may potentially present administrative costs and challenges, the ultimate return on investment is far greater. This is due to the strong community links and buy-in, the volunteerism embedded in such activity, and the powerful multiplier effect enjoyed on both sides of such smaller scale projects and partnerships. Crucially, this innovative new programme

hasn't just issued conventional project grants (of up to £60,000 over three years); it has also awarded feasibility and capacity building grants (each up to £10,000 over one year), to help develop ideas and organisations – at both sides of the partnership. In this way, the Scottish Government, with the Scotland Malawi Partnership, is able to upscale operations and develop a wider pool of Scottish expertise and experience by increasing the number of, and diversity of, Scottish organisations actively involved in the Government's development programme. It demonstrates the Government's commitment to working in synergy with people.⁶⁸

The fact that the links between Scotland and Malawi extend far beyond any partisan basis has been demonstrated by the evidence of strong cross-party support in the Scottish Parliament for reinvigorating the relationship. This led to the formation in 2005 of a Scottish Parliament Cross-Party Group on Malawi, which aims to:

develop and enhance links between Scotland and Malawi and to provide a forum for discussion on these matters. In particular the group will focus on links between the two parliaments and between civil society in each country. In order to achieve this, the group will work with parliamentarians from each legislature, with Malawians living in Scotland and with other organisations working in Malawi.⁶⁹

The cross-party consensus is driven by the grassroots movement that holds MSPs accountable for providing appropriate support for this vital element of Scottish life.⁷⁰ Since the Malawi focus originated under a Labour-Liberal Democrat administration there were some concerns about what might happen when the Scottish National Party came to power in 2007. In fact, the SNP Government

redoubled the commitment to Malawi. Such was the strength of cross-party support by the 2011 Election that it was clear that, regardless of which party came to power, Malawi would remain at the heart of Scottish Government international development policy. A Parliamentary debate in November 2012 on the approaching bicentenary of the birth of David Livingstone demonstrated the strength of the cross-party consensus as MSPs vied with one another to invoke his memory and highlight Malawi-related projects in their constituencies inspired by it.⁷¹ When Parliament debated the Scottish Government's new international development strategy in January 2017, there were more than 100 positive references to Malawi, with MSPs queuing up to speak passionately about Malawi links in their constituency.⁷² When the Scotland Malawi Partnership's membership passed the 1,000 mark in September 2016, all five party leaders came together at Parliament to record messages of congratulations and support.⁷³

A reciprocal partnership for development

The historic 2005 Cooperation Agreement between Scotland and Malawi set out the basis on which the two nations planned to work together. It states that: "Scotland and Malawi have a long history of collaboration, particularly in health and education. Both countries share a wish to build upon this history by actively engaging through partnership. This is a reciprocal partnership based upon sharing experiences and skills. It is an opportunity to learn from each other and to recognise the needs of our two countries."⁷⁴ As Adjoo Anyimadu points out in her Chatham House paper:

The first decision taken about the Scottish development policy was that it should focus on encouraging links between communities and schools in Scotland and

those in a partner region or country on the basis of the mutual exchange of knowledge and skills. Both sides were to benefit from the experience of linking. The Scottish Executive championed this idea of reciprocity, and it was spoken of as the heart of the policy – signalling a move away from the traditional donor–recipient aid relationship.⁷⁵

Given the great disparity that exists between the two nations in terms of economic development, it might be expected that Scotland has much more to give to Malawi than vice versa. However, Scots who become involved invariably conclude that they have gained much more from their experience than they would ever be able to give. While much of the interaction is currently driven by the urgency of tackling the crippling poverty faced by many in Malawi, it also recognises that no society is as developed as it might be and Scotland too has the potential to learn and grow. By drawing on each other's culture, history and spirit, the two nations are able to strengthen one another in the quest for human flourishing. Reciprocity is foundational to this way of working.

Education is one field where Scotland stands to benefit significantly from its interaction with Malawi. Jack McConnell illustrated this in the Parliamentary debate of September 2008, when he spoke of a visit he had recently made to Nairn Academy, a school which had been developing a twinning with a counterpart in Malawi:

The most telling comment yesterday came from a girl who is in her sixth year at Nairn Academy. When asked to describe how she had changed as a result of her visit, she said that she and her colleagues would, for the rest of their lives, be less greedy and more appreciative and have a greater understanding of the rest of the world. That is why I want to highlight the importance of the people-to-people relationships, whose role is central to ensuring that we make the most of the resources and the effort that we put in.⁷⁶

In the subsequent ten years, many other young people have echoed this girl's sense of how much her life and values had changed through experience of Malawi. Reciprocity is taking effect.

The priority of the relational, the mobilisation of civil society, Government in synergy with people, and a reciprocal partnership for development are the hallmarks of the interaction between Malawi and Scotland which has developed during the early years of the 21st century. Taken together these features, it can be argued, represent a new approach to international development. How does this model stand up when measured against the key challenges facing international development work today? Before addressing this question, consideration is given to a sample of practical ways in which the relationship between Malawi and Scotland is currently finding expression.

Partnership at Work between Malawi and Scotland

When President Arthur Peter Mutharika visited Scotland in April 2018, Almost 60 members of the Scotland Malawi Partnership, which is roughly 5% of the total membership, offered a snapshot of their partnership work in Malawi. Their contributions were compiled into an illustrated book which was presented to the President by the Scotland Malawi Partnership when it hosted an event for him on 18 April 2018. They are included here to provide an extensive sample of the work being done on a partnership basis between the peoples of Malawi and Scotland.⁷⁷

Tearfund



Since 2005 when the governments of Malawi and Scotland signed a Cooperation Agreement, Tearfund has had a reciprocal, empowering and transformational partnership with the Scottish Government, which has seen lives of poor people flourish holistically. A key aspect

has been protecting and educating girls, resulting in a drop in the number of early marriages through increased awareness and involvement of communities. Our partnership projects have also increased access to safe drinking water, and improved food security and household income via Self Help Groups – demonstrated through families affording three meals per day and building decent houses. We have also contributed to creating a Malawi Scotland Partnership secretariat, providing a link between the two governments and a forum for interacting and sharing ideas to leverage sustainable initiatives towards the attainment of Malawi Growth and Development Strategy.

Water Witness International



With support from the Scottish Government's Climate Justice Fund, Water Witness International is working with the Alliance for Water Stewardship,

Just Trading Scotland and Mzuzu University to support implementation of the International Water Stewardship Standard in Malawi. Together, we are supporting the Kaporo Smallholder Farmers Association, sugarcane growers Agrigane and the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Blantyre to apply the Standard. This project will deliver improved water security for vulnerable farmers, businesses and communities, and establish Malawi as a regional centre of excellence and leadership on water stewardship.



WaterAid

WaterAid is working in partnership with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture Irrigation Water Development, and the National Advocacy Taskforce on

Maternal and Neonatal Health. At district level, the project is working in partnership with the district local governments and local NGOs who are directly implementing WASH intervention in health care facilities and communities with direct and active participation of grassroots institutions under the Malawi local governance structure.

Oxfam



Since 2005, Oxfam has been delivering Scottish Government funded projects in Malawi aimed at improving the livelihoods of thousands of poor farmers and their families. Traditionally, our projects have prioritised working with women

as we know that women farmers often have little control over resources and income while having disproportionate responsibility for more of the labour-intensive work associated with agriculture. In collaboration with local partners, we have enabled smallholders to become resilient, overcome poverty and respond to the challenges of climate change through using renewable energy to increase food production, irrigate and manage their land and create small-scale enterprises.

Just Trading Scotland



Just Trading Scotland (JTS) has been working with rice farmers in the Karonga district, providing them with markets in the UK and work on seed multiplication, providing ox carts, ploughs and other implements to reduce

the huge labour involved in rice farming, introducing irrigation through shallow wells and pumps to combat climate change. This has brought 35-40% increase in yields through improved seeds. The seed programme has set up a revolving fund making possible a further round of seed multiplication without further funding. Ox carts are sold on an instalment basis: as the money comes in more are bought by the association and distributed. This is a very effective form of micro-credit. Starting with 50 ox carts they now have 253. All this attracts new members: the association has grown from 2,500 to 9,000 over the last nine years.

SCIAF



Our work in Malawi includes work around livelihoods, emergencies, education and peace and justice. We help farmers to help them grow more food using sustainable organic farming. We assist families to set up small businesses and create savings and loans

groups so people have access to money in times of emergencies. We pay school fees and provide books for children with disabilities so they can gain greater independence. Together we help some of the country's poorest people survive and thrive.

The Netherlorn Churches / Seed for Life



The Netherlorn Churches in Argyll share ideas about faith and worship with Bemvu CCAP Parish in Ntcheu district. Through "Seed For Life. Feed For Life" we provide fertiliser and seeds to help increase yields of subsistence farmers, especially those where grandparents

are caring for grandchildren orphaned because of HIV/Aids. We pay the cost of secondary education for 20 pupils, and fees for others. This year we have raised over £16,000 to supply hybrid maize, soya and groundnut seeds, as well as fertiliser to farmers who are given extra land and training. A portion of the harvest is used to provide meals for primary school children.

The University of Stirling



The SHASP small-scale hatchery project, and previously Aquaculture Enterprise Malawi, have supported and developed small scale hatchery owners and fish farmers in southern Malawi to become financially viable small scale businesses.

Queen Margaret University



The Malawian charity, STEKA (which champions the rights of ex-street kids) inspires Queen Margaret University's (QMU) students, teaching them about the importance of community and family values. QMU has a close relationship with STEKA, and has waived fees for

educating two of STEKA's young adults to enable them to help develop and sustain a STEKA Centre for Vocational Skills and Community Enterprise. Sandra now creates social media content in Malawi to connect with people in Scotland and Gift is learning about public sociology to help design and develop international workshops for visiting Scottish school children and secure the future sustainability of the STEKA Centre.

Classrooms for Malawi



Classrooms for Malawi believe that education is the most sustainable route out of poverty. We work to

improve places of education across Malawi, from North to South, to ensure children can go to school in safe, dynamic learning environments. To educate is to arm a child against malnutrition, infant mortality and disease, yet in Malawi, there is a deficit of over 70,000 classrooms. Classrooms for Malawi work in Scotland and Malawi with volunteers, community groups, businesses, local tradesmen and education departments to identify schools in urgent need and all classrooms are built with locally sourced materials. To date, we have built/refurbished 151 classrooms enabling over 12,080 children to have the education they truly deserve.

Glasgow City Council



Glasgow has worked with Malawi since 2004. Our projects are aimed at improving the lives of Malawians in the context of health and education. Since 2006, Glasgow has shipped around 5,500 items of medical equipment and 10,500

boxes containing medical supplies. These are distributed to hospitals and clinics through a trusted network of contacts developed over the years. Our educational projects focus on improving access to IT in schools, colleges, universities, hospitals and local authorities. Since 2006, Glasgow has shipped around 3,000 computers and associated IT equipment. These are installed and IT training is delivered in partnership with Lilongwe, Blantyre and Dedza local authorities. Recent projects include working with the Police and Prison Services. Working in partnership with Malawian colleagues ensures that Glasgow's contribution is both sustainable and effective.

Link Community Development



Link Community Development works in partnership with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and with schools and communities in Malawi to improve the quality of education for all children. Collaborative, evidence-based school improvement is at the

heart of our partnerships. Link facilitated the development of Malawi's National Education Standards and is supporting government and community stakeholders to understand how schools are performing against these standards. This supports the government to identify the best use of limited resources. It enables every school to develop an effective plan to address barriers to learning, and it builds community members' capacity to challenge inequality and advocate for quality education for all.

Mamie Martin Fund



The Mamie Martin Fund (MMF) has been supporting girls in CCAP secondary schools in Northern Malawi for 25 years. MMF's goal is to enable more young women to complete their

secondary schooling and therefore to contribute to the long-term development of their country. The Mamie Martin Fund gives fees support to the girls most in need. In addition, a Discretionary Fund, managed in Malawi, helps to meet personal requests from pupils for assistance with items such as uniform, notebooks and sanitary wear. MMF is supporting a total of 108 girls at school in 2017/18.

The Soko Fund



The Soko Fund supports women to access higher education within Malawi. We work with four partner universities –

University of Malawi, Malawi University of Science and Technology, Mzuzu University, and Lilongwe University of Agriculture and Natural Resources – and currently support 55 students. We support a wide range of subjects, enabling not only women to gain an education but also for Malawi to gain qualified personnel in education, medicine, nursing, engineering, agriculture, amongst other areas. We have partnerships with a network of secondary schools, enabling schools to encourage young women to apply for university, and established the Soko Graduate Association, which brings together graduates and offers peer support in the early stages of seeking employment.

Social Enterprise Academy



To "Social Enterprise Academy (SEA) Malawi is part of an international network of hubs providing learning and development for people and organisations enabling social change. It is operated in Malawi by Jubilee Enterprises under a social

license agreement with SEA, thanks to funding support from Scottish Government. Jubilee Enterprise brings extensive experience working with social enterprises and public sector organisations across Malawi, whilst SEA in Scotland shares experience and knowledge on providing transformational learning experiences by training local tutors to deliver practitioner-led leadership and enterprise learning programmes. SEA Malawi was launched in 2017 and so far has reached over 190 learners.

Scotland-Malawi Mental Health Education Project



The Scotland Malawi Mental Health Education Project (SMMHEP) is a long-standing collaboration between Scottish psychiatrists and the College of Medicine (COM). Through the project, over 500 doctors

have graduated with key psychiatric knowledge, skills in mental health promotion, and positive attitudes to people living with mental illness. SMMHEP has also helped COM to establish a postgraduate MMed psychiatry programme from which the first three psychiatrists qualified in 2017. The University of Edinburgh is collaborating with COM to build mental health research capacity, to investigate the causes of mental health problems affecting mothers around childbirth, and to develop culturally appropriate treatments.

Dunblane-Likhubula Partnership



There is a wise Malawian proverb that reads mutu umodzi susenza denga – one head cannot raise a roof alone. These

words symbolise the work of the Dunblane-Likhubula Partnership, which has endeavoured to work towards the values set out in the proverb to enhance the lives of those living in both countries. For twelve years there has been a focus on sustainable partnership projects and together, the two communities have planned developments on animal husbandry, tailoring, housing and sanitation with varying levels of success. Our most successful project has been the development of a bursary scheme to support young learners in high school. Reciprocal visits are also an integral part of our partnership working.

25th Stirling (Dunblane) Boys' Brigade



In July 2016, 17 boys and one girl from Dunblane Boys' Brigade travelled to Likhubula to finish the rebuilding and renovation of

22 classrooms in Pasani and Nansato Primary Schools. The boys and their families raised £75,000 over nine months to help hundreds of children in both schools. The boys worked hard in the schools but also had great fun playing with the learners and integrating with the wider community in Likhubula. The project was so successful that the company are looking to kick off another project for 2019.

Beath High School



Three schools, two continents, one goal. For over five years, Beath High School has developed and sustained a vibrant partnership with Njale and Mapanga Primary Schools. The Beath-Malawi partnership is built on the ambition of improving the educational experiences of learners in all three schools. Working closely together, the partnership has created opportunities to build genuine friendships across the continents and embed global citizenship across the curriculum. Our partnership is based on the values of mutual understanding, reciprocity and trust. It provides a real life context for learners to cultivate the attitude, knowledge and compassion necessary to develop a just and equitable world.

Hutchesons Grammar School



We are working with the students at Liwonde Secondary School to increase access to education. The Liwonde students first researched the barriers to education; both

sets of students then set up a scholarship scheme at the school and persuaded two other UK schools to participate. They have devised a programme, in which school parents visit nearby villages to promote the importance of education. Because albinism is a huge barrier, we are raising awareness of this issue here and in Malawi and funding the schooling of two children (Martha and Thoko) at a boarding school, a much safer environment for them.

St Ronan's Primary School



We have formed a partnership with Thondwe Primary School, near Zomba. Our engagement has been successful and is growing in strength. So far the partnership pupil committee sent out video recordings asking the Malawian children

questions about their lives and learning. Our teacher travelled to Thondwe and recorded the responses from the Malawian learners who in turn asked their own questions. We held a fundraising event on Valentine's Day celebrating Malawi at which we all wore hearts. The money raised is to help support teaching and learning in Thondwe. On a recent Education Scotland inspection of the school, HM Inspectors noted the partnership as a strength as children are developing an appreciation for cultural differences and diversity through the school's partnership with Malawi.

The Community School of Auchterarder



The Linthipe-Auchterarder Partnership since 2007 has resulted in: Two-way teacher exchange, tree and vegetable planting, laptop and projector training, digital microscopes. It has also helped with solar suns for science projects which help pupils to study at night and global citizenship awareness resulting in building a science lab and also toilets at Mkhanza Primary. In June 2018, the 15 Scottish pupils shared a week with their Malawian link pupils near to the school. Each day we cycled to Linthipe Secondary to take classes and after will work on cultural and skills based activities to develop practical and leadership skills and debate cultural differences. Bikes bought in Malawi were left in Linthipe.

St. Margaret's High School



We are currently twinned with Chisitu CDSS in Mulanje where we have built a science lab, provided laptops, projectors, pen drives, desks, chairs and sports equipment. We have also worked in the Youth Prison at Bvumbwe where we have helped in all academic and sports projects. We will start work in Mikuyu and Zomba Prisons to promote education and sport.

Aiming Higher in Malawi



Aiming Higher in Malawi (AHIM Scotland) together with Female Education and Empowerment Centre (FEEC Malawi) support over 450 children with disabilities in Mulanje and Thyolo with health interventions such as wheelchairs, assisting devices, rehabilitation, ENT, health screening and malnutrition assessment. We assist parents and guardians (97% female led households) with sustainable development like vegetable gardens and small businesses. With proper planning, resourcing and hard work, guardians also have the opportunity to sell excess produce; thus empowering them economically. Working in partnership with the various FEEC stakeholders, 55 local chiefs/village headmen, traditional authority, what we have managed to achieve is organising and hosting of disabled camps which include sensitisation as well as health screening; thus overcoming some of the barriers to inclusion and feelings of isolation.

LUV+ (Leprosy at Utale Village PLUS)



LUV+ provides income-generating projects to leprosy communities in Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania. It started its work in 2007 at Utale leprosy village near Balaka and now has projects in 10 leprosy communities. We work closely with Fr Francis Kachere of LUV+ Malawi who has become the Area Coordinator for all projects in southern Africa.

500 Miles



500 miles is working with the Ministry of Health in Malawi to create, incubate and hand over to it a truly sustainable, Malawian prosthetic and orthotic service that will benefit future generations so

that, both today, and in years to come, there is no-one left behind. Using Malawian staff, whose training to international standards 500 miles has sponsored, 500 miles currently prescribes, manufactures and delivers over 150 assistive devices each month to people with disabilities attending our two centres at Kamuzu and Mzuzu Central Hospitals in central and northern regions, through government, partner and self-referrals and through our outreach programmes.

Lake of Stars



LOS works in partnership with the SMP to develop a cultural and creative strand between Malawi and Scotland. Since 2013 we have taken Scottish headline artists to perform at the festival and brought Malawian artists to Scotland. The festival has a media reach of 600 million and generates over £1.3 million for Malawi. The project is the biggest single generator of positive media for Malawi.

Orbis



Orbis Expeditions is a specialist Tour Operator with offices in both Malawi and the UK

working in Educational, Sustainable and Experiential Travel to the country. The company specialises in providing hands-on and participatory field-based programmes within local communities for schools, universities and businesses and operate a set of Global Development Workshops (GDWs) which follow the work of the UN Global Goals offering field study workshops within various global issues including Healthcare, Environment, Education, Water Management and Sustainable Agriculture. We strive to assist in sustainable economic growth from grassroots levels and through our partnership with local communities we provide valuable links for Malawi communities as well as unique Global Citizenship opportunities for both Scottish and international travellers.

Malawi Travel Consortium



We work from the UK doing international marketing for those members of Malawi's tourist industry seeking international clients – over 40 companies. Engaging with the international travel trade,

travel media and travelling public, over the last two decades we have marketed and represented Malawi's tourism at travel shows around the world, obtained many millions of dollars worth of positive media coverage and massively increased the number of tour operators selling Malawi. Working closely with all the Malawian companies who are our members, we have established the highest ranked Malawi tourism website and other hugely successful marketing channels and collateral.

MicroLoan Foundation



MicroLoan Foundation Malawi supports some of the most vulnerable women to find a way out of poverty

by helping them set up small businesses. Locally employed officers provide business training, ongoing support and small affordable loans to enable them to become self-sufficient for their daily needs. With a regular income they are able to provide the basics for their families' food, shelter and medicine. Since 2002, MicroLoan has helped over 150,000 women in rural Malawi, which has given an estimated 600,000 children the chance of an education and the next generation an opportunity to build a brighter future.

Skate Malawi



Skate Malawi is a project with the goal of building Malawi's first roller skating facility, 'Solar Rollers', in Lilongwe. The roller rink will be powered by solar energy lighting and sound systems. The rink is envisioned as a Malawian owned and operated business, creating sustainable employment and being a centre for learning about small-scale solar energy implementation. We are working with the Tumaini NGO to build this unique culture, sports and solar energy learning centre in the heart of the city. Profits derived from the facility will be used to support Tumaini's work at the Dzeleka Refugee Camp.

SCOMA



SCOMA is a Scotland Malawi trading link in the UK. We work with Malawian artists, craftsmen, fashion and product designers to produce Malawi inspired memorabilia promoting Malawi in the UK. These include T-shirts, coffee/tea mugs, postcards, posters, clothing, stationery, tote bags, and much more.

Turing Trust



The Turing Trust is working with the Mzuzu based Centre for Youth and Development to provide computer labs and teacher training to 80% of public secondary schools in Malawi's Northern Region by 2019. So far, we have demonstrated our partnership can provide technology to schools at a cost of just 16,000 MWK per PC whilst also providing long-term maintenance and teacher training services. We hope to

expand our programme to the whole of Malawi, where we believe we could equip all of Malawi's secondary schools (1,000) with quality computers by 2023.

Scotland-Malawi Anaesthesia Project



Safe surgery and maternity services require safe anaesthesia. In 2006, Malawian colleagues requested post-graduate anaesthesia updates. We jointly developed and delivered 43 courses on anaesthesia to

Malawian ACOs, critical care courses to HDUs nurses and MDT: multi-disciplinary skills and drills team-training on maternity emergency care in three district hospitals for all hospital maternity staff, guards and drivers. Malawian faculty, (trained in each centre), teach alongside Scottish faculty. By 2011, critical care provided in 11 districts, post-operative HDU care facilitated complex surgery at district hospitals (currently no HDUs) MDT effect, Maternal Deaths per 100,000 deliveries has decreased by 50-75%.

Mary's Meals



Mary's Meals began by feeding just 200 children in Malawi in 2002. Today, we feed 1,257,278 hungry children every school day in 15 countries

including 937,997 in Malawi, across 782 schools and 58 under-six centres. Malawi is home to our largest school feeding programme and we provide meals to 30% of primary school aged children across the country. We work closely with schools and community volunteers – more than 80,000 in Malawi alone – who help prepare and serve the nutritious meals every school day. Mary's Meals has national

coverage in Malawi, with school feeding taking place in all three regions of the country and around 114 employees who manage, deliver and monitor our programme.

EMMS International



EMMS International is working with partners to show that every life matters. Last year, more than 160,000 poor and vulnerable people in Malawi

were helped as a result. With an increase in cancer and other non-communicable diseases the need for specialist staff and quality care is increasing. No-one left behind means care cannot stop when there isn't a cure. We're also working with partners to address the impact of the food crisis, train more health workers, improve access to healthcare in remote areas and reduce the spread of HIV.

First Aid Africa



First Aid Africa works to provide pre-hospital care and accessible first aid training and education in the north of Malawi. Since 2011, we have worked with partners in universities, schools and the wider community.

All our training is done using our syllabus, specifically developed for the region, using equipment that is available and affordable locally. In 2017, UK and Malawian volunteers and staff worked in partnership to train more than 1,400 people. This year, with the help of a Scottish government grant, we will be developing our sustainability by providing commercial first aid courses and boosting our partnerships with nursing colleges.

Mission Rabies



Rabies is a Neglected Tropical Disease claiming around 59,000 lives every year globally.

Working in Blantyre, Zomba and Chiradzulu Districts since 2015, Mission Rabies has been vaccinating 70% of the dog population to

prevent this deadly disease. In collaboration with the University of Edinburgh we have been measuring our impact through research and innovative mobile applications. Alongside the yearly vaccination drives, our staff run education campaigns in local schools to empower students with the knowledge to protect themselves from rabies. Thanks to our international partners and the DAHLD we've vaccinated more than 225,000 dogs and educated more than 900,000 children since we started working in Malawi.

Toilet Twinning



Toilet Twinning invites people in Scotland to twin their toilet at home, work, church or school with a latrine in Malawi

and so sponsor a household toilet for a Malawian family.

Thousands have done so. For a £60 donation, they receive a certificate with a photo of their toilet twin and its GPS coordinates. The money raised funds community-led WASH projects across Malawi: people are trained to build their own toilets and given access to clean water and hygiene education. Brighton, leader of Kalu village, Chikwawa, says: "Now our community is free of disease, we can start to develop!"

Meningitis Research Foundation



Meningitis Research Foundations partnership with the Malawi Liverpool Wellcome Trust, the Liverpool School of Tropical

Medicine and the Malawi Ministry of Health has improved Emergency Triage, Assessment and Treatment (ETAT) processes at primary health care level in Malawi. When children with life-threatening illnesses, including meningitis, arrive at clinics they are now prioritised for assessment and treatment faster than before and with better health outcomes. The system has triaged over 400,000 cases to date. Activities have been developed and implemented in partnership to leverage expertise and are targeted at community, clinic and policy level, recognising the interdependent nature of health systems.

Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons



At the request of the senior medical community in Malawi, the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow established the Livingstone Fellowship scheme in 2015. This

allows a Malawian doctor, who is a senior trainee, to come to Scotland for a year before returning home to consultant practice. To date, two surgeons specialising in plastic surgery, and one in breast cancer surgery, have taken up the fellowships. What is striking to date is the mutual learning that has taken place to the benefit of our medical community in Scotland and our colleagues in Malawi.

Edinburgh Malawi Cancer Partnership



The Edinburgh Malawi Cancer Partnership was established in 2012 to support the Ministry of Health and Queen Elizabeth Central

Hospital in Blantyre to provide improved and sustainable education, research and cancer treatment. Led by Dr Leo Masamba (QECH) and Dr Ewan Brown (Edinburgh Cancer Centre), its partners include Cancer Association of Malawi, Malawi Breast Group, Edinburgh Global Health Academy and colleagues in Canada and Ireland. Successes include the implementation of a clinical data system, developing a range of training opportunities for nursing and pharmacy staff, establishing weekly multi-disciplinary meetings, more protocolised care and producing cancer information posters.

Scottish Emergency Medicine Malawi Project



In 2010, with a grant from Scottish Government International development fund, NHS Tayside Emergency Medicine Team partnered Malawian clinicians and nurses to establish the first Adult Emergency and Trauma Centre at Queen

Elizabeth Central Hospital in Blantyre. The support and training shared by the experienced Scottish team has led to the successful development of this unit, which has greatly improved the delivery of emergency and trauma care and saved lives since becoming operational. The partnership now aspires in the next five years to develop at each Central Hospital across Malawi similar Emergency centres.

University of Strathclyde



The University of Strathclyde is a leading international technological university, established in Glasgow in 1796 to be a place of useful learning. We have one of Scotland's oldest partnerships with Malawi, begun by our alumnus, David

Livingstone. Today we work in partnership with Malawian universities, businesses and voluntary organisations to develop our shared capacity for education and research. These partnerships extend to community healthcare, water resource management, renewable energy, primary education, traditional medicines, forensic science, biomedical engineering and communication technologies. We also work closely with relevant ministries of the Government of Malawi to maximise the policy impact of our research.

University of Strathclyde – Scotland Chikwawa Health Initiative (SCHI)



Established in 2006, Scotland Chikwawa Health Initiative (SCHI) is a health improvement collaboration between University of Strathclyde and University of Malawi Polytechnic, working with Chikwawa District Assembly

and Ministry of Health (MoH). To engender good health in communities, SCHI implemented a Healthy Settings programme in Chikwawa that not only addresses community access to curative health services, but concentrates on environmental, sociological and economic determinants of health in the home, school and work environments using a community led approach. Outputs from the initiative are being developed with MoH to create National Community Health Tools (Village Health Committee Training Manual).

University of Glasgow – Institute of Infection, Immunity & Inflammation, Wellcome Centre for Molecular Parasitology



University of Glasgow (Institute of Infection, Immunity & Inflammation, Wellcome Centre for Molecular Parasitology) is working in partnership with College of Medicine

(COM) Blantyre, Malawi to establish a new state-of-the-art lab facility at COM. The facility will be the centrepiece of a two million project funded over five years by the Scottish Government. The Blantyre-Blantyre project will allow researchers to compare the causes of poor health and low life expectancy in Blantyre in Scotland as well as in Blantyre in Malawi. This project will provide the underpinning for major strategic grant applications going forward.

University of Glasgow



National Records & Archives of Malawi's partnership with Glasgow University Dr Paul Lihoma, Director of NRAS, and Dr Alistair Tough, Senior Lecturer in Glasgow University is a long-established collaboration. This includes: Record keeping in support

of governance (workbook produced and workshops held for senior civil servants), production of teaching and learning materials for postgraduate MLIS degree course at Mzuzu University (now in use), field research on the integration of medical record keeping and health information systems.

University of Glasgow Dental School



The University of Glasgow Dental School is working closely with the College of Medicine, University of Malawi, the Dental Association of Malawi and the Royal College of Physicians & Surgeons of Glasgow

to establish the first Bachelor of Dental Surgery degree course in Malawi. With support of funding from the Scottish Government, a delegation of five colleagues from Malawi visited Glasgow Dental School in March 2018 to view the Glasgow BDS course in action, to meet with staff and students and to meet with senior University of Glasgow officers.

University of Edinburgh



The partnership between Nkhoma Cervical Cancer Screening Programme, the University of Edinburgh and NHS Scotland has been one of mutual learning and true cooperation. Malawi has the highest global incidence of cervical

cancer. Since 2013, the introduction of thermo-coagulation (used in Scotland, but new to Malawi) in the Nkhoma programme has enabled hundreds for women to receive prompt treatment for early disease, with internationally-comparable outcomes. This in turn has led to the introduction of thermocoagulation to multiple health facilities with training of staff across Malawi and sub-Saharan Africa, with the potential to save many women's lives in the years ahead.

University of Edinburgh

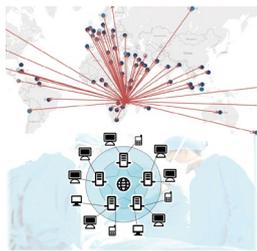


Our global health research group, based in Edinburgh, Malawi and Zambia aims to reduce diabetes, preterm birth, stillbirth and to optimise babies' outcomes. We will use existing knowledge of evidence based practices from high income

countries to test their effectiveness and evaluate how they are implemented. We recognise the differences of cultures, traditions, gender roles, resources, workforce constraints, disease burdens and community understandings of pregnancy and birth, and have therefore designed this group to examine strategies to develop and to implement contextualized evidence-based local practices building on successes and challenges of current best practice high income countries.

University of Edinburgh

Edinburgh University delivers online surgical Masters



programmes which complement in-the-workplace training and provide a culture of studying and sharing knowledge with peers and mentors across the world, increasing the academic support network available to Malawian trainees from

local surgeons to a more extensive international network. We provide fully-funded scholarships for Malawian surgical trainees, many of whom go on to teach Clinical Officers in Malawi after graduation. This innovative, interconnected approach allows trainee surgeons to remain in their home country to attain professional milestones, preventing the brain drain often observed when trainees travel abroad, and which ultimately will improve patient care.

The Kerusso Trust



The Kerusso Trust is a non-denominational Christian education charity based in Aberdeen. Over 90% of church leaders in Malawi have had little opportunity for training. Under the strapline training 1,000s to reach 100,000s for Christ, our partnership

with J-Life Ministries offers a basic training programme for rural ministry and local community transformation. To multiply the impact, we are equipping church leaders to train others. A residential training centre and library has been built near Blantyre. UK volunteers visit Malawi to participate as church or community trainers alongside the Malawian team. Youth are mentored and prepared for future leadership, as they lead weekly community-based Bible clubs, attended by over 1,000 children. We believe passionately in partnership working, learning from one another and empowering our Malawian partners.

Church of Scotland



The faith-based partnerships between Scotland and Malawi have a long-standing history and continue to be important in supporting education, healthcare and social care. The Church of Scotland

works across Malawi and Scotland at both a grassroots level through twinings and projects and also at a more strategic level through the different head offices. Our partnership is one of accompaniment and benefits are realised both in Scotland and in Malawi. As people learn and share their faith together they are given an education that they can't get from reading a book. Lifelong friendships are developed which are rooted in Christ.

CBM UK



Over 5,600 people with disabilities can participate more fully in their communities thanks to a partnership between CBM, the Federation of Disability Organisations in Malawi (FEDOMA) and Scottish NGOs ENABLE and the Mental Health

Foundation. Members of Chisamnaliro disability group were among those empowered through the programme: “We have been victims of stereotyping, labelling, stigma and discrimination, but today, we are considered to be part of the community. We are taking part in various community activities. These things were not happening before, but with FEDOMA’s guidance we are able to do this and be independent, such that our own chiefs are now relying on us for support.”

Scottish Bible Society



For many years, the Scottish Bible Society has supported the work in Malawi, carried out by our colleagues at the Bible Society of Malawi. Last year, we provided almost 10,000 Bibles for Malawi. These have been distributed

to Sunday Schools and church congregations. As well as being able to provide Bibles to those who wouldn’t normally be able to afford one, Bibles are being used for literacy programmes helping people to learn how to read and write. In addition, we invest in capacity building for staff. A two-way exchange of ideas between Scotland and Malawi enables us to learn from one another.

Partnership Principles

Through the experience of these, and many other partnerships, the Scotland Malawi Partnership and the Malawi Scotland Partnership have developed “partnership principles” that have been widely adopted and practised in both countries.

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A framework prepared by the Scotland Malawi Partnership which encourages its members to ask this series of questions before embarking on any project or intervention⁷⁸.

Planning and implementing together:

Whose idea is this?

What do you want to achieve, and why?

Who was involved in the planning?

How do you communicate with your partners?

Is this an equitable, and effective two-way dialogue?

Are roles and responsibilities clear?

Are expectations clear at both sides?

Do you have a partnership agreement?

Who manages the partnership?

Appropriateness:

How does it fit within local and governmental priorities?

Does this partnership fit within local culture and customs at both ends?

Respect, trust and mutual understanding:

How would you feel if you were at the other side of the partnership?

How well do you know your partners, and how are you improving your knowledge and understanding?

What are the biggest day to day issues at each side, and how does the partnership work effectively in this context?

How is basic human dignity safeguarded?

How do you know if respect, trust or understanding have been compromised, and what then happens?

What do you do when the two sides don't agree?

Transparency and Accountability:

How are challenges, issues and concerns listened to?

How do you share information about your partnership?

Who is your partnership accountable to?

How do you communicate with these people?

If an NGO, have you IATI registered your work?

No one left behind:

Who is excluded from your partnership?

Who precisely is your partnership with?

How are the marginalised in the community at both sides engaged?

Effectiveness:

How do you know if your partnership is working?

Who is involved in evaluating the partnership?

How do you use your monitoring and evaluation to learn, and develop the partnership?

Reciprocity:

What does each side contribute in the partnership?

Is it genuinely a two-way partnership?

Who benefits from the partnership?

Are opportunities, like travel, open to both sides of the partnership?

Sustainability:

How long is your partnership for and what happens when it ends?

How can you be sure your partnership isn't creating dependencies?

Is your partnership building capacity at both sides?

Do no Harm:

Could anyone be worse off as a result of your partnership?

What impact is your partnership having on:

The local economy?

Gender equality?

Food security?

Local culture?

Climate change?

Democracy, governance and local planning?

Are you compliant with all relevant legislation?

Interconnectivity:

How do you connect with what others are doing in this area?

How do you learn from others and share your experience?

Are the local diaspora community at both sides engaged?

Parity (equality):

Who 'owns' the partnership? Who has the power?

Who benefits from this partnership?

How is each side treated through this partnership?

What rights and responsibilities does each side have?

Meeting the Challenges of Development Today

Reports from a variety of well-informed sources have established a reasonable degree of consensus about the principal challenges facing international development today.⁷⁹ While the approach being pioneered by Malawi and Scotland should not be regarded in any way as a panacea, it does have features that are suggestive when it comes to meeting these challenges.

Participation and empowerment

It is widely acknowledged today that grand plans, even if conceived by well-intentioned experts, cannot be imposed on recipient communities without their active ownership and engagement. In the Malawi context, it is apparent that the criteria of international development bodies often do not correspond with the priorities of local communities.⁸⁰ There is need to engage citizens, especially women, the poor, civil society and other stakeholders in policy formation and decision-making processes. A distinctive feature of the Scotland Malawi Partnership, observed Dixie Maluwa Banda, is that, “they have always challenged us [Malawians] to set the agenda.”⁸¹

Foremost in the Scottish Government international development work in Malawi has always been the critical principle that any programme of collaboration with Malawi, that was to be financially supported by the Scottish Government, should be consistent and aligned with the wishes of the Malawian people. Programmes that were supported therefore needed to be integrated with other on-going programmes on the ground and in accord with the strategic and policy objectives of the Malawian

Government and, as appropriate, with the objectives and approach of local authorities and traditional leaders. At the highest level, the Scottish programmes have sought to support the Malawi Government Growth and Development Strategy. There is, thus, an underlying obligation to both seek to understand Malawian values and culture, and work within the mechanisms and institutions that are already active. While not always welcomed by all those wishing to work in a developing country – not least as differences of view were hardly surprising – the principle of genuine mutual respect within a close relationship has been deemed to be of the utmost importance.⁸²

This is an approach that meets current concerns regarding effectiveness in development work. As Tim Unwin has commented: “First, it is important that those involved in ‘development practice’ should listen much more closely to the voices of the poor, to their dreams and aspirations, and take it upon themselves to help deliver them. To achieve this, we need to find more effective ways of giving platforms to those without voices, and to generate new systems of consultation to overcome their lack of representation.”⁸³ Here the Malawi Scotland Partnership plays an important role. It consciously aims to empower and give a voice to those who traditionally have been on the receiving end of development work. It brings Malawians together in an environment where they can speak and listen to one another, and also address their Scottish partners in a coherent and coordinated manner. The close and sustained interaction cultivated by the SMP and MaSP provides the opportunity to know one another at a human level and from that basis engage together in addressing development challenges.

When the World Bank Voices of the Poor project undertook discussions with 64,000 poor people around the world, according to Duncan Green: “What emerged from these interviews was a complex and human account of poverty, encompassing issues that are often ignored in academic literature, such as the need to look good and feel loved, the importance of being able to give one’s children a good start in life, or the mental anguish that all too often accompanies poverty.” Green continues: “The reverse of such ‘multi-dimensional’ poverty is not simply wealth (although income is important), but a wider notion of well-being, springing from health, physical safety, meaningful work, connection to community, and other non-monetary factors. That is why good development practices build on the skills, strengths and ideas of people living in poverty – on their assets – rather than treating them as empty receptacles of charity.”⁸⁴ Here the interaction between Malawi and Scotland has taken a distinctive path since it is predicated on initiative and leadership coming from Malawians.

It also rests on a firm commitment to nurture relationships of friendship and mutuality as the basis for working together on development. Green has argued that: “There is much greater scope for development organisations to pursue strategies that encourage mutual understanding, empathy, and trust by creating personal relationships between those who have and those who have not, and which contribute to changing the attitudes and beliefs of those in power.”⁸⁵ It is this scope that Malawi and Scotland have been seeking to exploit.

This involves an openness to transformation taking place on both sides of the relationship. As Tim Unwin argues, in his critique of the work of Jeffrey Sachs: “Sachs’ argument that we can somehow eliminate extreme poverty without it having

a significant impact on our own lives is fundamentally wrong. We have to make a commitment to change, and that in itself is a difference. Simply increasing the amount of our own national budgets that are allocated to aid is not enough. There is so much more we need to do. We need to begin to really listen to poor people. We need to act in their interests rather than our own. We need to focus on minimising inequalities more than we do on maximising profits. Only then will we find our true humanity.”⁸⁶ Such an appeal has a great deal of resonance within the interaction of Scotland and Malawi.

Local ownership and capacity

Development efforts normally have very limited sustainability and effectiveness if they depend heavily on the ongoing intervention of an external party. The philosophy of partnership guiding the interaction of Malawi and Scotland puts a premium on initiatives being owned and led by Malawians. This was deftly expressed at the outset of the current phase of Malawi-Scotland relations when Matthews Chikaonda addressed the seminal “Malawi After Gleneagles” conference hosted by the Scottish Parliament in 2005 and quoted the Malawian proverb: “no one can shave your head in your absence.”⁸⁷ The salience of this observation is underlined by the conclusion of an OECD review of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness which found that “what started off as a political commitment to change behaviour and enhance development soon became interpreted and used as mainly a ‘technical’ and ‘process-oriented’ agreement that failed to ‘enlist the political and societal engagement needed to push through some of the most important changes’.”⁸⁸ The Malawi-Scotland engagement is geared to overcome such failure.

As Paul Collier writes: “The societies of the bottom billion can only be rescued from within. In every society of the bottom billion there are people working for change but they are usually defeated by the powerful internal forces stacked against them. We should be helping the heroes. So far, our efforts have been paltry: through inertia, ignorance, and incompetence, we have stood by and watched them lose.”⁸⁹ Cooperation between Malawi and Scotland is based on providing strategic partnership and support for the “heroes”, of whom there are many, who are stepping up to tackle serious issues of underdevelopment. These may be within the Government sector or within civil society. The form of interaction being cultivated between Malawi and Scotland is geared to fulfil the need identified by Nobel Laureate in Economics Elinor Ostrom for a system that would “leave people in developing countries more autonomous, less dependent, and more capable of crafting their own future”.⁹⁰

This approach also gives more realistic, manageable and effective roles to the Scottish partners. As William Easterly has argued: “Acknowledging that development happens mainly through homegrown efforts would liberate the agencies of the West from utopian goals, freeing up development workers to concentrate on more modest, doable steps to make poor people’s lives better.”⁹¹

Accountability, monitoring and evaluation

When vast sums of money can be spent without anything lasting to show for it, there are clearly questions of accountability, monitoring and evaluation. As William Easterly writes: “The prevalence of ineffective plans is the result of Western assistance happening out of view of the Western public. Fewer ineffective approaches would survive if results were more visible. The Big Plans are

attractive to politicians, celebrities and activists who want to make a big splash, without the Western public realizing that those plans at the top are not connected to reality at the bottom.”⁹² The popular mobilization which underlies the development initiatives undertaken through Malawi-Scotland collaboration ensures that there is an informed and motivated public which is looking for results.

The Malawi Scotland Partnership and the Scotland Malawi Partnership, working together, are able to fulfil some of the hopes for civil society organisations expressed in a recent report by the UN’s Sustainable Development Solutions Network: “[Civil Society Organisations] can hold both governments and businesses to account in terms of performance and honesty, organize and mobilize communities, deliver services, and promote ‘social enterprises’ that work on a business model but do not pursue profit as their main motive. Another important part of civil society consists of universities, research centers, and expert communities that promote innovation for sustainable development and train future leaders.”⁹³ The networks mobilized by the SMP and MaSP include all of these features and constitute a considerable force in terms of providing for data collection, monitoring, evaluation and, consequently, greater accountability.

Another significant weakness in the prevailing model of international development is that, as Duncan Green points out, “most aid is still given on a short-term basis (one to three years)...”⁹⁴ Hudson and Mosely concur: “... the volatility of overseas aid is severe ... and increasing over time.”⁹⁵ They conclude, however, that “... it is possible to achieve greater stability by achieving a greater climate of trust between donors and recipients,

in which donors do not react by withdrawing aid (and thereby making it unstable) each time a performance criterion is breached, but maintain aid levels stable as long as there is agreement on 'underlying principles.'"⁹⁶

A feature of the Malawi-Scotland engagement is that it is committed for the long term and puts a premium on fostering a climate of trust. With already one hundred and fifty years of history behind it, the partnership is informed and inspired by challenges that have been met in earlier years. The strength of this history has created values and principles that underpin the development activity being undertaken at any particular time. While particular projects may be time-limited, the underlying relationship continues, drawing on the cumulative benefit of ever-growing mutual understanding.

An Integrated Approach

There is widespread recognition today that development efforts are often hamstrung by a lack of coordination and integration. It is common to find duplication where agencies are carrying out almost the same work in the same location without any cooperation or even knowledge of one another. Well-intentioned efforts can easily turn out to be counterproductive. Stephen Carr, the World Bank's former principal agriculturalist for Sub-Saharan Africa and long-time Malawi resident, observes that: "Foreign NGOs in Malawi distort the labour market by paying their Malawian staff huge salaries, which attract well-qualified people away from government service and local civil-society organisations. Many foreign NGOs also bring confusion and duplication to development efforts by failing to co-ordinate their activities with the government and ignoring government policies."⁹⁷

Engagement between Malawi and Scotland is geared to avoid such pitfalls. Both at Government and civil society levels the discipline of working in alignment with the official Malawi Growth and Development Strategy III is continuously applied. This comprehensive strategy document identifies five key priority areas: (1) Agriculture, Water Development and Climate Change Management; (2) Education and Skills Development; (3) Energy, Industry and Tourism Development; (4) Transport and ICT Infrastructure; (5) Health and Population.⁹⁸ Not only does this provide an overarching policy framework for the Government itself, it is also intended to be a comprehensive reference document for all of Malawi's development partners – including civil society organisations, the private sector and bilateral donors. The Scottish Government has responded to this by aligning the priorities of its own Malawi work with the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy III, enshrining this document in the Global Goals Partnership Agreement of 2018 and making MGDSIII a central point of reference in its grant-making programme.

This makes for "vertical integration": ensuring that development policies are pursued coherently across different levels/branches of government. It also makes for "horizontal integration": multi-sector collaboration between public sector, private sector and civil society. Such horizontal integration is at the core of the day-to-day work of the Malawi Scotland Partnership and Scotland Malawi Partnership. It comes to expression particularly in annual conferences, held both in Malawi and Scotland, which bring together all those engaged in projects funded by the Scottish Government for a time of mutual learning, networking and collaboration. More specialized forums

deepen collaboration and integration among those working in particular sectors. Though the wide range of engagement between Scotland and Malawi includes cases where attitudes and approaches do not comply with this approach, the structures have been built which make for integration and, overall, this is a strong feature of the work as a whole.

Such an integrated approach also provides the capacity to identify threads that need to run across every sector.

Such threads include the need to be pro-poor, ensuring that development efforts are geared to assist the poorest; gender awareness, ensuring that gender-based injustices are clearly in focus; and environmental awareness, ensuring that all interventions are carried out with a clear understanding of their environmental implications.



Malawi and Scotland Today: Achievements and Challenges

A combination of historical, political, social, moral and spiritual forces have been at work to forge between Malawi and Scotland an approach to international development that demonstrates distinctive and innovative qualities. There can be little doubt that a large number of people have derived personal inspiration from their engagement in development-oriented work undertaken between Malawi and Scotland. Nor that many concrete examples of positive and enduring impact can be cited.

Nonetheless, Malawi remains firmly entrenched among the “bottom billion”, a reality that might suggest that its axis with Scotland has been ineffective in meeting the challenges of underdevelopment. On the other hand, it can be argued that Malawi is in the eye of a “perfect storm”, being landlocked, resource-scarce, over populated and exploited by external forces. Without the Scottish connection the situation might have been even worse. More to the point, it may be within the interaction of Malawi and Scotland that an approach has been formed which will enable Malawi to overcome the poverty which has afflicted the lives of too many of its citizens until now.

How successful it will be in fulfilling this ambition may depend on how far the effort can be taken in relation to issues of scale. Certainly large numbers of people are involved on both sides of the relationship and an impressive level of resources has been mobilised, particularly through the multiplier factor of Government grants releasing resources many times their value. Still, when measured against the needs of some 17 million people facing serious levels of poverty, it can be argued that the entire effort lacks the scale needed to make a major impact at national level.

When David Hope-Jones, the Scotland Malawi Partnership’s Chief Executive Officer, carried out nationwide workshops in 2009 aimed at enabling Malawians to shape the future direction of the Partnership, he received, within a very short time, 392 requests from Malawian organisations seeking a Scottish partner with which they could work.⁹⁹ This was a far greater number than that to which there was capacity in Scotland to respond. As the Malawi Scotland Partnership has become fully operational since 2012, it has similarly been overwhelmed by aspirations in Malawi to which Scotland currently lacks capacity to respond. Of course, there remains much untapped potential in Scotland in terms of people and organisations still to be engaged in partnership work with Malawi. Sustaining the momentum and continuing the expansion of civil society mobilisation will be key to scaling up the impact.

However, even a doubling or tripling of small scale bilateral partnerships will still leave the effort open to question as to whether it is simply too small to have any significant impact at national level. With its strength lying in the alliance of a wide range of actors at the micro level, so far the Malawi-Scotland approach has had relatively little to contribute at the macroeconomic level in regard to such issues as infrastructure development or capital expenditure.¹⁰⁰ Given the failure of so many grand schemes that have been conceived at macro level, a virtue of the Malawi-Scotland approach is that it offers a great range of micro level initiatives that, in terms of aggregate impact, have been able to achieve a solid result. Looking to the future, however, a relevant question is how far lessons learned at the micro level can be applied to questions of macroeconomic management.

The SMP has campaigned and lobbied with some success on such issues as debt relief and Commonwealth Development Corporation support but it remains a question how much the virtues of the relational approach can be scaled up to contribute to economic development at a national level? Might the time be ripe to engage bodies in Scotland concerned with macroeconomic policy and expenditure with their counterparts in Malawi, seeking to bring the strengths of the relational approach to bear at that level? The qualities of mutual respect, careful listening and reciprocity which have been matured at a micro level could now be tested in application to the macroeconomic questions that require to be addressed before the quest to eradicate extreme poverty can succeed.

A few specific illustrations demonstrate the importance of this perspective, not only because the policy issues are critical to development in their own right, but also because they bear heavily on the success of micro policy and on the outcomes of the relational approach. The vigorous debate over the devaluation of the Kwacha in 2013 provides one such example: a macro challenge of immense importance with profound implications for the macroeconomy and equally for the livelihoods of all the Malawian people. The manner in which this area of policy was determined was therefore of acute importance and it rightly raises the key questions of how that decision was reached, which interest groups participated in the decision-making, where the balance of power lay in the determination of the specific policy and, perhaps most crucially, what were the fundamental objectives and drivers of the policy decision. Had there been a stronger role for a relational approach what effect might this have had on the outcome?

A second example might be the determination of fertiliser price policy in Malawi. Again, while seen as a fiscal financing problem by some and, by others, as a key driver and incentive of smallholder farmer behaviour, it is undoubtedly one of the most significant areas of policy. Is there a place here for a greater deployment of the underlying principles of the relational model? Other examples include decisions over civil service pay, or debt service policy, or the pricing of natural resources.¹⁰¹

A question needing to be addressed is whether we should now be more ambitious in seeking to sensitively extend the relational approach to other critical areas of international development, rather than restrict this approach to the micro – albeit immensely valuable – activities in the economy? Should we seek to complement the technical skills and expertise of many national and international development agencies in these macroeconomic fields with the greater listening, understanding and insight that a relational approach can bring?

The challenge to step up from successful discrete projects of limited scope to a scale of engagement that would register at national level is particularly prominent in regard to the strands of “Civic Governance and Society” and “Sustainable Economic Development”. Even a host of successful projects at micro level can be undermined by poor civic governance. Problems perceived to spring from neo-patrimonialism and corruption in Malawi’s recent past, have led to crisis of confidence and suspension of international aid.¹⁰² This alone is enough to highlight the urgent need to address issues of good governance. Here, moreover, is an opportunity for mutual benefit. At a time

of political challenge and change in Scotland issues of good governance are likely to arise and there will be lessons to be learned from the Malawi experience. Likewise in regard to trade, business and investment there are opportunities for mutual benefit, even if the initial focus needs to be a concerted effort to enable Malawi to advance in the effort to trade its way out of poverty. It is likely that the interaction of Malawi and Scotland will remain limited in its impact if it is not able to effectively address issues of good governance and economic development at the macro level.

A key challenge for the partnership of Malawi and Scotland is whether it can take the virtues of the relational approach and apply them on a scale that will impact Malawi's development on the national level. Already it can be demonstrated both that a distinctive new approach has been developed and that it is having an energising and inspiring effect both in Scotland and in Malawi. It answers Ramalingam's call for "a more systemic, adaptive, networked, dynamic approach..."¹⁰³ While modest in scale and at an early stage in its evolution, the partnership is functioning as "... an open innovation network, catalysing and leveraging change..."¹⁰⁴ Though challenges remain, this is something to celebrate.

Furthermore, an approach based on the priority of the relational, the mobilisation of civil society, the synergy of

Government and people, and a reciprocal partnership for development may also have a contribution to make to the wider debate about the future direction of international development. As regards current questions around participation and empowerment, local ownership and capacity, accountability, monitoring and evaluation, and an integrated approach, the work being done between Scotland and Malawi might be suggestive for those wrestling with such issues in other contexts. Meanwhile active citizens of Malawi and Scotland apply both personal commitment and professional competence to their shared quest for human flourishing. Together they draw on history, values and experience that suggest a new approach to international development, one that is already inspirational and calls for still more ambitious application and implementation. Rory Stewart MP, then Africa Minister in the UK Government, speaking in Parliament in 2017, described the Scotland Malawi Partnership as "genuinely one of the most unique, remarkable, interesting and human interweavings of two nations anywhere in the world". He observed that: "What is so striking about the Scotland Malawi Partnership is that it has found ways of engaging a whole human population. Britain could do that in Malawi or in Tanzania, Uganda or Nigeria. It is a very exciting way of thinking about how to do development in the 21st century."¹⁰⁵

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